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VSEBINA – SOMMAIRE

PRÉSENTATION DU VOLUME

Dans de nombreuses disciplines scientifiques, le discours parlé représente depuis quelques décennies un objet de recherche privilégié. Ce fait s'explique probablement par deux caractéristiques principales du discours parlé : la structure complexe de sa matérialité et les fonctions variées de différentes pratiques orales. Le présent volume réunit des articles basés sur les approches actuelles du discours parlé et sur les pratiques langagières spécifiques.

Le recueil est introduit par deux articles interdisciplinaires : Peter Garrard et Ahmed Samrah présentent le domaine de **la pathologie du langage** en donnant une revue fouillée sur les approches actuelles de l'analyse linguistique lors de la détection de la maladie d'Alzheimer, tandis que Harry Hollien donne un aperçu structuré sur le domaine de **la phonétique judiciaire** destiné à dévoiler l'identité des locuteurs et de détecter la déception dans le discours parlé. Les analyses explorant **l'acquisition du langage** commencent par l'article de Katharina Zipser qui examine la progression de structures grammaticales en les mettant en comparaison avec la compétence des apprenants et continuent par l'étude de Meta Lah proposant une évaluation des documents audiovisuels proposés aux apprenants de langue étrangère. Vesna Požgaj Hadži, Damir Horga et Tatjana Balažic Bulc remettent en question la corrélation entre la compétence linguistique et la fluence linguistique auprès de locuteurs non-maternels ; l'analyse de Gemma Santiago Alonso aborde à son tour l'acquisition de l'article défini dans le langage enfantin. Trois articles se réunissent autour du domaine de **l'interprétation** : Jana Zidar Forte présente une approche actuelle dans l'entrainement des interprètes, Lea Burjan analyse les phénomènes issus de la pratique de l'interprétation juridique et Simona Šumrada traite de la reformulation dans le discours de la traduction et de **l'in**terprétation. Le domaine des **technologies du langage** est exploré par la contribution de Jana Volk qui, se fondant sur des enregistrements authentiques de la parole spontanée, propose une évaluation du système de transcription ToBi.

L'analyse des **interfaces entre l'oral et l'écrit** est introduite par l'étude de Gregory Bennett qui analyse la représentation du rire sur le réseau Twitter qui se fait suivre par une analyse de Nives Lenassi examinant les éléments du discours parlé dans la correspondance d'affaire. Jacqueline Oven observe le fonctionnement des particules à l'écrit et à l'oral tandis que l'étude de Mojca Schlamberger Brezar se fonde autour de l'hypothèse que les marqueurs discursifs indiquent le degré de spontanéité dans différentes situations d'énonciation. Les études qui s'articulent autour de **l'analyse pragmatique** essaient d'intercepter certains phénomènes du discours parlé dans des contextes variés : Elenmari Pletikos Olof et Jagoda Poropat Darrer analysent la perception de paroles cérémonielles, Golnaz Nanbakhsh remet en question l'emploi des pronoms de tutoiement et de vouvoiement lors de l'expression de l'autorité, Darinka Verdonik et Zdravko Kačič examinent le rôle des expressions chrétiennes dans les conversations quotidiennes. Tamara Mikolič Južnič aborde le phénomène de la nominalisation et Mojca Smolej présente les spécificités du discours rapporté dans l'échange oral spontané. L'analyse d'Iztok Kosem et de Darinka Verdonik propose un aperçu du vocabulaire typique dans le discours public et privé, tandis que l'étude de Juliano Desiderato Antonio et Fernanda Trombini Rahmen Cassim présente certains éléments intrinsèques de l'oral à travers l'optique des relations de cohérence entre les différentes unités textuelles. La relation entre les pratiques langagières et **la norme linguistique** est étudiée par l'article de Hotimir Tivadar qui repose la question d'établissement de la langue standard sur les fondements du langage régional ou central, alors que la contribution de Tjaša Jakop aborde l'emploi du duel en slovène standard et dans différents dialectes. Sabina Zorčič étudie le fonctionnement des mots d'origine étrangère dans le discours politique et la contribution de Tomaž Petek propose un système de critères pour l'évaluation de présentations orales en public. Le volume s'achève sur un **texte épistémologique** de Primož Vitez qui propose une réflexion sur le rôle du linguiste qui, par définition, ne peut exercer ses recherches qu'à l'intérieur de son propre objet de l'analyse. La question de l'objectivité et du souci éthique du chercheur envers son objet peut ainsi être appliquée à un cadre universel de disciplines scientifiques.

Avec ses pistes de recherche, proposées pour saisir par diverses voies le discours parlé, le présent numéro de *Linguistica* se destine à mettre en relief la fécondité de ce champ scientifique. Dans la diversité pluridisciplinaire des approches, accordée avec la nature de leur objet, chaque pas vers la compréhension du discours parlé contribue à l'extension des recherches applicatives et à la croissance de leur utilité générale.

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SPOKEN DISCOURSE IN ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE: A REVIEW

1 INTRODUCTION: ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE – TYPICAL AND ATYPICAL

Alzheimer's disease (AD) is the most common cause of late life cognitive deterioration and dementia. It is a progressive, neurodegenerative disease with a characteristic pathological signature, which shows an early predilection for brain structures (mesial temporal regions and limbic circuit) that are intimately involved in memory. A probable clinical diagnosis of AD can be made during life on the basis of symptoms and neuropsychological features (McKhann et al. 1984), and an updated set of diagnostic criteria have recently been proposed (Dubois et al. 2007). A definitive diagnosis of AD, on the other hand, requires demonstration of a distinctive pattern of pathological abnormalities in brain tissue (Mirra 1997; Mirra et al. 1991), so a distinction is required between the clinical syndrome of probable AD (pAD), and the pathological diagnosis of definite AD, which is not usually made until after death. In much of the literature relating to the cognitive profile of AD, this distinction is blurred, but will be repeatedly emphasised in the course of this review.

A series of key publications from the 1980s and 90s (Butters et al. 1987; Christensen et al. 1998; Greene/Hodges 1996; Hodges/Patterson 1995; Kopelman 1985; Welsh et al. 1992) delineated a typical cognitive profile in patients suffering from pAD. All emphasised the profound deficit in episodic memory in the early stages of the condition, showing that these patients suffered from impairments in the encoding and storage of new information, and were insensitive to retrieval cues or structure inherent in the learned material. The impairment has therefore been interpreted as one of new learning, rather than either the accelerated forgetting typical of epilepsy (Blake et al. 2000), or the disrupted retrieval that is seen in some patients with frontal brain lesions (Bondi et al. 1994).

As pAD progresses, additional deficits become apparent in other cognitive abilities. These include: the cognitive process of planning, initiation and regulation of behaviour (executive function); the ability to process visual and spatial information; the ex-

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ecution of complex goal directed movements of the hands (dyspraxia); and language-related abilities, dominated by a decline in long term memory of concept knowledge (semantic memory) (Garrard et al. 2005a; Greene et al. 1995; Perry/Hodges 1999; Welsh et al. 1991; Welsh et al. 1992). The accumulation of cognitive deficits is consistent with the increase and spread of the disease burden in the brain, with selective involvement of mesial temporal regions in mildly affected patients, and of more widespread cortical regions in more advanced cases (Braak/Braak 1991).

Deficits in memory and (to a lesser extent) other cognitive abilities can be identified in individuals with mild cognitive impairment (MCI), who do not meet formal criteria for a diagnosis of pAD, but are at an increased risk of developing the syndrome over the ensuing months and years (Petersen et al. 1999; Petersen et al. 2001). If one considers the individual diagnostic criteria for MCI in parallel with those for pAD, it can be seen that the difference is quantitative, and relates to the threshold at which cognitive difficulty translates into functional impairment and dementia.

The symptoms described above are characteristic of a majority of patients with pAD, but in addition, a number of variant clinical presentations are recognised, due to an atypical distribution of pathology at onset. Some individuals present with predominant and progressive impairments in spatial ability, and show striking atrophy in visual association pathways in the brain (Hof et al. 1997). A frontal variant of pAD is also recognised, leading to disproportionate impairment in executive functioning (Johnson et al. 1999). Finally, and most relevant to this review, a minority of patients presenting with a slowly progressive language impairment (Alladi et al. 2007; Galton et al. 2000). This third group of patients will be described in greater detail in section 3.

2 LANGUAGE PROCESSING IN TYPICAL ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE

2.1 Standardised neuropsychological examination

A number of standardized tests have been used to examine language impairment in pAD. The majority of studies have reached the conclusion that language abnormalities in pAD are dominated by profound anomia, diminished vocabulary, and word finding difficulties, highlighting an early lexico-semantic processing deficit. For example, the widely-used verbal fluency task (in which a patient is given one minute to generate as many words as they can think of beginning with a particular letter, or belonging to a given category) has shown that pAD patients are consistently more impaired in the latter (semantic) than in the former (phonemic) condition (Garrard et al. 2001; Rosser/Hodges 1994; Salmon et al. 1999). The diagnostic utility of semantic fluency tests is well established (e.g. Monsch et al. 1992; Salmon et al. 1999), and can be used as a marker of disease progression (Perry et al. 2000; Small/Backman 1998).

Impairments in confrontation naming (production of a verbal label when presented with a pictured concept) are also well documented in pAD. Significant differences between patients with early pAD and controls have been demonstrated using instruments such as the Graded Naming Test (GNT) (McKenna/Warrington 1980), which contains 30-items of progressively decreasing lexical frequency and familiarity (Ahmed et al.

2008; Grundman et al. 2004; Petersen et al. 1999; Thompson et al. 2002). Low frequency/familiarity items prove particularly likely to result in incorrect responses.

In addition to the lexico-semantic impairment in typical pAD, there is mixed evidence for impairment in syntactic abilities. Measures of syntax comprehension include the Token Test (De Renzi/Vignolo 1962) or the Test for the Reception of Grammar (TROG; Bishop 1989). In the Token Test, patients are required to carry out a series of instructions of increasing complexity based on a high frequency vocabulary relating to simple objects such as shapes (e.g. put the red square under the red circle). The TROG entails matching one of four pictures to a series of spoken sentences of progressive grammatical complexity, ranging from simple propositions (e.g. "the boy runs after the dog" to sentences with passive constructions and embedded clauses, such as "the elephant that is being pushed by the boy is large"). A number of studies have revealed little or no effect of syntactic complexity on either comprehension or production (De Jager et al. 2003; Hodges et al. 1996). Lambon Ralph et al. (2003) found that MCI patients performed normally on a battery of language tests, with the single exception of the Token Test. Since patients were unimpaired on the TROG, the authors interpreted the finding as implicating a deficit in the memory and/or attention-related processes that are required to hold sequences of words in short-term ("working") memory (Baddeley et al. 1986), rather than in syntactic processing abilities per se.

Language deterioration in combination with the hallmark memory deficit in MCI has been found to be of increased diagnostic sensitivity and prognostic value. Studying a group of patients with this diagnosis, Ribeiro et al. (2006) reported that around one third were impaired in semantic fluency and a similar proportion on the Token Test. In a separate study, Bozoki et al. (2001) found that patients with impairments in memory coupled with difficulties in one other cognitive domain, including naming and letter fluency tests, carried an eight-fold higher risk of progressing to pAD after 2 years. De Jager and Budge (2005), also found naming difficulty in MCI to be predictive of later conversion to pAD.

2.2 Connected speech analysis

There has been limited work examining connected speech production in pAD. The available data suggest that the impairments discussed above may be more extensive and of earlier onset when employing the more detailed examination of language ability that is provided by this approach. This may be because the production of connected speech is a naturalistic activity, and/or because of the large number of descriptive dimensions that can be obtained from the data. The latter may be especially relevant when considering the impact of neurodegenerative conditions on language ability, as the brain regions involved are widely distributed (Price 2010), while degenerative pathologies are by definition diffuse and (as illustrated) can show considerable neuroanatomical variability.

A further advantage of the study of connected speech is that it can be carried out retrospectively. A number of landmark studies have suggested that language abilities may be vulnerable very early in the disease process. In the narrative samples obtained from the Nun study – a longitudinal study of autobiographical data and diary entries collected from convent archives for 678 catholic sisters – Snowdon et al. (1996) showed that, in writings produced as early as the second decade of life, low idea density (number of ideas expressed in a given number of words) was associated with low cognitive performance in later life. Perhaps more remarkably the measure also emerged as a reliable predictor of AD at post mortem. Garrard et al. (2005b) showed that the last novel of Iris Murdoch, written a year before she was diagnosed with pAD (later confirmed as AD) in her mid seventies, contained a more restricted, and higher frequency vocabulary than her earlier works, pointing to a lexico-semantic processing deficit. A later study of a similarly prolific and likewise afflicted Dutch novelist (Gerard Reve) showed that the lexical variety effect was detectable in non-English texts (van Velzen/Garrard 2008). More recently, Garrard put forward the hypothesis that characteristics of the spoken language used by Harold Wilson (a prominent British Prime Minister during the 1960s and 70s) in parliamentary debates shortly before retirement from office, may have been influenced by the early stages of a neurodegenerative illness (anecdotally pAD) that would not emerge until several years later.

Specific deficits have also been observed in tasks based on picture description, such as the Cookie Theft from the Boston Diagnostic Aphasic Examination, (Goodglass/Kaplan 1983). In this test, the subject is presented with a line drawing depicting a domestic scene: a young boy is standing on a stool reaching for a jar of cookies from a cupboard; the stool is about to topple over; his sister is encouraging the boy to steal the cookie and hand it down to her; the unfolding disaster goes unnoticed by their mother, who is also unaware that the sink at which she is washing dishes is overflowing on to the floor. Participants are simply asked to "describe what is happening in the picture". Samples of open-ended discourse can also be used as samples for analysis.

Hier et al. (1985) reported fewer words and less relevant information, characteristic of reduced lexical diversity in the picture descriptions of patients with pAD. Nicholas et al. (1985) found that pAD patients produced fewer content words and phrases, but significantly more semantic errors, repetitions and empty phrases, and de Lira et al. (2010) reported more lexical errors in the discourse of pAD patients. Ehrlich (1997) found that pAD patients were reduced in the efficiency of their spoken language and required more words to convey target propositions in a narrative task. Similarly, Tomoeda et al. (1996) found that the efficiency and conciseness of picture descriptions provided by patients with pAD compared unfavourably with those of age-matched normal controls.

Analysis of discourse also appears to show syntactic change in pAD. Croisile et al. (1996) found "simplified but relatively correct syntax" in a picture description task provided by patients with pAD compared to controls, though the effect was more pronounced in written than oral descriptions. Hier et al. (1985) studied oral descriptions obtained from a mixed group, consisting of patients with pAD and dementia due to vascular brain damage. They found all samples to be less complex than those of controls, and the mean clause length to be shorter in the pAD than the vascular group. On the other hand, Kempler et al. (1987) reported an absence of syntactic errors in single written sentences produced by patients in the early stages of pAD. Formal analysis of syntactic complexity was not performed, however, and the text samples were necessarily shorter than transcripts of connected speech.

Inconsistencies may be explained by the use of different methods to elicit discourse (conversational speech vs. picture description). The latter affords a number of benefits: the Cookie Theft picture description is a robust, widely used, and simply administered method for eliciting discourse. It allows composite examination of information content, and affords the ability to examine differences between different themes (e.g. persons vs. actions vs. objects). Description draws on a constrained subset of nouns and verbs that are highly frequent and familiar and, for the most part, acquired early in life (Hirsch/Ellis 1994).

3 ATYPICAL VARIANTS OF ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE

So far, we have considered the types of language impairment that are evident in patients with typical onset pAD. The atypical presentations with salient language impairments, will now be discussed. These patients present with a pattern of deficits that overlaps with those seen in primary progressive aphasia (PPA).

3.1 Primary progressive aphasia (PPA)

PPA is an umbrella term that encompasses a group of neurodegenerative syndromes in which cognitive decline is restricted to one or more components of the language system (Gorno-Tempini et al. 2011; Mesulam 1982). Recently proposed consensus criteria have identified clinical, neuropsychological, and imaging characteristics that describe three distinct subtypes: semantic dementia (SD) is characterized by fluent but empty speech, impaired single-word comprehension, and a high incidence of regularisation errors when reading aloud single words. This constellation of impairments has been convincingly argued to represent disintegration of the stored representation of concept knowledge (semantic memory). SD is associated with selective atrophy in one or both anterior temporal regions, providing a unique opportunity to gain insights in the way such information is stored and organised in the brain (Hodges/Patterson 2007). Progressive non-fluent aphasia (PNFA) is the term used to describe patients with phonologically and/or grammatically distorted speech output, and impaired comprehension at the single word (but not grammatical) level. Atrophy is focused on left inferior frontal and insular regions. The third variant, logopenic aphasia (LPA) is a more recent addition to the PPA syndromes, and will be discussed in some detail in the next section.

PPA is considered to be a distinct clinical syndrome, in which the presenting aphasic difficulties suggest a high likelihood of an underlying degenerative process other than AD. The most frequent pathological associations have been found to be with the group of diseases considered under the heading of frontotemporal lobar degeneration (Grossman 2010). There is, however, growing evidence that variants of AD with early and dominant language impairment are much more common than previously recognized

(Alladi et al. 2007; Galton et al. 2000; Knibb et al. 2006). Retrospective studies of pathologically confirmed AD, in which progressive aphasia was the predominant feature, have shown both SD and PNFA to be possible presenting syndromes of the condition.

In a detailed comparison of typical and atypical syndromes in pathologically proven AD, Galton et al. (2000) retrospectively examined the clinical presentations of six patients who had presented with PPA. Neuropsychological assessment showed that two cases were classified as PNFA and three others with SD, and one with a mixed aphasic pattern, containing elements of both syndromes. In another recent study, Alladi et al. (2007) found that AD was the primary pathological diagnosis in almost half of patients present with PNFA, and in three quarters of those with a mixed aphasic syndrome. In contrast, SD was associated with AD pathology in only one in ten cases.

3.2 Logopenic aphasia (LPA)

Although it should by now be evident that AD can present with a range of progressive aphasic features, and that progressive aphasia can be produced by more than one degenerative disease, recent descriptions have emphasized a clinically homogenous group of patients with a focal cortical syndrome that appears to be exclusively associated with AD pathology. LPA has been described as a third variant of PPA, following the first description by Gorno-Tempini et al. (2004). Recent clinico-pathological studies have found that AD is the most common underlying pathological process in LPA (Mesulam et al. 2008). Retrospective analysis may, of course, show that a diagnosis of LPA may apply to some of the patients described in earlier clinic-pathological studies as presenting with "mixed aphasia", but this hypothesis awaits formal examination.

Detailed clinical, neuropsychological, and imaging studies have allowed the phenotype of LPA to be further refined. The language of patients with this syndrome is characterized by slow production, simplified grammar, word-finding difficulties, and impaired picture naming, with relatively preserved semantics, and particular difficulty with sentence repetition (Gorno-Tempini et al. 2008; Gorno-Tempini et al. 2004; Gorno-Tempini et al. 2011). Patients make phonologic errors in speech but there is no evidence of agrammatism. These observations have been interpreted as representing impairment in auditory verbal short term memory, which has been proposed as a central mechanism in LPA (Gorno-Tempini et al. 2004). In addition to impaired language, neuropsychological profiling in LPA has identified impairments on tests of memory (Mesulam et al. 2008), calculation (Amici et al. 2006; Gorno-Tempini et al. 2004; Rohrer et al. 2010), and limb apraxia (Rohrer et al. 2010).

Imaging studies have identified damage typically in the left temporoparietal junction, and a recent study showed that the severity of imaging abnormalities in this region correlated with the performance on naming and sentence repetition (Leyton et al. 2012). Less consistent damage has been noted in the medial temporal and parietal cortex, posterior cingulate, inferior frontal and temporo-parietal cortex (Gorno-Tempini et al. 2008; Gorno-Tempini et al. 2004; Rohrer et al. 2010). The latter finding is typical of pAD with language dysfunction at presentation , and in particular of early onset AD (Migliaccio et al. 2009).

4 RECENT FINDINGS

The literature reviewed so far has suggested that, although language deficits in clinically typical pAD may not be present to the same extent as those observed in PPA, they may nonetheless be of clinical importance. A recent series of investigations has therefore been carried out with the aim of characterising connected speech in patients at different stages of clinically typical pAD, all of whom went on to have AD definitively diagnosed at post-mortem.

Discourse samples, elicited using the Cookie Theft task, had been generated by participants in a longitudinal study of ageing: the Oxford Project to Investigate Memory and Ageing (OPTIMA). This cohort consists of community dwelling elderly persons who were recruited to the study as normal controls or with varying degrees of cognitive impairment. All participants have undergone regular physical, laboratory and cognitive assessment at six to twelve month intervals, during which the evolution of pre-existing cognitive problems has been documented, and the new onset of cognitive impairment in previously asymptomatic individuals observed. All patients selected for language analysis had been recruited either as controls or with a diagnosis of MCI, ensuring that follow-up assessments included the first episode at which subjects with AD met criteria for clinically probable disease, ensuring homogeneity of disease stage in the sample. Pathological confirmation of control or AD status was obtained at post mortem in all cases.

4.1 Lexico-semantic processing in early Alzheimer's Disease

We began by asking whether the previously noted deficit in lexico-semantic processing (cf. section 2) could be observed at the first point of clinical diagnosis of a typical pAD syndrome that was later confirmed at post mortem to have been due to AD. Hereinafter this group will be referred to as early AD (Ahmed et al. in press). Our initial aim was to quantify the semantic content of discourse produced by patients through the analysis of semantic units, defined as "a relevant, truthful and non-redundant fact or plausible inference about the stimulus picture" (Bayles et al. 1989). Production of semantic units can be quantified using a checklist of key elements represented in the picture description task, an approach that has consistently revealed differences between samples of connected speech produced by pAD patients and controls (Croisile et al. 1996; Hier et al. 1985; Tomoeda/Bayles 1993; Vuorinen et al. 2000). Secondly, we aimed to establish whether semantic units were reduced globally, or whether there was a disproportionate reduction of specific classes of information.

Discourse samples were available from 18 early AD patients and 18 matched controls. Following the classification of Croisile et al. (1996) semantic unit identification was scored overall and for four subclasses of information from the picture description task: subjects, locations, objects (noun units) and actions (verb units). Idea density and efficiency of language were also calculated. Early AD transcripts showed significantly reduced units overall, particularly with reference to the persons (mother, boy, girl) and actions (drying dishes, looking out of the window, stealing cookies, falling off stool) in the picture. By contrast, there were no significant differences in the total number of words produced or the number of words per minute, suggesting that the early stages of AD are associated with normal fluency of speech. Efficiency was also significantly reduced, whereas conciseness remained within the control range.

Statistical analyses confirmed that these measures (i. e. total units, actions, subjects and efficiency) were highly predictive of diagnosis. Moreover, in a head-to-head comparison between the semantic units produced using nouns and verbs, only the latter remained predictive of group membership. This finding may have some relevance to neurolinguistic studies suggesting that verb retrieval is more severely impaired in agrammatic aphasia, and retrieval of nouns in anomic aphasics (McCarthy/Warrington 1985), as syntactic impairment leads to difficulties in correctly inflecting verbs and using them in appropriate contexts (Friedmann 2000). It should be pointed out, however, that the direction of the association between grammatical category and grammatical abilities is by no means consistent (Berndt et al. 1997).

4.2 Profiles of connected speech in early Alzheimer's Disease: a comprehensive examination

The results of our initial study confirmed the characteristic lexico-semantic deficit in early AD, and raised the possibility of a co-existent reduction in the syntactic complexity of the samples. A comprehensive examination of linguistic indices to provide a profile, or profiles of impairment in AD, and investigate how these compare to other language disorders was, however, lacking in the literature. The question was given added importance by the association between LPA and the presence of AD pathology (cf. section 3.2). We therefore set out to investigate whether typical AD patients share the same profile of impairment as those presenting with LPA.

To do so, we utilised a detailed language analysis protocol taken from the quantitative production analysis (QPA) approach (Berndt et al. 2000; Saffran et al. 1989). This is a widely used and comprehensive approach for the analysis of normal and abnormal discourse, whose sensitivity and discriminatory value was recently demonstrated in the context of the clinical variants of PPA (Wilson et al. 2010). QPA yields a combination of indices that are sensitive to five dimensions in connected discourse: speech production, lexical content, fluency, semantic content and syntactic complexity. Owing to the limitations of the rating scale when using small language samples, however, we excluded the semantic indices from the schedule used in our early AD group (cf. Ahmed et al. 2012 for full details).

Individual linguistic variables were reviewed in the same set of Cookie Theft descriptions, produced by the 18 early AD patients and 18 controls (as were considered in the semantic units study) and compared to profiles obtained in the three variants of PPA published by Wilson et al. (2010). The results showed that a third of the early AD group (n=6) produced language with a similar profile to that of controls, suggesting that features of aphasia are not a universal finding in the early stages of typical AD. Linguistic abnormalities were detected in the remainder of the samples, confirming the findings of an earlier study of the prevalence of language deficits at the early stages of the disease (Price et al. 1993). The abnormal samples showed a variety of patterns of linguistic impairment, and contained features of all three variants of PPA to varying degrees, with no single homogeneous profile emerging. More specifically, nine patients showed a reduction in one or more measure of syntactic complexity, indexed by a reduction in the proportion of words in sentential contexts, and increased numbers of syntactic errors, coupled with a reduction in the proportion of nouns with determiners and verbs with inflections. Three patients deviated from this majority profile: isolated fluency impairment was noted in two patients, while one patient showed a profile compatible with LPA, with a combination of reduced speech rate, fluency errors, reduced lexical content and syntactic simplification, similar to the profile observed by Wilson and colleagues (2010).

The results suggest that connected speech in clinically typical, early AD conforms to a range of recognised profiles and shares some features with the syndromes of PPA, but that an isolated reduction of syntactic complexity may be specific to the disease. LPA, despite its robust association with AD pathology, was far from ubiquitous, and should therefore continue to be regarded as an atypical presentation of AD, rather than a common clinical feature of clinically typical disease. The occurrence of these distinct language profiles in early AD clearly needs to be replicated in a larger sample of well characterised pAD patients, but suggests that, with further refinement, connected speech analysis has potential as a diagnostic marker in typical variants of the disease.

4.3 Connected speech in MCI

Cognitive and neuropathological changes of AD can be detected in patients with MCI, and AD is considered to be particularly likely when a memory deficit can be objectively demonstrated (Petersen et al. 1999; Winblad et al. 2004). A group of researchers at the Mayo Alzheimer's Disease Research Centre followed 220 individuals meeting criteria for MCI for up to 6 years, and documented 12% as progressing to dementia in each year of follow-up (around 80% of the total cohort by the end of the study). In contrast, the incident rate of dementia diagnoses in the same population is only 1–2% per year. These sobering statistics underline the importance of identifying other cognitive markers of progression, and we therefore asked whether the features characterising language impairment observed at early AD had also been present when the patients in our sample had met criteria for MCI.

Data from 9 AD patients and 10 matched subjects from the control group were examined. Language analysis combined the semantic processing indices with an abbreviated version of QPA. Group comparisons showed that there were no significant differences between MCI and controls, but closer inspection of the data revealed a difference between MCI and control samples in semantic content. Similarly, MCI patients scored on average one standard deviation below controls on syntactic complexity measures (here assessed according to mean length of utterance, proportion of words in sentences, number of embedded clauses, syntactic errors, nouns preceded by determiners, and verbs with inflections). Both contrasts, however, remained below the threshold (corrected for multiple comparisons) for statistical significance.

It is likely that the mild difference between controls and MCI patients reported in this small group may achieve greater significance in a larger cohort of patients. Nevertheless, the results suggest that the profile of impairment in MCI mirrors that seen in early AD, suggesting that this same pattern of language impairment progresses from very early in the disease process. Given these findings, further work is warranted in order to firstly replicate these results, and secondly to consolidate suggestions for key features of language that should be used to identify impairment in prodromal pAD, and finally to track these impairments through the course of the disease.

5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The results of recent analyses exploring language impairment in autopsy confirmed cases of AD using a simple, reproducible and ecologically valid approach to data collection (i. e. connected speech sampling), support the existing literature in showing selective impairment of key processes, both at and prior to formal diagnosis. The language deficit in AD initially disturbs lexico-semantic processing and syntactic complexity of language, and similar changes can be detected at the MCI stage of disease.

Although it is not proposed that language examination should replace memory testing in the diagnosis of pAD, the results nonetheless have clear clinical implications. Profiles of language impairment provide information that can help to distinguish AD from PPA, and to predict conversion to pAD in patients with MCI. Further clarification of the profile and nature of these impairments will contribute to the vital goal of determining sensitive and specific markers to aid in providing accurate diagnostic as well as prognostic information for the benefit of the patients and to commence intervention strategies, through pharmacological treatment, psychological intervention, financial planning and other methods, as soon as possible.

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Abstract

SPOKEN DISCOURSE IN ALZHEIMER’S DISEASE: A REVIEW

In its typical form, Alzheimer’s disease (AD) manifests with early impairment in episodic memory. Evidence suggests that language deficits also occur early on in the disease process, and can be detected at the preclinical stage, suggesting that language could constitute an important diagnostic marker for disease. Additionally, a number of variant clinical presentations of AD are recognised, due to an atypical distribution of pathology at onset, including a minority of patients presenting with a slowly progressive language impairment. We review language performance in typical and atypical presentations of AD, and describe a series of recent, novel findings examining the language phenotype of typical AD.

Keywords: Alzheimer’s disease, connected speech, primary progressive aphasia.

Povzetek
GOVORJENI DISKURZ IN ALZHEIMERJEVA BOLEZEN

Tipična oblika Alzheimerjeve bolezni se kaže v zgodnji okvari epizodnega spomina. Raziskave kažejo, da se v začetni stopnji bolezenskega procesa pojavljajo tudi jezikovne motnje, ki jih je mogoče zaznati že v predklinični fazi, zaradi česar bi jezik lahko predstavljal pomemben diagnostični marker za to bolezen. Kljub številnim in raznolikim kliničnim oblikam te bolezni, ki so posledica atipičnih patoloških stanj v začetku obolenja, obstaja tudi manjše število bolnikov, pri katerih z napredkom bolezni počasi in postopno slabi tudi njihova jezikovna zmožnost. V prispevku ponujamo pregled raziskanih stopenj jezikovne zmogljivosti v tipičnih in atipičnih oblikah Alzheimerjeve bolezni in predstavimo vrsto nedavnih ugotovitev o spremembah jezikovne rabe pri tipični obliki te bolezni.

Ključne besede: Alzheimerjeva bolezen, povezani govor, primarna progresivna afazija.

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ABOUT FORENSIC PHONETICS

INTRODUCTION

Forensic Communication is a discipline within the Forensic Sciences. It is made up of three related sub-disciplines, all of which are structured to meet the relevant needs of Criminal Justice, Judicial and Intelligence agencies. The three areas are:

1) **Forensic Linguistics**. This area, including Psycholinguistics, is the one with which you are most familiar. It targets language (written or spoken) which is analyzed to determine authorship, the intent of the individual, deception and so on. The area also includes speech/language decoding, a task shared with Forensic Phonetics.

2) **Forensic Psychoacoustics** is the second area; it relates to human hearing or audition. In this case, the analyses involve heard signals and their effect (acoustic, perceptual, neural) on individuals and their behaviors.

3) **Forensic Phonetics** focuses on the analysis of spoken communication for the purposes cited above. It includes speaker identification, enhancing and decoding spoken messages, analysis of emotions in voice, authentication of recordings and related. Forensic Phonetics is what this article is all about. Hence, it would appear useful to start with definitions.

Definition

First off, it is important to provide a *general* description of Phonetics, and just why professionals of this sort are able to carry out the functions/operations to be described below. Obviously an Experimental Phonetician is interested in, and grounded in, the acoustical, physiological and perceptual study of human speech. To conduct research, to teach and to practice in these areas, he or she must be trained in both the central issues (including Phonology to some extent) plus a number of complimentary disciplines. Most notable among them are Acoustics and relevant Engineering specialties. Phoneticians must also have fundamental expertise in human behavior (ranging from Psychology to Physiology) and in hearing (especially Psychoacoustics and Hearing Neurophysiology). So too must they be able to develop specialized processing procedures and/or adapt available, but relevant, systems to their needs. Finally, a *Forensic* Phonetician is one who is both interested in, and trained in, a number of areas within the Forensic Sciences (Hollien 2008).

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The Forensic Phonetics area itself consists of two major elements. One involves the analysis (usually electro-acoustical) of those speech signals which have been transmitted and stored; the other is that of analyzing the communicative acts themselves (Hollien 1990). The first of these two domains addresses the enhancement of speech intelligibility, speech decoding (including accuracy of transcripts), the authentication of recordings and the like. The second area involves issues such as recognition of speakers from their voices, identification of the health, emotional or psychological states of the talker and the analysis of speech for evidence of deception. Of course, Forensic Phonetics also interfaces with a number of other specialties. Forensic Linguistics is one (re: language and its analysis), as is Forensic Psychoacoustics (for auditory-perceptual issues) and Audio Engineering (especially with respect to nonhuman signal analysis). Since these are tangential, they will not be discussed in this brief review. What will be featured here is 1) the integrity of captured utterances (and related), 2) the accuracy/completeness of messages, 3) the identification of the human producing the utterances and 4) the identification of the various behavioral states (including stress and deception) that they are experiencing.

1 SIGNAL ANALYSIS

The *analyses* of electro-acoustical transmissions or stored speech signals are carried out for a number of purposes. That is, good recordings can be of great importance to groups such as law enforcement agencies, the courts and the intelligence services. Indeed, the effectiveness of most of these agencies would be reduced by a magnitude if suddenly they could no longer utilize recorded spoken intercourse and related events for surveillance, interrogation and/or other operations. Indeed, it is quite possible that analysis of such information ranks among the more powerful of the tools investigators have at their disposal. Yet the detection, storing, and analysis of messages, events and information has become so common that many investigators, attorneys and agents tend to overlook the myriad of problems associated with them.

Moreover, even currently, the recordings obtained during surveillance and from related activities are rarely of studio quality and the utterances found on many of them will have to be enhanced before they can be understood. Other than the problems induced by speakers (examples: overlapping talkers, effects of stress, drug/alcohol usage, etc.), the primary sources of speech degradation are related to input noise and distortion. Both can result from inadequate equipment, poor recording techniques, operator error, or the acoustic environment in which the recordings were made. In turn, these problems create challenges. The first of these involves understanding what the recordings contain.

2 SPEECH ENHANCEMENT

As has been implied, one of the important areas within Forensic Phonetics is that of enhancing intelligibility of recorded speech – and also, of course, the development of speech decoding techniques (Dean 1980; Hollien 1990; 1992). As stated above, recordings made for these purposes are often of poor quality, with such degradation resulting from: 1) reduction of frequency bandwidth, 2) addition of noise, 3) reduction of the energy level, 4) spectral or harmonic distortion, 5) inadequate transmission links or coupling, 6) inadequate pickup transducers (microphones, "bugs", telephones) and so on. Masked or degraded speech also can result from environmental factors such as "hum", the wind, vehicle movement, fans/blowers, clothing friction, other talkers, music, etc. (cf. Dallasarra et al. 2010 re: complications). Whatever the causes, all detrimental events must be identified and compensatory actions taken. The remedies here include several types of electronic filtering, noise elimination (computer) programs (examples: Lee 1998; Wan 1998) and speech decoding.

The initial step in the enhancement process is to protect the original recording by making a digital copy. It is not desirable to work on an original because repeated playing could result in signal deterioration or other damage. It is not difficult to imagine the problems which would arise if important evidence were thusly destroyed or compromised. Second, the examiner should listen to the recording a number of times before attempting to process it. This procedure permits development of a log plus a good working knowledge of the recording's contents – plus, of course, information about interference and degradation. It is by this process that various problems and remedial techniques can be identified. One useful analysis approach is to digitize problem areas and apply software which can permit "visualizations" of the relationships within the signal (spectra or waveforms, for example). These graphs also can be used to obtain a great deal of quantitative information about the signal, and thus aid in identifying relevant speech sounds, words, or phrases.

The first of the remedies cited involves filtering by use of relevant analog or digital equipment and/or computer software. If there is a substantial amount of noise at either (or both) the extreme lows and highs, speech may often be enhanced by band-pass filters (frequency range 300–3500 Hz). Second, if spectrum analyses show that a relatively narrow band of energy exists at a specific frequency, a notch filter may be employed. Third, comb filters (especially programmable ones) can provide an assist when noise exists *within* the frequency range of the speech. They can be used to continuously modify the spectrum of a signal by selectively attenuating the contaminating frequency bands. Of course, filtering here must be carefully applied so as not to remove necessary speech elements along with the unwanted sounds. Finally, these procedures are best carried out with systems that have been expressly developed to compensate for noise problems.

Since binaural listening is particularly helpful, the equipment employed should permit stereo listening (Bronkhorst 2000). Further, use of variable-speed recorders can provide an assist. One type involves a manual increase or decrease of recorder speed while it compensates for parallel distortion of the internal speech signal. Finally, other useful techniques include filling in short dropouts with thermal noise, deconvolution, bandwidth compression, and so on.

Speech Decoding

The second phase of the process of extracting utterances and messages from difficult recordings involves speech decoding. That is, if the still degraded speech is to be comprehended, a remedial program involving formal decoding procedures must be initiated. This is an instance where Linguists and Phoneticians often work together.

As stated, Forensic Phoneticians are among those specialists who can deal effectively with problems in this area. They can be especially adept at dealing with things such as 1) voice disguise, 2) dialects (and/or foreign languages), 3) very fast speech, 4) multiple speakers and 5) the effects on intelligibility of talker stress, fatigue, intoxication, drugs, etc. (Hollien 1992).

To initiate the decoding process, it is necessary to repeatedly monitor the entire recording and apply any intelligibility enhancing techniques still necessary. Next, it is best to first focus on the relatively easy-to-decode sections. As is well known, speech/language is quite redundant, words have an effect upon one another (coarticulation), context aids intelligibility and determination of one word (or several) in a multi-word series (context analysis) often can aid in the correct identification of the other words. Hence, it is wise to start with the easier elements and work up to the more difficult.

Decoding also can be aided by the use of graphic displays of the speech signal. Particularly useful here are sound spectrograms of the time-frequency-amplitude class. Displays of this type can be used to estimate the vowel used (from its formants), the consonant used by analysis of its acoustic patterns, or by comparison of their energy distributions to identifiable patterns, and so on. Other techniques also are available.

Basic knowledge about, and skills in applying, many of the phonetic and linguistic realities of language and speech are also quite helpful. For example, a good understanding of the nature and structure of vowels, consonants and other speech elements is fundamental to good decoding. So too is an understanding of word boundaries, word structure, dialect, linguistic stress patterns and the paralinguistic elements of speech (i. e., fundamental frequency, vocal intensity, prosody, duration, etc.). Especially useful here is a thorough understanding of coarticulation and its interactive effects on words and phrases. In short, speech/language systems can be effectively employed in support of the decoding process.

The reporting structure and the mechanics of decoding must be as highly organized as is the decoding process itself (P. Hollien 1984). That is, it is not appropriate to simply write down the heard words and phrases, it is also necessary to explain what went on during the recording period and what may be missing. Codes are useful here, but they must be easily understood and used consistently and systematically. Example: inaudible and/or unintelligible sections must be described in detail. Note the following: "But I will... (plus) 10 sec. unintelligible speech by talker A" or "6–8 words of inaudible response, the two center of which were 'hit me'". Another requisite is to include descriptions of all the events which occur; i. e.: "Talker C: Help me. footsteps, door closing, two gunshots, loud thump." Once the decoding basics have been completed and confusions resolved, the text can be structured into final form, carefully re-evaluated for errors, and submitted.

3 AUTHENTICATING RECORDINGS

As is well known, certain specialists exist who can make any individual appear to say almost anything they (i. e., the operators) wish – that is, if a quantity of the target person's recorded speech, plus good equipment and the appropriate technical knowledge all are available. This possibility can be serious (re: investigations, trials) when someone involved claims that a particular recording was "doctored" and, hence, some or all of the information it contains is false. Thus, before a recording can be considered "authentic", it must be shown NOT to have been modified in some manner. The integrity of a recording also may be examined for other reasons.

A definition of authenticity follows. To be valid, a recording must include all of the events that occurred, and nothing can have been added, changed or deleted, during the recording period or subsequently (Hollien 1977; 1990). It also must be stressed that, no matter how pristine its source (individual or agency), if the recording is to be properly authenticated, it must be analyzed thoroughly, impartially and ethically (Aperman 1982; Hollien 1977). To do this, the Forensic Phonetician must apply knowledge about the intricacies of the speech act, technical information about the modern processing/storing of speech and appropriate electronic/computer analysis technologies. Moreover, since a number of different classes of equipment can be used for speech (included are analog, digital and video recorders – plus computers), evaluations must include physical examinations and signal assessment.

Authentication procedures commence with a log being established, high quality copies made and the recording listened to for familiarization purposes. Chain-of-custody and identification marks should be checked.

The Physical Examination

The first procedure is to determine if duration is correct. Any external timing information available should be employed as should the length of the tape (if that medium used) and/or the time of the recording. Timing signals also are useful; they can be found on many types of recordings. Announcements of time, images of clocks (on video) and related, should be checked. The second examination is focused on housing – boxes, cassettes, reels – which are examined for modifications, damage, etc. Tapes must be examined for splices; discs (and related) for interrupts. If any are found, editing may be present and, hence, the recording must be appropriately examined. Next, the unit upon which the recording purportedly was made must be examined and tested for evidence of originality. The procedures here involve making a series of test recordings (of the cited unit) under conditions of quiet, noise and speech. They should be repeated while all equipment switches are operated serially. If the recording is an original, the electronic signatures found on it will be the same as those produced by the tested unit. Also, information of stop-and-start activity, over-recordings and so on must be obtained. Finally, the "tracks" made by the recorder drive mechanism, the magnetic recording patterns or codes all should be checked. These processes can be complex and they vary among various classes/types of recordings (Brixen 2007).

Laboratory Examination

This phase involves an intensive analysis of the signals captured on the recording. To do so, high quality copies of the "originals" must be made and used in laboratory tests. First, the recording is listened to *in detail* and all questionable events logged. Questionable events include clicks, pulses, thumps, rings, crackles, etc. They also may involve loss of signal, abrupt shifts in ambient noise, inappropriate noises as well as breaks in (or difficulty with) context, word boundaries and/or coarticulation. Analysis protocol for coarticulation is of significance since it transcends operation of different types of recorders. That is, discontinuities resulting from breaks in the coarticulatory stream can often be heard. Such observation leads to application of spectral analysis techniques which, in turn, will permit the study of the relevant phonemes and their neighbors (in order to resolve the possibility of a modification).

Next, it is necessary to systematically identify and/or explain the causes of these (observed) events. Some will be innocuous. Examples: a telephone disconnect, a door closing, operation of interface equipment. Such events can be "suspicions" but may not reflect modifications. On the other hand, any of them could signal an attempt to alter the recording.

The procedures by which questionable events are evaluated will vary; time-amplitude and/or spectral analyzes are examples.

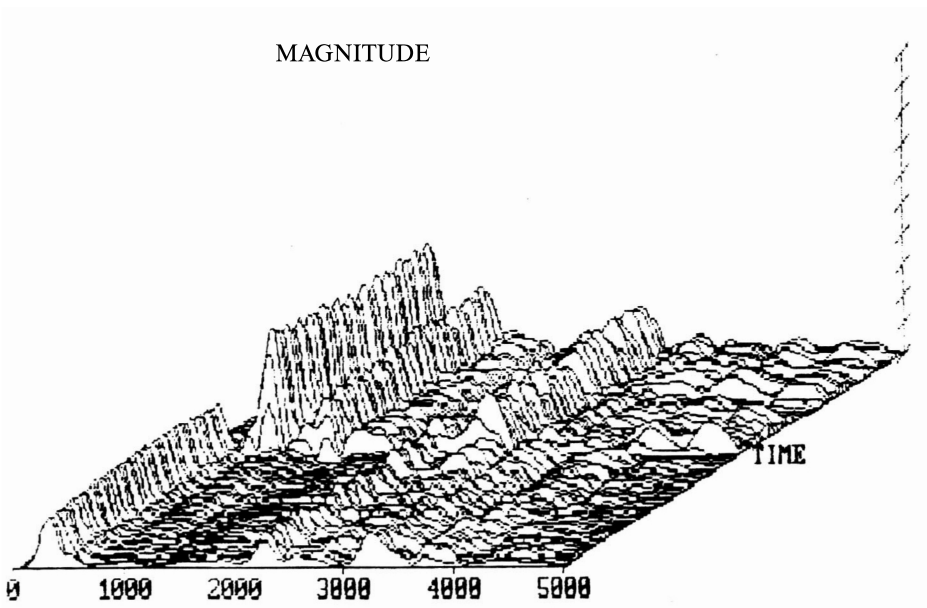

Figure 1: A continuous frequency-amplitude spectra (i. e., a waterfall plot) of a rerecorded splice or digital interrupt.

In Figure 1, an abrupt change can be seen in a waterfall type spectrum. It signals that the recording probably has had a section removed. In any case, every questionable event must be identified and explained. This process is a challenging one and, while most of the suspicious events will be found to be "innocent", it is important not to miss evidence of manipulation.

However, please be advised that, even if it is demonstrated that the recording has been altered, the reason for modification cannot be specified. It could have been either accidental or intentional; the examiner ordinarily cannot know which is the case without external evidence.

Second, it has been suggested that the authentication of digital recordings is more difficult than that for tapes. In response, certain specialized techniques have been developed (Brixen 2007) and many of the approaches described above have been successfully adapted. For example, a physical examination still can be conducted. Moreover, dialog and/or coarticulation evaluations can be effective ways to analyze speaker/speech characteristics, as can (linguistic) topic analysis. In short, while the examinations here usually involve quantitative signal analysis, many should still parallel those used with analog recordings.

Third, it can be said that, in some ways, the evaluation of video recordings can be a little easier than that for audio-only. For one thing, the audio portion can be assessed (as above) in parallel with the video but, even more importantly, modifications (if made) often can be "seen" on the video. Nonetheless, the initial phase here should parallel techniques used for audio evaluations – starting with the physical and signal evaluations described above. The next stage would be to directly assess the video channels. A successful evaluation here requires the availability of appropriate equipment and the use of, at least, some specialized techniques. First, it is important to examine and test the equipment on which the original video recording was made as there is at least some evidence that electronic signatures unique to each unit can be recovered. In addition, if the noise that can be "seen" on a previously unrecorded video is different from that which is generated by the target unit's erase system, a spectrum analysis can be employed to quantify and assess these "impressions". In addition, when a second video sequence is recorded over the initial one, a series of (very brief) irregular flashes may occur. And ... abrupt "turn ons" and "turn offs" (of the video picture) also suggest that editing may have taken place. Perhaps the most relevant evidence of all is that the visual sequence often will shift abruptly when modifications have been made. Finally, a specialized device that can be used to evaluate video recordings is easily procured. It has a capability which somewhat parallels the frame-to-frame viewing systems utilized in motion picture film processing. While a video is not created in a strict frame-to-frame mode, the observation of "stills" – coupled with very small advances of the sequence – often can reveal interruptions to the video portion of the recording.

CONTENT ANALYSIS

4 SPEAKER IDENTIFICATION

Speaker Identification (SI) should not be confused with Speaker Verification (SV). The second of these two processes (verification) results when a known and cooperative person *wants* to be recognized from his or her speech. Thus, they will provide speech samples in order to permit construction of "reference sets". The identity of the target individual is later verified when a new speech sample is compared to these referents and the decision made: correct speaker or imposter? While speaker verification techniques are useful (in industry, government, prisons), they are only occasionally employed in law enforcement. Ironically, however, since speaker *identification* is a far more difficult task, any technique that will work for identification purposes will work even better for verification (Hollien/Harnsberger 2010).

Speaker identification (SI) is a process where attempts are made to identify an individual from his or her speech when that person's identity is *not* known and when anyone within a relatively large, open-ended population could have been the talker (Hollien 2002). This problem, while of considerable importance, is a difficult one to solve. First, in the forensic (or intelligence) situation, all sorts of system and speaker distortions are present. Samples are rarely contemporary; speakers are usually uncooperative; equipment often is poor, and decision criteria are difficult to establish. Moreover, the "sets" of talkers always are open-ended (i. e., one is never totally sure that the criminal is among the suspects).

Considerable research has been carried out on SI with investigations focused on three areas: 1) aural/perceptual approaches (including earwitness identification), 2) "voiceprints" and 3) machine-computer approaches. Only the first and third of these will be reviewed here as "voiceprints" have been shown to be totally inadequate and, thus, have been discarded. Indeed, it would not be appropriate, in this short review, to describe an invalid technique.

Aural-perceptual SI approaches take two forms; the first of these involves ear witnesses. That is, some courts permit a lay witness to make an identification but only if they are able to satisfy the jurist that they "really know" what the speaker sounds like. The more common form here is where lay individuals, who can identify the person from a "voice parade", are permitted to testify. In the second instance, qualified experts are permitted to render opinions. In such cases, a sample of the unknown talker's speech (evidence recording) must be available – so too must an exemplar of the suspect's voice. An examination is carried out by the expert where it is determined if the two recordings contain, or do not contain, the voice of but a single person.

Earwitness Identification

Basically, an earwitness lineup or voice parade is defined as a process where a person who has heard, but not seen, a perpetrator attempts to pick his or her voice from a group of voices. It ordinarily is conducted by law enforcement agents. They have the witness listen to the suspect's exemplar embedded in a group of 3–6 similar samples produced by other people. Good speaker identification accuracy can be possible if: 1) the listener remembers the talkers' speech patterns, 2) reasonably good samples are available, and 3) negative emotions do not interfere (Hollien 2002; Yarmey 1995). As with eye-witness identifications, the witness is required to observe the "group" and choose which one is the perpetrator. However, this approach — especially when patterned after eyewitness lineups – has come under fire (Broeders 1996; Hollien/Majewski 2009). Although, there is little question but that both these types of identification can be quite important to the conduct of criminal investigations and/or trials, *neither* of them is as robust as would be desired. For example, there is a large literature about *eyewitness* examinations and it has been found that witnesses with poor eyesight (Loftus 1979), inadequate memory, and so on can make serious mistakes. Also, poor line-of-sight or bad lighting, plus very brief encounters, create problems. Perhaps of most concern here, is where DNA evidence has demonstrated that certain individuals who were convicted on eyewitness evidence actually were innocent (Schuster 2007). On the other hand, upgrading factors *can* include: 1) race, 2) sex, 3) attractiveness, 4) distinctive features, 5) age, 6) nature of presentation and so on (Cross et al. 1971; Wells 1993). Thus, it is recognized that reasonably accurate assessments often can occur if conditions are favorable (Wells/Olsson 2003).

Secondly, eye and ear witness approaches, while seemingly similar, are quite different in many ways; mostly with respect to: 1) how different types of memory is processed, 2) how a *voice* analysis is different from visual approaches, 3) the differing ways by which fear or arousal can affect the processes and so on. Yet other problems also exist for both: 1) latency is always present, 2) witnesses' emotions may be a factor, 3) the witness may feel the suspect is guilty simply because he is being tested, and so on (Aarts 1984; Hollien 2002; Yarmey 1995). However, if competent personnel are used, if the lineup is well organized and appropriately structured, experiments have shown that the results can be both robust and reasonably accurate (Hollien et al. 1983).

Basically, two different earwitness lineups can be employed (Hollien 1996). The first, the "Multiple Choice" approach, is one where the suspect's voice, plus samples of foil talkers, are heard as a "set" and the procedure is repeated a number of times. Specifically, a speech sample produced by the suspect is embedded within a group of samples (each set in a different order) spoken by a group of four foils or "distracters". The sets are played 20–25 times and the witness attempts to pick out the perpetrator from each set. The results are then checked to see if the witness has made an "identification".

The second, or "Comprehensive Review" procedure, was first proposed by Major (Major/Komulainen 1989); it has also been refined and used by others (Hollien 2002; Nolan 2003). It can be best understood by consideration of Figure 2.

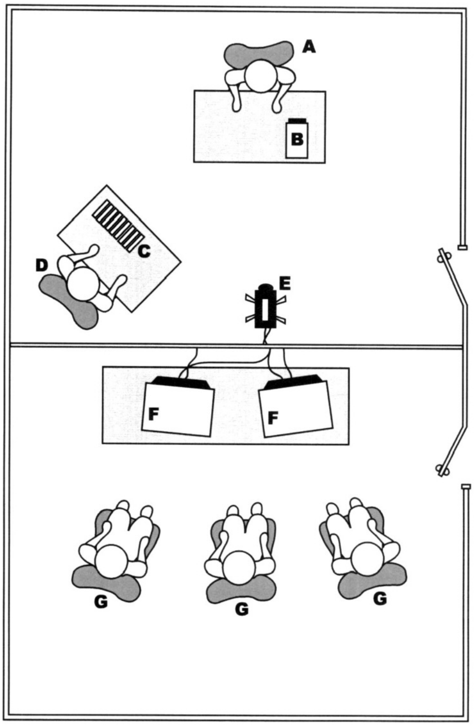

Figure 2: The "Comprehensive Review" approach to Earwitness Identification.

This graphic display demonstrates the positions of: **A**. the witness, **B**. the CD playback, **C**. the recordings, **D**. the administrator, **E**. a videocam, **F**. the TV monitors and **G**. the observers. Here, the witness is provided numbered recordings containing voice samples produced by the suspect and each of the foils. The witness calls out a number and the administrator (who does not know which recording contains the suspect's voice) gives that recording to him or her. The witness plays it; then hears, in turn, the rest of the recordings. Once all of them have been heard, he or she is permitted to re-listen to any of them. Ultimately, the witness is asked if any of the voices is identifiable and if so, which one. Of course, he or she is not required to make a selection if unable to do so.

The standards for administration of these earwitness lineups must meet the highest of standards. They are summarized as follows:

1. The Comprehensive Review approach is recommended.

2. A clear and complete set of instructions must be provided all parties.

3. Comprehensive records must be kept.

4. Only high quality recordings are to be used. However, protocol should take into account how the suspect was heard (free field, telephone, etc.; Nolan et al. 2008).

5. Samples and their presentation should be carefully controlled. They all should be structured/presented in the same manner and checked by means of mock trials.

6. While a witness should be briefed about the procedure, no information about his or her performance should be provided until all aspects of the lineup are completed.

7. No partiality toward either the witness or the suspect should occur. The entire lineup should be observed (remotely) by individuals representing the witness, the suspect and any relevant agency(s).

8. The witness should be asked – but not required – to make an identification.

Aural-Perceptual SI

A substantial amount of research re: aural-perceptual SI has been carried out. Much of it supports strategies employed by Forensic Phoneticians who conduct structured, speaker-specific, aural/perceptual identifications of talkers. Indeed, it can be argued that aural/perceptual approaches by humans – or, at least, by trained specialists – are the most accurate of all available methods. However, it is important that these individuals 1) are of high talent, 2) assess "natural" speech characteristics, and (most important) 3) are qualified Phoneticians cross-trained in Forensics. Indeed, a number of these specialists have independently demonstrated valid analysis techniques and excellent identification rates (Hollien 2002). However, their approaches vary. Many attempt to determine a talker's identity by assessing speech segmentals. Such procedures are usually successful if a robust set of processing criteria are established and they are well trained/experienced. But, an even more powerful technique is one that is also rigorously structured but is focused on the suprasegmental assessments of voice and speech (i. e., prosody, fo, intensity, and voice quality) which are supplemented by segmental analyses.

It also should be noted that a rather substantial number of the AP SI studies have been directed at evaluating the human auditory and cognitive processing of heard signals for forensic purposes. Almost all of them have been based on subjects having but brief encounters with very limited stimuli. Consider how difficult it is for a listener to identify a person "known" to them only from hearing a brief utterance (by the speaker) which is then embedded within a group of voice samples spoken by other individuals. Many of the experimental tasks upon which research of this type was based are as challenging as that, few are markedly easier. Yet it is clear that many of these Forensic type experiments demonstrate just how discriminative the auditory mechanism is and how sensitive it can be in identifying speakers – even within the sharp limitations of the Forensic model.

An experiment by the present author and his associates (Hollien et al. 1982) provides pivotal information here. Three groups of listeners were used. Group 1 consisted of individuals who knew the talkers very well, Group 2, others who did not but who received at least two hours of training in recognizing their voices and Group 3, one that neither knew the speakers nor the language spoken (but who also were briefly trained). The talkers were 10 adult males who produced phrase-length samples under three speaking conditions; 1) normal speech, 2) speech uttered during shock-induced stress and 3) disguised speech. The listeners heard a recording of 60 samples of the 10 subjects presented randomly (each of the three speaking conditions included twice) and had to name each talker. The results are best understood by consideration of Figure 3.

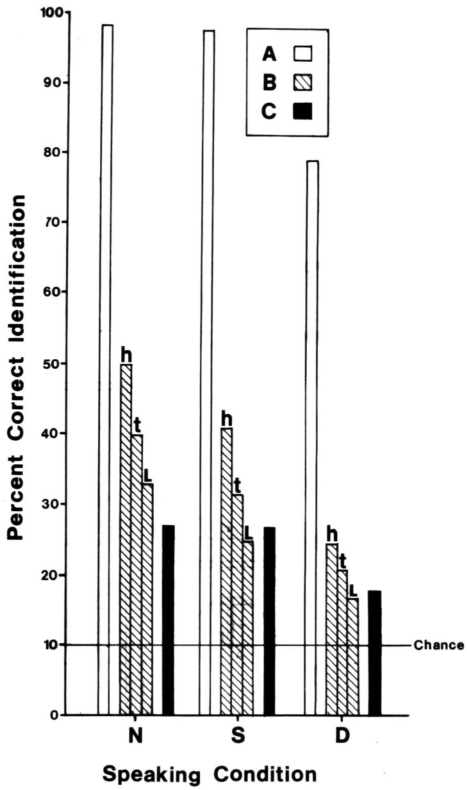

Figure 3: Speaker Identification (SI).

This figure provides data relative to the correct identification of 10 talkers speaking under three conditions: normal (N), stress (S), and disguise (D). Listener group **A** knew all of the talkers very well; groups **B** and **C** did not know the talkers but were trained to task; group **C** did not know English.

As may be seen, the accuracy of the listeners who knew the speakers approached 100% – and for both normal and stressed speech. Further, they could tell (about 80% accuracy) who the talker was even when disguise was attempted. The university students did not do as well, but their native processing abilities and the limited training they received, allowed them to succeed in correct identifications from double chance to four times better. Even a general population of non-English speaking Poles exceeded chance – and for all conditions. These data can be considered yet more impressive when it is remembered that the presentation procedure was extremely challenging. That is, all 60 samples were presented in a single trial and listeners had to rapidly identify the talker, find him on a list of names and, then, place a corresponding number on an answer form before the next sample was presented.

This, and many other studies, have led Forensic Phoneticians to develop structured aural-perceptual SI systems. One (see Figure 4) will be described here (Hollien 2002).

FORENSIC COMMUNICATION ASSOCIATES

Case Name: **FCA REF:**

Aural-perceptual Approach to Speaker Identification Score Sheet

0 = U-K least alike; 10 = U-K most alike

		SCORE	RANGE
1. **PITCH**			
a. Level	0 . . . . 5 10		
b. Variability	0 . . . . 5 10		
c. Patterns	0 . . . . 5 10		
2. **VOICE QUALITY**			
a. General	0 . . . . 5 10		
b. Vocal Fry	0 . . . . 5 10		
c. Other	0 . . . . 5 10		
3. **INTENSITY**			
a. Variability	0 . . . . 5 10		
4. **DIALECT**			
a. Regional	0 . . . . 5 10		
b. Foreign	0 . . . . 5 10		
c. Idiolect	0 . . . . 5 10		
5. **ARTICULATION**			
a. Vowels	0 . . . . 5 10		
b. Consonants	0 . . . . 5 10		
c. Misarticulations	0 . . . . 5 10		
d. Nasality	0 . . . . 5 10		
6. **PROSODY**			
a. Rate	0 . . . . 5 10		
b. Speech Bursts	0 . . . . 5 10		
c. Other	0 . . . . 5 10		
7. **OTHER**			
a. Nonfluencies	0 . . . . 5 10		
b. Speech Disorders	0 . . . . 5 10		
c. Other	0 . . . . 5 10		

MEAN ________

Figure 4: Response form for recording scores resulting from a structured aural-perceptual speaker identification evaluation.

In Figure 4, each parameter is rated on a continuum ranging from 0 (definitely two individuals) to 10 (production by a single person). The resulting scores are summed and converted to a percentage which, in turn, can be viewed as a confidence level estimate.

This SI system involves obtaining speech samples by the unknown speaker (evidence recording) and the known talker (exemplar) and placing them in pairs on good quality recordings. The pairs are played repeatedly and comparisons are made of one speech parameter at a time. Each characteristic (pitch patterns, for example) is evaluated continually until a judgment is made. The next parameter is then assessed and the process replicated until all possible comparisons have been completed. Subsequently, decisions are made and a confidence level generated. The entire process is repeated, independently and 1–2 more times.

If the overall range of the scores resulting from the cited procedure falls between 0 and 3, a match cannot be made and the samples probably were produced by two different people. If the scores fall between 7 and 10, a reasonably robust match is established. Scores between 4 and 6 are generally neutral. Incidentally, if foils are used and the mean scores polarize, the resulting confidence level is enhanced. Data are now available (Hollien 2002) about Phoneticians' abilities to make good AP-SI analyses. That is, if the task is highly structured and the auditors are well trained professionals.

Machine/Computer SI Approaches

The speaker recognition issue changes radically when efforts are made to apply modern technology to the problem. However, while it would appear that solutions are now easily possible, such is not the case. Further, most of the research effort here has gone into studying speaker verification (VI) not identification (SI). Worse yet, while some of the VI approaches are based on research (Hautamaki et al. 2010) many others (Beigi 2011) are not. Concern has been expressed about this problem (Campbell et al. 2009; Hollien/Majewski 2009).

So, where does one start with respect to computer processed SI? First, it is necessary to develop a procedure. Then, to *test* it. One of the more successful efforts here is the SAUSI (Semi-Automatic Speaker Identification) program being carried out at the University of Florida (Hollien 1990; 2002; Jiang 1995).

Our initial step was to identify and evaluate a number of parameters. It was discovered early on that traditional approaches to signal processing were inadequate, hence, speech features were adopted. This decision was supported by early experiments, the AP-SI research literature and the realization that humans use procedures of this type for everyday SI. Our research led to four vectors, each made up of a number of related parameters. They are speaking fundamental frequency or SFF (Jiang 1995; LaRiviera 1975; Wolf 1972), voice quality or LTS (Gelfer et al. 1989; Hollien/Majewski 1977; Jiang 1995), vowel formants or VFT (Jiang 1995; Kovoor et al. 2009; Wolf 1972) and temporal patterning (prosody) or TED (Gelfer et al. 1989; Jacewicz et al. 2010; Jiang 1995). A full description of them is available (Hollien 2002). Since no single SAUSI vector seemed to provide appropriately high levels of correct identification for all types of speech encountered, the four vectors were normalized, combined into a single unit and organized as a two-dimensional continuum or profile. This procedure also addressed the forensic limitations imposed on the identification task. That is, one referent, one test sample embedded in a field of competing samples in a procedure which employs forced matches (or non-matches) within a large population. After the profile is generated, the process is replicated several times. Figure 5 shows that the system correctly "picked" U and K as the same talker (they both were the same person).

Unknown Reference	C:\SAUSI\E3
Unknown Test	C:\SAUSI\E3
Known	C:\SAUSI\E3
Foil 1	C:\SAUSI\E3
Foil 2	C:\SAUSI\E3
Foil 3	C:\SAUSI\E3
Foil 4	C:\SAUSI\E3
Foil 5	C:\SAUSI\E3
Foil 6	C:\SAUSI\E3
Foil 7	C:\SAUSI\E3
Foil 8	C:\SAUSI\E3
Foil 9	C:\SAUSI\E3
Foil 10	C:\SAUSI\E3
Foil 11	C:\SAUSI\E3

	LTS	TED	SFF	VFT	SUM
Unknown test	1.0000	1.4818	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000
Known	1.5323	1.0000	1.2836	1.2292	1.1686
Foil 1	3.8862	7.8851	3.9469	2.6166	5.1448
Foil 2	6.1144	4.4177	9.5805	3.1202	6.6102
Foil 3	9.1714	5.4474	5.2633	3.4391	6.6367
Foil 4	9.0549	5.5074	10.0000	10.0000	10.0000
Foil 5	5.9006	3.4713	7.0671	2.0996	5.2058
Foil 6	6.1824	10.0000	9.5805	4.6620	8.7621
Foil 7	9.7969	3.5349	9.5805	3.6224	7.5982
Foil 8	7.6665	8.2456	7.4505	4.4635	7.9845
Foil 9	10.0000	5.4801	9.5805	4.7024	8.5640
Foil 10	8.6318	7.4416	5.8762	4.4418	7.5553
Foil 11	4.0598	4.7911	6.3774	2.7540	5.0393

Figure 5: Printout of Normalized SAUSI Data involving an unknown talker, a known talker and 11 controls (foils).

The final continuum usually consists of the data from 2–3 replications and includes a summation of all vectors. Hence, any decision made about identity is based on several million individual comparisons (factors, parameters, vectors, rotations).

A practical illustration of how this procedure works may be found in Figure 6.

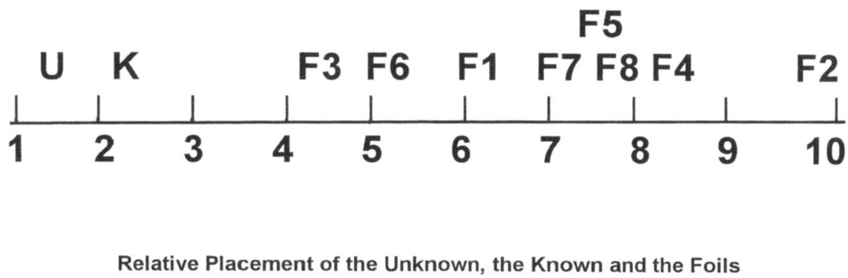

Figure 6: An example taken from a real-life investigation.

The evaluation here (a real life case) involved unknown (U) and known (K) talkers plus a number of foils (F). As can be seen, the unknown speaker (U) was found to place close to himself (a test of validity); so did the known talker (K) with the foils occupying in other parts of the continuum; hence, a match could be made. Case outcome provided (nonscientific) support for this judgment.

5 VOCAL BEHAVIORS

Many of the behaviors felt or exhibited by humans can be detected by analysis of that person's speech and voice. Included are 1) emotions (stress, anger, fear, contempt, sadness, depression, elation, happiness), 2) states induced by external conditions (ethanol intoxication, drugs), 3) certain intentional behaviors (deception, untruths, disguise, insolence, avoidance) and 4) health states (cold/flu, illness, fatigue). Indeed, there are too many of them to review here. Hence, a major issue from each of the first three categories will be described. Two are psychological stress and intoxication; a third – deception – also will be considered but more within the context of commercial devices.

Stress

Stress is a condition that denotes a negative psychological emotion. A definition: It is a psychological state which results from a response to a perceived threat and is accompanied by the specific emotions of fear and/or anxiety (Hicks/Hollien 1981; Lazarus 1993; Scherer 1981). Further, it has been shown that listeners can accurately identify stress from speech samples alone (Scherer 1981). How do they do this? First, increases in pitch or speaking fundamental frequency appear to correlate with stress increments. Second, frequency variability can do so also even though it is a less robust predictor. Third, vocal intensity is another acoustic parameter that correlates with psychological stress and, while the data here are a little "mixed", the best evidence is that it tends to increase with stress in most people. A fourth relationship is that of a temporal pattern based on speech bursts – they are reduced when the speaker is stressed. Finally, an important recent finding is that increases in speaker nonfluencies also appear to correlate with stress increments. It is on these bases that a predictive model of the vocal correlates of stress was developed; it may be found in Figure 7.

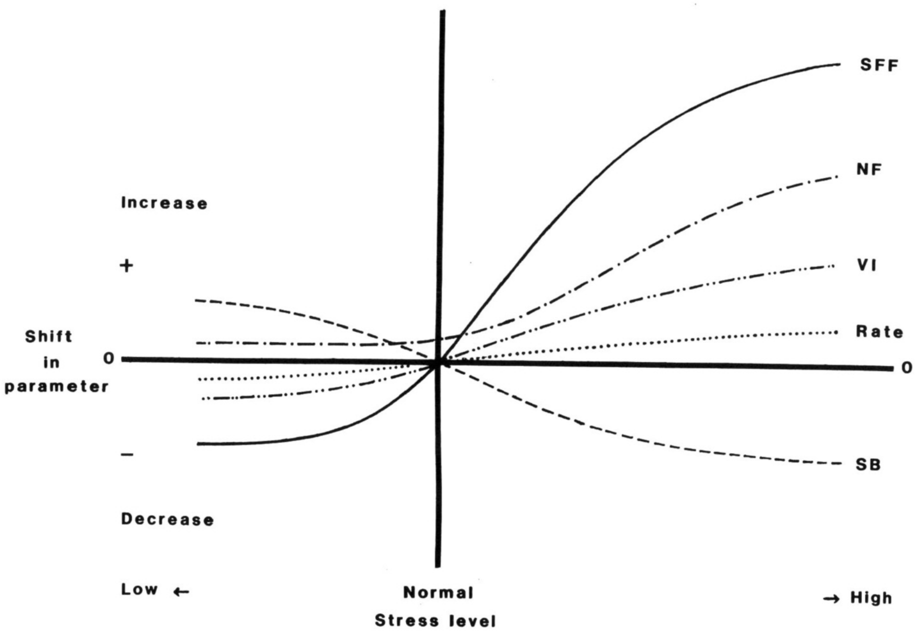

Figure 7: Model of the most common shifts in the voice and speech of individuals who are experiencing psychological stress.

In Figure 7, **SFF** is speaking fundamental frequency, **NF** is nonfluencies, **VI** is vocal intensity, and **SB** refers to the number of speech bursts per unit of time. As may be seen, changes occur for all the listed elements. Nonetheless, it should be noted that information of this type will be of greatest value when it can be contrasted with reference profiles for a person's normal speech.

Alcohol-Speech Relationships

Almost anyone who is asked to do so probably will describe the speech of an inebriated talker as "slurred", "misarticulated", or "confused". But, what are its actual correlates? Is it possible to determine a person's sobriety solely from analysis of his or her speech?

The basic rationale for an intoxication-speech interface has been established. A review of the general intoxication biometrics would appear relevant here as it will provide a foundation for understanding the speech-alcohol relationships that follow. First, it has been demonstrated that the consumption of even moderate amounts of alcohol can result in impaired cognitive function (Arbuckle et al. 1994; Hindermarch et al. 1991) as well as reduced sensory motor performance (Abrams et al. 2004; Hill et al. 1990). Since the speech act represents the output of a number of high level integrated systems (sensory, cognitive, motor), it is legitimate to assume that this process also is susceptible to the influence of extraneous factors such as alcohol consumption (Goldstein 1992; Walgren/Barry 1970).

Prior to the work of the present author, the relationships between speech and intoxication appeared to be that: 1) speaking fundamental frequency (SFF) level was often lowered and SFF variability sometimes increased, 2) speaking rate was reduced, 3) the number and length of speech pauses often increased and 4) speaking intensity levels sometimes were lowered (Chin/Pisoni 1996; Pisoni/Martin 1989). Again, however, virtually all of these alcohol-speech relationships were quite variable. One group of investigators (Klingholz et al. 1988) attempted to account for the inconsistencies found in the literature by arguing that they resulted from inadequate and/or differing research designs. This group also observed that variation probably was due to nonobjective measurements of blood alcohol level (BAL), excessively high BAL, the use of too few (intoxicated) subjects and/or use of analyses which were only qualitative. While most of their observations undoubtedly were correct, they did not include all of the problems found in the research they reviewed. Specifically, but few of the investigators they cited controlled for drinking habits, intoxication level, increasing vs. decreasing BAL, effort, or comparisons of sober vs. intoxicated speech.

An extensive program of research was conducted at the University of Florida and a number of reports have been published (examples: Hollien et al. 2001; 2009). Since other behavioral states (stress, fatigue, emotions) could have complicated attempts to determine intoxication level from speech analysis, the investigators here structured new and innovative protocol. They were designed to induce acute alcohol intoxication under highly controlled conditions. Subjects were administered doses of 80-proof liquor mixed with both a soft drink and Gatorade while drinking at their own pace. Breath concentration levels (BrAC) were measured at 10–15 minute intervals. This approach was efficient with nausea and discomfort sharply reduced; it also permitted serial measurements which, in turn, allowed intoxication level to be accurately tracked (cf. Figure 8).

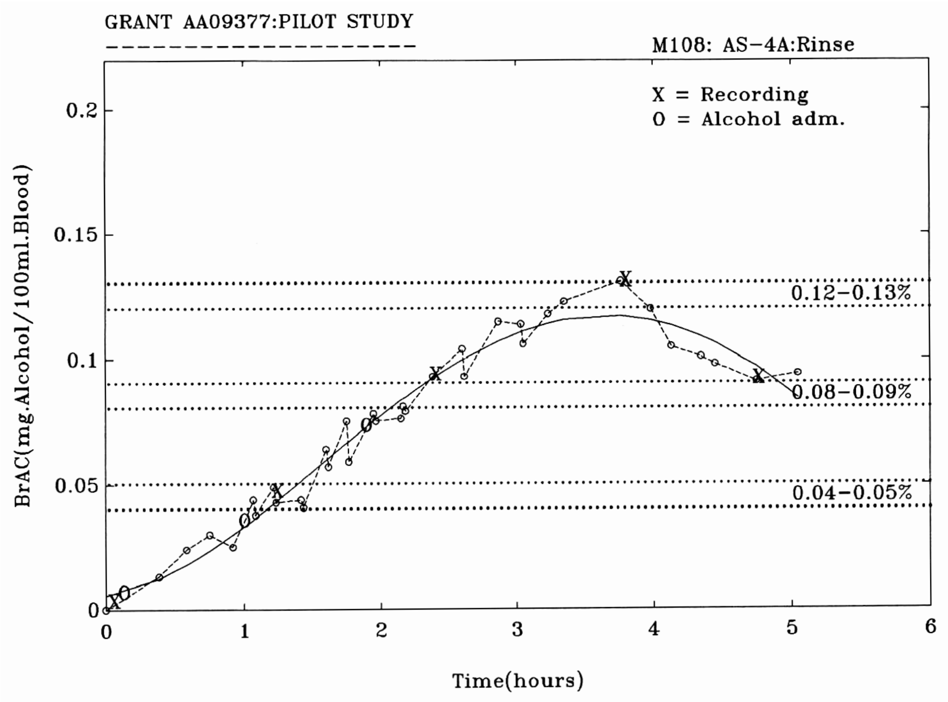

Figure 8: Changes in intoxication level as a function of ingesting alcohol.

The curve demonstrates a subject's progress relative to increasing and decreasing levels of intoxication from the beginning to the completion of the experimental portion of a trial. The speech samples were recorded when the speaker was in each of the desired "windows".

Hence, large drinker-class groups were studied with subjects participating in all procedures related to their experiment; i. e., data were taken serially at sober-to-severely intoxicated "windows".

Subjects were carefully selected on the basis of 27 behavioral and medical criteria. After training, they were required to produce four types of speech at each intoxication level: 1) oral reading and an extemporaneous passage, 2) responses to articulation and diadochokinetic tests. The many experiments completed included auditory processing by listeners (drunk-sober, intoxication level, etc.), acoustic analysis of the signal, and various classification/sorting (behavioral) tests. A large base population, plus actors and binge drinkers were studied.

A number of relationships emerged (Hollien et al. 2001; 2009). Auditors tended to overestimate speaker impairment for individuals who were only mildly (to moderately) intoxicated and, then, underestimate the involvement level of the severely intoxicated (Figure 9).

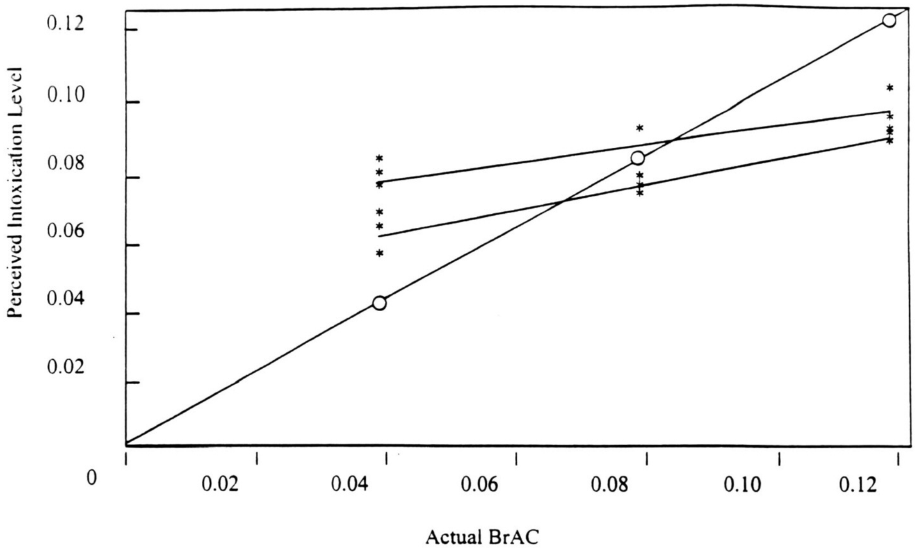

Figure 9: Perceived intoxication level contrasted to the physiologically measured levels (45 degree line with circles) from sober to severely intoxicated (BrAC 0.00 to 0.12). Four studies are combined for the top set (35 talkers, 85 listeners) and two for the lower (36 talkers, 52 listeners). Second, it appears possible to accurately mimic rather severe levels of intoxication by speakers who actually were sober and, conversely, to reduce the percept of intoxication if inebriated individuals attempt to sound sober. Moreover, there appeared to be only minor gender differences and few-to-none for drinking level (light, moderate, heavy). The voice shifts somewhat paralleled those for stress; that is excepting those for vocal intensity. More important, it was found that, as intoxication increases, speaking fundamental frequency (heard pitch) is raised, *not lowered* and speech is slowed. Finally, (as expected) a very high correlation was found between nonfluencies and intoxication level.

Deception

Relatively few of the experiments carried out in this area have been on basic speech-deception relationships; most have focused on assessing "truth machines". While some relationships have been established (Anolli/Ciceri 1997), this area is not well developed – a condition primarily due to the lack of support for basic research but, especially, because it has been dramatically overshadowed by the controversy about the voice stress/lie detecting devices. At present, a number of such devices exist (i. e., VSA, PSE, CVSA, LVA). In all cases, their manufacturers claim that they can detect stress and lying by their analysis of a subject's voice. Of course, if these devices actually were able to detect when a person was lying, they would be of inestimable value to legal, law enforcement, and intelligence agencies – as well as to all of us! For example, consider what would happen if it were possible to determine the beliefs and intent of politicians simply from hearing them speak. Moreover, there would be no need for trials by jury as the guilt or innocence of anyone accused of a crime could be determined by simply asking them: "Did you do it?"

But, to qualify as a "lie response", the observed behavior would have to be validly measurable and every person would have to exhibit that particular response whenever they lied. In this regard, it was Lykken (1981) who seems to have best articulated the key concept here. He argues that, if lies are to be detected, there has to be some sort of a "lie response", – a measurable physiological or psychological event which always occurs when a person lies. Lykken correctly suggested that, "until a lie response has been identified and its validity and reliability have been established, no one can claim to be able to measure, detect and/or identify falsehoods on anything remotely approaching an absolute level."

But, upon what criteria or theories are the cited "voice analyzers" based? Unfortunately, it is almost impossible to answer this question as their maker's explanations are almost always quite vague. Some indicate that their devices access the micro-tremors in the laryngeal muscles. Such micro-tremors do exist in the body's long muscles (Lippold 1971) but data confirm that they do not exist in the larynx (Shipp/Izdebski 1981) and, even if they did, that they would not affect the actions of the complexly interacting respiratory, laryngeal and vocal tract motor units during speech. Other manufacturers (i. e., LVA) claim that they use an individual's thoughts or intent as their foundation – and nearly all of them appear to rely on the presence of stress. But, is stress somehow equivalent to lying in the first place? A myriad of such questions can be asked but, at present, the manufacturers offer no explanations or valid support for their claims. Furthermore, of the scores of studies (examples: Hollien et al. 1987; Horvath 1982) that have been carried out by independent investigators, nearly all refute the claims of validity.

By 2000, many professionals believed that, since the "voice analyzers" had been discredited they would disappear. Unfortunately, that was not true. At least two devices: the National Institute for Truth Verification's (NITV) Computer Voice Stress Analyzer (CVSA) and Nemesysco's Layered Voice Analyzer (LVA) were being sold in even greater numbers than previously. Thus, since neither had been the subject of extensive and comprehensive, but fair, assessment, it appeared timely to do just that. Accordingly, The U.S. Dept. of Defense requested the present author, and his associates, to test the ability of both the CVSA and LVA to identify people when they were 1) speaking the truth, 2) telling a falsehood at high jeopardy, 3) talking while highly stressed and 4) producing unstressed speech (plus combinations of these and other types of speech). Both systems were tested in large double-blind laboratory experiments which, in no instance, permitted the examiners to directly observe the on-scene events or the human subjects who were providing the speech materials. It was only through the use of these controlled approaches that their characteristics could be rigorously evaluated.

It also should be noted that these experiments were designed to compensate for prior criticism of research on products of this type. Thus, in this case, speech samples were recorded by subjects who systematically varied normal utterances plus intensely deceptive and stressed speech. To do so, they had to hold very strong views about an issue and were required to make sharply derogatory statements about them while believing that they would be observed doing so by colleagues and friends. The stress levels (further enhanced by the addition of electric shock) were externally measured for all subjects to ensure that the deception was produced at very high levels of jeopardy. Each system was then evaluated – using a double blind protocol – by 1) a UF team trained/certified by NITV – and later, by the LVA school. A second set of teams also provided data. One was a group of three senior CVSA personnel provided by NITV and, for LVA, a pair of their senior instructors. All evaluators worked at their own pace.

The analysis results for the sets of 300 samples each were subjected to a variety of statistical procedures. All were negative with the most telling being the sensitivity measures of d' (d prime). Here, as with all others, none of the results – see Figure 10 – can be seen to even *approach* significance (i. e., the +1.00 level).

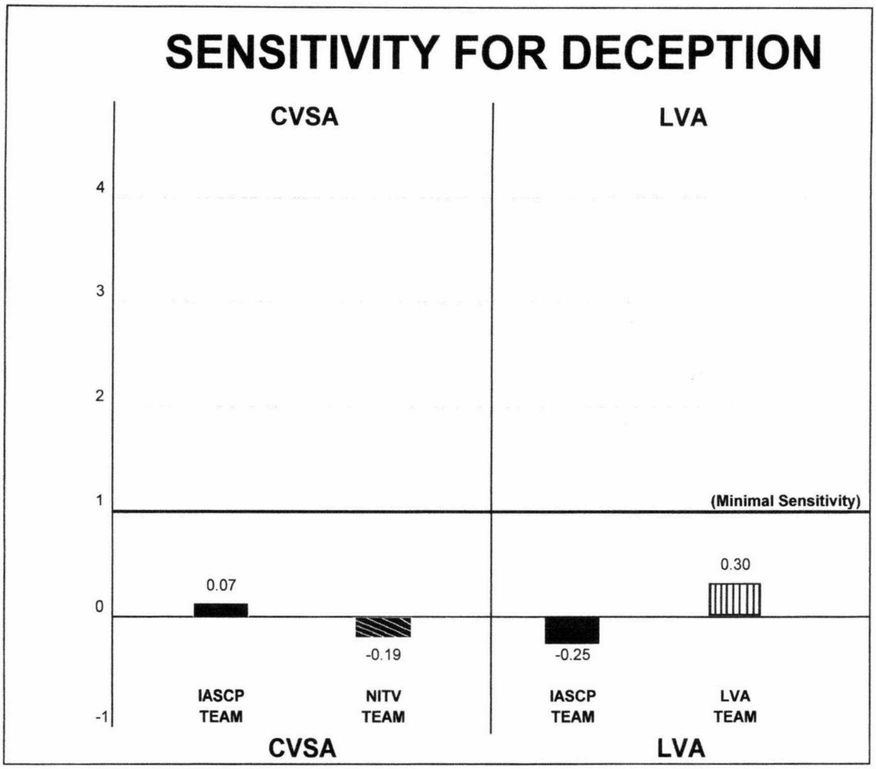

Figure 10: Sensitivity measures (d') for the two devices studied (CVSA on left and LVA on right).

In Figure 10, one assessment team (IASCP, UF) was staffed by the same two scientists; the other two teams (CVSA; LVA) were provided by the respective manufacturers. Note that all scores are well below the cutoff for *minimal* sensitivity, meaning that the devices performed only at chance levels.

These data held for all procedures, systems and teams (Harnsberger et al. 2009; Hollien et al. 2008). Other research (Damphousse et al. 2007), plus our field studies (Hollien/Harnsberger 2006), confirmed these findings. In short, it is clear that the CVSA and the LVA devices were not able to detect deception or stress; indeed, both operated only at chance levels. To conclude: the only approach practitioners can use to identify deception in speech is to employ those vectors that have been generated from *basic research*.

PROLOGUE

The discussions found in this chapter attempt to provide descriptions of the burgeoning discipline of Forensic Phonetics. As you know, you have discovered which topics clearly fall within its scope; they are: 1) the enhancement and decoding of speech on audio recordings, 2) their authentication, 3) speaker identification and 4) the detection of a number of behavioral states from voice/speech. Rapid future progress is expected.

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Abstract

ABOUT FORENSIC PHONETICS

This article sets forth the goals and content of Forensic Phonetics and its *major* elements. Considered are 1) the processing and analysis of spoken utterances, 2) enhancement of speech intelligibility (re: surveillance and other recordings), 3) authentication of recordings, 4) speaker identification, and 5) detection of deception, intoxication, and emotions in speech. Stress in speech, and the psychological stress evaluation systems that some individuals attempt to use as lie detectors also will be considered.

Keywords: forensic phonetics, speaker identification, detection of deception, emotions in speech.

Povzetek
FORENZIČNA FONETIKA

Prispevek opredeljuje cilje in vsebino forenzične fonetike in njenih ključnih komponent. To pomeni, da obravnava postopke 1) obdelave in analize govornih izjav, 2) izboljševanja razumljivosti govora na zvočnih posnetkih, 3) preverjanja pristnosti zvočnih posnetkov, 4) identifikacije govorcev ter 5) ugotavljanja prevar, intoksikacije in čustev v govoru. Navaja tudi različne evalvacijske sisteme za ugotavljanje stresa v govoru, ki jih ponekod uporabljajo za detektiranje laži v govoru.

Ključne besede: forenzična fonetika, identifikacija govorcev, laž v govoru, čustva v govoru.

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PROCESSABILITY THEORY AND PEDAGOGICAL PROGRESSION IN AN ITALIAN TEXTBOOK

1 INTRODUCTION

Second language acquisition (= SLA) research has the potential to contribute a great deal to the pedagogical question of how language instruction should be organized to fit best the learner's actual capacities and needs. In order to fully exploit this potential, we need to understand how the knowledge of a language develops from very basic knowledge to intermediate and high knowledge. This understanding will enable us to focus our attention on the learner's level of ability and to optimize teaching methods and syllabi. Furthermore, since language instruction is often based on a textbook, a better understanding of language acquisition will have substantial effects on textbook design.

This paper attempts to contribute to the abovementioned field of SLA research. As such it is grounded in Processability Theory (= PT; Pienemann 1998; 2005), whose declared objective is to determine the developmental sequences of procedural skills in learners.

In the underlying empirical research, I analyse the grammatical structures and their progression in an Italian-language textbook for beginners (Brambilla/Crotti/Von Albertini 2003) and compare the findings then to the speaking ability of learners who have been taught using that textbook to cross-check the degree of correspondence between what is taught following the textbook and what is actually learned. If – as PT predicts – learners can only acquire structures belonging to the stage immediately following the stage they have already achieved, it is questionable whether it makes sense to focus on structures of higher stages during the learning process. I am therefore convinced that such research should be promoted and that its findings should be considered crucial for syllabus and for textbook design as well.

To start, in section 2 some information about the theoretical background of this research is given. Section 3 then moves to present the data and to explain the methodology. In section 4 the data is analysed, whereas in section 5 the results of the analysis are shown. Section 6 then provides some discussion and concluding remarks.

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2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND – PROCESSABILITY THEORY

The present research is grounded in Processability Theory (= PT; Pienemann 1998; 2005). PT in turn mainly draws on two theories, (1) Levelt's *Theory of Speaking* (Levelt 1989; 1998) to account for how knowledge is accessed and processed for output, and (2) Bresnan's *Lexical Functional Grammar* (Bresnan 1982; 2001) to describe interlanguage knowledge.

Pienemann himself assumes that learners can only acquire forms which they can process, and he predicts that "in the acquisition of language processing procedures, the assembly of the component parts will follow an implicational sequence" (Pienemann 1998: 6). This means that language acquisition develops in stages, with structures of larger volume and greater complexity requiring a greater exchange of information and longer storage before exchange. So, higher stages entail an increase in processing demands. The stages vary slightly from language to language.

2.1 Stages of acquisition for Italian L2

Di Biase/Bettoni (2007) develop a table which illustrates the stages of acquisition for Italian as an L2. This table (see below, Di Biase/Bettoni 2007: 212) is based on longitudinal studies of children in primary schools with L2-programs (Di Biase 2002):

	procedure	**information exchange**	**morphosyntax**	**examples**
stage 5	S-bar procedure	interclausal	main clause and subordinate clause with subjunctive	d'accordo, Tommasino, purché le mangi dopo*
stage 4	S-procedure	interphrasal	agreement between subj & predicative adjective	le mele sono buone
			agreement between subj & VP	i orsi mangiano le mele
stage 3	phrasal procedure	phrasal	agreement within VP	sono buoni
			agreement within NP	tutti buoni
stage 2	categorial procedure	none	person marking on V	mangia – mangi
			past tense marking on V	mangia – mangiato
			plural marking on N	bambino – bambini
stage 1	word/lemma	none	single words and chunks	Io mi chiamo Thomas; bambino, mela
*non authentic example				

Figure 1: Stages of acquisition for Italian L2 (translated Zipser).

The first procedure acquired is that of lexical access. Lexical items are retrieved from the mental lexicon in response to conceptual content. At this stage, the items are simply juxtaposed, no information is exchanged between them. In the right column some examples are given: simple words such as *bambino* ('child'), *mela* ('apple') ... and unanalyzed chunks such as *Io mi chiamo Thomas* ('My name is Thomas').

At stage 2, words are added to the target lexicon, and their grammatical category is assigned. At this level, learners of Italian are able to build plural forms regardless of the noun's gender, i.e., to form *bambino – bambini* ('child' – 'children'), to form the past participle, i.e., *mangiare – mangiato* ('eat' – 'eaten') and to mark the person on the verb *mangio*, *mangi* ('I eat', 'you eat'), etc.

Stage 3 enables phrasal exchange, which means that from this stage on there is agreement within nominal and verbal phrases, e.g., *tutti buoni* ('all good'), *sono buoni* ('they are good').

Stage 4 shows evidence for interphrasal agreement (i.e., agreement between different phrases). Ergo a learner at this stage can implement agreement between subject and predicate, e.g., *i orsi mangiano le mele* ('The bears eat the apples') and between subject and predicative adjective, e.g., *Le mele sono buone* ('The apples are good'). (NB: Agreement between subject and predicate does not provide clear proof for interphrasal agreement. Plural marking on the verb could also be explained by a categorial procedure which is already possible at stage 2. (see also Di Biase/Bettoni 2007: 214)).

At stage 5 (the highest stage of acquisition for Italian) interclausal agreement between a principal clause and a subordinate clause containing subjunctive is found.

3 DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Data was collected by analysing the grammatical structures in an Italian textbook for beginners and by eliciting oral speech production in learners of Italian as an L2.

Firstly, *Buongiorno! Neu. Italienisch für Anfänger* (Brambilla/Crotti/Von Albertini 2003) – used in many Austrian secondary schools as well as in adult education – was selected for textbook analysis. It emphasises the communicative aspect of language and the importance of perceiving language in its specific cultural context. By the end of a course based on this book, students should have reached A2 level according to the *Common European Framework of Reference* (= CEFR), which means that they should be able to cope successfully with everyday situations. Succeeding in this requires a certain vocabulary and certain grammatical structures, which are introduced in the textbook according to the communicative needs.

Secondly, some speech performance of Austrian L2 learners of Italian (aged between 19 and 35 and attending an evening school for business) was elicited for oral speech analysis. At the time of the data elicitation the first 10 units (out of 17) had been covered in class. Students were interviewed at the beginning of their third semester, at which point they had had two semesters of Italian with three 45-minute lessons per week (i.e., 90 hours of instruction received).

The empirical study was organized as follows: First, the morphosyntactic structures of the textbook (Brambilla/Crotti/Von Albertini 2003) on which the learner's attention is focused during a course were surveyed. The structures actually counted were those found in the grammar section of the appendix of the book, i.e., the structure to be explicitly taught per unit (Brambilla/Crotti/Von Albertini 2003: 164–208). It was analysed at which stage – according to PT – the different morphosyntactic structures can be acquired and if these structures are arranged gradually in the textbook. The spontaneous oral production of L2–learners of Italian whose Italian course was based on the book was analysed in parallel in order to see which stages of acquisition their productions fall into.

4 ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

4.1 Textbook – data

The aim of the textbook analysis was to see which stage of acquisition is required to actively build and use the several structures of the textbook which were explicitly presented to be taught. For this part of the study, all morphosyntactic structures of the grammar section were considered (Brambilla/Crotti/Von Albertini 2003: 164–208).

The following examples are some of the sentences found:

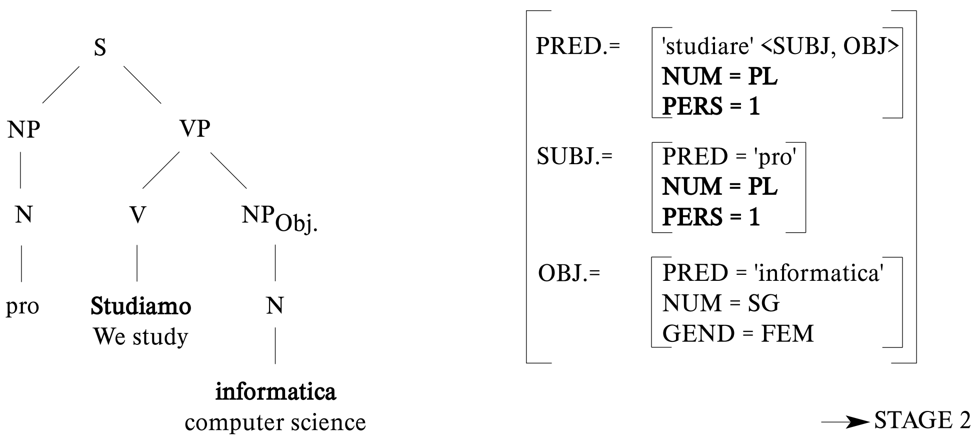

Figure 2: c-structure and f-structure for *Studiamo informatica*.

The constituent structure of this sentence (c-structure) contains the lexical categories verb and noun, but does not contain any functional category. The verb and the noun merge and create the verbal phrase. The functional structure (f-structure) contains the predicate *studiamo* ('we study'), a transitive verb in first person plural, and the direct object *informatica* ('computer science'). To produce this structure, it is necessary to mark the verb with the suffix *-iamo* which contains the information both for first person and plural in the pro-drop language Italian. According to Di Biase/Bettoni 2007 learners are able to implement such utterances at stage 2.

A higher stage of acquisition is necessary to produce the sentence *Fuma troppe sigarette*.

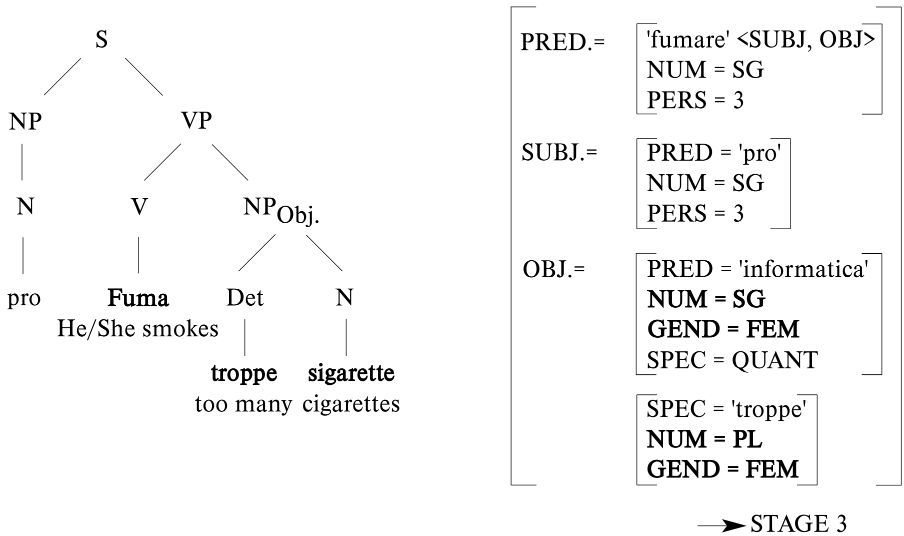

Figure 3: c-structure and f-structure for *Fuma troppe sigarette*.

The c-structure of this sentence contains the lexical categories verb and noun and the functional category determiner. The determiner and the noun merge to form the nominal phrase. The nominal phrase represents the direct object, since *fumare* ('smoke') is a transitive verb. The f-structure shows exactly this; it shows that the predicate *fuma* ('smoke') is third person singular and transitive and that its object is represented by *troppe sigarette* ('too many cigarettes'), a noun specified by a quantifier. To implement this structure (*troppe sigarette*), the feminine value of the gender feature and the plural value of the number feature must be stored, checked and exchanged.

The next sentence is an example for stage 4.

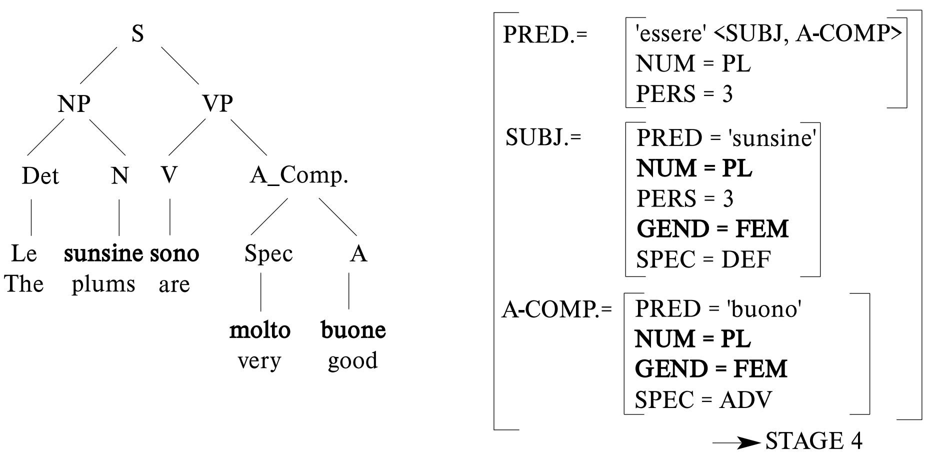

Figure 4: c-structure and f-structure for *Le susine sono molto buone*.

This sentence is composed of the nominal phrase *le susine* (‘the plums’) and a verbal phrase *sono molto buone* (‘are very good’). Its c-structure contains the lexical categories noun, verb, adverb and adjective and the functional category determiner. The determiner *le* (‘the’) and the noun *susine* (‘plums’) merge to form the nominal phrase. The adjective complement composed of the adverb *molto* (‘very’) and the adjective *buone* (‘good’) fuses with the verb *sono* (‘are’) to build the verbal phrase. Subject, predicate and adjective complement characterize the f-structure of this sentence. As the values of the number feature (plural), the person feature (third person) and the gender feature (feminine) show, there is information exchange between the subject *le susine* (‘the plums’) and the subject complement *sono molto buone* (‘are very good’). Actually there is agreement between the two elements *susine* (f. Pl.) and *buone* (f. Pl.) in gender (f.) and number (Pl.). Since the production requires interphrasal exchange learners must have reached stage 4 to formulate such an utterance.

Stage 5 is reached when learners are able to produce structures containing principal clause and subordinate clause with subjunctive (Di Biase/Bettoni 2007). However, although the sentence I will present next does not contain a subjunctive, it is rather complex and seems to require a stage higher than 4.

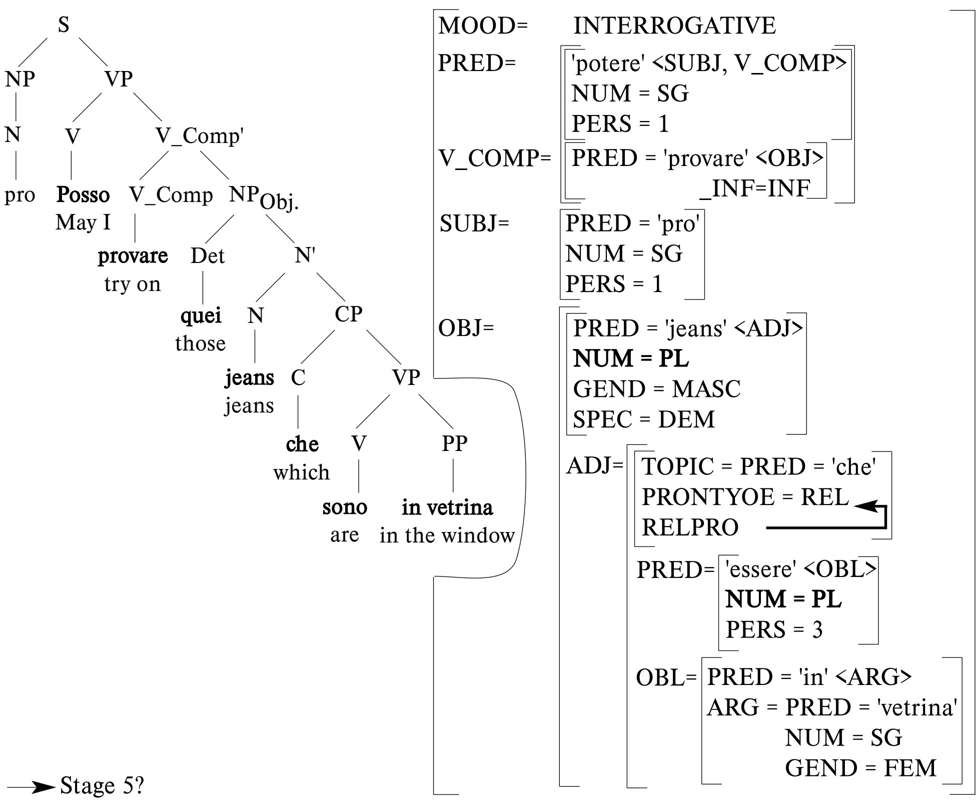

Figure 5: c-structure and f-structure for *Posso provare quei jeans che sono in vetrina?*

This interrogative clause, besides the fact that there is a verbal complement depending on the main verb *posso* ('may'), contains another particularity. It contains a relative clause introduced by the pronoun *che* ('which'). Its c-structure shows that the verbal phrase contains a verb and a verbal complement and that the infinitive *provare* ('try on') c-commands the phrase *quei jeans che sono in vetrina* ('those jeans which are in the window'). Within its nominal phrase the noun *jeans* ('jeans') is specified by a complementizer phrase. The f-structure of this sentence contains a predicate and a direct object. The direct object is represented by a noun specified by a demonstrative pronoun and an adjunct. The adjunct itself is represented by the relative pronoun *che* ('which'), the predicate *sono* ('are') and the oblique *in vetrina* ('in the window'), which can be separated into preposition and noun. Uttering this interrogative clause requires unification between the main clause's direct object *quei jeans* ('those jeans') and the verbal phrase of the subordinate clause. The learner must store the value of the number feature in *jeans* ('jeans'), the main phrase's direct object, and check it against that of *sono* ('are'), the subordinate clause's predicate. This means that not only the ability to store and exchange information within the phrase but also interclausal information exchange is required. The information exchange takes place between the main and the relative clause. The fact that the production of relative clauses is rather difficult for L1 learners has already been shown by an empirical study done by Guasti/Cardinaletti in 2003: For Romance languages they assume that "children learn relative pronouns and thus pied-piping relatives only during school years, through explicit teaching" (Guasti/Cardinaletti 2003: 47).

In the following, the total distribution of structures requiring the stages 1 to 5 is revealed by a quantitative analysis of the grammar section. The development of structures requiring the various stages is shown in percentages in the following diagram.

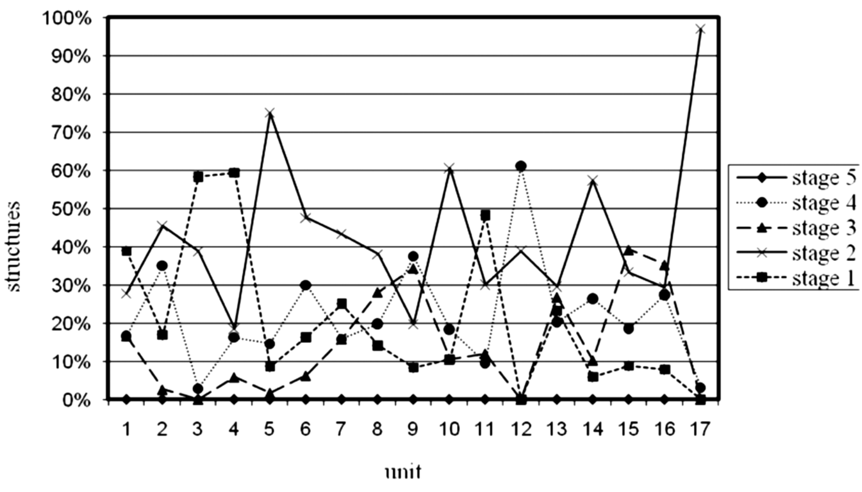

Figure 6: Stages in *Buongiorno! neu* (unit 1–17)

The x-axis depicts the units of the book from 1 to 17 whereas the y-axis displays the percentage distribution of structures requiring stage 1 to stage 5 for each unit. Thus the diagram as a whole shows the progression of the five stages (stage 1 to 5) from unit 1 to 17. The highest percentage for stage 1 is reached in unit 4: 60% of all structures of this unit require stage 1, i.e., more than the half of the target structures of these lectures are just words to be learnt as for example numbers, day names and month names, etc. There is a rather low percentage for stage 2 in the first units, while in unit 5, 10 and 14 more than 50% of the structures require this stage. The highest percentage of structures requiring stage 3 is located in unit 9, 15 and 16, while there are hardly any such structures in units 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 12. Most structures requiring stage 4 are located in 2, 6, 9 and 12. The book contains none of the structures that are usually considered to be at stage five. (It does, however, contain some sentences with relative clauses: By analysing the interrogative clause *Posso provare quei jeans che sono in vetrina?* I tried to show that producing this kind of structure seems to require a stage higher than 4, since not only interphrasal information exchange but also interclausal information exchange must take place. Although there are no empirical results to prove this hypothesis and further research is needed, relative clauses seem to be difficult – even for L1 learners.) All in all, it is noteworthy that the distribution of structures requiring stage 1 to 5 is rather random. Nevertheless, most structures of the first eight units require only stage 1 to 3.

The pie chart below gives an idea of the percentage distribution of structures requiring stage 1 to 5 in *Buongiorno! Neu* and demonstrates their total percentages:

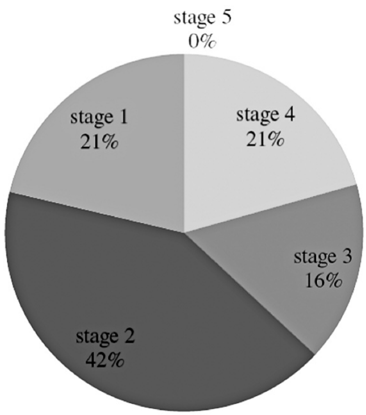

Figure 7: Percentage of stage 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in unit 1–17.

As can be seen, 21% of all structures require stage 1; 42% require stage 2; 16% require stage 3 and 21% require stage 4.

4.2 Oral speech production

With this we come to the second part of data analysis of this study, the analysis of oral speech production. Oral speech production was elicited by two picture stories

(*Frog, where are you?* [Mayer 1969] and a picture story in which the daily routine of an Italian woman is shown).

The tables below exemplarily show the results of my analysis of the oral production of four students. The resulting raw frequency counts have been interpreted on the basis of the emergence criterion for acquisition: According to e.g., Di Biase (1999) there is enough evidence for a stage to be acquired if a learner applies a rule in 3 out of 4 produced contexts (→ 75%). For instance, student 1 seems to have reached stage 3 as he was able to apply rules of stage 3 level with a rate of 86%. The second diagram shows the results for student 1 in a more detailed way: As can be observed, he had difficulty marking the person on the verb.

		student 1	**student 2**	**student 3**	**student 4**
stage 5	inter-clausal	/	/	/	/
stage 4	interphrasal processes	(+/-)	+*	+	+*
stage 3	phrasal processes	+	(+/-)	+	(+/-)
stage 2	lexical processes	+	(+/-)	+	(+/-)
stage 1	words (undifferentiated)	+	+	+	+

Table 1: Global results for student 1, 2, 3 and 4.

/no evidence, i.e. no linguistic contexts
- context is produced but rule is not applied
(+) insufficient evidence of rule application, or formulaic use only, or echo effect
(+/-) various contexts are produced with non-application and occasional, insufficient, evidence of application
+ sufficient evidence, i.e. evidence for rule application in the presence of contexts
+* NB: structures showing agreement between subject & predicative adjective were considered as were structures containing a subject and a predicate. The latter are no clear proof for interphrasal agreement as the marking on the verb could also be motivated by a categorical procedure (stage 2).

	morphosyntax	**total**
stage 5	main clause & subordinate clause with subjunctive	/
stage 4	agreement between subj. & predicative adjective	/
	agreement between subj. & VP	(+/-)
stage 3	agreement within VP	(+)
	agreement within NP	+
stage 2	person marking on V	(+/-)
	past tense marking on V	+
	plural marking on N	+
stage 1	word/lemma	+

Table 2: Detailed results for student 1.

For each learner and structure, a '+' marks structures which have been acquired according to the emergence criterion of PT (rule applied in 3 out of 4 cases, → 75%): there were linguistic contexts and sufficient evidence for rule application. A '/' means that there were no linguistic contexts for the application of the rule, i.e. there was no evidence. A '(+)' marks insufficient evidence for rule application, formulaic use or echo effect, while '(+/-)' means that there were various contexts produced with non-application and occasional insufficient evidence of application. It seems peculiar that student 2 and 4 were able to produce structures requiring stage 4 while they were not able to properly apply the rules associated with stage 2 and 3. This might be justified by the rather small amount of data. However, it has to be clarified that most stage 4 structures they produced are of the type 'subject - verb – object' with agreement between subject and verb, whereas the students produced hardly any stage 4 structures requiring agreement between subject and predicative adjective. This raises the question whether the criterion of rule application with a rate of 75% is enough to guarantee that a stage is acquired or whether data should show sufficient evidence for application of all corresponding rules. Structures with agreement between subject and verb do not clearly prove interphrasal exchange: the marking on the verb could also be motivated categorically as was already stated in chapter 2.1. If there was a distinction between structures with subject-verb agreement and structures with agreement between subject and predicative adjective, then student 2 and 4 would have obtained the emergence criterion for one type of stage 4 structures but they would not have reached it for the other one. In any case, it can be shown that they produce structures requiring stage 2 and 3 even if various contexts are produced with non-application and occasional insufficient evidence of application.

5 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of this study provide strong evidence in support of the notion that there is a specific sequential development in the acquisition of Italian morphosyntax. As shown, not all structures are sufficiently attested. This does not falsify the hypothesised sequential development but might be caused at least in part by the relatively small amount of data. The briefly mentioned difficulty with structure 4 could probably be resolved by distinguishing between two different subtypes, but this requires further research. Furthermore, it must be explained why the students are not as good as we might suggest in formulating stage 2 and stage 3 structures. It is possible that the implicational scale for Italian must be reviewed and probably be modified further.

One question of interest which in any case remains is whether the content of textbooks should be arranged according to the natural sequence of interlanguage development. The analysis of the textbook in question demonstrated that it is not sequenced according to the natural sequence of interlanguage development, but that the distribution of structures is rather random. Furthermore, the analysis showed that there is hardly any distinction between input, intake and learning objectives, as students are expected to produce an output that is similar to their input. The obtained data demonstrates also that students are not able to process grammatical structures that rank high in the Processability hierarchy. This is because the necessary prerequisites to process these structures are not available right at the beginning of their acquisition process. In keeping with Processability Theory, this means that although the students might well be able to reproduce structures from higher levels as rote-learned formulae, they cannot use them productively in different contexts.

Before I actually conclude, let me briefly mention a further difficulty in class. Besides the fact that a learner is ready only to acquire structures from the next stage ('Teachability Hypothesis', see Pienemann 1984; 1988; 1998: 250), (1) every single learner is an individual and favors different learning methods and (2) a group of students will always be heterogeneous, as the rate of acquisition is individual (see e.g., Lightbown 2000). This causes a further difficulty in language teaching, since a teacher has to take every student's individual readiness and every student's needs into account. A qualitative textbook should therefore support teachers in catering to the heterogeneous needs of students in their class and equip them with appropriate exercises and tasks.

6 CONCLUSION

Most learners in a classroom environment are taught a language on the basis of a textbook, which normally provides a guideline for them and their teachers. Designing and writing textbooks is hard work, and it is equally difficult to choose the book which best fits the learners' needs and engages their interest. Learners will achieve best results if motivated, but no matter how motivated they are, they will not be able to acquire grammatical structures ranking high in the Processability hierarchy at all times. In order to prevent frustration and disappointment in teachers and to support and foster learners in the best possible way, it is important to understand the process of language learning.

It is therefore reasoned that since natural input will always contain structures that fall into the next-higher stage for each individual student, instruction need not be sequenced. Nonetheless, teachers should distinguish between input, intake and expected output, i.e., learning objectives. They cannot expect students to produce all types of structures they use at all times. The same is valid for textbook design. In every single unit of every textbook there will be acquirable structures for each individual learner, but no learner will automatically acquire and be capable of actively using a structure upon seeing it presented for the first time. Therefore textbook authors and publishers should be sensitive to the language learning process and should incorporate a distinction between input and learning objectives within the design of their textbooks.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	adjective
A_Comp	adjective complement
Adj	adjunct
adv	adverb
Arg	argument
C	complementizer
CP	complementizer phrase
c-structure	constituent structure
def	definite
dem	demonstrative
Det	determiner
fem	feminine
f-structure	functional structure
Gen	gender
_Inf	inflection

Inf	infinitive
masc	masculine
N	noun
NP	nominal phrase
Num	number
Obj	object
Obl	oblique
P	preposition
Pers	person
Pl	plural
PP	prepositional phrase
Pred	predicate
PT	Processability Theory
quant	quantifier
Rel	relative (clause)
S	sentence
Sg	singular
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
Spec	specifier
Subj	subject
V	verb
V_Comp	verbal complement
VP	verbal phrase

Abstract

PROCESSABILITY THEORY AND PEDAGOGICAL PROGRESSION IN AN ITALIAN TEXTBOOK

Most L2–learners are taught a language on the basis of a textbook. But are these textbooks arranged according to the learners' needs? For the present study the grammatical structures and their progression in an Italian-language textbook were analysed, and they were compared to the learners' speaking ability to cross-check the degree of correspondence between what is taught following the textbook and what is actually learned. The question is asked in how far textbook design should consider the findings of current SLA research. It is suggested that even though Processability Theory is right to predict that language acquisition develops in stages, instruction need not be strictly sequenced. Above all it is important to distinguish between input, intake and expected output.

Keywords: language acquisition, textbook design, Processability Theory, interlanguage, language proficiency.

Povzetek
TEORIJA STOPENJSKOSTI USVAJANJA JEZIKA
IN PODAJANJE SNOVI V UČBENIKU ZA ITALIJANŠČINO

Večina nematernih govorcev se jezika uči s pomočjo učbenika, kar odpira vprašanje, ali obstoječi učbeniki ustrezajo dejanskim potrebam učencev. Zato smo v pričujoči raziskavi analizirali slovnične strukture in njihovo podajanje v učbeniku italijanščine, nato pa smo jih primerjali z jezikovnimi zmožnostmi učencev, da bi ugotovili stopnjo prekrivanja med metodo učenja in usvojenim znanjem. Rezultati študije odpirajo vprašanje, v kolikšni meri bi morali učbeniki upoštevati spoznanja na področju usvajanja jezikov. Čeprav teorija stopenjskosti usvajanja jezika ugotavlja, da se jezikovna zmožnost razvija po etapah, namreč ni nujno, da je na ta način podana tudi snov v učbenikih. Najpomembnejše je namreč razločevati med vhodnimi informacijami, izhodnimi informacijami in dejansko usvojenim znanjem.

Ključne besede: usvajanje jezika, načrtovanje učbenikov, teorija stopenjskosti usvajanja jezika, medjezikovno, jezikovna zmožnost.

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LES TRAITS D'ORALITÉ DANS DEUX MANUELS DE FRANÇAIS LANGUE ÉTRANGÈRE

1 INTRODUCTION

Le but de l'enseignement d'une langue étrangère est sans doute la formation d'un locuteur compétent, celui qui « pourra maintenir des relations avec des locuteurs natifs sans les amuser, les irriter involontairement ou les obliger à se comporter autrement qu'ils ne le feraient avec un interlocuteur natif » (Cadre européen commun de référence pour les langues, dans la continuation CECRL : 62). Quelle est, dans ces relations, la place de l'oral en classe de langue maternelle ou étrangère et dans les manuels de Français langue étrangère ?

Les didacticiens conviennent qu'en classe de langue la compétence orale est importante : « ... la priorité des priorités, c'est l'oral ; aussi le travail sur le code écrit ne peut qu'être décalé, par rapport à l'acquisition de l'oral » (Boyer/Butzbach 1990 : 53) ; ils ne sont pourtant pas tous d'accord sur la place qu'occupe l'oral dans ces classes. J. Delahaie (2008 : 1) dit par exemple que « le français parlé est depuis longtemps un axe majeur de l'enseignement du FLE », les auteurs du Dictionnaire de didactique du français (Cuq et al. 2003 : 182) pensent que « la composante orale a longtemps été minorée dans l'enseignement des langues étrangères, notamment du FLE » et Janine Courtillon est convaincue que « la production, surtout orale, est le point faible de l'enseignement d'une langue vivante » (2003 : 63).

Nous allons commencer le présent article par un bref parcours de l'enseignement de l'oral, pour nous concentrer après sur les enregistrements des textes oraux dans deux manuels de Français langue étrangère. Nous allons essayer de nous focaliser surtout sur le type et le registre de l'oral, proposé aux apprenants, et d'analyser les marques d'oralité dans les textes proposés, en partant de l'hypothèse que le manuel plus récent contient des textes avec un plus grand nombre de marques d'oralité.

2 Petit parcours historique des méthodologies et des référentiels : place de l'oral

La **méthodologie traditionnelle** (jusqu'à la fin du XIX^{e} siècle) est calquée sur l'enseignement des langues anciennes et essentiellement centrée sur l'écrit (Cuq/Gruca 2002 : 234–235). Dans **la méthodologie directe** (après 1902), « une langue est essentiellement un phénomène oral (surtout) et écrit, de communication. C'est pourquoi la langue orale étudiée est la langue de tous les jours, parlée par les locuteurs natifs »

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(Germain 2001 : 128). Dans les **méthodologies audio-orales**[1] (pendant et après la 2ème Guerre mondiale), la priorité est toutefois « accordée à l'oral, et en particuler aux structures orales. L'écrit ne vient qu'en second lieu, et cet écrit est au fond de l'oral 'scripturé' ». Dans la **méthodologie SGAV** (structuro-globale-audio-visuelle), surtout connue en France et apparue après la parution du Français fondamental, « une langue est vue avant tout comme un moyen d'expression et de communication orale : l'écrit est considéré comme un dérivé de l'oral ; priorité est accordée au français quotidien parlé » (Besse, cité dans Germain 2001 : 154).

L'approche communicative qui suit la parution de *Un niveau seuil*, introduit la notion de la compétence de communication qui recouvre, à part plus ou moins égale, l'écrit et l'oral. Ses composantes sont aussi « la compétence sociolinguistique, comprenant la compétence socioculturelle et une composante discursive, et la compétence stratégique. (Germain 2001 : 203). À cette époque, nous retrouvons aussi la notion de registres de langue : « Pour communiquer efficacement il faut, en plus, connaître les règles d'emploi de cette langue. Cela signifie savoir quelles formes linguistiques employer dans telle ou telle situation, avec telle et telle personne. (...) En d'autres termes, on ne transmet pas un message de la même manière selon que l'on s'adresse à un subalterne, à un ami, à un collègue ou à un supérieur.» (ibid.).

Les trois référentiels importants qui ont influencé les méthodologies, les manuels de Français langue étrangère et qui ont, par conséquent, aussi déterminé la place de l'oral en classe sont le Français fondamental (paru entre 1952 et 1954)[2] ; Un niveau Seuil (1976), projet européen introduisant la notion des actes de parole, à l'origine de l'approche communicative, et le dernier, le Cadre européen commun de référence pour les langues (2001), qui introduit **l'approche actionnelle.**

2.1 Exemples de textes dans des manuels appartenant à différentes méthodologies

Comme point de départ, comparons cinq extraits, parus dans des manuels appartenant à différentes méthodologies :

(1) Cours de langue et de civilisation françaises, « Mauger bleu » ; méthode directe, 1953 (p. 154)

- Je dois aller à la poste : je désire acheter des timbres pour l'Étranger.
- N'allez pas si loin. Entrez donc dans ce bureau de tabac, là, devant vous.
- Comment ? On vend des timbres chez le marchand de tabac ?
- Mais oui, venez avec moi.
(dans le café-tabac)
- Voilà, Monsieur.

[1] Blanche-Benveniste rappelle que l'invention du magnétophone portatif devrait être considérée « comme une date déterminante pour le développement de la linguistique. » (2000 : 1).

[2] Le Français fondamental est à la base de la méthodologie SGAV. En parlant de cette époque, il faut aussi mentionner l'invention du magnétophone : aujourd'hui ,cela semble être un instrument banal, mais il a joué un grand rôle dans l'introduction de l'oral en classes de langue.

- Merci, madame. Donnez-moi aussi un paquet de cigarettes.
- Des gauloises ? Jaunes, bleues ou vertes ?
- Des gauloises bleues et une boîte des allumettes. (...)

(2) Voix et images de France ; méthode S.G.A.V, 1960–68 (livre du maître 1971 : 75)

Catherine. – Paul, viens voir à la fenêtre !
Paul. – Qu'est-ce qu'il y a ?
Catherine. – Il y a beaucoup de monde, au coin de la rue.
Paul. – C'est peut-être un accident… Mais non, il n'y a rien. Les gens attendent l'autobus. Tu es bête, ma pauvre Catherine !
Catherine. – Je suis peut-être bête, mais toi, tu n'es pas gentil.
Paul. – Tiens, voilà l'autobus. C'est le 27 ; tu vois, les gens montent.
Catherine. – Où est-ce qu'il va ?
Paul. – Il va à l'Opéra. Oh ! Regarde la grosse dame, là à gauche, avec le chapeau à la plume. (…)

(3) Bonjour Line ; méthode audio-orale, 1970 (cité dans Boyer et al. 1990 : 27–28)

SPEAKER : C'est l'hiver. Il fait froid. Il y a de la neige. Les petites filles sont assises devant le feu. Alice lit. Josette regarde le feu.
Alice : Écoute, j'entends du bruit.
Josette: On frappe à la fenêtre.
Alice : Viens voir !
Josette : Qu'est-ce que c'est ?
Alice : C'est un oiseau. Il est noir. Il a un bec jaune.
Josette : Il ouvre le bec. Il a faim.
Alice : J'ai du pain dans ma poche.
Josette : Ouvre la fenêtre.
Alice : Oui, voilà.

(4) C'est le printemps ; méthode audio-visuelle, 1975 (cité dans Boyer et al. 1990 : 29)

Situation : Devant une agence, une étudiante est en train de regarder un panneau de petites annonces.
Yves : Qu'est-ce que tu fais là ?
Évelyne : Ben, tu vois, je cherche une chambre.
Yves : Tiens, regarde cette annonce. Ça t'intéresse pas ?
(…)
Yves : C'est pas près de la fac ?
Évelyne : Si, j'y vais tout de suite. Tu viens avec moi ?
Yves : Si tu veux.

(5) Archipel, approche communicative, 1983 (Archipel 1983 : 48)

Le neveu: Dis donc, tante Hélène, j'suis vachement embêté. J'ai eu un accident avec la bagnole d'un copain.
La tante : Tu as besoin d'argent ?

Le neveu : Ben… C'est que… oui, il me faudrait un peu de fric.
La tante : Tu veux cent francs ?
Le neveu : Ça t'ennuierait pas de me prêter cinq cents balles ?
La tante : Dis donc, 500 francs, tu ne pourrais jamais me rembourser.
Le neveu : Comment veux-tu que je fasse, je peux pas le dire aux parents.
La tante : Bon d'accord, mais c'est la dernière fois.
(…)

Nous pouvons constater qu'il s'agit dans les cinq cas de textes dialogals,[3] élaborés explicitement pour le manuel en question. A première vue, il y a une grande différence entre le premier et le dernier exemple, surtout du point de vue des structures et du lexique employé. Y a-t-il pour autant une vraie différence concernant le contenu et les marques d'oralité employées dans ces textes ? Nous allons essayer de définir les critères d'analyse dans la suite de l'article.

3 L'ORAL EN CLASSE DE LANGUE

Qu'est-ce que l'oral en classe de langue maternelle et étrangère ? Est-il enseigné de façon appropriée ? Quel oral enseigne-t-on ou devrait-on enseigner ?

Nous ne savons malheureusement pas trop ce qui se passe en classes de Français langue maternelle ni en classes de Français langue étrangère. Comme l'indique Le Cunff (2005 : 1), la didactique du Français langue maternelle « s'intéresse davantage à l'écrit qu'à l'oral. Elle utilise des corpus constitués par les productions écrites des élèves ou des écrits sociaux pour en analyser des spécificités (genre, grammaire textuelle). La langue – lexique, orthographe, etc. - est moins souvent objet de recherche que la production d'écrit ou le texte donné à lire dans le cadre de la classe de français. » Gadet (2000 : 6) souligne la variabilité de langue orale avec laquelle les enfants arrivent à l'école et dit que « peu d'enseignants sont correctement armés pour intervenir sur les rapports entre français standard écrit, français standard oral et le tout venant du français oral ». Selon elle, il est dommage que les enseignants n'aient pas une meilleure connaissance de la variabilité du français, pour pouvoir distinguer le français oral des formes du français standard. Il y a, en Français langue maternelle – tout comme dans d'autres langues, par exemple le Slovène langue maternele – un autre problème à évoquer, notamment celui du niveau de langue (et de registres) que les jeunes ont souvent du mal à distinguer et à utiliser de façon appropriée (ibid. : 7).

Nous pouvons supposer que dans les classes de langue étrangère, la situation est même plus complexe, voire compliquée. On sait que dans ces classes[4] – Tagliante cite l'exemple du lycée français de Madrid - les élèves s'expriment peu à l'oral ; elle rappelle que « des études ont montré qu'en milieu scolaire, un apprenant, de la Sixième à la Terminale, ne dispose, en moyenne, que de 45 minutes de parole sur une année » (Tagliante 2006 : 97). La situation n'est sans doute pas meilleure dans d'autres pays, l'oral n'étant donc pas beaucoup enseigné et pratiqué.

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[3] Expression empruntée à J.-M. Adam.

[4] Dans l'enseignement public, les classes sont souvent trop nombreuses pour pouvoir faire parler les élèves.

Si le temps consacré à l'expression en classe de langue est tellement limité, la question qui se pose est de savoir quel est l'oral qu'on enseigne. J. Delahaie[5] (2008 : 1) se demande si l'évolution des méthodologies et le fait d'enseigner les langues étrangères de manière plus authentique s'est aussi accompagnée d'une transformation du contenu grammatical et si la langue, appliquée en classe utilise une « grammaire d'usage, qui prendrait en compte les particularités lexicales et syntaxiques, informationnelles et interactionnelles du français parlé, ou s'agit-il encore d'une grammaire du bon usage, plutôt normative et écrite ». Elle présente l'analyse de la langue orale, utilisée par les enseignants.[6] Les quatre enseignants « tentent d'enseigner quelques caractéristiques du français parlé dans leurs reprises de performances orales, mais avec plus ou moins de justesse » (ibid. : 2). Selon l'une des enseignantes, c'est tout de même la « langue de Molière » qu'il faut enseigner. Certains professeurs se sentent aussi déstabilisés devant le fait de se voir obligés d'enseigner la langue parlée, car « il serait impossible d'enseigner le français parlé sans l'intuition du natif » (ibid. : 9).

3.1 L'opposition oral/écrit

Il est clair qu' « on ne parle pas tout à fait comme on écrit, pas plus qu'on ne peut écrire tout à fait comme on parle » (Martinon, repris par Béguelin 1998 : 3). On perçoit d'habitude l'écrit comme un discours organisé, stable et l'oral comme un discours spontané, contenant des phénomènes spécifiques et ayant sa propre grammaire, perception avec laquelle C. Blanche-Benveniste n'est pas d'accord : « Une tenace idée reçue laisse croire que l'oral aurait des structures grammaticales déficientes ; seul l'écrit aurait une grammaire organisée. L'expérience des linguistes qui ont analysé de longs corpus oraux est toute autre » (1991 : 54). Elle ajoute que « des phénomènes qu'on a cru spécifiques (...) concernent tout aussi bien la langue écrite, même si c'est de façon moins évidente. Ainsi, les mécanismes qui règlent la « mise en discours » de la langue s'imposent de façon plus spéctaculaire à l'oral, et sont parfois plus faciles à observer ; mais ils sont indéniablement présents dans les productions écrites » (ibid.). Béguelin (1998 : 1) souligne que l'opposition langue orale/langue écrite n'est pas vraiment stabilisable.

Selon Blanche-Benveniste, ce qui serait à analyser pour avoir deux corpus comparables seraient les brouillons d'écriture et l'oral improvisé ; dans les deux cas on aurait affaire à des « avant – textes » (Bellemin-Noël, cité par Blanche-Benveniste 1991 : 56). Mais même dans les brouillons, « le scripteur revient souvent en arrière sur l'axe des syntagmes. » (Blanche-Benveniste 2000 : 17).

On pourrait considérer l'écrit comme un texte élaboré, un produit final qui ne présente pas (ou au moins ne devrait présenter) d'erreurs. L'oral « laisse voir les traces de son élaboration dans l'énonciation. (...) Il est jalonné de pauses, hésitations, reprises, incomplétudes, redites, anticipations, (auto-)interruptions, bafouillages » (Gadet 2000 : 3). Selon Blanche-Benveniste, « dans une grande partie des productions orales, les locuteurs improvisent leurs discours, et les marques de cette improvisation

[5] Des questions semblables sont évoquées dans Benamar (2009).

[6] Elle a analysé les reprises, effectuées par quatre enseignants de FLE après les jeux de rôles.

(qu'ils enlèveraient généralement pour donner une version écrite ordinaire) sont nombreuses : répétitions, ratures, recherches de mots, hésitations, *« euh »*, inachèvements, etc. » (1991 : 56). Dans un contexte pédagogique, on voit, selon Cuq (2003 : 182) « les manuels mettre l'accent sur les différences en termes de contraintes de communication : aux caractères communicativement économiques d'immédiateté, à l'irréversibilité du processus, à la possibilité de réglages et d'ajustements, à la présence de référents situationnels communs et à la possibilité de recours à des procédés non verbaux ».

La chose la plus difficile est, bien sûr, de dresser une liste des différences entre l'écrit et l'oral. Dans le chapitre « Différentes façons de classer le parlé », Blanche-Benveniste énumère les catégories suivantes **: les fautes** (les fautes qui n'en sont plus : p. ex. certaines prononciations, le *ne* de la négation, l'interrogation par *est-ce que,* l'emploi du *on* pour *nous*, le participe passé non accordé ; les fautes « typantes » : p. ex.: absence du subjonctif, auxiliaire *avoir* pour *être*, relatifs renforcés par *c'est que*, la locution *tout le monde, il…,* équivalents de relatives, avec *que + il* pour *qui* et *que + le N* pour *dont,* l'emploi de *ils* pour la reprise d'un groupe nominal féminin), **les régionalismes**, **les comportements des locuteurs** (les inachèvements, les auto-corrections, les effets des interlocuteurs), **les niveaux** et **les registres et genres** (2000 : 35–63).

Detey, Durand et Lyche (Detey et al. 2010 : 52) soulignent que « Lorsque les linguistes décrivent une langue ou une variété particulière d'une langue donnée, ils le font par référence à divers niveaux d'analyse » et proposent comme niveaux de description **lexique et morphologie** et **phonétique et phonologie** (ibid.: 53–64).

Dans le même ouvrage, N. Rossi-Gensane organise sa reflexion autour des niveaux suivants : **oralité** (ponctuation et prosodie, modes de production de l'oral), **syntaxe ou autour de la phrase** (entre autres : temps, modes et voix, l'expression de la négation, la modalité interrogative, autour de la fonction sujet, autour de la subordination), **discours** (la différence entre le discours oral et écrit, la communication spontanée), **le rôle de la macro-syntaxe** (ibid. : 83–103).

En synthétisant les niveaux, mentionnés par différents auteurs, nous pouvons grosso modo discerner plusieurs chapitres ou catégories sur lesquels nous allons baser notre analyse :

- faits liés à la prononciation et à la prosodie : les facteurs prosodiques (intonation, rythme, débit, accentuation) n'ont pas pour seule fonction de contribuer au confort de l'auditeur (Gadet 2000 : 3) comme ils l'auraient dans un oral préparé, par exemple une émission à la radio. La prononciation peut être relâchée avec disparition de nombreux *e* muet, les liaisons impossibles ou fausses, des *oui* prononcés *ouai* (Favart 2006 : 1), etc.

- faits liés à l'emploi d'un registre spécifique[7] : les termes familiers, « sur le plan lexical, l'emploi de termes argotiques ou donnant l'impression de l'être » (Favart,

[7] Gadet (1996 : 11) dit : « On est ainsi habitué à voir des mots qualifiés de : vulgaire, argotique, populaire, familier, courant, soutenu, littéraire, archaïque...» et continue un peu plus loin : « Les désignations des registres ne sont aucunement satisfaisantes, car elles ne distinguent pas entre classification diastratique (ex. 'populaire') et classification diaphasique (ex. 'soutenu'). Or, étant donné qu'il n'y a pas de locuteur à style unique, il serait nécessaire de croiser les catégories. »

2006 : 1), les interjections (Delahaie 2008 : 7), les bouche-trous. Un bon exemple d'emploi de termes familiers dans un manuel de langue est le dialogue dans Archipel, cité ci-dessus.

- faits liés à la « langue », à la morphologie et à la syntaxe, par exemple : l'omission du *ne* de négation,[8] l'abondance des nominalisations, l'emploi d'une forme pronominale pour une autre (p. ex.: y pour lui, Favart 2006 : 1),

- faits liés au texte comme ensemble : cohésion et cohérence différente de celles de l'écrit – manque apparent de cohésion de ce type d'échanges (Kucharczyk 2009: 82), différents types de liens grammaticaux (deux types de liens grammaticaux, là où l'écrit ne dispose que d'un seul : liens segmentaux explicites, comparables à ceux de l'écrit, et liens intonativo-syntaxiques, dans ce qui est un peu désigné comme « parataxe » ou absence de lien, Gadet, 2000 : 4), des constructions qui ne sont pas ou sont peu présentes à l'écrit (par exemple : « le non- respect de l'ordre des mots », Favart 2006: 1) ; « dislocations, topicalisations, anacoluthes, extractions en « c'est ... que/qui »... (*c'est avec papa que je discutais*, traité comme une mise en relief de *je discutais avec papa*, etc. » (Blanche-Benveniste 1991 : 55)

- faits liés aux « tâtonnements[9] » et au fait que la production orale n'est pas un produit fini, mais un texte en cours d'élaboration. Blanche-Benveniste (1991 : 58) dit : « Pour rendre compte des hésitations, répétitions, des recherches de bonne dénomination, nous avons fait l'hypothèse suivante : lorsqu'il déroule linéairement l'énoncé qu'il est en train de construire (qu'on situera sur l'axe syntagmatique), le locuteur peut interrompre ce déroulement linéaire pour chercher, sur l'axe des paradigmes, parmi un stock d'éléments potentiellement disponibles, la meilleure dénomination. C'est ainsi que j'intepréterais l'exemple où le locuteur cherche la désignation de parenté ou le pronom : l'opération est représentée sur l'axe paradigmatique, à la verticale ; il ne s'agit pas d'une opération 'mentale', mais de données factuelles fournies par des mots réellement prononcés à la suite les uns des autres dans le discours. »

Exemple :
- il y avait un cousin –
un frère
un fils de mon oncle ils vont vous
ils vont te dire

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[8] Gadet (2000 : 1) dit qu'il s'agit d'un phénomène assez ancien et conclut qu'il faudrait le mettre en rapport avec d'autres phénomènes: « nous partirons de l'exemple de ne de négation, dont on comprend mieux le fonctionnement actuel en le mettant en rapport avec plusieurs autres phénomènes. Or la rareté orale de ne est à mettre en rapport avec un autre phénomène lui aussi dénoncé par les puristes, la « redondance » du sujet, illustrée par l'exemple Mon frère il a dit ». Elle conclut que « les éléments susceptibles de prendre place entre le pronom marque de la personne et le verbe tendent à être éliminés, et parmi eux le ne ».

[9] Parfois aussi aux faux départs (Kucharzyk 2009 : 82).

Blanche-Benveniste ajoute que le locuteur peut interrompre le déroulement de l'axe syntagmatique, non seulement pour faire une liste, mais aussi pour faire des allers et retours sur le déroulement linéaire, pour compléter un syntagme déjà énoncé, ou pour intercaler un élément. Il peut s'agir, par exemple, d'un retour en arrière, d'une progression dans la dénomination (elle est jeune / elle est jeune / **elle est toute jeune**), des parenthèses, d'une réfutation (il y aura 12 danseurs / euh 8 garçons / **non, je dis des bêtises** / il y aura 13 danseurs), d'un commentaire (il a indiqué spontanément / **et je précise bien spontanément** / que vous êtes rentré vers 21 h 30) (ibid. : 61–62).

Regardons, à titre d'exemple, encore un exemple pratique de catégorisation des marques d'oralité. Sur un des sites « pédagogiques[10] » ; qui sont à la disposition des enseignants de langues, les marques d'oralité, repérées dans un extrait du livre *Marie* de F. Cavanna sont énumérées dans les catégories suivantes : expression qui marque la présence de l'émetteur et du récepteur (« Tel que tu me vois »), mots familiers ou argotiques, inversion de l'ordre normal de la phrase pour renforcer un mot, syntaxe de l'oralité (phrases mal construites), omission/ellipse d'un élément de la phrase, expressions idiomatiques, répétitions, abréviations, interjections.

3.2 ANALYSE DES TEXTES ORAUX DANS DEUX MANUELS DE FRANÇAIS LANGUE ÉTRANGÈRE

Pour l'analyse, nous avons choisi deux manuels de Français langue étrangère: Le nouveau sans frontières (selon Cuq/Gruca : 269, paru pour la première fois en 1988 ; dans la continuation « NSF ») et Version originale, paru en 2009 (dans la continuation « VO »). Le nouveau sans frontières est élaboré selon les principes de l'approche communicative, tandis que Version originale est un manuel appartenant à l'approche actionnelle.

Dans les deux manuels, les textes enregistrés peuvent être classés en deux catégories :

- textes destinés à l'entraînement de la prononciation (p. ex. la prononciation des sons jugés problématiques, intonation) ; dans NSF, ces textes sont clairement intitulés « Phonétique et mécanismes ». Dans VO**,** il s'agit souvent de mots isolés, contenant des sons difficiles à prononcer (p. ex.: paix – peine – pain, beau – bonne – bon, taux – tonne – thon, VO : 148)

et

- textes oraux destinés surtout à la pratique de la compréhension orale.

Notre corpus est constitué des transcriptions de 18 textes du NSF et de 26 textes du manuel VO.

Tous les textes analysés sont des textes fabriqués et faits pour les manuels ; il n'y a pas de textes authentiques. Étant donné qu'il y a dans les manuels plus de contenus grammaticaux que ceux portant sur la compréhension orale et que ces textes sont fabriqués,, nous ne nous attendons pas à un manque de cohésion/cohérence.

[10] http://www.prof2000.pt/users/deogil/fran/sequences/dialogale_oralite.htm ; les enseignants de langue vont plus souvent consulter ce type de documents que des ouvrages théoriques

Nous aimerions aussi souligner le fait que les auteurs des manuels (et les enseignants de langue) se trouvent dans une situation assez ambiguë et difficile ; ils sont, d'un côté, censés proposer la « norme » et de l'autre préparer les apprenants à « l'authentique » avec ses caractéristiques et toutes les « fautes » que cet authentique sous-entend par rapport à la norme.

Dans les transcriptions, nous allons essayer de relever les faits appartenant à la langue orale et de les répertorier. Nous proposons les catégories suivantes :

- faits liés à la prononciation (p. ex. prononcitation *ouais* au lieu de *oui*),
- lexique : emploi d'un lexique familier ou argotique, interjections, bouche-trous,
- tournures grammaticales propres à la langue orale,
- marques de répétition, d'hésitation ; tâtonnements.

Après avoir passé en revue les textes dans les deux manuels, nous avons décidé d'ajouter encore une catégorie :

- tournures d'appel, utilisées pour entrer en contact/prendre congé avec l'interlocuteur.

Nous avons entâmé cette analyse dans l'hypothèse de trouver plus de marques d'oralité dans le manuel plus récent.

3.2.1 Textes dans le manuel Le nouveau sans frontières

Dans les 18 textes de ce manuel, les marques d'oralité sont très peu présentes. Les textes proposés sont de genres différents : dialogues, discours prononcé par un guide de musée (p. 142), informations radiophoniques (p. 145), discours prononcé par le maire d'une ville (p. 156).

Les marques d'oralité peuvent être classées dans les catégories suivantes :

- tournures, utilisées pour entrer en contact/prendre congé :

Ah ! J'ai des problèmes avec mon personnel ! ***Tenez :*** *Marie Delfort, elle est chef de publicité (...)* (P. 91)

J'habite dans le quartier sud de la ville, place du 14 juillet... De ma fenêtre, on voit toute la ville. ***Tenez, regardez !*** (P. 128)

Vous arrivez de Valence par l'autoroute ? ***Bon, alors, écoutez moi ! (...) Ça va ? Vous avez compris ?*** (P. 133)

- lexique, mots familiers/argotiques, interjections, bouche-trous

M. Durand : ***Bon...*** *Pour le dessert un gâteau au chocolat pour lui, une tarte au citron pour moi. (P. 59)*

F1 : Il fait 20 F le mètre.
*F2 : **Bon**, je vais en prendre 20 mètres. (P. 75)*

*Béatrice, assieds-toi à la droite d'André. **Bon, maintenant.** Claude, reste debout et mets-toi entre l'arbre et le banc. (P. 79)*

***Ah !** J'ai des problèmes avec mon personnel ! (...) Jacques Arnaud, mon chef de ventes, c'est vrai, c'est vrai, il n'est pas très souriant et pas très amusant, mais il est travailleur, sérieux et compétent, **eh bien,** il est malade.* (P. 91)

- « tâtonnements », le même exemple :

*Ah ! J'ai des problèmes avec mon personnel ! (...) Jacques Arnaud, mon chef de ventes, **c'est vrai, c'est vrai,** il n'est pas très souriant et pas très amusant, mais il est travailleur, sérieux et compétent, eh bien, il est malade.* (P. 91)

3.2.2 Textes dans le manuel Version originale

On trouve pratiquement dans tous les enregistrements des marques d'oralité qu'on pourrait mettre dans une des catégories définies ci-dessus. L'emploi de certaines structures n'est pourtant pas toujours cohérent.

- faits liés à la prononciation[11]

Alors, Séverine, ce cours de marketing ? Comment ça se passe ?
*Vraiment très bien. **J'suis** très contente.*
Oui, et le groupe est sympa ?
***Ouais**, sympa ! En fait, on est un petit groupe, on est onze et puis euh... Il y a plusieurs nationalités. Alors il y a David qui est anglais (...)*
*(...)et il y a aussi Antonio, alors lui il est un **p'ti** peu plus âgé. (P. 143)*

*Oui, je sais. **T'habites** près du port ? (P. 144)*

*Je **n'me** rase pas.*
*Souvent**, j'me** couche avant dix heures du soir.*
*Ce soir on **s'couch**e tôt **parc'que** demain on **s'lève** a six heures.*
*Tu m'dis toujours **toutc'que** tu penses ? (P. 146)*

- tournures utilisées pour entrer en contact/prendre congé

Ah, bonjour!
Bonjour.

[11] La dénomination n'est pas la meilleure ; il s'agit des rapports entre le graphique et le phonique ; les différences sont parfois peu sensibles à l'oral. Blanche-Benveniste: « Ainsi, entre le graphique et le phonique, les marques morphologiques diffèrent considérablement : marques du nombre, au point qu'on ne sait comment transcrire « quelle(s) femme(s) venai(en)t »

Vous êtes, vous êtes Philippe, ***non ? (P. 142)***

- tournures «grammaticales », propres à la langue parlée

Bon, ben, ***ça ira comme ça****. Merci madame. Au revoir. (P. 143)*

Alors toi, Stéphane, tu habites à Paris ? Il paraît que ***c'est super Paris*** *?* ***J'connais pas, moi !***
(...)
Non, non. Des pistes de ski, ***ça non****, pas encore. (P. 144)*

Mais, tu vois, ***y'a pas tout*** *à Paris (P. 144)*

Bon ben... ***Comme on sort pas ce soir,*** *on pourrait peut-être faire quelque chose quand même. (P. 144)*

Non, ***il est pas suisse****, il est espagnol. (P. 145)*

Euh... ***je m'en souviens plus****. (P. 146)*

Ah bon ! Ah, c'est marrant, tiens ! Mais ***c'est qui alors ton acteur préféré*** *? (P. 146)*

Ben, je lis le plus possible en français.
Tu lis quoi *? (P. 147)*

Regarde Séverine, toutes les fringues que je trouve sur le net.
Ah, pas mal ! Et qu'est-ce que tu vas acheter ?
Ben... je crois que ***j'ai plus*** *de pantalon, plus de pantalon d'été. Regarde ce pantalon à fleurs. Il est génial et pas cher en plus.*
Attends Stéphane... mais ***tu vas pas porter*** *un pantalon à fleurs quand même !*
Ben pourquoi ? Regarde le gris et le noir, ***c'est pas possible*** *pour l'été, c'est trop sombre.*
(...)
Oh écoute, zut à la fin... Tu m'demandes mon avis et ***tu m'écoutes pas****. Vas-y achète c'que tu veux... (P. 147)*

Uff... Eh ben, c'est lourd hein... toutes ces courses. Allons, on va ranger ça. Voyons si j'ai tout pour mon entrée. Oui, ok ! Tout est sous contrôle pour l'entrée, tout va bien. Alors, mon plat principal... Ah non, non, non, non, ***c'est pas*** *vrai, faire un poulet maringo sans poulet. J'ai oublié le poulet ! Mais tu es vraiment stupide, hein, ma fille. Alors, voyons, tant qu'on y est, tant qu'on y est, voyons si j'ai tout pour le dessert. Eh ben non ! Et ben,* ***y'a pas de*** *crème fraîche et* ***y'a pas de*** *sucre. (...) (P. 148)*

- lexique : mots familiers/argotiques, interjections, bouche-trous

Lenoir en un mot, ***hein,*** *LENOIR. (P. 142)*

Bon... alors... *le livre de Jérôme, il coûte combien ?*

Euh... *45... 50 euros... ? Non ! 64 euros !*
Eh, ben, dis donc !!![12] (pp. 142–143)

Bonjour, ***euh...,*** *c'est pour le cours de dix-huit heures.*
(...)
Euh, *39 ans.*
(...)
Euh, *oui. Alors c'est le 06 12 53 24 22.*
(...)
Bon, ben*, ça ira comme ça. Merci madame. Au revoir. (P. 143)*

Oui, et le groupe est ***sympa*** *?*
Ouais, ***sympa*** *! En fait, on est un petit groupe, on est onze et puis euh... Il y a plusieurs nationalités. Alors il y a David qui est anglais (...) (P. 143)*

Bon ben... *Comme on sort pas ce soir, on pourrait peut-êtra faire quelque chose quand même.*
Ben... on pourrait peut-être jouer à un jeu ?
Moi, j'en connais un ***super amusant****. (...)*
Humm... (...)
Euh, *j'commence si vous voulez. (...) (P. 144)*

Oh ! Phil, ***t'es trop fort*** *! Bon, allez, vas-y, c'est à toi. (P. 145)*

Ouais, pas mal, mais je n'aime pas Daniel Auteuil.
Ah bon ! Ah, ***c'est marrant****, tiens ! Mais c'est qui alors ton acteur préféré ?*
Ben, Johnny Depp.
Ah, bon. ***Bof*** *! (P. 146)*

Regarde Séverine, toutes ***les fringues*** *que je trouve sur le net.*
Ah, pas mal ! Et qu'est-ce que tu vas acheter ?
Ben... je crois que j'ai plus de pantalon, plus de pantalon d'été. Regarde ce pantalon à fleurs. Il est génial et pas cher an plus.
Attends Stéphane.... mais tu vas pas porter un pantalon à fleurs quand même !
Ben pourquoi ? Regarde le gris et le noir, c'est pas possible pour l'été, c'est trop sombre.
(...)
Oh écoute, ***zut*** *à la fin... Tu m'demandes mon avis et tu m'écoutes pas. Vas-y achète c'que tu veux... (P. 147)*

Uff... Eh ben*, c'est lourd* ***hein...*** *toutes ces courses. Allons, on va ranger ça. Voyons si j'ai tout pour mon entrée. Oui, ok ! Tout est sous contrôle pour l'entrée, tout va bien. Alors, mon plat principal... Ah non, non, non, non, c'est pas vrai, faire un poulet maringo sans poulet. J'ai oublié le poulet ! Mais tu es vraiment stupide,* ***hein****, ma fille. Alors, voyons, tant qu'on y est, tant qu'on y est, voyons si j'ai tout pour le dessert.* ***Eh ben non ! Et ben,*** *y'a pas de crème fraîche et y'a pas de sucre. (...) (P. 148)*

[12] Nous aimerions aussi signaler l'importance de la ponctuation.

- hésitations, reprises, « tâtonnements »

Ah, Monique Santier ? Santier avec un A, c'est ça ?
Non, non, non, non, non, *avec un E : SENTIER. (P. 142)*

(...)
C'est une ville moderne avec ***des, des...*** *gratte-ciel dans le quartier* ***des...des*** *affaires à la Défense.*
(...)
Ah ! Oui. Évidemment, ça d'accord. ***Mais, mais attends****... à Paris vous n'avez sûrement pas* ***de... de... de*** *Manneken Pis, tiens, comme chez moi. (P. 144)*

Excusez-moi, Madame... je cherche l'école des trois tilleuls.
L'école des trois tilleuls ? Ah oui ! C'est tout pres... là-bas... vous voyez, au bout de la rue, sur la place de la Mairie.
Ah oui, oui, oui, oui*, je la vois. Merci beaucoup ! (P. 145)*

Uff... Eh ben, c'est lourd hein... toutes ces courses. Allons, on va ranger ça. Voyons si ***j'ai*** *tout pour mon entrée. Oui, ok ! Tout est sous contrôle pour l'entrée, tout va bien. Alors, mon plat principal****... Ah non, non, non, non,*** *c'est pas vrai, faire un poulet maringo sans poulet. J'ai oublié le poulet ! Mais tu es vraiment stupide, hein, ma fille. Alors, voyons,* ***tant qu'on y est, tant qu'on y est****, voyons si j'ai tout pour le dessert. Eh ben non ! Et ben, y'a pas de crème fraîche et y'a pas de sucre. (...) (P. 148)*

3.2.3 Synthèse

Nous pouvons constater, comme nous l'avons supposé, que les auteurs du manuel plus récent, Version originale, ont inclus plus de marques d'oralité dans les enregistrements des textes oraux. Les enregistrements de ce manuel paraissent plus authentiques que les enregistrements du Nouveau sans frontières. C'est sans doute dû aux vingt ans de différence entre la parution des deux manuels ; l'approche actionnelle souligne encore davantage l'utilisation des documents authentiques en classe vu que, selon les auteurs, les apprenants doivent être préparés aux tâches réelles de la vie courante.

Dans les transcriptions du NSF, il y a peu de traces de l'oral. Les auteurs y ont introduit quelques tournures pour entrer en contact ou prendre congé, quelques bouche-trous (qui ne relèvent pas trop du langage parlé, par exemple *bon* ou *eh bien*) et un seul exemple de ce qu'on a appelé *tâtonnement* (une répétition pour marquer l'hésitation).

Dans les transcriptions du manuel VO, les marques d'oralité sont présentes dans tous les textes. On y trouve des marques d'oralité liées à la différence entre l'orthographe et la prononciation (exemple : *j'suis très contente*), certaines structures qu'on ne trouverait pas à l'écrit (exemples : *c'est qui alors ton acteur préféré*, *comme on sort pas ce soir*), omission du *ne* de la négation, omission de certains pronoms, exemple*: y'a pas tout à Paris* ; des bouche-trous (*euh, eh bien, bon ben* ; aussi des exemples de bouche-trous à première vue très peu français, exemple : *ufff)*, des mots du registre parlé (*fringues, super amusant, sympa, zut*) et de très nombreux exemples de « tâtonnements » pour marquer des pauses et des hésitations (exemples: *ah oui, oui, oui, oui ; tant qu'on y est, tant qu'on y est* et beaucoup d'autres).

La langue des transcriptions du manuel VO est plus « parlée » et paraît plus authentique. C'est sans doute dû à l'influence du CECRL et à l'importance qu'on accorde aujourd'hui à la communication dans des situations réelles de la vie courante.

On pourrait pourtant difficilement qualifier ces textes d'authentiques. Les textes enregistrés dans les manuels de langue ne sont qu' une illusion de langue authentique plus ou moins réussie. Il ne s'agit pas d'un échantillon du français parlé, parce que les textes ne sont pas spontanés.

Suite à cette analyse, qui devrait être approfondie en analysant un corpus plus vaste, nous voyons deux possibilités d'amélioration de l'enseignement de FLE au niveau de la langue orale. La première concerne les manuels ; les auteurs devraient davantage insister sur les différences entre la langue écrite et orale. Comme nous l'avons déjà dit, ils se trouvent dans une situation assez difficile, puisqu'ils sont censés proposer à la fois la norme et l'authentique. Ils pourraient peut-être plus insister sur la formation et la sensibilisation des enseignants, en proposant, par exemple, dans les *livres du maître* certains chapitres, consacrés aux différences entre l'écrit et l'oral et une biographie concernant ces différences.

La deuxième possibilité concerne les enseignants : l'idéal pour un enseignement de langues authentique serait de trouver des corpus de textes parlés authentiques et de les utiliser en complément des textes fabriqués ce qui, avec les ressources électroniques actuelles, ne devrait pas être trop difficile.

4 EN GUISE DE CONCLUSION

Terminons avec une anecdote : il y a quelques années un de nos meilleurs étudiants est parti, vers la fin de ses études, en échange en France. À son retour, notre collègue lui a demandé comment les Français avaient trouvé son français. Sa réponse - « Ils m'ont dit que je parlais comme Balzac » nous a d'abord amusés mais, après y avoir réfléchi, nous nous sommes dit que ce n'était pas vraiment un compliment.

Nous connaissons aussi des cas inverses qui sont peut-être même plus courants : des étudiants, revenant de France ou d'un autre pays francophone, qui utilisent des mots familiers dans un contexte formel.

Le penchant pour l'authentique, très marqué dans l'enseignement des langues à partir de l'approche communicative, nous semble positif et nous sommes convaincus qu'il faut, comme le font les auteurs des manuels récents, insister davantage sur la langue orale. Il est pourtant très difficile d'introduire cette langue « vraiment » orale sans avoir recours à des corpus de textes authentiques, pris dans la vie réelle et pas conçus pour les manuels de langue. La question qui se pose aussi – et à laquelle nous ne sommes pas en mesure de répondre pour l'instant – est la suivante : à partir de quel niveau faut-il introduire des textes authentiques en classe de langue, faut-il les réserver pour les niveaux plus avancés[13] ? Certains débats restent donc ouverts et il faut continuer la recherche dans ce domaine.

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[13] CECRL introduit la notion de registre de langue à partir du niveau B2, donc pour les niveaux avancés.

Nous aimerions aussi ajouter que pour les enseignants de langue[14] il est parfois difficile de dépasser l'opinion courante que « la langue parlée s'oppose à la langue écrite comme le mauvais français s'oppose au bon » (Blanche-Benveniste 2000 : 35). Nous avons souvent tendance à juger, or ce qui serait à faire, c'est exposer les apprenants aux différentes productions écrites et orales en les sensibilisant aux différences qui existent entre elles, sans émettre de jugements de valeur.

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[14] Peut-être encore plus pour les enseignants non natifs qui ne possèdent pas « l'intuition du natif », cf. Delahaie (2008 : 9, cité préalablement).

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Résumé

LES TRAITS D'ORALITÉ DANS DEUX MANUELS
DE FRANÇAIS LANGUE ÉTRANGÈRE

Dans l'enseignement des langues étangères, la composante orale a longtemps été peu représentée; elle n'est devenue un objectif à part entière qu'avec l'avènement de l'approche communicative dans les années 70 du 20ème siècle. Selon l'approche actionnelle, telle qu'elle est définie dans le Cadre européen commun de référence pour les langues, un des objectifs principaux est de préparer l'apprenant le plus possible aux situations réelles de la vie courante. L'interaction orale joue sans doute un rôle très important dans ces situations ; que peut-on donc faire pour que nos apprenants ne soient pas traités en France comme « parlant comme Balzac ?»

L'article se propose de passer en revue deux manuels de FLE récents, édités par différentes maisons d'édition. Le manuel est l'outil de base de chaque enseignant et pour certains le seul outil qu'ils utilisent en classe. Pour cette raison, la langue représentée dans les manuels est d'une grande importance. Nous avons analysé les documents audiovisuels proposés aux apprenants du point de vue linguistique et culturel et essayé d'évaluer la pertinence de la langue telle qu'elle est representée dans ces documents.

Mots-clés : oral en classe de langue, oral/écrit, traits d'oralité, manuels de FLE.

Povzetek

SLEDI GOVORJENEGA DISKURZA V DVEH UČBENIKIH
FRANCOŠČINE KOT TUJEGA JEZIKA

Avtorica prispevek začne s kratkim pregledom mesta ustnega sporočanja v metodologijah poučevanja francoščine kot tujega jezika skozi različna zgodovinska obdobja. Ustno sporočanje je imelo v posameznih metodologijah – in posledično učbenikih – različno pomembno vlogo; v zadnjem obdobju je v akcijsko usmerjenem pristopu posebej poudarjeno sporazumevanje v avtentičnih življenjskih situacijah in s tem tudi vloga ustnega sporočanja.

Po pregledu literature različnih avtorjev, ki so se ukvarjali z razlikami med pisnim in ustnim diskurzom, skuša na podlagi njihovih ugotovitev postaviti kriterije za analizo govorjenih besedil v učbenikih. Za analizo izbere besedila v dveh učbenikih, *Le nouveau sans frontières* (izšel leta 1988) in *Version originale* (2009). Namen analize je v besedilih opazovati oblike, tipične za govorjeni diskurz (oblike, povezane z izgovorom, besediščem, slovničnimi strukturami, izraze za navezovanje stikov in pozdrave ob odhodu ter t. i. oklevanjem). Izhodiščna hipoteza, da bo več za govorjeni diskurz tipičnih oblik prisotnih v novejšem učbeniku, je po pričakovanju potrjena. V zaključku avtorica problematizira še rabo različnih jezikovnih registrov in odpira nekatera vprašanja, na katera v prispevku ni uspela najti odgovorov.

Ključne besede: govorjeni diskurz pri pouku tujega jezika, govor/pisanje, sledi govorjenega diskurza, učbeniki francoščine kot tujega jezika.

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SPEECH FLUENCY: A RESULT OF ORAL LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY?

1 INTRODUCTION

When communicating with speakers who speak a foreign language well, we often describe their speech to be fluent, which means it is very similar to the speech of native speakers. However, what does it actually mean to speak fluently? According to Lennon (1990), speech fluency has two meanings. In the broader sense, fluency seems to mean global oral proficiency, and in the narrower sense, it can be considered as a component of oral proficiency. In other words, when we talk about fluency in the broader sense we refer to language proficiency, that is, to its general realisation. On the other hand, when we talk about fluency in the narrower sense, we refer to one of the aspects of language proficiency, that is, to the actual temporal aspect which has been studied more intensely since the 1990s within the theory of applied linguistics and foreign language acquisition. It is in the latter sense that we look at the issue of fluency in this paper in which we explore the relation between the level of language proficiency and speech fluency.

2 FLUENCY IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

The issue of fluency has been the object of study for decades. Kormos and Dénes (2004: 147) describe the development of the field and indicate that one of the first researches of the issue was by Fillmore in 1979 in which the author defined four different abilities which reflect speech fluency in the first language (L1): a. the ability to talk at length with few pauses; b. the ability to talk in coherent, reasoned and seman-

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tically dense sentences; c. the ability to have appropriate things to say in a wide range of contexts; and d. the ability to be creative and imaginative in language use (Fillmore 1979: 93). It should be noted that most of those abilities are abstract and are thus difficult to be researched or confirmed scientifically.

In the 1980s first researches of fluency in the foreign language (LF) have been carried out, motivated by an increased interest in communicative language teaching. By studying LF performance and proficiency, the researchers have, in most cases, agreed that the two categories are "multi-componential in nature, and that their principal dimensions can be adequately, and comprehensively, captured by the notions of *complexity*, *accuracy* and *fluency*" (Housen/Kuiken 2009: 461). The authors continue that these three components "have been used both as performance descriptors for the oral and written assessment of language learners as well as indicators of learners' proficiency underlying their performance; they have also been used for measuring progress in language learning." Based on that, we can conclude that the three components, to which Skehan (2009) later adds the fourth, not less significant component – lexis, determine the level of language proficiency. In other words, "it is assumed that a proficient speaker will be able to perform tasks fluently and accurately, using complex language" (Ellis 2009: 475). However, the abovementioned components do not appear at the same level. As Housen and Kuiken (2009: 462) state, complexity and accuracy are primarily linked to the current state of the learners' interlanguage knowledge, whereas fluency is primarily related to learners' control over their linguistic LF knowledge, as reflected in the speed and ease with which they access relevant LF information to communicate meanings in real time.

Speech fluency in foreign language acquisition is, therefore, one of the descriptors of LF oral production. Ellis (2009: 475; based on Skehan and Foster 1999) defines fluency as "the capacity to use language in real time, to emphasize meanings, possibly drawing on more lexicalized systems." Housen and Kuiken (2009: 463) highlight its multicomponentiality which is made up of different subdimensions, such as speed fluency, breakdown fluency and repair fluency. Skehan (2009: 513) is of similar opinion, stating that regarding fluency "a range of measures are available, broadly examining: a. breakdown (dys)fluency, indexed by pausing; b. repair (dys)fluency, indexed by measures such as reformulation, repetition, false starts, and replacements; and c. speed, with measures such as syllables per minute." In this research fluent speech is defined as speech at a natural rate without hesitations, pauses, repetitions, reformulations, filler words and filled or unfilled pauses in processing, appropriate to the informative and communicative load of expression, all of which presuppose efficient and coordinated functioning of all levels of oral production. Although speakers strive for ideal speech, disfluency cannot be avoided. There are various reasons for this, among which the following are in our opinion certainly the most relevant: informative load of the expression and the related complexity of information processing, regulators of communicative relations between the speaker and the listener, and in the LF, above all, the imperfect or incomplete mechanism of oral production (see Požgaj Hadži et al. 2012).

3 RESEARCH

Although fluency is one of qualitative descriptors in the assessment of oral proficiency in *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment* (CEFRL; among which are also range, accuracy, interaction and coherence), in teaching and learning Croatian (and Slovenian) as LF, speech fluency does not receive sufficient attention. This is confirmed by recent textbooks for Croatian as LF which include only a limited number of exercises in spontaneous speech, while most exercises are based on the reproduction of content from the text found in the unit, or are designed for practicing grammar structures, that is, accuracy of speech. The fact that this field has not been sufficiently researched in both Croatian and Slovenian and that the studies so far (Horga/Požgaj Hadži 2004, Požgaj Hadži and others 2012) have left many questions unanswered has motivated us to continue with the researches of speech fluency in LF.

3.1 Research aim

The aim of this research is to find an answer to the question whether speech fluency is influenced by language proficiency or by some other abilities of the speaker. Based on Slovenian as L1 and Croatian as LF, we explore the differences in speed fluency, i.e. speech rate, articulation rate and mean length of runs, breakdown fluency, i.e. duration, frequency and position of filled and unfilled pauses, and repair fluency, i.e. disfluencies such as repetitions, restarts and repairs. Special attention is given to filler words which do not carry semantic meaning themselves, but are most often a sign of speech processing.

3.2 Corpus

There were 11 participants involved in the research, all of whom were students at the first year of Croatian, Serbian and Macedonian Language and Literature at the University of Ljubljana Faculty of Arts Department of Slavic Studies (academic year 2008/2009) with Slovenian as L1 and Croatian as LF. Their task was to participate in an informal discussion on a familiar topic: Student life – advantages and disadvantages. The topic and formal length of the discussion (15 minutes per group) were defined in advance. The participants had an opportunity to discuss the topic a week before the recording in langue practice classes so it can be said that the recorded speech was prepared. There were three participants in each discussion, and the discussion was led by a moderator (also a student) who took care that each participant spoke for the same length of time and who motivated the speakers by asking additional questions. The distance between the speakers was appropriate for a conversation and could be described as personal space or the zone of proxemic distance (45 to 120 cm). The chairs were set up in a circle as a motivation for democratic and cooperative communication. The recording took place in an office at the Faculty, a familiar surrounding for the students, and speech was recorded with a VHS camcorder. The recording was carried out two times in the interval of two weeks. During the first recording the students discussed the issue in Croatian (LF) and during the second recording in Slovenian (L1).

As was mentioned before, the participants' task was to talk in an informal discussion, which is one of the ways to develop interactive competence, and interaction along with reception, production and mediation, that is, oral interpreting and translating, is one of language activities within CEFRL which helps develop communicative competence. Interaction is described in CEFRL as an activity which includes at least two persons whose communication is based on production and reproduction which alternate and sometimes even overlap. However, the listener usually predicts what the speaker will say once he or she begins to talk and the listener prepares his or her response, which means interaction is far more than learning how to receive and produce an expression – that is why interactive competence is key for successful communication.

According to CEFRL, the participants' language proficiency level of Croatian (LF) is B2+, which means, in terms of interaction, that the speaker can use the language fluently, accurately and efficiently to talk about a wide range of general, academic and business topics or topics relating to leisure, and can clearly indicate relations among ideas. The speaker can also communicate naturally, with a good level of grammatical accuracy, without leaving an impression that he or she must limit him- or herself in what he or she wants to say, using the level of formality appropriate to the situation.

3.3 Methodology

The research consisted of two parts. In the first part, the recorded speech was transcribed and then, using the programme Praat, speech analysis of the recordings was carried out to get speech rate, articulation rate, mean length of runs and the length and number of breakdowns (see figure 1).

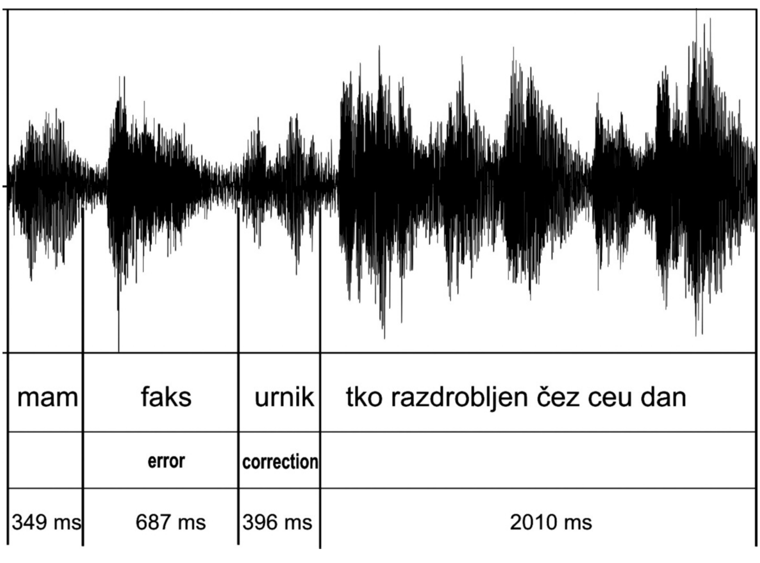

Figure 1. Duration measurment of disfluency (correction) in Praat.

Different classifications of pauses can be found in literature. In this research we classify pauses according to Housen and Kuiken (2009) into two kinds (see Table 1). On the one hand, there are breakdowns which include a. unfilled pauses and filled pauses, which are recognised as vocalised hesitation (*eee*, *em*, *hm*, etc.) or as vocalised lengthening (e.g. connector *i* being pronounced as *i:*). On the other hand, there is a special kind of pause – repair, which includes repeats (whether of a part of a word, of the entire word, or the entire phrase), corrections, reformulations and false starts. As a special kind of non-fluent speech we indicate filler words which do not carry semantic meaning themselves, but rather indicate the thought process going on in the brain during speech, thus they can be defined as time-creating devices. By using the words such as *dobro* 'well', *zapravo* 'actually', *znaš* 'you know', *mislim* 'I think', *samo da pomislim* 'let me think', *koliko znam* 'as far as I know', etc. the speaker does not interrupt speech and thus leaves an impression of fluency. However, overuse of such words is a sign of disfluency.

Pauses			
Breakdowns	Unfilled pause		pač način ... študija in to
	Filled pause	Vocal hesitation	delam eee potem hodim na faks
		Vocal lengthening	hm paa mesečno za autobus je treba plačat
Repairs	Repeat		več ne vem več časa je na splošno
	Correction		k mam faks urnik tko razdrobljen čez ceu dan
	Reformulation		tko da se lahko zdej hm da bi se morala naučit samostojnega dela
	False start		živim u hiši e privat hiši in mi je ušeč k si lahk hm če mi kdaj ne paše grem na bon jest
+ Filler words			sej je fajn mislm tko dost pocen je

Table 1: Classification of pauses.

In the second part of the research, corpus method was used to analyse different types of disfluency in greater detail. For that purpose two specialised electronic corpora have been built: leraner' corpus FLU-CR (3.083 tokens) which includes the speech of participants in Croatian (LF) and the control corpus FLU-SI (4.577 tokens) which includes the speech of participants in Slovenian (L1). The marking of corpus is problem-oriented, which means that only examples of disfluency are marked in the corpus. Marking was done manually, and speech was partitioned into smaller units, i.e. utterances. Although the analysed sample is relatively small, we believe it is sufficiently representative to indicate tendencies in speech fluency between L1 and LF.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As it was mentioned before, the aim of the research was to find differences in oral production between L1 (Slovenian) and LF (Croatian). In the following part of the paper research results are presented.

4.1 Speed fluency

Speed fluency depends on the automatisation of many levels of oral production and speaking skills and it is expressed in terms of speech rate (SR), articualtion rate (AR) and mean length of runs (MLR).

4.1.1 Speech rate (SR)

As can be seen in Chart 1, SR, i.e. the number of syllables spoken per second, including pauses, is somewhat faster in LF than in L1. The speakers utter 2.82 syllables per second in Slovenian and 3.09 syllables per second in Croatian.

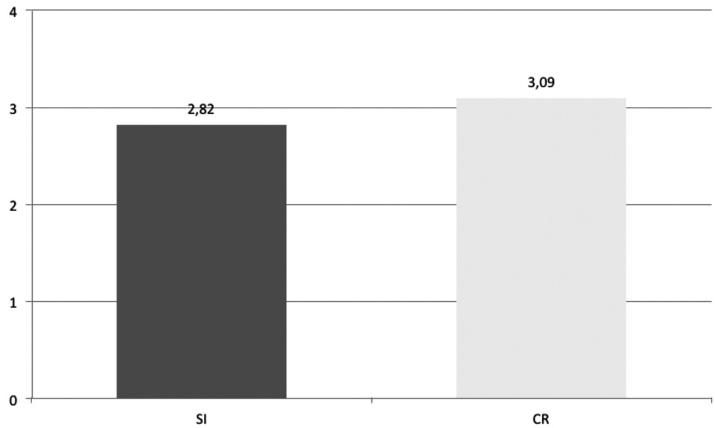

Chart 1: Speech rate in Slovenian (L1) and Croatian (LF)

Similar results in speech rate are found in the research by Požgaj Hadži et al. (2012) in which Slovenian participants read a text somewhat faster in LF (4.7 syllables per second) than in L1 (4.6 syllables per second). The differences were also noted in the research by Horga and Požgaj Hadži (2004) in which SR in LF is 3.8 syllables per second.

The cause of those differences in research results can undoubtedly be found in different types of language activity. Participants have a faster SR in oral production when reading (4.7 sps) and somewhat slower SR when describing (3.8 sps), whereas SR is the slowest in oral interaction (3.9 sps). This confirms the fact that interactive discourse (informal discussion) alongside oral production also requires other cognitive abilities, which makes the speech slower.

It is interesting to note that SR in L1 deviates significantly from the usual speech of native speakers. According to research by Horga and Mukić (2000), SR in spontaneous speech by native speakers of Croatian on HTV (Croatian national television network) is 4.8 syllables per second. Such difference is most likely the result of the participants' different speaking experience. Although the participants in both studies talk about a known topic, experts are far more experienced speakers when speaking in public is concerned, thus their speech is faster and more complex. On the other hand, students have not as yet acquired such speaking experience and, unfortunately, the education system does not pay sufficient attention to the issue and hence does not provide enough opportunities for practicing various oral interactions.

4.1.2 Articulation rate (AR)

Similarly, articulation rate (AR), i.e. the number of syllables spoken per second, excluding unfilled pauses, is somewhat slower in Slovenian (3.33 sps) and faster in Croatian (3.76 sps) (Chart 2).

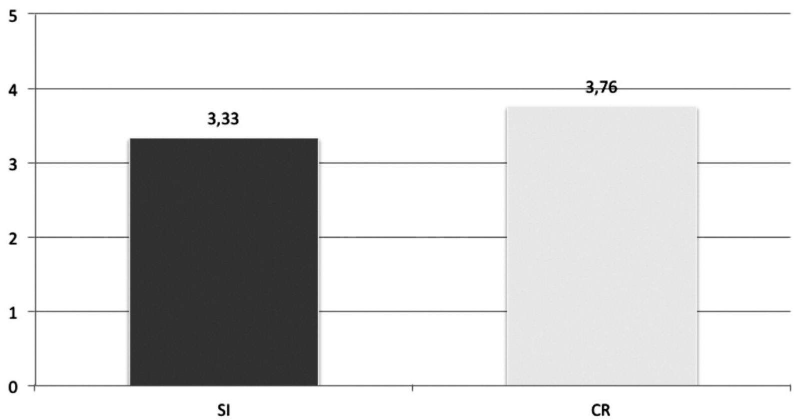

Chart 2: Articulation rate in Slovenian (L1) and Croatian (LF)

This means that in the research Slovenian participants articulate more slowly when speaking L1 and faster when speaking LF, which is surprising. Such results might be influenced, on the one hand, by jitters because it was the participants' first recording of that kind, and on the other hand, by the lack of motivation in the second recording (L1) because they were discussing the topic for the second or the third time. Answers to these questions can only be found by conducting further research.

4.1.3 Mean length of runs (MLR)

However, if we look at mean length of runs, i.e. an average number of syllables spoken between two pauses regardless of semantic and syntactic criteria of expression setup, in L1 and in LF, the case is reverse. MLR in Slovenian is significantly longer (2.46 s) than in Croatian (1.8 s) (see Chart 3).

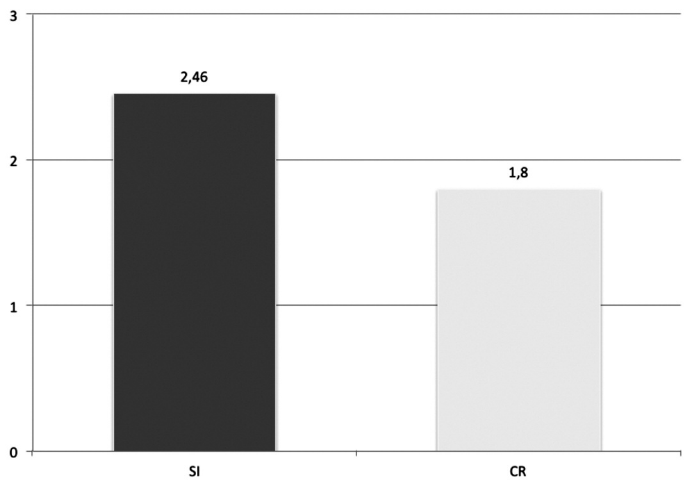

Chart 3: Mean length of runs

Similar results appeared in research by Požgaj Hadži et al. (2012) in which participants reading a text in L1 achieve an MLR of 2.0 seconds and in LF an MLR of 1.7 seconds.

It is interesting to note that MLR in L1 matches MLR found in the research by Horga and Mukić (2000) which showed that there is a difference between male and female speakers. Male speakers have an average MLR of 1.64 s, whereas female speakers have an MLR of 2.87 s.

4.2 Breakdown fluency

Breakdown in speaking is described as an unfilled pause expressed as silence or a filled pause expressed as a vocalised hesitation (*eee*, *em*, *hm*, etc.) or vocalised lengthening where in most cases the last sound in the word is lengthened, most often the vowel (*pa:*, *i:*, etc.). A question arises as to what can be considered a breakdown. Different studies have different values of breakdowns; our research identifies a pause as a breakdown lasting at least 0.2 to 0.25 seconds.

4.2.1 Breakdown duration

As can be seen in Chart 4, average pause duration (filled and unfilled) is 0.63 s in Slovenian and 0.68 s in Croatian. It can be concluded that the results indicate a tendency for somewhat longer pauses in LF than in L1, which was not confirmed by the research of Požgaj Hadži et al. (2012).

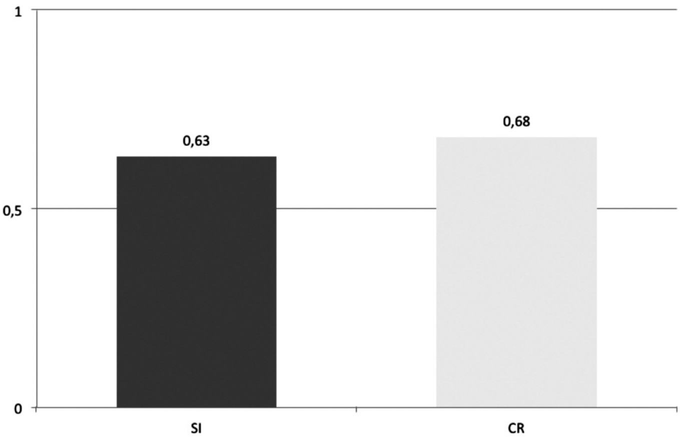

Chart 4: Breakdown duration

It is interesting to note that pauses are significantly shorter when the text is read – in Slovenian participants the duration of the pauses is 0.45 s when reading a text in L1 and 0.43 s when reading a text in LF (Požgaj Hadži et al. 2012).

4.2.2 Number of breakdowns

Whereas the number of unfilled pauses in both languages is approximately the same, i.e. 16.35 per minute in L1 and 16.61 per minute in LF, there are a lot more filled pauses in LF than in L1. In Croatian, there are 11.93 filled pauses per minute and in Slovenian there are 8.38. The results can be seen in Chart 5.

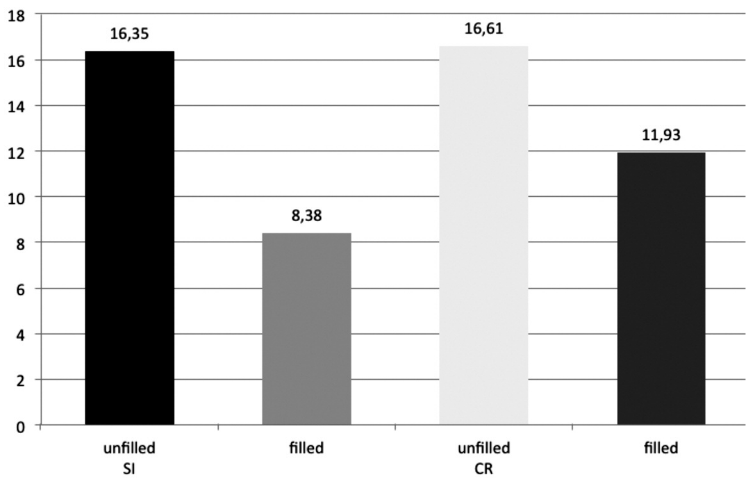

Chart 5: Number of pauses (filled and unfilled)

4.3 Repair fluency

According to Nooteboom (1980), oral production is largely subject to refinement during production, although speakers repair only 50% of errors they make. However, repair does not necessarily mean there is an error – it can be one of the forms of disfluency when the speaker hesitates because he or she needs more time for further planning of speech and speaking. Repair is carried out by various means. In our research the most frequent type of repair is repetition, then reformulation, false start and correction.

4.3.1 Number of repairs

The number of repairs is also somewhat higher in LF than in L1. There are 3.96 such pauses per minute in Slovenian and 4.72 such pauses per minute in Croatian (Chart 6).

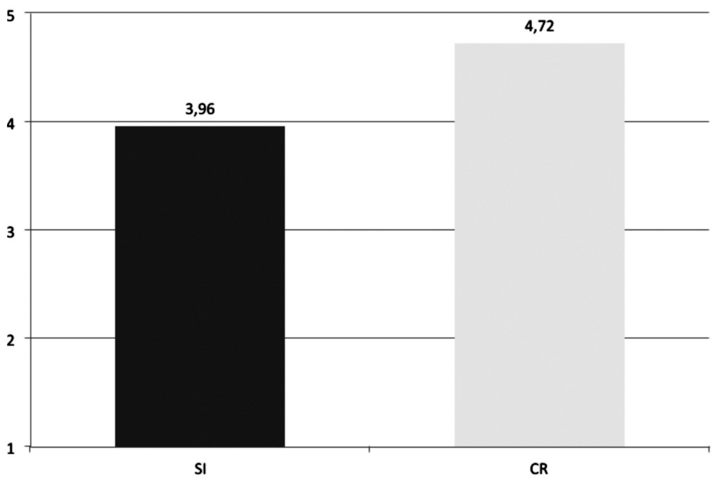

Chart 6: Number of repairs per minute

Higher number of repairs in LF was confirmed in previous studies. When reading texts in L1 there are on average 23 repairs per minute and in LF 26 repairs per minute (Požgaj Hadži et al. 2012), whereas in spoken texts of Slovenian participants there are 32.9 repairs per minute in LF, or almost every 2 seconds (in our research 33.26 in LF and 28.96 in L1), which is significantly more than 7.6 repairs per minute in spontaneous speech on the radio (Horga/Požgaj Hadži 2004).

A more detailed frequency of filled pauses was calculated in corpus analysis (Table 2).

Type of pause	FLU-SI No./min	No. of particip.	FLU-CR No./min	No. of particip.	Difference SI:CR
Repeats	2.3	10	2.25	9	- 0.05
Correction	0.36	4	0.68	6	+ 0.32
Reformulation	0.63	6	0.95	6	+ 0.32
False start	0.67	6	0.84	7	+ 0.17
total	3.96	4.72			

Table 2: Average frequency of filled pauses per minute

As can be seen in Table 2, when speaking in LF the participants use somewhat less repeats and somewhat more other forms of repairs.

4.4 Filler words

The biggest difference between L1 and LF speech was noted in using filler words. When speaking Slovenian (L1) the speakers use 8.53 filler words per minute and when speaking Croatian (LF) they use only 1.31 filler words (Table 3).

Type of pause	FLU-SI No./min	FLU-CR No. of par-ticip.	No./min	No. of par-ticip.	Difference SI:CR
Filler word	8,53	11	1,31	10	- 7,22

Table 3: Filler words

It is interesting to note that when describing a picture in LF Slovenian participants used 8.4 filler words per minute (Požgaj Hadži et al. 2012), which is almost the same result that we got in this research. However, it is important to note that the participants from previous research were at the second and third year of study, and were at a higher level of language proficiency.

5 CONCLUSION

The aim of our research was to find an answer to the question to what extent speech fluency depends on language proficiency. To find the answer, we compared the speech of the participants in L1 (Slovenian) and in LF (Croatian). Chambers (1197: 541) points out the following differences in speech fluency between L1 and LF: a. the frequency of pauses rather than the length; b. the length of run; c. the place of pauses in an utterance; d. the transfer (or not) of pausing pattern from L1 to LF. In this research we primarily explored the first two, that is, the length and frequency of pauses, mean length of runs and speech and articulation rate. It was shown that there are no significant differences in the rate of speech and articulation between L1 and LF. However, speech rate in LF is different in different discourse types. The more complex the discourse, the shorter the speech rate (reading 4.7 sps, description 3.8 sps, discussion 3.09 sps). Values of mean length of runs confirm that speech in L1 is more fluent because it is 1.36 seconds longer than in LF. Therefore, we can conclude that speech fluency is primarily influenced by the speaker's language proficiency, but cognitive abilities are also important.

As for pauses, the difference in the length of breakdowns and the frequency of unfilled pauses and repairs between L1 and LF is almost non-existent, whereas unfilled pauses are more frequent in LF (+ 3.55 pauses per minute). Most differences are found in the use of filler words that appear in L1 7.22 more times in a minute than in LF. Based on the results from the research we can agree with the assumption that "becoming fluent therefore is not about speaking faster (articulation rate), but about pausing less often and pausing at the appropriate junctures in an utterance" (Chambers 1997: 540).

Difference in speech fluency between participants in the research and professional speakers point to the problem of education where insufficient attention is paid to the issues of fluency and acquisition of more demanding language activities, such as interactive discourse. Such language activities require more than just knowing the language, thus they should be incorporated into curricula of first and foreign languages. As Kormos and Dénes (2004: 160) point out, "if the aim of language teaching is to help students to become fluent speakers, both exercises that prompt students to express their communicative intent within the limited time-constraints of real-life interactions and those that promote accuracy should be applied." Those are primarily exercises which encourage speakers to engage in independent oral production, such as discussions and debates, games, simulations, role-plays, etc., in which speech fluency comes before accuracy.

The research has left many questions unanswered. First of all, it is important to look into where the pauses appear especially because the research confirmed the fact that "what distinguishes native and non-native pausing is more likely to be *where* pauses occur rather than *that* they occur" (Skehan 2009: 513, according to Davies 2003). Furthermore, it would be interesting to find out what is considered fluent speech, that is, how speech fluency is evaluated in first and foreign language teaching. If we look at the descriptors for speech fluency in CEFRL, we can see that they are too general. Successful evaluation in teaching would certainly require some time parameters, such as speech rate, mean length of runs, etc.

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Abstract
SPEECH FLUENCY: A RESULT OF ORAL LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY?

The aim of this paper is to answer the question of the influence of language proficiency on speech fluency in relation to speakers' other cognitive abilities by comparing the speech of research participants who speak Slovenian as L1 and Croatian as LF. By using the method of acoustic and corpus analysis, the values of speech rate, articulation rate, mean length of runs and the length and frequency of certain pauses are presented.

Keywords: oral language proficiency, speech fluency, speech rate, pauses, filler words.

Povzetek
GOVORNA FLUENTNOST: REZULTAT GOVORNE JEZIKOVNE ZMOŽNOSTI?

Na primeru govorcev slovenščine kot prvega in hrvaščine kot tujega jezika poskušamo v prispevku odgovoriti na vprašanje, koliko na govorno fluentnost v tujem jeziku vpliva stopnja znanja tujega jezika, koliko pa nanjo vplivajo druge kognitivne sposobnosti govorca. Z metodologijo akustične in korpusne analize so bile v raziskavi izračunane vrednosti časovnih parametrov hitrosti govora, hitrosti izgovora, trajanja govornega bloka in trajanja disfluentnosti ter frekventnosti pojavitev posameznih vrst disfluentosti.

Ključne besede: ustno znanje jezika, govorna fluentnost, hitrost govora, premori, mašila.

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UDK 811.134.2'367.632:81'276.3-053.2

EL PROCESO DE ADQUISICIÓN DEL ARTÍCULO ESPAÑOL EN EL LENGUAJE INFANTIL: FUNCIONES Y FASES ADQUISITIVAS

1 INTRODUCCIÓN

En el actual panorama científico, en relación con la adquisición de la lengua, accedemos a una controvertida doble perspectiva en la que por un lado se defiende el innatismo específicamente lingüístico y por el otro un innatismo que en el proceso de adquisición pone en relación mecanismos cognitivos innatos (Ojea 2001: 413). Desde esta perspectiva, la adquisición de la lengua se entiende como un proceso en el que el niño va construyendo secuencialmente su gramática emergente a partir del entorno que le rodea, su interacción con él, y por supuesto, sus propios recursos cognitivos. Por eso hablamos de la gramática del niño como una gramática emergente que no responde a un producto acabado como el que correspondería a la gramática de un adulto, sino a una gramática en un proceso de construcción constante en el que se retroalimenta día a día "desde la interrelación entre el contexto comunicativo del niño y su maduración cognitiva" (Souto 2006: 1815).

En lo que respecta a las referencias discursivas en relación con el habla infantil, éstas son esenciales para que los niños puedan entender el mundo que los rodea y consigan de esta manera ubicarse con relación a los demás referentes e interlocutores. Por esta razón, el uso de los artículos es necesario desde el principio para la comunicación del niño, ya que se encuentran dentro de las primeras palabras que los niños empiezan a utilizar, y como podremos observar más adelante en el gráfico 1, podemos hablar ya de un uso comprensivo y frecuente a partir de los 2 años de edad. Esta necesidad de producir este tipo de palabras a una edad tan temprana se debe esencialmente a la dependencia que los niños mantienen con el contexto comunicativo inmediato desde su más pronta edad. En esta situación, los artículos juegan un papel decisivo, ya que mediante su utilización los niños son capaces de llamar la atención del interlocutor e interactuar con los objetos que los rodea ubicándolos en las coordenadas de espacio-tiempo, puesto que los artículos son elementos esencialmente anafóricos que ponen en relación una correferencia extralingüística con un interlocutor. De esta manera, nos parece acertado lo que Cortiñas (2012) señala haciendo referencia a los artículos como palabras que sirven a los pequeños de ordenadores del mundo y orientadores en el quehacer dialógico.

En el presente artículo se ha llevado a cabo un acercamiento al proceso de adquisición del artículo en español, teniendo en cuenta las diferentes etapas de la adquisi-

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ción. Para la investigación se han utilizado y analizado las intervenciones espontáneas de cuatro sujetos del corpus Koiné de habla infantil a través de un estudio longitudinal de los datos de dichos sujetos, y a partir de un análisis cualitativo y cuantitativo se han definido los rasgos que determinan la emergencia de la adquisición del artículo para poder establecer un mapa referencial en el que se puedan distinguir las diferentes fases adquisitivas del artículo en español.

2 EL ARTÍCULO

El artículo desempeña la función de actualizador con respecto al sustantivo. Los nombres que integran el saber lingüístico no son actuales sino virtuales, no son objetos sino conceptos. Así pues la actualización es una función mediante la cual el significado nominal se transfiere de la esencia a la existencia y por la que el nombre de un ser se vuelve denotación de un ente (Solé 1976: 64).

El artículo pertenece dentro del lexicón general a las categorías funcionales, esto es, no añade información léxica sino que sitúa al referente dentro del discurso en unas determinadas coordenadas espacio-temporales que han de ser identificables por el interlocutor, cumpliendo así una función señalizadora dentro del discurso. Asimismo, al ser una categoría funcional, posee propiedades de selección categorial a partir de las cuales puede seleccionar sustantivos, adjetivos u oraciones. No obstante, a diferencia de las categorías léxicas, no posee una red temática, y por lo tanto, no tienen capacidad alguna de poder asignar papel temático.

La función señalizadora del artículo consiste, pues, en orientar al oyente hacia la información previa (artículo determinado) que sigue vigente, o hacia la información posterior (artículo indeterminado) que se espera como nueva. El artículo se presenta como una categoría funcional perteneciente a la representación semántico-intensional del texto, formando parte de la base textual o macroestructura (Cifuentes 1989: 220–221). Por eso es imprescindible pasar por el concepto de deixis para llegar a entender el concepto de artículo, definiéndolo fundamentalmente como un actualizador del sustantivo que se puede encontrar en dos estados: virtual (donde el sustantivo todavía posee toda su sustancia semántica sin que haya sufrido limitación concreta alguna de esa sustancia), y actual (donde el sustantivo se halla actualizado, ubicado en un aquí y un ahora). El contenido simbólico del artículo se cifrará, entonces, en la colocación de un objeto en un espacio de percepción del mundo a través de cuya naturaleza dimensional el objeto se hará más o menos ostensible para el oyente. De este modo, las tres posibilidades de colocación nominal se reorganizarán en función de los estímulos formales capaces de activarse, esto es, de la percepción que tengamos del objeto, ya sea virtual (artículo cero), aproximada (un) o positiva (el).

Aclarada la función del artículo, y debido precisamente a la capacidad actualizadora de los elementos léxicos dentro del discurso destacada anteriormente, vamos a encontrarnos el artículo en el habla infantil desde una edad temprana por ser altamente rentable para el niño a la hora de alcanzar su finalidad última de identificación de las entidades sobre las que dirigen su atención verbal.

3 ETAPAS EN LA ADQUISICIÓN DE UNA LENGUA

La adquisición de cualquier lengua por parte de los niños es un hecho que casi todos consiguen, aunque todavía sigue sorprendiendo cómo esto se lleva a cabo de una forma variada y desigual. Fernández (2011: 14) subraya que la diferenciación existente entre el desarrollo cognitivo y la adquisición de una lengua ha hecho posible que se relacionen estadios y aspectos de cognición y habilidad lingüística.

A la hora de segmentar las etapas evolutivas del proceso de adquisición del artículo por parte de los sujetos analizados, hemos tenido en cuenta la distribución de Tomasello (2003: 110–215), quien distingue cuatro etapas:

a) *Etapa holofrástica* (de 10 meses a 1 año), en la cual el niño emite palabras sueltas (en la mayoría de los casos léxicas) con el valor de frases enteras. En esta etapa el uso del artículo es nulo, puesto que todavía nos hallamos bastante lejos de cualquier atisbo de combinación de palabras léxicas con palabras funcionales.

b) *Etapa de dos palabras o telegráfica* (de 1;06 a 2;00 años), donde el niño tiende a combinar dos palabras léxicas, sin emitir todavía palabras funcionales como el artículo, a no ser que se realice por imitación como estrategia de adquisición.

c) *Etapa de productividad parcial* (de 2;00 a 3;00 años), en la que aparecen ciertos marcadores morfológicos y sintácticos donde el niño sólo domina unos esquemas sintácticos básicos parciales, aunque todavía no domina el uso del artículo de la lengua adulta sino que utiliza el artículo en ciertas estructuras asociadas a ciertas escenas de la vida cotidiana con una determinada función pragmática.

d) *Etapa de consolidación* o de progresivo acercamiento a la competencia adulta (de 3;00 a 4;00 años), donde el lenguaje infantil ya no difiere de la gramática adulta en sus aspectos más sustanciales, aunque no podremos hablar de un proceso de adquisición culminado hasta aproximadamente los 5 años.

Para nuestra investigación nos vamos a centrar sobre todo en las etapas de productividad parcial y de consolidación por ser éstas las más fructíferas dentro del proceso de adquisición del artículo en la gramática emergente del niño.

4 METODOLOGÍA

El corpus utilizado para la presente investigación es el corpus de habla infantil Koiné, corpus de producciones orales del habla infantil llevadas a cabo dentro de una dinámica procesual cambiante. El corpus ha sido confeccionado por el grupo de investigación Koiné de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, y su objetivo principal es sistematizar las características adquisitivas en el periodo que va desde los 1,5 años hasta los 4 años. Dicho corpus ofrece materiales y datos suficientes como para poder describir y delinear las gramáticas en construcción del habla infantil. El número de informantes para dicho proyecto fue de más de 70 niños cuya edad oscilaba de los 18 a los 53 meses al inicio de las grabaciones. Para conseguir "naturalidad" en las producciones verbales de los niños se eligió la guardería como el mejor escenario de trabajo. Se realizó una selección de guarderías teniendo en cuenta tanto la ubicación como las diferentes características socio-económicas de las localidades para que fueran representativas de la diversidad lingüístico-cultural de Galicia. La recogida de datos fue llevada a cabo mediante grabaciones en VHS que fueron digitalizadas más tarde. Como ya se ha mencionado anteriormente, el deseo de conseguir la mayor "naturalidad" en las producciones de los niños llevó a que se diera mayor relevancia a la conversación espontánea de estos, de ahí que los investigadores adoptaran un rol más pasivo, aunque también se utilizaron procedimientos de elicitación en donde los investigadores tuvieron un papel más activo. La duración media de cada una de las grabaciones era de unos 15 minutos, y por lo general en cada sesión había de 4 a 5 niños en el aula, siempre procurando que los dos sexos estuvieran representados en cada sesión. Las grabaciones se realizaron a lo largo de cuatro años (1996–2000) con un número de sesiones suficiente para un seguimiento longitudinal (Fernández 2011: 22–25).

Por todo lo anterior, consideramos este corpus referencial idóneo para el estudio longitudinal y trasversal que nos hemos propuesto para determinar los rasgos que determinan la adquisición del artículo en sus diferentes fases adquisitivas. La muestra recogida satisface los requisitos necesarios para ser considerada representativa por la presencia equilibrada de los dos sexos, por el alto grado de continuidad en el seguimiento y por la variada extracción social de los niños, debida a la selección de múltiples guarderías donde fueron realizadas las grabaciones de los niños situadas en entornos diferentes.

El formato de codificación utilizado para dicho corpus se denomina CHILDES (o CHAT, Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts), asociado al programa para la clasificación, gestión y rescate de datos CLAN (Child Language Analyisis Programs).

Los sujetos analizados han sido cuatro niños: Cecilia (desde los 1;10.10 años hasta los 3;1.29), Iago (desde los 2;4.20 hasta los 4;1.08 años), Ana (desde los 2;3.21 hasta los 3;9.09 años), y Ricardo (desde los 1;11.22 hasta los 3;11.14 años). Los niños y las niñas pertenecían a cuatro guarderías diferentes de tal manera que también se pudiera atender además de a la diversidad de sexo y a la muestra longitudinal de los materiales orales, a la diversidad de la extracción social de los niños.

5 ANÁLISIS DE LOS RESULTADOS

5.1 Frecuencia de aparición

Antes de analizar los resultados obtenidos, es necesario clarificar qué hemos entendido como producción en el habla infantil de artículos determinados e indeterminados, puesto que hemos de subrayar el hecho de que no se trata de las formas referenciales pertenecientes al lenguaje adulto. Por eso estamos de acuerdo con Souto a la hora de diferenciar el artículo de una gramática adulta del de una gramática emergente todavía en proceso de construcción. Souto (2006: 1816) prefiere utilizar el término presentador para el artículo en cuanto unidad que señala, actualiza o presenta sustantivos. En nuestro caso nos hemos decantado por el artículo porque aunque estamos de acuerdo con Souto, el término presentador sigue siendo un acercamiento todavía parcial imposible de dar cuenta de todas las combinaciones sintácticas que hemos recogido en el corpus. Por eso utilizaremos los términos artículo determinado e indeterminado (y artículo cero) entendiendo siempre que estamos dentro del marco de una gramática emergente todavía por estabilizarse. Tampoco hemos tenido en cuenta los usos erróneos o correctos del artículo por las mismas razones aducidas anteriormente, ya que al hablar de una gramática en construcción no podemos aceptar aquí el concepto de error sino el de particularidades o singularidades de una determinada fase del habla infantil dentro del proceso de adquisición.

Si observamos ahora el gráfico 1, podemos apreciar los resultados longitudinales de la evolución de la adquisición de los artículos determinados e indeterminados por parte de los cuatro sujetos analizados en nuestra investigación desde los 1;10.10 hasta los 4;1.08 años.

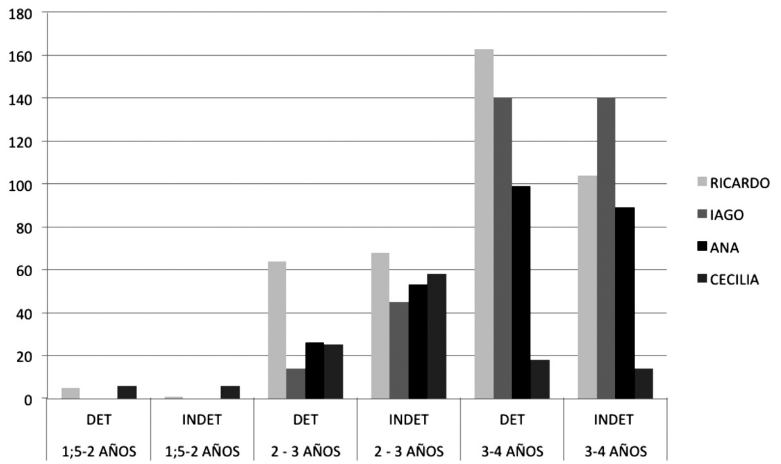

Gráfico 1: Resultados longitudinales en cuanto a la adquisición del artículo en el habla infantil.

Aunque en los cuatro niños se aprecia una evolución progresiva del aumento del uso de los artículos, sobre todo como ya hemos mencionado anteriormente en la tercera etapa, puede llamar la atención la disminución acaecida en la tercera etapa de Cecilia, debido al material oral del que hemos podido disponer, ya que a diferencia de las otras etapas, desde los 3 años sólo hemos obtenido 2 grabaciones, y la edad de Cecilia en la última grabación es de 3;1.29. En cualquier caso no consideramos relevante este hecho, ya que si comparamos proporcionalmente las 8 grabaciones analizadas en la segunda etapa de adquisición del artículo con las dos grabaciones de la tercera etapa, claramente podemos percibir un aumento progresivo proporcional, por lo que no habría diferencias con respecto a las tendencias encontradas en Ricardo, Ana e Iago.

Del gráfico se desprende claramente que el mayor incremento de adquisición ocurre alrededor de los 3 años, coincidiendo con la llamada etapa de "explosión de vocabulario", pues es en esta etapa donde se da la mayor producción lingüística. No obstante, hay que subrayar que esta explosión de vocabulario responde también a la necesidad de adquirir, aprender, distinguir, contrastar y discriminar lo que experimenta el niño en su proceso constructivo de aprendizaje, ya que al experimentar, organizar y tratar de aprehender el mundo que le rodea, el niño resuelve la referencialidad y definitud a través del input lingüístico que le ofrece el mundo adulto. Es a esta edad cuando el niño empieza a interactuar con la realidad lingüística y con sus interlocutores, estableciendo relaciones de definitud y referencialidad entre los objetos y realidades que lo rodea a través de los artículos determinados e indeterminados. De esta manera el niño empieza a establecerse como un auténtico comunicador competente.

Así pues, la función señalizadora de los artículos como presentadores actualizadores de los elementos léxicos en el discurso es bastante relevante desde la edad temprana como se desprende de los datos, puesto que para el niño es vital identificar las identidades con las que está interactuando discursivamente con otros interlocutores.

Otro factor a tener en cuenta respecto a los datos obtenidos es la diferencia numérica en relación al número de grabaciones de los sujetos de estudio. Por un lado tenemos las 12 grabaciones de Cecilia o las 19 de Ana, y por el otro lado contamos con las 23 grabaciones de Ricardo o las 28 de Iago. De nuevo, no consideramos tan relevante este factor, ya que proporcionalmente el incremento es progresivo y significativo. Sin embargo, si alguna crítica se le pudiera realizar al corpus Koiné en cuanto a su validez, esta sería la incoherencia con el número de grabaciones, donde podemos encontrarnos desde niños como Raquel, con 6 grabaciones y 153 intervenciones, hasta el caso de Ricardo, al que le hicieron 23 grabaciones donde tiene 1.535 intervenciones. Asimismo, este problema de inconsistencia numérica coincide con el hecho de que de todas las niñas aparecidas en el corpus, Cecilia y Ana son las que tienen mayor número de intervenciones (646 y 1.119 respectivamente), un número bastante inferior si las comparamos con las de los niños. De todas maneras, nos parecía más significativo analizar a dos niñas y dos niños aunque el número de intervenciones y grabaciones difirieran tanto, para poder obtener valores más generalizables.

5.2 Análisis combinatorio del artículo

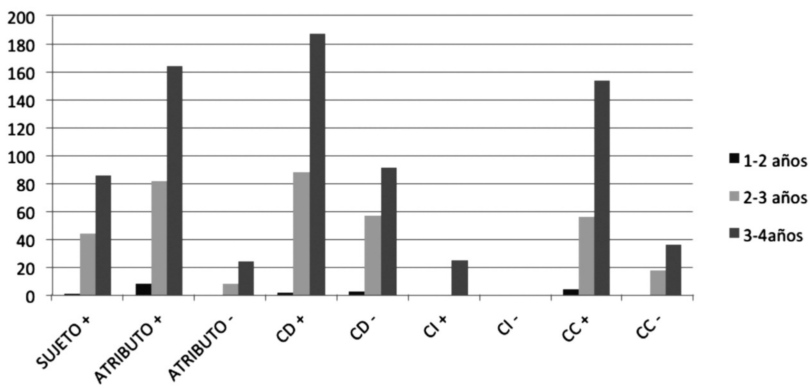

Gráfico 2: Combinatoria del artículo determinado e indeterminado (+) y el artículo 0 (-)

Si prestamos atención al gráfico número 2, podemos sistematizar a partir de la frecuencia las diferentes funciones en las que el artículo ha aparecido combinado para poder observar más claramente qué papel desempeña el artículo en el eje sintagmático del lenguaje. En este apartado nos ha parecido significativo tener en cuenta el artículo cero, puesto que aunque es difícil poder discriminar en las primeras etapas del proceso de adquisición de una lengua la aparición de éste, en el corpus hay situaciones claras de combinatoria en las que el sujeto ha utilizado el artículo cero de manera significativa.

Un factor a tener en cuenta que puede haber condicionado las respuestas de los sujetos es el método de recogida de datos aplicado en el corpus Koiné. Las transcripciones que hemos analizado para nuestra investigación proceden de las grabaciones realizadas en vídeo en guarderías. En esas grabaciones se establecían situaciones de juegos en las que las entrevistadoras utilizaban un conjunto de cartas que en muchas ocasiones los niños denominaban, puesto que la denominación es una de las operaciones referenciales más tempranas que el niño realiza. Este tipo de tarea motivadora de alguna manera ha podido condicionar la frecuencia de uso del artículo indeterminado por su función señalizadora de referentes mencionados por primera vez en el discurso. De todo lo anterior podemos entonces deducir el alto número de atributos, sujetos y complementos directos combinados con el artículo indeterminado del tipo *un X, es un X, un X es un, quiero/tengo/dame un X*. Algunos ejemplos de la combinatoria del artículo en el corpus utilizado para la presente investigación serían los siguientes:

1) *INV (Investigadora); CEC (Cecilia: 2 años y 8 meses); JUA (Juan: 3 años y 6 meses)*[1]

*INV:	cogemos otras cartas, vale?
*CEC:	una tortuga.
*INV:	sí (.) qué ves Juan?
*JUA:	una tortuga.
* INV:	y esto Juan?
*JUA:	un elefante.
*ANC:	vale.
*CEC:	un elefante con el palo.
* INV:	uhmm.
%act:	ANC le acerca las cartas a CEC
* CEC:	un cerdo.
* JUA:	un cerdo.
%act:	colocando otra carta sobre la mesa
* JUA:	una zanahoria.
* CEC:	una zanahoria.
[...]	
%act:	le da a escoger carta a JUA

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* JUA: una piña.
* CEC: y un tesoro!

2) *INV (Investigadora); RIC (Ricardo: 2 años y 20 días)*
*INV: y éste?
*RIC: un león.
*INV: oh (.) qué bonito.
*RIC: mira!
*RIC: un tigre.
* INV: un tigre.
* INV: y esto?
* RIC: yo no sé lo que es esto?
* INV: sí sabes qué es?
* RIC: un oso.
* INV: un osito.
* INV: éste sabes lo que es (.) verdad?
* RIC: es un mono (.) u (.) u (.) u.

5.2.1 Análisis combinatorio en la primera etapa

La principal información que el gráfico 2 debería aportarnos en cuanto a la combinación, es la clara evolución de cada una de las etapas, en donde podemos distinguir en la primera fase una sencillez sintáctica que muchas veces responde a la repetición de dos palabras mencionadas anteriormente por los interlocutores, donde aparecen escasos atributos (ATRIB), sujetos (S), complementos directos (CD) y complementos circunstanciales (CC) del tipo: (es) *una jirafa, quero agua, en el parque, en el jardín*. En la mayoría de los casos la interacción de los sujetos de investigación se limita a responder con una o dos palabras sin ningún tipo de determinación. No ocurre así en la segunda y tercera etapa, donde los sujetos analizados ya han abandonado el periodo de iniciación para pasar ahora a un periodo altamente productivo de experimentación y construcción.

5.2.2 Análisis combinatorio en la segunda etapa

Los datos que arroja la investigación realizada es un incremento de la combinación sintáctica del artículo tanto en las funciones de S y ATRIB como sobre todo la de CD con y sin artículo. Los verbos tener, dar y comer son de gran frecuencia, combinados por CD determinados por referentes conocidos o desconocidos (*tengo una muñeca, tiene el pelo blanco*) o CD con artículo virtual o cero que hacen referencia a nombres comunes contables en plural (*tengo fresas, dame tomates, comemos lechugas*) o a sustancias sin contornos bien delimitados (*hay agua, quiero leche*). A continuación presentamos algunos ejemplos que sirvan de ilustración:

3) *INV (Investigadora); CEC (Cecilia: 2 años y 8 meses); JUA (Juan: 3 años y 6 meses)*
*JUA: yo también tengo tomates en casa nanaranana [>]!
*INV: en casa de los abuelos?

*JUA:	sí¬!
*CEC:	no yo tengo fresas.
* JUA:	y yo tengo un abuelo.
*INV:	qué suerte!
*CEC:	y yo tengo fresas!

En relación a los CC, nos encontramos tanto con combinaciones determinadas que hacen referencia a un objeto conocido o desconocido (*en la piscina, en la cárcel*) como CC con artículo cero que hacen referencia a la clase virtual (*helado de limón, en casa*).

4) *INV (Investigadora); CEC (Cecilia: 2 años y 8 meses); JUA (Juan: 3 años y 6 meses)*
*INV:	quién tiene gallinas en casa?
*JUA:	yo no.
*CEC:	yo!
%act:	chillando
* INV:	y dónde?
*CEC:	en el pasillo.
* INV:	en el pasillo?
*CEC:	no, que tenemos gallinas en la cárcel (.) yo tengo gallinas en la cárcel!
* INV:	en la cárcel (.) que están encerradas?
%act:	CEC asiente con la cabeza
* INV:	por qué(.) se portaron mal?
*CEC:	sí.

5.2.3 Análisis combinatorio en la tercera etapa

En esta tercera fase de maduración y asentamiento de todo lo experimentado en la fase anterior, a tenor del gráfico 2 podemos ver que la frecuencia de uso del artículo se dispara en comparación con las otras etapas. Los contrastes en las combinaciones son más precisos como se puede apreciar en los ejemplos *fui a la farmacia/quiero ir a clase o hay que ir en coche/me llevan en el coche a la selva*.

5) *INV (Investigadora); ANA (Ana: 3 años y 5 meses)*
*ANP:	pues <yo> [/] yo fui a la farmacia[!].
[...]
*INV:	y ahora está la señora?
*ANP:	me quiero ir a clase!

Asimismo, cabe destacar en esta etapa la aparición de los primeros sustantivos nulos, lo que demuestra la presencia de un proceso sintáctico tan complejo como es el de elisión (*cuál es el mío, me gusta el rosa, Nieves es la que está en el patio, el de los siete cabritillos*).

6) *INV (Investigadora); ANA (Ana: 3 años y 6 meses)*
%act: la entrevistadora saca un libro y le pregunta acerca de los dibujos

*ANP: arregando [*] la calle.
%par:arregando=arreglando $PHO
*INV: y cómo se llaman los que arreglan la calle?
*ANP: pues (.) los que rompen para hacer otra calle nueva.
*INV: y cómo se llaman esos?
*ANP: pues (.) los que cogen palos y carretillas.

6 CONCLUSIONES

A partir de los datos analizados en la presente investigación y teniendo en cuenta tanto el análisis cuantitativo como el cualitativo, presentamos a continuación un mapa referencial con el objetivo de sistematizar una serie de rasgos determinantes a la hora de perfilar la adquisición del artículo en las diferentes fases del habla infantil.

ETAPAS	CARACTERÍSTICAS
1;10–2;00: ETAPA TELEGRÁFICA	Usos aislados en función de S, ATRIB, CC y CD
2;00–3;00: ETAPA DE PRODUCTIVIDAD PARCIAL	Incremento del uso en función de S, ATRIB, CC y CD Aparición del uso en función de CI.
3;00–4;00: ETAPA DE CONSOLIDACIÓN	Frecuencia de aparición de las diferentes funciones. Aparición de los sustantivos nulos. Mayor dominio y precisión combinatorios.

Tabla 1: La adquisición del artículo en las diferentes fases del habla infantil.

A través de la observación de las diferentes fases de adquisición del artículo, hemos podido reconocer cómo el niño ha ido experimentando y consolidando el uso del artículo a tenor del número de construcciones y combinaciones realizadas, síntoma de que la gramática emergente del niño va acercándose a los 4 años a la gramática adulta. Este proceso hace que tengamos que considerar el hecho de que los artículos de la lengua adulta en las fases iniciales de la gramática emergente de los niños funcionan esencialmente como señalizadores, en tanto que son unidades de carácter deíctico que no hacen sino presentar discursivamente los elementos léxicos. Esto se debe a que los niños desde una edad temprana tienen la necesidad de conseguir los objetivos de identificación de las entidades sobre las que dirigen su atención verbal.

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Resumen
EL PROCESO DE ADQUISICIÓN DEL ARTÍCULO ESPAÑOL EN EL LENGUAJE INFANTIL: FUNCIONES Y FASES ADQUISITIVAS

En el presente artículo se ha llevado a cabo un acercamiento al proceso de adquisición del artículo en español en el habla infantil, teniendo en cuenta las diferentes etapas de la adquisición, a partir de los datos de habla infantil de dos niños y dos niñas de entre 1;10 y 4;1 años. En la investigación realizada se han buscado las apariciones de las formas del artículo en dicho periodo de tiempo. Para la investigación se han utilizado y analizado las intervenciones espontáneas de los cuatro sujetos del corpus Koiné de habla infantil a través de un estudio longitudinal de los datos de dichos sujetos, y a partir de un análisis cualitativo y cuantitativo se han definido los rasgos que determinan la emergencia de la adquisición del artículo para poder establecer un mapa referencial en el que se pueden distinguir las diferentes fases adquisitivas del artículo en español.

Palabras clave*:* adquisición del lenguaje, corpus lingüístico, habla infantil, artículo.

Povzetek
PROCES USVAJANJA ŠPANSKEGA ČLENA V OTROŠKEM JEZIKU

V pričujočem članku obravnavam proces usvajanja španskega člena v otroškem govoru in pri tem upoštevam različne faze usvajanja jezika pri otrocih. Opirala sem se na podatke, ki sem jih pridobila iz govora dveh dečkov in dveh deklic, starih od 1 leta in 10 mesecev do 4 let in 1 meseca. V raziskavo so bile vključene oblike člena, značilne za njegovo rabo v tem starostnem obdobju. Uporabila sem štiri spontane govore subjektov korpusa otroškega jezika Koiné in analizirala podatke z longitudinalno študijo. S kvalitativno in kvantitativno študijo pa sem definirala značilnosti, ki narekujejo nujnost usvajanja člena na vseh stopnjah.

Ključne besede: usvajanje jezika, lingvistični korpus, otroški jezik, člen.

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ACQUIRING SPECIFIC INTERPRETING COMPETENCE

1 INTRODUCTION

Interpreter training is aimed at providing trainees with sufficient professional knowledge and skills, in order to ensure that they are autonomous and capable interpreters upon completing their training. Since training is usually organized as a one or two year postgraduate course (cf. MA in Interpreting at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana[1]), time constraints play a significant role in determining the nature and content of the course. To progress efficiently through the study programme, trainees are expected to possess certain aptitudes before entering the course, which are usually assessed during entry exams.

Beside excellent linguistic and cultural competence related to all working languages, and a wide general knowledge as well as interest in current affairs, future trainees should also be able to demonstrate self-confidence "on stage" and display good stress management abilities. In recent years, several studies have also stressed the importance of other factors, especially personality traits, e.g. intra-/extraversion, cognitive style (Gile 2001; Johnson 2001) etc.

However, entry exams vary in nature according to the institution, although in general they do test all these criteria in some way or another. Schools participating in the EMCI programme (European Master in Conference Interpreting) are required to follow structured guidelines for admission tests.[2] The above-mentioned predispositions constitute a solid base on which trainees can build competence and develop skills. Generally, all schools require excellent linguistic and cultural knowledge; any additional work on linguistic competence is to be carried out individually and outside the classroom, since training focuses more on acquiring specific interpreting skills and strategies that cannot be acquired elsewhere "in the most efficient way within the prescribed time" (Riccardi 2005: 755).

The present article focuses on specific interpreting competence and, in particular, on the acquisition of various strategies (Nolan 2005), or coping tactics (Gile 1995), by presenting focused and targeted exercises that can be used in interpreter training, providing a few examples from a corpus of students' interpretations.[3] These exercises

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[1] http://www.prevajalstvo.net/objectives-and-competences-inter

[2] http://www.emcinterpreting.org/admission.php

[3] Examples are taken from a corpus of students' performance in SI practice classes from French into Slovenian, gathered from January to June 2012 for the author's doctoral thesis (still in progress). For more clarity, English translations or explication are provided.

are not new and were already discussed by various interpreting researchers and theoreticians. However, the article aims at presenting them in a comprehensive way and in relation to the theoretical notions of strategies thus forming a starting point for trainers in designing the curriculum, and especially in preparing classes for simultaneous interpreting practices; moreover, such approach and the exercises presented are useful also to students, for their individual work and even further practice after completing the course.

Interpreting teachers usually come from the professional world, and are even required to be experienced practicing interpreters, but some might not have undergone specific interpreting training themselves (are self-trained) or have long since completed their training. In this respect, a short theoretical explanation of the necessary strategies and related targeted exercises as described in the article could prove useful, even for courses with limited contact hours. A survey has yet to be carried out regarding the assumption that specific exercises are indeed used in training and perceived as useful by students and teachers.

2 COMPETENCE AND INTERPRETER TRAINING

Interpreting competence comprises various skills and knowledge, organized hierarchically from general to specific, on the basis of which certain prototypical patterns of behaviour evolve with the view of solving problems (Kutz 1994). Nord (1996) developed a model distinguishing linguistic and cultural competence, expertise/professional knowledge, research competence, theoretical and methodological knowledge of interpreting history and practice, and translating/interpreting competence.

In an attempt to theoretically define the competence of professional conference interpreters, Sylvia Kalina states that it "refers to the ability to perform cognitive tasks of mediation within a bi/multilingual communication situation at an extremely high level of expectations and quality, often in a team of several interpreters" (Kalina 2000: 4). Moreover, it stretches to the behaviour before/after the actual interpreting assignment, as well as to the interpreter's overall attitude, flexibility and ability to adapt to technical challenges and ethical norms.

A competent interpreter is thus able to process texts in light of interlinguistic mediation, and is capable of "acting and performing in a situation characterized by externally determined constraints, such as the pressure of time, lack of semantic autonomy and potential interference between closely connected processes of production and comprehension" (Kalina 2000: 5).

2.1 Specific SI Competence

When we think about speaking and listening, we are usually unaware of how complex these ordinary activities and their underlying mechanisms really are. The operations that lead to the construction or deconstruction of meaning become obvious "only when there is a disruption, when we misunderstand something or we miss a link in what we hear, or when we don't find a suitable expression and we have to pause before continuing to speak" (Riccardi 2005: 756). These processes are even more significant in simultaneous interpreting (SI) learning and training, because SI is an unnatural activity composed of listening in one language, processing (analysing), and speaking in another language, and all under severe time pressure.

In fact, Gile (1995) divides SI into four distinct processes (listening to the original speech, analysis, target speech production, output control), stressing that each one of them requires specific effort from the interpreter, who only has a limited overall capacity, so his/her efforts need to be distributed more or less evenly to prevent possible disruptions in the performance. This model is known as the "efforts model" and can also be presented and used with students in training, as it provides a clear and systematic approach with specific strategies and coping tactics applied to each one of the processes.

Several studies by Moser-Mercer (1997; 2000) and Riccardi (1996; 1998) compared professionals' and students' performance, concluding that the latter have not as fully internalized and automated these strategies and tactics as the former, which proves that SI competence evolves and strengthens progressively through practice.

Riccardi distinguished between knowledge-based and skill-based strategies, where the latter "may be defined as all those strategies governed by stored patterns of automatic responses whose application is triggered by the recognition of a well-known stimulus within the communicative event" (Riccardi 2005: 760). By using skill-based strategies, interpreters ensure a fluent, spontaneous and natural output; moreover, these strategies can be applied at all levels: pragmatic, semantic, textual or morphological. Their application is closely linked to the interpreters' organization of knowledge and acquired experience in SI. Typical segments of speech where interpreters use their skill-based strategies and employ ready-made phrases are welcome words, greetings, thanks, and the introduction of points on an agenda.

The second group of strategies is knowledge-based strategies, which are activated as a "result of conscious analytical processes" and are used in a planned manner "because no automatic response is found or because something has caused a momentary memory overload" (Riccardi 2005: 762). This implies that the processing of source text and the production of the target text require constant attention and the ability to divide cognitive resources among the processes (Gile 1995).

In the continuation of the paper, a more detailed presentation will be given of the various strategies, this time categorized not so much by their nature but more by the stage of SI at which they are used. Later, specific exercises will be added for each of these strategies.

2.1.1 Global Strategies

One of the major global or overall strategies is the *décalage*, the lag between the original speaker and the interpreter, which is important throughout the text, but especially at the very beginning and end of the speech. Another global strategy is monitoring output in terms of coherence and cohesion as well as the overall logic of the interpreted text. It is also important to ensure fluency without unnecessary and prolonged pauses or disturbing sounds (i. e. *uhm*).

2.1.2 Comprehension Strategies

Basic comprehension strategies include anticipation, segmentation, and information selection, stalling or waiting. Anticipation means triggering existing knowledge of the topic or discourse type, and by understanding the overall line of the speaker's argument, trying to foresee what the next piece of information will be and how it will be presented, e.g., arguments are usually followed by counterarguments (macro level of the text); when the speakers touches upon viable alternative sources of energy, the interpreter should immediately think of the current trends in this field and the appropriate lexis (micro level of the text).

Segmentation involves dividing longer units into smaller and more manageable ones (Nolan 2005), reducing the cognitive load and the burden on memory. In a dense speech, some pieces of information may have to be omitted, and the interpreter should be able to distinguish between the main ideas and the supporting ones that can be omitted without compromising the speaker's message, or provide only a few items out of a longer list. On the other hand, if the interpreter does not have sufficient information to provide a coherent unit, he or she must learn to stall and wait for additional information or clarification to be able to interpret the message.

2.1.3 Production Strategies

In the production of interpreted text, the most commonly used strategies are paraphrasing, compression, expansion, approximation, generalization, use of linguistic open-end forms, morpho-syntactic transformations and the use of prosody elements, e.g., intonation and pauses. Sometimes additions may be used in the form of discourse markers, e.g., connectives, rhetorical phrases and fillers, which are typical of spoken language (Messner 2000) and also ensure the natural flow of interpreted text as well as easier comprehension by the audience. The use of connectives allows faster processing of elements, which is why they are often added even if not present in the original text. According to Schlamberger Brezar (2011), this demonstrates the interpreter's analysis and his/her efforts to reformulate the underlying idea in the target language.

2.1.4 Emergency strategies

These are all the strategies or "coping tactics", as Gile calls them (Gile 1995), which are used to overcome especially difficult passages of speech, be it due to information density, speed of delivery or the speaker's rapid reading of the text. They include omission of text segments, transcoding and parallel reformulation, e.g., using hyponyms or general terms instead of specific ones.

As with any categorization, these sets of strategies sometimes overlap and it is difficult to determine clear boundaries between a comprehension and production strategy.

3 ACQUIRING SKILLS THROUGH TARGETED EXERCICES

To reach the aim of transforming students' implicit linguistic competence into a new implicit procedural competence, in which the use of cognitive and linguistic strategies would be as automated as possible, Laura Gran (1998) proposed a gradual approach, starting with exercises focused on one skill at a time. Among her suggestions for this first period are text analyses, abstracting and paraphrasing, moving slowly to performing the whole task of interpreting.

According to SCIC training principles,[4] students should start with a simultaneous interpretation of a speech they already know and have worked on in consecutive mode, which lowers the necessary listening and comprehension effort, leaving more cognitive resources for the production aspect. In this first phase, speeches must be thoroughly presented (or known) to the students before entering the booth and should not contain too many transcodable elements, such as numbers, proper or geographical names; instead, they should be moderately informative (avoiding excessive detail), with one or more clear arguments to support a specific topic and contain as many oral traits of discourse as possible: natural pauses (caesurae), repetitions, paraphrasing and reformulating. In this way, students will be able to focus on the simultaneous technique and acquiring the right automatisms, rather than being excessively concerned about content.

Later in the training process, students should be exposed to more difficult passages and to speeches involving marked pronunciation, accelerated speed of speech, high density of information, technical terminology in various fields and rhetorical elements.

The length of the speeches in exercises is also an important factor. According to Seleskovitch (2002), even in initial exercises, the speeches should be complete (not only selected parts) and not too short. As the speeches increase in complexity, so does their length; students progress naturally towards their final goal, a speech of typical exam length (10 to 12 minutes). Near the end of the course, it is also suggested that students are exposed to "real-life" interpreting situations with longer oral presentations in which they learn how to work in pairs and take turns every 15 or 20 minutes.

However, although the basic practical exercise is the interpreting of entire speeches, there are also several more targeted exercises focusing on a particular aspect of interpreting or on exploring a particular interpreting strategy. These tasks can be employed as a complementary tool, making classroom work more dynamic and interesting. Moreover, such exercises help young interpreters to explore and develop specific strategies in the course of training, which establishes a solid base for further improvement and automatic use of strategies, resulting in less interference and smoother renditions, which is typical of professional interpreters (Kalina 1994).

3.1 Global Exercises

At an early stage in SI practice, the first challenge is to become used to listening and speaking at the same time and develop so-called split attention. This ability is strengthened with practice and experience, but some trainers also propose an exercise

[4] SCIC (Service commun d'interprétation de conférence) is the European commission's interpreting service which cooperates with universities to ensure professionally focused training by, among other activities providing training for trainers. The author of this article participated in such training in July 2012.

in which the student listens to a speech in a foreign language but does not interpret it; instead, he/she is asked to count backwards in his/her mother tongue from 1000. After the speech is over and the students return from the booths, they are asked to summarize the speech and provide the basic ideas. The exercise focuses on carrying out two activities at the same time; however, some (Coughlin 1989; Kurz 1996; Gillies 2001) oppose this, as these activities are not content-related in the same way listening and speaking in simultaneous interpreting are. Yet, if conducted only once or twice at the beginning of SI training, for instance, as a break between interpreting two speeches, this exercise might still be useful in reinforcing the listening phase while doing something else, since students are expected to retain the basic ideas of the original speech and summarize it afterwards.

As already proposed, the first speeches in SI exercises should be familiar to students, in other words, speeches that they have already interpreted in consecutive mode or familiar texts, such as fairy tales or fables, so that students focus more on the production or speaking phase. However, to maintain the students' attention during the listening phase, the trainer can introduce some changes to the original text (SCIC training 2012) or minor ones throughout the text (e.g., little Red Riding Hood visits her grandfather, not grandmother; on her way, she decides to pick some blueberries, not flowers, etc.), or major changes that influence the overall message of the text (e.g., little Red Riding Hood is saved from the wolf's belly, while her grandmother suffers cardiac arrest or similar).

One of the crucial global strategies the students must learn to use is deciding on an appropriate lag (*décalage*) from the speaker. At the beginning, students tend to have a very short lag out of fear of forgetting something; however, by doing so, they "concentrate too much on words and are in danger of losing on overall view over the text which prevents them from using their anticipation abilities" (Skarlovnik Ziherl 2004).

Therefore, a useful exercise is to first interpret a short speech with a very long lag (to start interpreting after the speaker has already said more than 10 words) and then a second one with a very short lag (start interpreting right after the speaker, one or two words behind). By doing so, students should realize that it is easier to interpret using a longer lag, which enables them to understand the message and the speaker's line of argumentation, rather than using a shorter lag with which they can concentrate only on words and perhaps miss the speaker's point (Skarlovnik Ziherl 2004). According to Kurz (1996), this exercise should be carried out on actual texts and not on a list of words or unrelated sentences. Only in this way can trainees learn to discard specific words and focus instead on the message, the "images and concepts evoked by context" (Coughlin 1989).

Another possible exercise is to make students wait with the interpretation so long that they can start differently to the speaker by giving the second meaningful unit first and then the first one. Example:

1) *Original: Nous ne sommes jamais satisfaits de ce que nous avons (unit 1), nous voulons toujours plus (unit 2).*

Interpration into Slovenian: Nikoli nismo zadovoljni s tem, kar imamo (unit 1), vedno si želimo več (unit 2).
Desired interpretation into Slovenian: Vedno si želimo več (unit 2), nikoli nismo zadovoljni s tem, kar imamo (unit 1).
English Translation: We are never satisfied with what we have (unit), we always want more (unit 2).

Such exercises help students practise concentration, forcing them to actively listen and analyse the given speech, the side-effect of which is that the trainees become accustomed to a variable lag, rather long than short. When the speeches become more complex and carry more transcodable units (i. e. numbers, names), trainees should learn to anticipate them from the context and quickly move closer to the speaker, in order to obtain such information correctly and in time.

3.2 Comprehension Exercises

Among the most important comprehension strategies that students must develop from the onset of training is anticipation. Even without practical experience in the field, students can learn to anticipate a speaker's line of discourse or even specific linguistic expressions or phrases.

3.2.1 Types of speeches and set phrases

At first students need to be presented with various types of speeches, using smaller representative extracts: welcome speech, thank you speech, argumentative, pro and contra, and others, with the view of learning to recognize them as quickly as possible and anticipating possible elements in the overall speech or a particular segment. The speeches can be authentic or created, but must resemble authentic speeches in their structure and lexis.

Students should be encouraged to produce their own glossaries in all their working languages with various set phrases or platitudes speakers usually use at the beginning of a speech, formal address, presentation of a topic or a specific question, logical connectors, change of topic, giving thanks to organizers or previous speakers, closing an argument, etc.

Examples of platitudes to which students should have automated solutions (French original/English translation):

2) *Mesdames et messieurs, chers amis.* ***Mes premiers mots sont pour vous remercier, Madame la présidente, de nous accueillir aujourd'hui*** *dans votre magnifique pays ... En accueillant à Montreux la famille francophone,* ***vous avez relevé un défi difficile, et comme mes prédécesseurs à cette tribune, je voudrais vous en remercier*** *très chaleureusement./Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends.* ***First of all I would like to express my gratitude*** *to Madam Chair,* ***for welcoming us today*** *in your beautiful country … By gathering the francophone family here in Montreux, you have* ***accepted a difficult challenge****, and like my predecessors I would* ***also like to extend my deepest thanks to you.***

3) ***Voilà, comme je vous l'ai dit, je vais parler de*** *multilinguisme./So* ***as I have already announced, my topic today*** *is multilingualism.*

4) *Et* ***je voudrais rendre hommage*** *ici à son action humanitaire, comme* ***je veux saluer son engagement*** *croissant dans le règlement des crises politiques et l'observation des élections./ At this point, I would like to* ***pay tribute to*** *its humanitarian activities* ***and also acknowledge*** *its growing engagement in tackling political crises and monitoring elections.*

5) ***Pour terminer, permettez-moi de citer*** *une journaliste Suisse, Joëlle Kuntz./****To wrap up my discussion, let me quot****e a Swiss journalist Joëlle Kuntz.*

By having a variety of set phrases at hand, interpreters ease the production effort and are able to concentrate on the more relevant pieces of information that normally follow, usually transcodable elements such as names, dates, numbers, and on possible terminology issues.

Regarding the discussed text types, students can regularly perform an exercise in which they must produce a short impromptu speech (2 to 3 minutes) in their working language on the basis of a selected text type and given subject, paying specific attention to set phrases and the structure of the speech (Gillies 2001). This exercise is a good way to warm up and start classroom work or prepare students for a specific topic.

3.2.2 Developing anticipation strategies

Cloze tests can be useful activities at a later, but still early, stage of SI practice. A variation of this exercise that focuses on the macro-level of speech consists of presenting students with the first part of a speech on a recurrent or familiar subject (e.g., multilingualism, discrimination, emigration, natural disaster, nuclear energy, etc.) and then stopping and allowing the students to finish the speech with a conclusion they consider appropriate to the argumentation provided in the first section. The exercise can be followed by a short discussion among students on their conclusion and the reasons they opted for it.

Example of a speech extract on multilingualism in the EU:

6) *Il n'existe pas de langues parfaites, il n'existe pas de langues pures, comme il n'existe pas de race pure. Il faut juste essayer d'utiliser sa langue au mieux et essayer de diffuser les connaissances linguistiques. Il est impossible que tous les Européens apprennent toutes les langues officielles de l'Union, évidemment, mais …*

   English explication: There are no perfect or pure languages. We just need to use our language in the best possible way and at the same time encourage the spread of language knowledge. Of course we cannot expect all Europeans to learn all the official languages of the Union but …

   Possible conclusion could be that European citizens are encouraged to learn at least one or two other European languages; this is the multilingualism policy, advocated by the EU.

The second variation of the exercise focuses more on the micro-level of speech, i. e. phrases or units of meaning. The trainer gives a speech and every now and then, leaves the unit unfinished for the students to find (anticipate or predict) the appropriate piece of meaning with the help of lexical redundancies, lexical or general knowledge and coherence. Besides unfinished phrases, trainers can intentionally mispronounce or mumble certain words and let students deduce the correct form from the context. Example:

7) *Les autorités suisses ne participent pas au processus décisionnel de l'Union ______________(1). Et elles se retrouvent donc dans l'impossibilité d'influer sur l'élaboration des décisions. Elles n'ont pas de com____________ (2) européennes, elles n'influent pas sur les propositions _________________(3). Elles n'ont pas de parlementaires européennes directement ___________________(4), elles n'ont pas de ministres représentés au ___________(5). Donc, elles ne participent pas à la décision sur les propositions législatives. Elles ne font que- qu'appliquer les décisions que des autres ont prises.*

English explication: The missing words are well known terms related to the EU: (1) European Union, (2) commissioners, (3) legislative, (4) elected, (5) Council.

These exercises force students to detach from words and focus more on immediate context analysis, searching for the meaning and message that the speaker wishes to convey. They also enable trainers to assess students' comprehension, memory capacities, linguistic competence, general knowledge, the ability to recognize relations within a text and deduce the overall meaning, while at the same time allowing students to practice working under pressure and strengthen their level of concentration (Skarlovnik Ziherl 2004; Setton 1994).

3.2.3 Segmentation exercises

Although the segmentation technique (or "salami technique" as it is widely known among interpreters) refers to the production phase, it is also inherently linked to the comprehension phase. By reducing the message into smaller, finished units, the interpreter eases the strain on working memory, which leaves more mental capacity for other activities, specifically listening and production. Smaller units are also easier to process, an aspect valid for interpreters as well as the audience.

Example:

8) Original: *Prenons l'exemple des cassiers dans les grands supermarchés, et pour citer un exemple précis, citons un exemple, un supermarché classique slovène, par exemple du type Merkator. Et bien, quand vous allez à la caisse, et bien vous pouvez remarquer qu'il y a certes des caissières comme autrefois comme toujours, mais on a également un certain nombre de caisses qui ont été introduites et qui sont plus ou moins gérés par les machines. Il y a normalement une personne qui contrôle comme ça des machines. Cela mène bien évidemment à utiliser un certain nombre de machines et à restreindre, à limiter les postes des caissières, puisque le paiement maintenant s'effectue de plus en plus souvent sans aide des caissiers. Donc petit à petit ces postes disparaissent.*

Interpretation: *Vzemimo primer velikih trgovin. Poglejmo na primer tipičen slovenski primer supermarketa, Merkator. Verjetno ste opazili, da tam dela nekaj blagajničark in blagajničarjev, ampak imajo tudi blagajne, ki so avomatske. Med njimi se sprehaja ena oseba, ki kontrolira delovanje teh blagajn. Na ta način se zmanjšuje število blaganičarjev. Postopoma torej ta delovna mesta izginjajo.*

(English explication: The message is divided into smaller clear units that ease the comprehension of this part, where the speaker addresses the issue of automated checkout points, where mashines are replacing traditional cashiers, thus lowering the number of people employed for this job at big supermarkets.)

Even if students fear that breaking a long phrase into several shorter and simpler ones might sound too simple or even childish, it is vital to learn this technique from the very beginning; not only is it extremely helpful from the processing point of view, it is also useful for events in a professional interpreter's career where the speaker uses complex phrases with heavy informational load.

An exercise that can be proposed to students is to work on a speech segment with particularly long and complex phrases and to try and break them into as many small meaningful units as possible. Such segmentation exercises can also be performed using a written speech and performing sight translation, where it is important to underline and explain to the students that they should move away from specific words (literal translation) and focus purely on the message.

3.3 Production Exercises

3.3.1 Paraphrasing exercises

There are a range of exercises related to the production phase of SI. Since paraphrasing is in a way the essence of SI, students should spend much of their time carrying out paraphrasing exercises. The "aim of such exercises is to cognitively transform texts by using automated operations to change the original structures" (Skarlovnik Ziherl 2004: 235).

At first students should be paraphrasing texts in the same language, without linguistic transfer, usually their mother tongue. This activity differs from actual interpreting as the transfer from one language into another is missing. Despite this, it serves as a valuable tool for enhancing vocabulary and learning that there are always several ways of expressing the same idea. In fact, students can work on one and the same speech or speech segment and try to express the ideas each time in a different way.

Afterwards, they can start doing proper interpretations and repeat the exercise twice or three times, each time trying to use different words (synonims, hypernyms, general terms) and different morpho-syntactic structures.

Example of a speech extract to work on, regarding bilateral treaties between the EU and Switzerland, which have become outdated and do not allow the Swiss to explore all the potential of the common market, so a new position is to be adopted in line with the sovereignety of the Swiss:

9) *Mais une chose parait certaine du côté européenne : l'époque des traités bilatéraux sur mesure,* ***touche à sa fin.*** *Comme le président de la Commission européenne l'a dit récemment, d'ailleurs ici, en Suisse, si la Suisse veut bénéficier de tous les potentiels du marché intérieur,* ***ce modèle est pratiquement épuisé.*** *En décembre l'Union européenne adoptera une position sur l'avenir de ces relations avec la Suisse. Cette nouvelle position* ***pourrait déboucher sur un réajustement*** *de la situation actuelle. Evidemment* ***toute discussion devra se faire dans le respect de la souveraineté*** *du people suisse. Mais aucune option ne devrait être* ***considéré comme tabou.***

(Marked in bold are the parts where students need to find a different way of expressing the idea, each time they interpret the passage. They can work on the passage up to four or five times, changing the wording and the syntactic structures.)

According to Kalina (1998), such exercises, even in the same language, are efficient because they help establish automated responses for recurrent syntactic operations, which lower the energy and cognitive effort needed for the activity. Some oppose this line of argument, claiming that looking for synonyms or different syntactic structures puts the focus on form rather than content (Coughlin 1989), which should be the primary aim in interpreter training. Nevertheless, this exercise can be a valid tool for enriching vocabulary and training students in ease of expression.

3.3.2 Abstracting and compressing

These two strategies are useful when the given speech is very informative and rich in detail, or presented (even read) at an accelerated speed, especially when the speakers' interventions are limited. The interpreter should be able to distinguish between essential and additional information, abstract the main ideas, and follow the speaker's line of thought.

In the first variation of the exercise, students listen to separate phrases outside the booths without taking notes and then resume the main idea after each phrase in as few words as possible (focusing on the essential structure subject-verb-object). Later, students perform the same activity in the booths, with shorter pauses between phrases, progressing to continuous speech without intentional pauses. The last phase involves continuous speech, dense with information, where students are compelled to summarize only the main idea (Skarlovnik Ziherl 2004).

Example of a dense speech extract containing date references, list of countries, numbers:

10) *La francophonie, c'est donc une solidarité au service de cette diversité.* ***En février dernier,*** *elle s'est exprimée auprès du* ***peuple d'Haïti*** *qui était confronté à la pire catastrophe de son histoire. Notre organisation a su se mobiliser. Et je voudrais rendre hommage ici à son action humanitaire, comme je veux saluer son engagement croissant dans le règlement des*

crises politiques et l'observation des élections. Hier en ***Mauritanie,*** *aujourd'hui en* ***Guinée,*** *demain, je l'espère, au* ***Niger****, au* ***Cote d'ivoire****, où il doit y avoir des élections comme partout dans le monde, et aussi à* ***Madagascar****. Depuis* ***la première réunion des pères fondateurs*** *de notre organisation* ***il y a quarante ans****, la Francophonie n'a cessé d'étendre, d'étendre le champ de son action. Aujourd'hui, avec* ***soixante-dix états membres ou observateurs*** *de notre organisation, nous représentons* ***plus d'un tiers des membres de Nations unies****. Et parfois je me demande si nous sommes conscients de la force que nous représentons.*

Main ideas of this segment: La Francophonie is an organisation based on solidarity between different nations. In February last year this was clearly shown with its fast mobilisation after the Haiti earthquake. The organisation's main activities I want to pay tribute today are the humanitarian actions, assistance during political crises and election monitoring. It has already been active in Mauritania, Guinea, and hopefully it will be able to assist in elections in Niger, the Ivory Coast, and also Madagascar. For 40 years already, the organisation has been active in a growing number of areas. Today is gathers 70 member countries and observers, which represents more than 1/3 of UN members.

Another possible exercise is the use of hypernyms or general expressions for a string of adjectives or nouns, or later for entire sentences.

4 CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERPRETER TRAINIG

Interpreter training focuses on practical exercises, but these clearly need to follow a structured and well considered plan, which enables continuous improvement in students' abilities and their transformation into interpreting competence. In SI practice, each interpreting exercise needs to focus on achieving clear objectives, which should be general at first (i. e. finishing sentences with a closing intonation, avoiding prolonged pauses) when students are still struggling with simultaneous technique, but progressing slowly to more specific objectives and the use of specific strategies. By the end of their training, students are expected to provide a complete interpretation and demonstrate the ability to use various strategies in an appropriate manner.

Generally, SI practice is carried out by interpreting complete speeches, which helps students in acquiring experience and stamina. However, exercises based on short segments or paragraphs in which students focus on specific strategies are useful in several respects: mastering the simultaneous technique, making classroom work more dynamic and enabling students to experiment and learn by trying. It is especially important to include them at the beginning of practice, and explain the aim of each exercise and the interpretation rationale underpinning it to students. In this way, students begin acquiring specific strategies they will later reinforce with practice in the professional sphere.

The present paper aimed at presenting an overview of the most important strategies for simultaneous interpreting and related training exercises that might be helpful for interpreter trainers from the professional sphere with little or no theoretical and pedagogical background. According to some (Ilg/Lambert, referred to in Skarlovnik Ziherl 2004), such exercises should account for one third of practice, which would allow students to develop a solid base of interpreting skills and strategies. However, due to lack of time and small number of contact hours, some trainers explain that they rather propose more speeches on various subjects, which to their opinion helps students to build on the necessary stamina and cover different topics. Therefore further research has yet to be carried out regarding the actual use of targeted exercises in simultaneous interpreting training and the perceived usefulness of them.

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Abstract
ACQUIRING SPECIFIC INTERPRETING COMPETENCE

In postgraduate interpreter training, the main objective of the course is to help trainees develop various competences, from linguistic, textual and cultural competence, to professional and specific interpreting competence. For simultaneous interpreting (SI), the main focus is on mastering the SI technique and strategies as well as on developing and strengthening communicative skills, which is discussed and illustrated with examples in the present paper.

First, a brief overview is given of all the necessary competences of a professional interpreter with greater emphasis on specific interpreting competence for SI. In the second part of the paper, various approaches are described in terms of acquiring specific skills and strategies, specifically through a range of exercises. Besides interpreting entire speeches, practical courses should also consist of targeted exercises, which help trainees develop suitable coping strategies and mechanisms (later on almost automatisms), while at the same time "force" them to reflect on their individual learning process and interpreting performance. This provides a solid base on which trained interpreters can progress and develop their skills also after joining the professional sphere.

Keywords: interpreter training, competence, strategies, skills, exercises.

Povzetek
PRIDOBIVANJE POSEBNE TOLMAŠKE KOMPETENCE

Glavni cilj podiplomskega študija tolmačenja je omogočiti študentom, da razvijejo različne vrste kompetenc, od jezikovne, besedilne in kulturne competence, do poklicne in posebne tolmaške kompetence. Pri pouku simultanega tolmačenja je glavni poudarek na usvajanju tehnike simultanega tolmačenja in strategij pa tudi na razvijanju in krepitvi komunikativnih spretnosti, kar je predstavljeno in s primeri ponazorjeno v pričujočem članku.

V prvem delu članka na kratko predstavimo potrebne kompetence poklicnih tolmačev, z večjim poudarkom na posebni tolmaški kompetenci in strategijah za simultano tolmačenje. V drugem delu opišemo različne postopke usvajanja posebnih spretnosti in strategij prek usmerjenih tolmaških vaj. Poleg tolmačenja celotnih govorov bi morali študentje pri praktičnem usposabljanju spoznati tudi usmerjene vaje, ki pomagajo pri razvoju ustreznih strategij in mehanizmov, hkrati pa jih silijo k premisleku o svojem napredku in usvojenih tolmaških spretnostih. Tak pristop predstavlja dobro podlago, na osnovi katere lahko tolmači napredujejo in nadalje razvijajo svoje spretnosti tudi po vstopu v poklicni svet.

Ključne besede: študij tolmačenja, kompetenca, strategije, spretnosti, vaje.

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UDK 81'253=163.6=112.2:[81'276.6:34]

EMPIRISCHE ANALYSE EINER VERDOLMETSCHTEN GERICHTSVERHANDLUNG AUS DEM SLOWENISCHEN INS DEUTSCHE

1 EINLEITUNG

Das Recht, seine Muttersprache in den Gerichts- und anderen Verfahren vor den Staatsbehörden der Republik Slowenien benutzen zu dürfen, ist in der Verfassung verankert. Indem sie eine reibungslose und erfolgreiche Kommunikation zwischen dem Gericht und den Fremdsprechenden ermöglichen, tragen die Gerichtsdolmetscher effektiv zur Wahrung der Menschenrechte und des Grundsatzes des fairen Verfahrens bei und schaffen dadurch Gleichberechtigung zwischen allen Verfahrensbeteiligten (cf. Mikkelson 2000: 2). Um bei ihrer Arbeit erfolgreich zu sein, werden ihnen verschiedene Kompetenzen abverlangt - neben den allgemeinen Dolmetschfertigkeiten auch ein umfassendes juristisches Wissen sowie eingehende Kenntnisse der einschlägigen Rechtsordnungen. Während einer Verhandlung im Gerichtssaal werden aber auch andere Kompetenzen des Dolmetschers auf die Probe gestellt, indem nicht nur das Was, sondern auch das Wie sinngemäß in die Zielsprache transferiert werden soll. Diese Untersuchung hat das Ziel, den Diskurs einer verdolmetschten Zeugenvernehmung näher zu betrachten und herausfinden, ob und wie es dem Dolmetscher gelingt die im Ausgangstext geäußerten Aussagen in die Zielsprache zu übertragen. Die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung sollen eine Möglichkeit aufzeigen, wie die Kommunikationsteilnehmer im Gerichtssaal ihre Arbeits- und Kommunikationsweise verbessern, effizienter gestalten und so zu einem reibungsloseren Verfahrensablauf beitragen können. Außerdem soll der vorliegende Beitrag als Anregung für weitere Analysen zu diesem Thema dienen. Im ersten Teil wird zunächst der Rechtsdiskurs im Gerichtssaal theoretisch erörtert. Darauf folgend wird die konkrete Dolmetschtätigkeit im Gerichtssaal mit Bezug auf die Fachsprache und den Dolmetschmodus beschrieben. Anhand einer transkribierten gedolmetschten Zeugenvernehmung wird im vierten Teil eine empirische Analyse des Rechtsdiskurses im Gerichtssaal unternommen, die bei der Verdolmetschung festgestellten Abweichungen eingehender betrachtet und die Gründe dafür erörtert. Zuletzt werden noch künftige Perspektiven der Diskursanalyse im Gerichtssaal aufgezeigt.

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2 ÜBER DEN RECHTSDISKURS IM GERICHTSSAL

Im Gerichtssaal steht das gesprochene Wort im Vordergrund. Der Grundsatz der Mündlichkeit (Art. 4 slowenische ZPO)[1] besagt, dass das Gericht sein Urteil lediglich darauf begründen darf, was bei der Hauptverhandlung entweder direkt, z. B. durch die mündliche Vernehmung von Zeugen oder Sachverständigen oder indirekt, z. B. durch das Vorlesen von Protokollen und Urkunden behandelt wird. Mit anderen Worten, man muss (persönlich) anwesend sein um „seine" Wahrheit zu bekunden und sie gegenüber anderen Parteien zu verteidigen. Der Richter hat keinen Zugang zur fraglichen Wirklichkeit. Er muss aus dem, was erzählt oder berichtet wird, etwas machen, was rechtsförmig ist (Hoffmann 2007).

Urteile beruhen auf Gesetzen. Doch die Gesetze sprechen nicht, sie werden interpretiert. So liegt man mit der Annahme, es werde lediglich ein objektiv festgestelltes Geschehen dem Rechtssatz zugeordnet („subsumiert") und daraus ergebe sich logisch das Urteil, falsch. Die Wirklichkeit wird nicht so einfach zum Fall. Auch das Gesetz muss erst zum Sprechen gebracht werden (Hoffmann 2007). Die Realität im Gerichtssaal wird erst im Diskurs, im Medium der Sprache, (neu) aufgebaut und gegenseitig kommuniziert.

Bei einer Gerichtsverhandlung werden die Rechte der sprechenden Subjekte auf Teilnahme und Teilhabe am Rechtsdiskurs kanalisiert. Die Teilnahme am Verfahren gewährt die Möglichkeit an vorgesehenen Stellen sprechen und begründen zu dürfen. Dabei hat man bestimmte Äußerungsformen anzuwenden und sich an feste Kommunikationsregeln zu halten. Die Positionen der Sender und der Empfänger im Gerichtsraum sind räumlich bestimmt (Seibert 1994). Zeugen haben das Recht auf zusammenhängende Darstellung und Bekanntgabe des Themas. Da die Sprache im Recht zu einem Medium für Rechtsinstitutionen wird, treten die Vermittlungskompetenz der Diskursteilnehmer und die Sprache umso mehr ins Visier. Aus diesem Grund wird im Recht ständig an Sprache gearbeitet. Recht und Sprache stehen dabei in Wechselwirkung miteinander (Neumann-Duesberg 1949 zit. in Oksaar 1988: 56).

Der im Gerichtssaal stattfindende Rechtsdiskurs ist in mancher Hinsicht vorherbestimmt. Betrachtet man den gesamten Verfahrensablauf, so stellt man fest, dass der Diskurs im Gerichtssaal vom Aufruf der Sache, über die Eröffnung der Verhandlung und die Beweisaufnahme bis hin zur Urteilsverkündung, streng geregelt und seine effiziente Umsetzung dem personifizierten Vertreter des Gerichts, nämlich dem vorsitzführenden Richter, anvertraut ist. In einem Zivilverfahren leitet der Richter die Hauptverhandlung, führt Beweise aus, erteilt das Wort an die Senatsmitglieder, die Parteien, deren Rechtsbeistände und Bevollmächtigte und verkündet die Entscheidungen des Richtersenats (Art. 298 slowenische ZPO).[2] Nicht viel anders übernimmt auch

[1] 4. člen Zakona o pravdnem postopku – Sodišče odloči o tožbenem zahtevku na podlagi ustnega, neposrednega in javnega obravnavanja.

[2] 298. člen Zakona o pravdnem postopku – Predsednik senata vodi glavno obravnavo, izprašuje stranke, izvaja dokaze, daje besedo članom senata, strankam ter njihovim zakonitim zastopnikom in pooblaščencem in razglaša odločbe senata.

im Strafprozess der Richter die Rolle des moderierenden „Befehlshabers“, dessen Handlungen wohl im Gesetz und in der Verfassung begründet sein müssen. Er ist stets daraus ausgerichtet, die Wahrheit zu erkunden um darauf sein Urteil zu begründen.

Doch die Wahrheitssuche ist begrenzt, da der Prozess in vertretbarer Zeit und mit vertretbaren Kosten zu einem Ende kommen und die Streitfrage erledigt werden muss (etwa durch einen ausgehandelten Vergleich, eine Einstellung unter Auflagen oder durch ein Urteil) (Hoffmann 2007). Effizienz ist gefragt. Folglich wird dem Rechtsdiskurs im Gerichtssaal konsequente Formalität und begrenzte Möglichkeit der Diskursteilnahme abverlangt. Dadurch soll verhindert werden, dass Jedermann Zugang zum Rechtsdiskurs hat und (im Idealfall) auch, dass über Irrelevantes kommuniziert wird.

Viele Handlungsmuster werden im Gerichtssaal institutionell transformiert. In der Schule kennt der Fragende die Antwort, vor Gericht muss sich der Zeuge in der Antwort an die Wahrheit halten, während Angeklagte im Prinzip lügen dürfen oder auch zu den Vorwürfen schweigen können (Hoffmann 1992). Um die notwendigen Handlungen im Gerichtssaal effektiv umsetzen zu können, bedarf es einer gewissen Ordnung und Hierarchie. Die Dreier-Konstellation, „Richter-Kläger-Beklagte“, prädestiniert die Kommunikation, welche im Gerichtssaal strategisch bestimmt sein muss, um lediglich das Zielführende zum Ausdruck bringen zu lassen. Dem Richter kommt eine übergeordnete Rolle zu, andere Gesprächsteilnehmer sind seinen Weisungen unterstellt und haben diese zu akzeptieren um an der Kommunikation weiter teilnehmen zu dürfen.

3 ÜBER DIE DOLMETSCHTÄTIGKEIT IM GERICHTSSAAL

Die bisher geschilderte Interaktion im Gerichtssaal wird durch die Hinzuziehung eines Gerichtsdolmetschers neu definiert. Die Präsenz des Dolmetschers im Gerichtsverfahren muss nämlich stets als ein eindringliches Element angesehen werden. Das manifestiert sich in vielerlei Hinsicht - von der bloßen Präsenz des Dolmetschers im Gerichtssaal, der entsprechenden Platzzuweisung und Vorstellung seiner Person gegenüber den Geschworenen, Anwälten uä., über die allgemein verbreitete Praxis mancher Richter und Anwälte, statt den Zeugen den Dolmetscher zu adressieren, bis hin zu der Notwendigkeit, dass vom Dolmetscher bestimmte Fragestellungen der Anwälte oder Aussagen des Zeugen zusätzlich erläutert werden müssen. (Berk-Seligson 2002: 96). Nicht selten löst der Dolmetscher durch seinen Auftritt im Gerichtssaal zusätzliche Besorgnis hinsichtlich des Kommunikationsverlaufs aus. Außerdem spielt er in diesem Sprechakt oft eine entscheidende Rolle, indem er die Rede des Zeugen oder des Beklagten, dessen Aussage er dolmetscht, kontrolliert (Berk-Seligson 2002: 86) Diese Kontrolle wird durch die Anwendung verschiedener Mechanismen, mittels derer der Befragte entweder zum Reden aufgefordert oder zum Schweigen gezwungen werden kann, deutlich.

Obwohl der Dolmetscher, wie bereits erwähnt, den Weisungen des Richters unterworfen, also kommunikativ untergeordnet ist und seine Aufgabe in erster Linie in der wortwörtlichen Wiedergabe der im Gerichtssaal geäußerten Aussagen besteht, so wird an ihn gleichzeitig auch die Forderung gestellt, dass er auch die Gesprächsstrategie, den tatsächlichen Sinn und die wahre Intention der Aussagen vor Gericht möglichst originaltreu in die Zielsprache transferiert, also (zumal nur in der Fremdsprache) kommunikativ gleichwertig zu fungieren versucht. Ein Widerspruch in sich selbst, der bereits von mehreren Forschern aufgegriffen wurde. So behauptet Mikkelson, dass der Dolmetscher nichts hinzufügen, ergänzen, erläutern oder erklären darf (Mikkelson 1996: 2), noch mehr, dass es nicht seine Aufgabe sei, zu gewährleisten, dass der Beklagte das Verfahren versteht (Mikkelson 1996: 2). Auch Morris (Morris 1995) bezweifelt, ob diese beiden Kriterien überhaupt gleichzeitig erfüllt werden können. Tatsache ist, dass sich der Dolmetscher während seiner Arbeit immer gezwungen sieht, in der Spannweite zwischen diesen beiden Extremen das richtige Gleichgewicht herzustellen.

3.1 Fachsprache und Sprachregister

Die Juristen benutzen in ihren Ausführungen großenteils die Alltagssprache; dies ist erforderlich, weil die Rechtstexte oft nicht nur an Experte gerichtet sind und, weil sie auch für rechtsunkundige Adressaten, also ein weiteres Publikum, verständlich sein müssen. Andererseits ist die juristische Sprache aber auch eine Fachsprache. Die wesentlichen Charakteristika der Fachsprache sind eine charakteristische Auswahl, Verwendung und Frequenz der Sprachmittel, vor allem auf der morphologischen, lexikologischen, syntaktischen und textuellen Ebene, (Möhn/Pelka 1984: 26), ein minderer Grad der Abhängigkeit von der Individualität des Kommunikators (Von Hahn 1983: 68) und ein spezifischer, den Bedürfnissen des jeweiligen Fachbereiches angepasster Wortschatz, der fließend in die Allgemeinsprache übergeht und darüber hinaus allgemein verständliche Wörter aus der Alltagssprache enthält (Hoffmann 1985: 53).

Die wichtigsten Merkmale der juristischen Fachsprache sind Abstraktheit, Schlichtheit, Nüchternheit, Knappheit, Ausführlichkeit, Technizität und Mehrdeutigkeit von Rechtsbegriffen in verschiedenen Rechtsgebieten. Des Weiteren werden in der Gesetzessprache juristische Fachausdrücke verwendet, deren Bedeutung gelegentlich nicht oder nur teilweise mit dem alltäglichen Sprachgebrauch übereinstimmt.

Auf jeden Fall ergibt sich aus dem spezifischen Gebrauch der Sprache im Gerichtssaal eine Variation der Sprache. Halliday (Halliday 1978) bezeichnet diese als Register und ist davon überzeugt, dass, die Relevanz des Registerkonzeptes, vor allem für die Übersetzung in der Tatsache besteht, dass es als eine Art „prediction“ verstanden wird, so dass aus der Situation, die Auswahl der sprachlichen Formen, die darin funktionieren, vorhergesagt werden kann (Halliday 1978: 32). Diese Vermutung oder Antizipation muss auch der Dolmetscher bei seiner Tätigkeit entsprechend einfließen lassen.

3.2 Dolmetschmodus

Es gibt mehrere Dolmetschtechniken, jedoch sind im Gerichtssaal bei der Zeugenvernehmung die nachstehenden drei Dolmetschmodi praxisüblich.

Konsekutivdolmetschen

Bei diesem Modus überträgt der Dolmetscher das Gesagte in eine andere Sprache, nachdem der Redner seine Ausführungen beendet hat. Diese Verdolmetschung geschieht ohne den Einsatz von technischen Hilfsmittelt (die beim Simultandolmetschen zur Anwendung kommen) und fordert den größten Zeitaufwand. Das Konsekutivdolmetschen wird am häufigsten bei den Gerichtsverhandlungen und Zeugenvernehmungen verwendet. Dieser Modus ist nicht ohne Grund der am meisten verbreitete, er erlaubt nämlich als einziger die kontinuierliche Prüfung, ob der Fremdsprechende, das gesagte auch (richtig) verstanden hat und gewährt die Möglichkeit, im entgegengesetzten Fall sofort in die Kommunikation einzugreifen um etwaige Korrekturen vorzunehmen.

Flüsterdolmetschen

Das Flüsterdolmetschen, im Vergleich zum Konsekutivdolmetschen, passiert ohne den Kommunikationsablauf zwischen den Hauptakteuren im Gerichtssaal zu unterbrechen. Laut Kalina (Kalina 1998) wird Flüsterdolmetschen oft als erschwertes Simultandolmetschen bezeichnet, weil die zeitliche Überlappung die gleiche ist, die Hör- und Sprechbedingungen aber mangels geeigneter technischer Einrichtungen schlechter sind. Die Rezeption des Dolmetschers wird (vorwiegend negativ) durch zusätzliche Faktoren, wie Klangfarbe, Stimmstärke, Akzentuierung uä. mitbeeinflusst. An dieser Stelle sei auch erwähnt, dass Flüsterdolmetschen und das Vom-Blatt-Dolmetschen (siehe weiter unten), die in der Praxis des Dolmetschens vor Gericht eine bedeutende Rolle spielen, weitgehend unerforscht sind. Ein gewichtiger Grund hierfür ist ganz bestimmt die Tatsache, dass sich die Aufnahme des zu untersuchten geflüsterten Zieletextes als zu aufwendig versteht.

Man unterscheidet zwei Modi des Flüsterdolmetschens. Beim ersten befindet sich der Dolmetscher hinter maximal zwei fremdsprechenden Personen und spricht ihnen simultan die Übersetzung des Gesagten leise ins Ohr. Diese Dolmetschtechnik kommt im Gerichtssaal immer dann zum Einsatz, wenn der Kommunikationsfluss durch die Verdolmetschung nicht unterbrochen, wohl aber den Fremdsprechenden der Kommunikationsablauf und somit der Verhandlungsablauf deutlich und verständlich gemacht werden soll.

Beim zweiten Modus benutzt der Dolmetscher eine sogenannte Infoport- oder Flüsteranlage, in welche er hinein flüstert und seine Verdolmetschung an mehr als zwei Zuhörer gleichzeitig übertragen wird. Diese Dolmetschtechnik wird vor allem bei größeren Prozessen mit mehreren Angeklagten angewandt.

Vom-Blatt-Übersetzen

In bestimmten Situationen ist es nicht das gesprochene Wort, sondern ein schriftlicher Text, der von dem Dolmetscher in die jeweilige Zielsprache (mündlich) übertragen wird. Diese Technik, genannt Vom-Blatt-Übersetzen, wird eingesetzt, wenn im Gerichtssaal fremdsprachige Urkunden und Gutachten oder Protokolle (z. B. Protokolle der Polizei) verlesen werden. Dieser Art von Dolmetschen wird in der vorliegenden Untersuchung kein besonderes Augenmerk geschenkt.

Welche Dolmetschtechnik bei der Gerichtsverhandlung eingesetzt werden soll, wird grundsätzlich vom Gericht beschlossen, dem Dolmetscher im Gerichtssaal jedoch nur indirekt vorgegeben. Aufgrund mangelnder technischer Ausstattung wird in der Regel konsekutiv gedolmetscht. Simultandolmetschen wird nur in Form von Flüsterdolmetschen durchgeführt. Manchmal muss der Dolmetscher während der Verhandlung selbstständig den Modus wechseln. Dies ist vorwiegend der Fall bei Einsprüchen, wenn Teile der Aussagen im Gerichtssaal sich zeitlich überlappen. In solchen Situationen greift der Dolmetscher auf sein verbales Werkzeug und Kontrollmechanismen zurück. So deutet er zum Beispiel mit bestimmten Äußerungen darauf hin, dass Informationen wiederholt werden sollen, oder wechselt eben, wenn der Redefluss zu schnell geworden ist, in den Simultanmodus, um Zeit zu gewinnen und weiterhin eine entsprechende Verdolmetschung gewährleisten zu können. Inwiefern die Anwendung dieser Mechanismen die Perzeption des Richters gegenüber dem Zeugen oder Angeklagte beeinflusst, bleibt offen, allerdings verursachen Einsprüche, die im Rahmen einer gedolmetschten Zeugenvernehmung erhoben werden - zumindest für den Dolmetscher und den auf ihn angewiesenen Fremdsprechenden - eine sehr konfuse Situation. Sobald der erste Anwalt eine Frage stellt, erhebt der andere Einspruch und bis der Dolmetscher die erste Frage an den Zeugen verdolmetscht hat, hat der Richter bereits dem Einspruch stattgegeben oder ihn zurückgelehnt (nach Berk-Seligson 2002: 91).

4 EMPIRISCHE ANALYSE DER VERDOLMETSCHUNG DES RECHTSDISKURSES IM GERICHTSSAAL

4.1 Zur Transkription und der Ausgangssituation

Der empirische Teil der wissenschaftlichen Auseinandersetzung mit diesem Thema wurde in Februar 2012 am Bezirksgericht in Maribor durchgeführt. Da slowenische Gerichte in letzten Jahren vermehrt Audioaufnahmen von mündlichen Verhandlungen veranlassen, konnte auf diese zurückgegriffen werden um entsprechende Textkorpora für die Untersuchung zu gewinnen. Dies erleichterte die Arbeit sehr, da aufwendiges und technisch kompliziertes Aufnehmen im Gerichtssaal nicht notwendig gewesen war. Bei der Aufnahme handelt es sich um eine offene Aufnahme, die angekündigt und im Anschluss daran durchgeführt wurde. Die Verdolmetschung wird von einem gerichtlich beeidigten Dolmetscher angefertigt. Die Gesamtlänge des Gesprächs beträgt 14:45 Minuten.

Es wurde orthographische Transkription verwendet wie sie in Brinker und Sager beschrieben wird. „Der Vorteil dieses Verfahrens besteht darin, dass es leicht lesbar und leicht anwendbar ist, gleichzeitig aber die kommunikativ relevanten Besonderheiten der gesprochenen Sprache erfasst werden“ (Brinker/Sager 2010). Alle personen- und firmenbezogenen Daten wurden aufgrund datenschutzrechtlicher Bestimmungen verändert.

Die bei der Transkription verwendeten Zeichen haben folgende Bedeutungen:

+	Pause
+ +	längere Pause
R	Richter
D	Dolmetscher
Z	Zeuge
B	Beklagte
AK	Anwalt des Klägers
AB	Anwalt der Beklagten
Wortlaut (grau unterlegt)	gleichzeitiges Sprechen mehrerer Gesprächsteilnehmer & simultanes Flüsterdolmetschen
Wortlaut (grau unterlegt & Kursivschrift)	simultanes Flüsterdolmetschen
Wortlaut (Kursivschrift)	schlechter hörbare Wörter oder Passagen

Die untersuchte Konversation wird als Gesprächstyp Vernehmung klassifiziert. Das Thema und gleichzeitig das Ziel der vorliegenden Besprechung ist die Befragung des Zeugen zu einem vorher bekannten Sachverhalt. Demzufolge widmet sich das vorliegende Gespräch vor allem dem Zweck des Informationsaustausches und der Entscheidungsvorbereitung. Es bildet die Grundlage für den weiteren Verlauf und mögliche Handlungen im Gerichtsverfahren.

Der gewählte Dolmetschmodus ist konsekutiv. In der letzten Minute des Gespräches, wenn vom Anwalt der klagenden Partei Einsprüche erhoben werden, wechselt der Dolmetscher ohne Aufforderung in den Simultanmodus und dolmetscht flüsternd. Ausgelöst durch neue Kommunikationsbedingungen (Überlappung der Aussagen, schneller Wechsel der Gesprächsteilnehmer), wählt der Dolmetscher den rationellen Entschluss, die Verdolmetschung, sobald Einspruch erhoben wird, vorerst zu unterbrechen. Um dem Zeugen weiterhin die Teilhabe am Geschehen zu ermöglichen, entschließt er sich kurz darauf flüsternd dolmetschend fortzufahren. Weil situative Faktoren (schlechter akustischer Empfang, erhöhter Stressfaktor, intensive Belastung der Stimmlippen, das physische und psychische Wohlbefinden) bei diesem Modus eine noch größere (negative) Auswirkung auf den Dolmetscher entfalten, ist die Verdolmetschung in diesem Teil der Konversation deutlich unvollständiger.

4.2 Analyse

Bei der Analyse wird nach Henne und Rehbock (Henne/Rehbock 2001: 14) vorgegangen und dabei die folgenden Kategorien am konkreten Beispiel näher beleuchtet:

4.2.1 Kategorien der Makroebene: Gesprächsphasen

a. Gesprächseröffnung

Die äußere Struktur eines Gespräches gliedert sich in drei Hauptteile: die Einleitung, den Kern und den Schluss (Levinson 1983, übernommen nach Verdonik 2007).

In unserem Fall stellt die Aufnahme lediglich den Kern des Gesprächs dar. Eingeführt wird das Gespräch durch eine entsprechende Begrüßungsformel. Da aus der Aufnahme darüber nichts Konkretes vorliegt, könnte man als den ersten Sprechakt bereits den Aufruf der Sache verstehen, auf den der Gerufene/der Geladene so reagiert, dass er den Gerichtssaal betritt. Im ersten thematischen Abschnitt wird jedenfalls der Kontakt zwischen den Gesprächspartnern aufgenommen, indem zuerst die Personalien der geladenen Person nach einem vorherbestimmten Fragenkatalog abgefragt werden und der zu Befragende eine Rechtsbelehrung erteilt bekommt. Das sind feste Bestandteile der Zeugenvernehmung, die auch gesetzlich geregelt sind. Den Beginn des Kernteiles signalisiert der Beginn der Audioaufnahme, der vom Richter angeordnet wird. Der Dolmetscher erhält zu Beginn seiner Tätigkeit im Gerichtssaal keinerlei Weisung bezüglich des Dolmetschmodus, dieser ergibt sich automatisch aus der vorgefundenen Situation (es gibt keine technische Ausstattung im Saal, der Dolmetscher wird mit dem Zeugen zum Rednerpult aufgefordert). Weil die Vernehmung aufgenommen wird, wird er, zusammen mit dem Vernommenen, aufgefordert in das Mikrofon zu sprechen und unnötige Geräusche zu vermeiden.

b. Gesprächsmitte (Entfaltung des Themas und der Subthemen)

Das Hauptthema ist die Befragung über einen bestimmten Sachverhalt, nämlich die Existenz von verschiedenen Verträgen und sich daraus ergebenden Rechtsverhältnissen. In der zentralen Sektion des Gespräches werden verschiedene Subthemen in der Regel nach dem Frage-Antwort Prinzip besprochen, und zwar so lange, bis, nach dem Ermessen des Gerichtes, das erwartete Informationsniveau erreicht und die Fragen ausgeschöpft sind.

c. Gesprächsbeendigung (Nebenthemen, Episoden)

Nebenthemen treten lediglich in den Fragen auf, die im letzten Teil der Konversation seitens der Verteidigung bzw. der Beklagten selbst gestellt werden. Der Abschluss der Konversation wird sehr abrupt durch den Richter herbeigeführt und signalisiert gelichzeitig das Ende der Audioaufnahme. Danach wird nur noch die Erstattung von Kosten besprochen und der Zeuge und der Dolmetscher mit einer Abschiedsformel entlassen.

4.2.2 Kategorien der mittleren Ebene

a. Sprecher-wechsel (turn taking)

Schon vor Gesprächsbeginn ist wegen der institutionellen Rollenverteilung und Hierarchie im Gerichtssaal klar, dass es sich um ein Gespräch mit einer Rollentrennung in „bevorrechtigte" und „nicht-bevorrechtigte" Partner handelt. Die Gesprächseröffnung erfolgt durch den Richter. Er ist es auch, der die Kernphase thematisch einleitet und bestimmt. Bereits mit der Eröffnungsfrage gibt er zu verstehen, dass man ihm zuhören und seiner Gesprächsstrategie folgen solle. So beginnt er seine Befragung mit dem einleitenden Fragesatz,

RICHTER: Najprej bi gospoda vprašal, eh, ... kaj če in kaj mu je znano glede
DOLMETSCHER: Zuerst möchte ich Sie, Herr Müller, fragen, ob Ihnen was bekannt ist, beziehungsweise, was ist Ihnen bekannt, bezüglich

welches als initiierendes Startsignal betrachtet werden kann und auf das ein Hörersignal auf verbaler oder nonverbaler Art erwartet wird. Es scheint ein grundsätzlicher Respekt vor dem Wort des Ranghöchsten zu existieren. Andere Teilnehmer warten, bis die Frage zu Ende formuliert ist, bevor das Wort von dem Befragten ergriffen wird. Um zu Wort kommen zu dürfen, muss zuerst das Rederecht erteilt werden. Dies erfolgt, mit einer Ausnahme, in allen Fällen durch Fremdwahl, die dem bevorrechtigten Gesprächspartnern, in einer Gerichtsverhandlung also dem Richter, obliegt. Weil das Rederecht bewusst erteilt wird, vollzieht sich ein glatter Sprachwechsel. Nur einmal bittet der Zeuge etwas ergänzen zu dürfen und ergreift so die Initiative im Gespräch. Der Dolmetscher folgt in seinen Ausführungen konsequent dem Fragestellungs-Modus des Gesprächsmoderators und schlüpft nur einmal spontan in seiner Rolle, indem es den Zeugen nach einer bestimmten Information hinterfragt.

RICHTER: Mhm. Lahko pove mogoče ime gospoda Žigarta?
DOLMETSCHER: Könnten Sie den Namen von Herrn Žigart nennen? Den Namen...
ZEUGE: Žigart.
DOLMETSCHER: Žigart ist der Nachname, den Vornamen.
ZEUGE: Nein.
RICHTER: Ne, ne vem.

Es gibt im ganzen Gespräch lediglich eine Unterbrechung durch den Richter. Diese erweist sich als notwendig, wenn er ein Lapsus in der Frage der Beklagten entdeckt sich entschließt unmittelbar in die Kommunikation einzugreifen, um zu korrigieren. Die Unterbrechung findet unmittelbar nach der Fragestellung und vor der Verdolmetschung statt und hat eine ausschließlich aufklärende und korrigierende Intention. Den Dolmetscher unterbricht er zu keinem Zeitpunkt. Insofern gibt es auch keine Anzeichen dafür, dass die Verdolmetschung, nämlich deren Qualität oder Vollständigkeit in irgendwelcher Weise unter Frage gestellt würde. Vielmehr bejaht der Richter in seinen Erwiderungen die verdolmetschten Aussagen und baut auf der bereits vorhandenen Information seine nächste Frage auf. Die Bejahung wird durch verschiedene Wörter ausgedrückt:

RICHTER: Že, ampak zanima me, kdo se je pred gospodom ukvarjal s temi pogodbami?
RICHTER: Aha, zdaj, glede na to, da je gospod prevzel ta spis šele v mesecu marcu ...
RICHTER: Mhm. Lahko pove mogoče ime gospoda?
RICHTER: Mhm. Eh, nam lahko poveste mogoče vsebino razgovora.
RICHTER: Mhm. Prav. Gospod odvetnik, izvolite.

Auch hierdurch wird die höhere Stellung des Richters in dem Gespräch deutlich. Mit dem bejahenden Partikel schließt er das Teilthema ab und eröffnet ein neues oder bewegt sich mehr in die Tiefe der Aussage. Das Recht eröffnende und beendende Gesprächsschritte durchzuführen sind eindeutig auf die Rolle des Richters geknüpft. Die ranghöchste Person ist die gesprächsleitende Person. Sie hat das Recht Gesprächssequenzen sowohl zu eröffnen, als auch zu beenden. Nur wenn diese Rollenverteilung von allen akzeptiert wird, kann eine Besprechung erfolgreich verlaufen. Allerdings ist die Kohäsion im thematischen Aufbau der Fragestellungen in der Verdolmetschung nicht so deutlich ausgeprägt,

DOLMETSCHER: Wer hat sich also konkret vor Ihnen mit dieser Akte und mit diesen Mietverträgen beschäftigt?
DOLMETSCHER: Hinsichtlich der Tatsache, dass Sie in März dieses Jahres die Akte beziehungsweise diesen Fall übernommen haben,
DOLMETSCHER: Könnten Sie den Namen von Herrn Žigart nennen?
DOLMETSCHER: Könnten Sie uns den Inhalt dieses Gespräches darlegen?

trotzdem kann man behaupten, dass aufgrund der äquivalenten Übersetzung des Frageninhalts die Konversation dadurch weder gestört noch inhaltlich beeinflusst wird.

Während der Zeuge bis zu einem gewissen Grad seine Aussage unter Kontrolle behält, liegt die linguistische Macht beim Richter und dem Anwalt. Im gegebenen Kontext werden Fragen mehr als das: sie werden zu Befehlen, Aufforderungen, dass das Wissen des Befragten auf eine entsprechende Weise dargelegt werden soll (nach Berk-Seligson 2002: 23). Die Fragen sind ausführlich, relativ lang und veranlassen den Zeugen dazu im narrativen Stil zu antworten. Auf die initiierenden Gesprächsakten des Richters folgen konsequent responsive Reaktionen des Zeugen. Der Zeuge tendiert dazu relativ lange Aussagen als Antworten anzuführen. Die Aussagen werden durchgehend, ohne Unterbrechung des Dolmetschers, in die Zielsprache transferiert. Dies trägt zu einer kompakten Informationsübermittlung bei, es gehen keine Informationen verloren, da die gedolmetschten Aussagen in der Regel (wie später noch dargestellt wird) mehr erläuternde Elemente enthalten, als deren Originale.

Das Frage-Antwort-Prinzip, das dem gesamten Gespräche zu Grunde liegt, zeigt eine klare Gesprächshierarchie. Die vom Richter gestellten Fragen sind stets als initiierende Schritte zu betrachten, die einen respondierenden Schritt seitens des Hörers einfordern. Der Richter wird dadurch zum Gesprächsleiter, der das Gespräch lenkt und kontrolliert. Er stellt die Fragen, erwartet Antworten und determiniert so den Gesprächsverlauf.

b. Gesprächssequenz

Schon bei der ersten Betrachtung stellt man fest, dass die Mehrheit der gedolmetschten Aussagen in der Regel länger ist, als die ausgangssprachlichen Aussagen. Das gilt für die Sprachpaare Richter-Dolmetscher und Zeuge-Dolmetscher. Die allgemeine Annahme, dass eine slowenische Übersetzung in der Regel, wegen dem syntaktischen Aufbau, länger ist als das deutsche Original, wird hier bestätigt, weil im

Sprachpaar Zeuge-Dolmetscher, wo ins Slowenische gedolmetscht wird, der Grad der Aussagenverlängerung um 7% höher ist als bei der Verdolmetschung ins Deutsche. Andererseits sind die Aussagen des Anwalts und der Beklagten länger als deren Verdolmetschung. Dies ist zurückzuführen, im Fall des Anwalts, auf seinen ausgesprochen ruhigen und langsamen Redestil und im Fall der Beklagten, auf deren unsichere und unverständliche Fragestellung, ausgelöst dadurch, dass sie von ihrem Rechtsbeistand allein im Gerichtssaal zurückgelassen wurde und plötzlich gezwungen war, dessen Rolle zu übernehmen und Fragen an den Zeugen zu stellen. Eine Übersicht der Länge der einzelnen Aussagen bietet die Tabelle 1.

SPRECHER	*DAUER DER AUSSAGEN (IN MINUTEN)*								*GESAMT*	*LÄNGE IN %*
R	00:25:10	00:06:40	00:06:50	00:15:00	00:04:20	00:08:70	00:06:00	00:07:80	01:19:70	
D	00:26:00	00:03:50	00:04:50	00:12:00	00:03:10	00:08:50	00:04:00	00:02:90	01:04:50	+14%
Z	00:51:00	00:13:10	00:05:70	00:07:60	00:02:20	00:01:20	00:37:30	00:14:00	03:47:70	
Z	00:31:10	00:01:60	00:25:90	00:02:30	00:15:50	00:19:20				
D	00:54:40	00:19:70	00:05:40	00:04:80	00:02:50	00:01:60	00:44:90	00:14:40	04:20:70	+ 21%
D	00:40:30	00:01:20	00:25:80	00:02:70	00:18:80	00:24:20				
AB	00:26:30	00:21:30	00:07:80	00:01:60					00:57:00	+6%
D	00:26:60	00:17:10	00:08:30	00:01:40					00:53:40	
B	00:06:20								00:06:20	+ 24%
D	00:05:00								00:05:00	

Tabelle 1: Länge der Aussagen

Es wird nachstehend versucht herauszufinden worauf die Aussagenverlängerungen in den einzelnen Gesprächssegmenten zurückzuführen sind. Stanek gibt al ein Hauptgrund der Aussagenverlängerung bei der Verdolmetschung an, dass praktizierende Dolmetscher Mühe mit der (Rechts-)Terminologie haben, was auf die fehlende fachspezifische Ausbildung zurückzuführen ist und wurde bereits wissenschaftliche erkannt wurde (Stanek 2011). Allein unter diesen Umständen ist deshalb nachvollziehbar, dass eine Verdolmetschung länger ausfällt als das Original. Wiederholungen oder Umschreibungen können zusätzlich verstärkt auftreten, wenn der Dolmetscher aufgrund mangelnder Vorbereitung selbst unsicher ist oder der Beschuldigte den Eindruck macht, das Gesagte nicht zu verstehen. (Stanek 2011)

In unserem Fall kann festgehalten werden, dass einzelne Fachtermini und Syntagmen (wie z. B. *zavrniti – zurückweisen, fizična oseba – natürliche Person, trditvena podlaga – Behauptungsgrund*) bei der Verdolmetschung problemlos und ordnungsgemäß in die Zielsprache übertragen werden. Offensichtlich verfügt der Dolmetscher über das notwendige Fachwissen. Es zeigt sich einmal mehr, dass die Sprache dem Juristen nicht als Fachsprache zum Problem wird, sondern dann, wenn sie den Fachkreis ver-lässt. Im Rechtsverfahren muss nämlich die Fachsprache den Bereich der Primärsprache verlassen um in der Praxis umgesetzt werden zu können (Oksaar 1988: 87). Andererseits zeigt sich in den vorliegenden verdolmetschten Aussagen eine starke Tendenz zu Ergänzungen bzw. Veränderungen, die im Wesentlichen eine Verlängerung der Verdolmetschung bewirken. Die nähere Betrachtung weist folgende Ergänzungen in der Verdolmetschung gegenüber dem Ausgangstext auf.

Der Dolmetscher fügt **Höflichkeitsformeln,** in Form von direkter Anrede, hinzu,

RICHTER: Najprej bi gospoda vprašal ...
DOLMETSCHER: Zuerst möchte ich Sie, + Herr Müller, fragen ...

tendiert zu unnötigen **Wiederholungen,**

RICHTER: ... če in kaj vam je znano glede pogodbe ...
DOLMETSCHER: ... ob Ihnen was bekannt ist, beziehungsweise, was ist Ihnen bekannt bezüglich der Verträge ...

zusätzlichen Erklärungen und Umschreibungen

RICHTER: Und selbst für den Fall, den ich hier dezidiert ausschließen möchte, dass sie eine Zusage gemacht hätte, ...
DOLMETSCHER: In tudi v primeru, ki pa ga želim na tem mestu še enkrat izrecno zanikati, ampak tudi v primeru če bi to bilo narejeno, če bi to soglasje z njene strani bilo dano, ...

oder

ZEUGE: Es ist aber so innerhalb des Konzernes, dass wir immer die Zustimmung der Geschäftsführung brauchen.
DOLMETSCHER: Vendar je pri nas znotraj koncerna tako, da velja pravilo, da za vse postopke, ki jih vodimo, potrebujemo potrdilo predstojnika, torej oddelka, ali poslovodje našega, nadrejenega.

oder sogar zur Hinzufügung **neuer Informationen**

RICHTER: ... in pa, eh, Topič Tanjo in pa Nevenko Žigart.
DOLMETSCHER: ... und dann noch die natürlichen Personen, Tanja Topič und Nevenka Žigart.

RICHTER: Isto vprašanje velja za gospo Paulo Ekarim.
DOLMETSCHER. Es gilt jetzt nochmal die gleiche Frage, bezogen nicht auf Ihren Vorgesetzten, sondern auf Paula Ekarim.

höchstwahrscheinlich mit der Absicht, dem Befragten die Frage verständlicher zu machen oder die Aussage ausführlicher zu interpretieren. Ob dadurch die Aussage für den Rezipienten wirklich verständlicher ist, bleibt offen, auf jeden Fall wäre eine derartige Ausdehnung der Mehrheit der Aussagen unberechtigt, einerseits gegenüber dem Gesprächsmoderator, weil es seine Ausdrucksart verzerrt und andererseits gegenüber dem Befragten, weil es ihn in eine unterworfene, offenbar stets erklärungsbedürftige Rolle zwingt. Interessant ist, dass diese Ergänzungen nur in längeren Passagen vorkommen, wogegen bei kürzeren Aussagen einerseits die Höflichkeitsformeln oder sogar Teile der Information durch die Verdolmetschung komplett wegfallen können.

RICHTER: Če nam lahko pove prosim, eh, kdo je bil njegov predhodnik?
DOLMETSCHER: Wer war Ihr Vorgänger?
RICHTER: Zanima me, ali, oziroma, kako je gospod Žigart na to reagiral?
DOLMETSCHER: Wie hat Herr Žigart darauf reagiert?

Hier sieht der Dolmetscher offenbar keinen Bedarf Aussagen zusätzlich erläutern zu müssen.

4.2.3 Kategorien der Mikroebene

Sprechaktinterne Elemente: syntaktische, lexikalische, phonologische und prosodische Struktur

Die am meisten ausgeprägte Abweichung auf der syntaktischen Ebene zeigt sich in den Anredesequenzen. Konsequent adressiert der Richter in seinen Fragestellungen den Dolmetscher, anstatt den Zeugen, wobei der Dolmetscher dies in seiner Verdolmetschung korrigiert und die direkte Anrede wählt.

RICHTER: ... Če nam lahko (on) pove prosim, eh, kdo je bil njegov predhodnik?
Če ga lahko (on) imenuje?
DOLMETSCHER: ... Wer war Ihr Vorgänger?
Könnten Sie den Namen nennen?

In diesem Fall kann man sogar behaupten, dass sich der Dolmetscher in seiner Rolle des Intervenierenden (ohne Erlaubnis und Zustimmung des Gesprächsleiters) über die Rolle des Gesprächsleiters erhebt um diesen zu korrigieren. Das Ziel dieser Intervention liegt allerdings in der klaren Hervorhebung der Rollenverteilung, in welcher der Gesprächsleiter auf andere Gesprächsteilnehmer initiierend einzuwirken versucht.

5 FAZIT UND PERSPEKTIVEN DER DISKURSANALYSE IM GERICHTSSAAL

Die situative Analyse einer gedolmetschten Zeugenvernehmung hatte sich zum Ziel gesetzt, anhand einer empirischen Analyse einer gedolmetschten Zeugenvernehmung herauszufinden, inwiefern es dem Gerichtsdolmetscher gelingt, den ausgangssprachlichen Diskurs originaltreu in die Zielsprache zu übertragen und auf welche Probleme er bei diesem Übertragungsprozess stößt. Anhand der Ergebnisse dieser Arbeit können folgende Schlussfolgerungen festgehalten werden.

- Der Dolmetscher gestaltet durch seine Präsenz und Handlungen den stark strukturierten und institutionalisierten Diskurs im Gerichtssaal aktiv mit.
- Da er nicht nur die/den Befragten sondern auch den Fragenden dolmetschen muss, ist er der Gesprächsteilnehmer mit dem größten Gesprächsanteil im gedolmetschten Rechtsdiskurs im Gerichtssaal, allerdings nicht derjenige mit den meisten Gesprächsrechten.
- Der Dolmetscher folgt in seinen Ausführungen konsequent dem Fragestellungs-Modus und somit dem von dem Gesprächsleiter erzielten Sprecherwechsel und übernimmt (außer einmal) keine Gesprächsinitiative.
- Der Dolmetscher unterstützt durch seine Tätigkeit die klare Rollenverteilung im Gerichtssaal, auch durch zusätzliche Eigeninterventionen auf der syntaktischen Ebene, die er selbstverantwortlich einführt.
- Die Übertragung in die Zielsprache meistert er ohne jegliche Einwände des Gesprächsmoderators. Aus der Sicht des Gerichtes hat er seine Aufgabe erfolgreich durchgeführt.

Die diskursiv-linguistische Analyse zeigt allerdings, dass ein gewisses Potential zur Verbesserung der Dolmetschleistung vorhanden ist. Zum einen soll am eigenen Redestil gearbeitet werden, um unnötige Wiederholungen und zusätzliche Erklärungen zu vermeiden, es soll eine intensivere Reflexion betrieben werden, um eine mehr zielgerichtete und kompakte Verdolmetschung produzieren zu können und es soll ein Erfahrungsaustausch mit dem Gericht angestrebt werden, in dem auf die Adressierung sowie etwaige Probleme bei der Einspruchserhebung eingegangen werden könnte. Auf diese Weise könnten die in dieser Analyse festgestellten Mängel, in der Zukunft vermieden werden.

Die Ergebnisse dieser Studie dürfen nicht als repräsentativ angesehen werden, da die Daten mittels Beobachtung und Aufnahme von lediglich einer Zeugenvernehmung erfasst wurden. Das Ziel der Untersuchung war es, eine Gesprächssituation hervorzuheben und näher zu betrachten sowie beispielhaft daraus Empfehlungen für mögliche Verbesserungen abzuleiten und aufzuzeigen. Eine jedenfalls erforderliche Zielsetzung künftiger Recherchen bestünde darin, diese Empfehlungen an einem weiteren Korpus abzufragen. Auch in dieser Rechtssache wurde der Dolmetscher im Rahmen einer weiteren Verhandlung wiederholt hinzugezogen. Es wäre also interessant zu überprüfen, inwiefern, sich der Dolmetscher in einer Kommunikationssituation, deren Inhalt ihm zum Teil bereits bekannt ist, zurechtfindet.

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Transkription

R	00:25:10	Najprej bi gospoda vprašal, eh, + + kaj če in kaj mu je znano glede pogodbe med firmo STUHAUS in, eh, najprej seveda Markom Horvatom, potem pa med firmo Efekt, eh, firmo Babilon, in pa, eh, Topič Tanjo in pa Nevenko Žigart.
D	00:26:00	+ + Zuerst möchte ich Sie, Herr Müller, fragen, ob Ihnen was bekannt ist, beziehungsweise, was ist Ihnen bekannt, bezüglich der Verträge, zwischen der Firma oder dem Unternehmen, STUHAUS, auf der einen Seite und auf der anderen Seite, zuerst Marko Horvat und dann nachträglich der Gesellschaften EFEKT, BABILON und dann in der Folge noch die natürlichen Personen Tanja Topič und Nevenka Žigart. +
Z	00:51:00	Also ich möchte betonen, dass ich mit März 2011 in das Unternehmen eingetreten bin. Ich habe den Akt quasi übernommen, ich kenne die Mietverträge, + + sowohl von Efekt als jetzt im Anschluss auch mit Babilon. Mmm + + meine Aufgabe hat insofern begonnen, als ich einen Akt auf den Tisch bekommen habe mit großen offenen Posten. Ich habe mir die Mietverträge angesehen, ich habe im Anschluss auch mit dem Herrn Žigart persönlich gesprochen., ich habe das Protokoll von meinem Vorgänger gelesen. Das wurde mir quasi präsentiert, das ist der Letztstand, basierend auf diesem müssen jetzt die weiteren Maßnahmen besprochen werden.
D	00:54:40	+ + Rad bi poudaril, da sem marca leta 2011 pravzaprav se pridružil, eh, podjetju in da sem v tem trenutku v bistvu prevzel to zadevo oziroma, mi je bila predana od predhodnika, eh, tako, da sem seznanjen z najemnimi pogodbami, tako s tisto pogodbo, ki je bila sklenjena s podjetjem EFEKT kot tudi z potem naslednje, z BABILONOM. Moja naloga, ko sem prevzel to funkcijo, je bila ta, da sem v bistvu dobil ta odprti spis na mizo, moj-, preštudiral sem te najemne pogodbe, ki obstajajo. Moj predhodnik mi je v bistvu dejal, da pač je zdaj tukaj potrebno sprejeti nadaljnje ukrepe. Govoril sem tudi osebno z osebo Žigart in si v bistvu ogledal zapisnik, ki je bil sestavljen. Torej, kot rečeno, povedano mi je bilo, da je to zdaj zadnje stanje stvari, in da naj od tukaj ukrepam naprej. +
R	00:06:40	Če nam lahko pove prosim, eh + +, kdo je bil njegov predhodnik? Če ga lahko imenuje?
D	00:03:50	Wer war Ihr Vorgänger? Könnten Sie den Namen nennen?
Z	00:13:10	Das, eh, mein direkter Vorgänger war die Frau Magister Ekarim. Es ist aber so innerhalb des Konzernes, dass wir immer die Zustimmung der Geschäftsführung brauchen, aus dem jeweiligen Fachbereich.
D	00:19:70	No, moja nepos v.. + moja predhodnica je bila gospa magister Paula Ekarim, vendar je pri nas znotraj koncerna tako, da velja pravilo, da za vse postopke, ki jih vodimo, potrebujemo potrdilo predstojnika, torej oddelka, ali poslovodje našega, torej nadrejenega.
R	00:06:50	Že, ampak zanima me, kdo se je pred gospodom ukvarjal s temi pogodbami, s tem konkretnim spisom?
D	00:04:50	Wer hat sich also konkret vor Ihnen mit dieser Akte und mit diesen Mietverträgen beschäftigt?
Z	00:05:70	Die Frau Magister Ekarim und reportet hat sie an den Herrn Magister Bernhardt.
D	00:05:40	Gospa magister Ekarim, poročala pa je gospodu Bernhardt.

R	00:15:00	Aha, zdaj, glede na to, da je gospod prevzel ta spis šele v mesecu marcu letošnjega leta, me zanima, eh, kaj se je pogovarjal z gospo Žigartovo?
D	00:12:00	+ + Hinsichtlich der Tatsache, dass Sie in März dieses Jahres die Akte beziehungsweise diesen Fall übernommen haben, würde mich interessieren, worüber Sie mit Frau Žigart gesprochen haben?
Z	00:07:60	Also ich habe mit Herrn Žigart gesprochen, Frau Žigart, wäre mir nicht bekannt. Das sagte ich schon.
D	00:04:80	Govoril sem z gospodom Žigartom. Gospe Žigart ne poznam.
R	00:04:20	Mhm. Lahko pove mogoče ime gospoda Žigarta?
D	00:03:10	Könnten Sie den Namen von Herrn Žigart nennen? + Den Namen
Z	00:02:20	Žigart.
D	00:02:50	+ Žigart ist der Nachname, den Vornamen.
Z	00:01:20	Nein.
D	00:01:60	Ne, ne vem.
R	00:08:70	Mhm. Eh, nam lahko poveste mogoče vsebino razgovora. Je šlo o tem predmetu, ali o čem drugem?
D	00:08:50	Könnten Sie uns den Inhalt dieses Gespräches darlegen? Ging es um diese Sache, oder haben Sie über etwas anderes gesprochen?
Z	00:37:30	Es ging ausschließlich um diese Sache. Meine Aufgabe und meine Arbeit besteht auch darinnen, + + darin, dass wir offene Posten einbringlich machen. Wir haben Verträge, an diese ist sich zu halten und meine Aufgabe war es, eh, weil im letzten Protokoll vermerkt war, dass noch ein Folgetermin in Maribor stattfinden sollte, mein Vorgesetzter hat empfohlen diesen Folgetermin wahrzunehmen. + +Und betreffend dieses Folgetermins habe ich mit Herrn Žigart Kontakt aufgenommen.
D	00:44:90	Ja, eh, + + torej seveda sem govoril z njim o tej zadevi. Moje delo med drugim, ali moje naloge, obseg nalog med drugim vključuje tudi to, da preverim, ali so kje kakšne odprte postavke in da te odprte postavke seveda na nek način poskušam, + + izterjati lahko bi rekli, ehm, in da poskrbim za to, oziroma preverim, ali se naše stranke držijo dogovorov, ki so bili pač v pogodbah usklajeni. No, v moji zadevi je bilo predvideno, da bo se zgodil še en + + termin, za večimi, ki so zgodili že pred tem v Mariboru, in moj šef mi je pravzaprav svetoval, naj grem na ta sestanek oziroma, naj se tega termina udeležim, zato sem tudi kontaktiral z gospodom Žigartom.
R	00:06:00	+ + Mi še vedno ne vemo, o čem je kontaktiral, o čem se je pogovarjal?
D	00:04:00	Gut. Wir wissen noch immer nicht, worüber haben Sie mit ihm gesprochen?
Z	00:14:00	Ich habe ihm gesagt, er soll umgehend die Miete bezahlen. Dass, eh, er sich an seine vertraglichen Verpflichtungen zu halten hat, ansonsten wir uns gezwungen sähen rechtliche Maßnahmen in die Wege zu leiten.
D	00:14:40	+ + vRekel sem mu, naj plača najemnino, rekel sem mu, da je dolžan spoštovati dogovor iz naše pogodbe, sicer bom zoper njega uvedel sodni postopek.
R	00:07:80	Mhm. Zanima me, ali, + + oziroma, kako je gospod Žigart na to reagiral?
D	00:02:90	Wie hat Herr Žigart darauf reagiert?

Z	00:31:10	Er hat angefangen, unter anderem über die Investitionen zu sprechen, + + ich habe gesagt die Investitionen, das stand auch schon im Protokoll zur Sache, es steht auch im Mietvertrag drinnen, dass Investitionen nicht abgegolten werden. Für mich als Vermieter, ich kann mit einer Discobar nichts anfangen. Die stellt für mich keinerlei Wert dar. Ich habe gesagt, wenn er jetzt nicht bezahlt, dann werde ich die Sache dem Anwalt übergeben.
D	00:40:30	+ + Gospod Žigart je med drugim začel omenjati določene investicije, ki jih naj bi izvajal, eh, povedal sem mu, da je to bilo zapisano že tudi v zapisniku enkrat pred tem in da tudi iz naše medsebojne najemne pogodbe izhaja, da se kakršnekoli investicije, eh, torej niti o tem ni bilo dogovora, niti se ne plačujejo. Zame kot najemodajalca nek disco bar ali neka diskoteka praktično nima vrednosti, zato tudi te investicije seveda niso v interesu. In povedal sem mu, da če ne bo plačal, bom vključil odvetnika.
AB		Smem iti za trenutek ven?
R		Prav. Ja, ja, seveda lahko greste.
Z	00:01:60	Wenn ich kurz noch was sagen darf?
D	00:01:20	Če smem še nekaj dodati?
Z	00:25:90	Es ist, + + ich war am, + + Anfang April auch in Maribor. Ich habe einen gemeinsamen Gesprächstermin vorgeschlagen und denn hat der Herr Žigart abgelehnt. Also er ist einfach kurzfristig abgesagt und daraufhin, ich hab das persönliche Gespräch angeboten, bin zurückgewiesen worden, + + wir bekommen keine Zahlungen, damit war die Sache für mich klar, dass diesen Fall weiter Herr Škrjanec betreuen muss.
D	00:25:80	+ + No povedal bi še, da sem bil v začetku meseca aprila v Mariboru. Predlagal sem še en sestanek. No gospod Žigart me je v bistvu zavrnil oziroma je kratkoročno ta sestanek odpovedal, tako da z mojega stališča v bistvu lahko rečem, predlagal sem osebni razgovor, v katerem bi se stvari še lahko pogovorile, plačil ni bilo in zame je bilo v tem trenutku jasno, da bo moral zadevo od tu naprej prevzeti odvetnik Škrjanec.
R	00:02:80	Mhm. Prav. Gospod odvetnik, izvolite. Vprašanja.
A1	00:26:30	Gospod Müller, ahm, ali ste vi osebno komurkoli od štirih toženih strank kdajkoli rekli, da lahko investira, oziroma ali ste jim kakorkoli dali vedet, da bodo investicije poplačane, + + vrnjene z vaše strani?
D	00:26:60	z+ + Herr Müller, haben sie persönlich, irgendeinmal, einer von den vier beklagten Parteien gesagt, dass sie Investitionen tätigen können beziehungsweise dürfen oder beziehungsweise haben sie ihnen gegenüber gesagt, dass getätigte Investitionen von Ihrer Seite + + also erstattet werden, zurückgezahlt werden?
Z	00:02:30	Nein, das kann ich definitiv verneinen.
D	00:02:70	Ne, na to lahko definitivno odgovorim z ne.
A1	00:21:30	Vprašal bi vas potem, ali vam je + + znano, da bi to naredil vaš predpostavljeni, gospod Bernhardt, namreč, da bi se dogovoril s katerokoli od toženih strank, + + da bodo investicije povrnjene?

D	00:17:10	+ Des Weiteren möchte ich Sie fragen, ob Ihnen bekannt ist, dass Ihr Vorgesetzter, Herr Bernhardt eine derartige Absprache über die Zurückzahlung, eh Erstattung der getätigten Investitionen mit einer der vier beklagten Parteien getroffen hätte?
Z	00:15:50	Mir ist eine solche Vereinbarung nicht bekannt und Herr Bernhardt hat auch mir gegenüber auch betont, dass er eine solche Zusage nie getätigt hat. Hätte auch keinerlei Sinn für uns als Firma.
D	00:18:80	+ + Ni + mi znano, da bi gospod Bernhardt tak dogovor sklenil, tudi gospod Bernhardt je v relaciji do mene povedal, da takšnega soglasja zagotovo ni dal, to tudi z naše strani, s strani najemodajalca ne bi bilo smiselno.
A1	00:07:80	Isto vprašanje velja za gospo Paulo Ekarim.
D	00:08:30	Es gilt jetzt nochmal die gleiche Frage, bezogen nicht auf Ihren Vorgesetzten, sondern auf Paula Ekarim.
Z	00:19:20	Mir ist nicht bekannt, dass Frau Ekarim eine Zusage gemacht hätte. Und selbst für den Fall, den ich hier dezidiert ausschließen möchte, dass sie eine Zusage gemacht hätte, wäre sie nicht berechtigt gewesen diese zu machen, ohne Zustimmung der Geschäftsführung.
D	00:24:20	Ni mi znano, da bi gospa Paula Ekarim dala takšno soglasje in tudi v primeru, ki pa ga želim na tem mestu še enkrat izrecno zanikati, ampak tudi v primeru če bi to bilo narejeno, če bi to soglasje z njene strani bilo dano, za to ne bi bila upravičena, kajti za to bi potrebovala soglasje nadrejenega.
A1	00:01:60	Lepa hvala
D	00:01:40	Danke schön.
R		Če mate vi kakšno vprašanje? (ZU DER BEKLAGTEN, DA DER ANWALT DEN VERHANDLUNGSSAAL VERLASSEN HAT)
B		Prosim?
R		Če imate kakšno vprašanje?
B		Ja, tu mi je napisal.
B		Ali ste prijavili predmetno potrditev v stečajni postopek proti Efektu?
D		Haben Sie ...?
R		Samo malo (UNTERBRICHT DIE VERDOLMETSCHUNG MIT EINER HANDBEWEGUNG). Terjatev je mislil. Izvolite.
B		Ja.
A1		Ugovarjam vprašanju, ni v relevantni zvezi s to zadevo.
R		Sprejmemo sklep, vprašanje se ne dovoli. Naprej.
D		Es wird der Beschluss gefasst, die Frage wird nicht gestattet.
B		Ali je bila priznana?
D		Wurde diese anerkannt?
AB		Isto.
R		Sprejmemo sklep, vprašanje se ne dovoli.
B	00:06:20	Ali ste kontaktirali z gospodom ali z gospo Žigart, + + osebno?

D	00:05:00	Haben Sie mit Herrn oder mit Frau Žigart persönlich Kontakt aufgenommen?
AB		Priča je že odgovorila na to vprašanje.
R		Sprejmemo sklep, vprašanje se ne dovoli.
D		Der Zeuge hat die Frage bereits beantwortet
R		Naprej.
D		Es wird der Beschluss gefasst, die Frage wird nicht gestattet.
B		Glede na to, da ste s podpisom dne 6.4.2011, + +
D		Hinsichtlich der Tatsache, dass Sie am 6.4.2011 mit Ihrer Unterschrift ...
B		obračun, + + čakaj, kaj to piše, obračun naložba Žigarta? Ne, kak to zdaj? Da ste z podpisom + + dne, + + obračun na gospoda Žigarta + + kaj zaj to pomeni?
D		Die Frage ist inkonsistent.
R		Zdaj, + če ne znate, + bom rekel, nekako, vprašanja postavit, potem..?
B		Čakajte, malo, ja+ +? Zaj + + to je napisal + + glede na to, da ste z gospodom z dne 6.4.2011 obračun, + + na gospoda Žigarta. Tak piše.
A1		Moram ugovarjati, sodnik?
R		Ne, vprašanje ni razumljivo, tak da + + mate kakšno drugo vprašanje?
D		Die Frage war unverständlich.
B		Ali ste izdali iz knjigovodske listine glede terjatev in glede porokov?
D		Ob Sie Buchhaltungsurkunden + +
R		Kakšnih porokov?
B		Ne vem, tak piše?
R		Če je izdal + +?
B		Knjigovodske listine. + + Glede terjatev. + + Globe porokov.
A1		Vprašanje nima trditvene podlage in predlagamo, da se zavrne.
D		Die Frage hat keinen Behauptungsgrund. Es wird beantragt, dass sie zurückgewiesen wird.
R		Sprejmemo sklep: Vprašanje se ne dovoli. Imate kakšno drugo vprašanje?
D		Es wird der Beschluss gefasst, die Frage wird nicht gestattet.
B		Ne.
R		Prav, za pričo ni več vprašanj. + + Snemanje prekinemo.

LEGENDE ZUR TRANSKRIPTION

+	Pause
+ +	längere Pause
R	Richter
D	Dolmetscher
Z	Zeuge
B	Beklagte

AK	Anwalt des Klägers
AB	Anwalt der Beklagten
Wortlaut (grau unterlegt)	gleichzeitiges Sprechen mehrerer Gesprächsteilnehmer & simultanes Flüsterdolmetschen
Wortlaut (grau unterlegt & Kursivschrift)	simultanes Flüsterdolmetschen
Wortlaut (Kursivschrift)	schlechter hörbare Wörter oder Passagen

Zusammenfassung

EMPIRISCHE ANALYSE EINER VERDOLMETSCHTEN GERICHTSVERHANDLUNG AUS DEM SLOWENISCHEN INS DEUTSCHE

Dieser Artikel befasst sich mit dem Diskurs in einer Gerichtsverhandlung mit verschiedensprachigen Parteien. Die übliche Konversation im Gerichtssaal findet in Form eines Dialogs statt, wobei die Strategie des Gespräches durch den Richter als Gesprächsmoderator determiniert wird. Die Interaktion im gedolmetschten Diskurs verläuft anders als im nicht gedolmetschten Diskurs. Bei gedolmetschten Verhandlungen übernimmt der Gerichtsdolmetscher, als ein Mittler in der Konversation, die verantwortungsvolle Aufgabe, die richterliche Strategie der Konversation, also den eigentlichen Verhandlungsablauf, sinngemäß und originaltreu in den zielsprachlichen Kontext zu transportieren. Meistert er seine Aufgabe, wird ein reibungsloser Kommunikationsablauf im Sinne der gegenseitigen Einflussnahme der jeweiligen Kommunikationsteilnehmer gewährleistet. Scheitert er bei seinem Vorhaben, so kommt es in der Kommunikation zu Störungen, die durch zusätzliche sprachliche Interventionen beseitigt werden müssen. Seine Tätigkeit wird determiniert und mitbeeinflusst von den Unterschieden in der Rechtsterminologie der beiden Sprachen (Sprachregister), von dem vorgegebenen Dolmetschmodus, und von der Gesprächsstrategie des Sprachmoderators. Somit ist das Ziel des vorliegenden Beitrags, anhand einer empirischen Analyse einer gedolmetschten Zeugenvernehmung herauszufinden, inwiefern es dem Gerichtsdolmetscher gelingt, den ausgangssprachlichen Diskurs originaltreu in die Zielsprache zu übertragen und auf welche Probleme er bei diesem Übertragungsprozess stößt. Der vorliegenden Untersuchung dienen die von den Gerichten veranlassten Audioaufnahmen von mündlichen Verhandlungen als Korpus.

Schlüsselwörter: Diskurs, Fachsprache, Rechtssprache, Vernehmung, Gerichtsdolmetschen, Gesprächsanalyse.

Povzetek

EMPIRIČNA ANALIZA SODNEGA TOLMAČENJA IZ SLOVENŠČINE V NEMŠČINO

Prispevek obravnava diskurz v sodni obravnavi, v katerem sodelujejo stranke, ki govorijo različne jezike. Pogovor v sodni dvorani običajno poteka kot dialog, strategijo govora pa določa sodnik, ki prevzema vlogo moderatorja. Interakcija v diskurzu s tolmačenjem se razlikuje od tiste, pri kateri tolmačenje ni potrebno. V tolmačenih obravnavah prevzema tolmač, kot posrednik v konverzaciji, odgovorno nalogo, da sodnikovo strategijo vodenja pogovora, torej dejanski verbalni potek obravnave, smiselno in skladno z izvirnikom prenese v ciljni jezik. Če je pri tem uspešen, je zagotovljen nemoten potek komunikacije in možnost, da udeleženci pogovora medsebojno vplivajo drug na drugega. V nasprotnem primeru pride v komunikaciji do motenj, ki jih je treba odpraviti s pomočjo dodatnih jezikovnih intervencij. Na dejavnost tolmača dodatno vplivajo izbrani modus tolmačenja, razlike v pravnih terminologijah izvirnega in ciljnega jezika (jezikovni register) in moderatorjeva strategija vodenja pogovora v sodni dvorani. Cilj tega prispevka je s pomočjo empirične analize zaslišanja priče s pomočjo tolmača ugotoviti, do kakšne mere sodni tolmač pri prenosu diskurza iz izhodiščnega v ciljni jezik ostaja zvest izvirniku in na kakšne probleme pri tem naleti. Kot korpus za raziskavo služijo avdio posnetki ustnih obravnav, ki jih hrani sodišče.

Ključne besede: diskurz, strokovni jezik, pravni jezik, zaslišanje, sodno tolmačenje, analiza govora.

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UDK 81'322:81'25=133.1=163.6

REFORMULATION DANS LE DISCOURS DE TRADUCTION ET INTERPRÉTATION : ÉTUDE D'UN CORPUS FRANÇAIS - SLOVÈNE

1 INTRODUCTION

La structure reformulative, en tant que partie centrale de la compétence linguistique et propriété essentielle des langues naturelles, a mobilisé les chercheurs aussi bien dans le cadre didactique que dans les domaines de la traduction, la vulgarisation, la rhétorique, traitement automatique de langue et la linguistique de plusieurs tendances. Dans cette contribution on ne vise pas l'exhaustivité théorique, on cherche plutôt à proposer un nouvel éclairage du phénomène à travers une étude en corpus, comparant trois modalités (discours source, discours traduit, discours interprété) et deux langues (français et slovène) pour ensuite aborder sa liaison avec un autre concept, celui de l'explicitation. On s'attend à ce que les reformulations dans les trois volets du corpus soient différentes en termes de fréquence d'apparence, relations sémantiques reliant deux segments, forme adoptée, fonction assumée et marqueurs reformulatifs privilégiés.

2 DÉLIMITATION DE L'OBJET D'ÉTUDE

2.1 Paraphrase, reformulation, élaboration

Les différentes approches ont conduit aux différents classements dépendants des paramètres pris en compte. Les critères définitoires d'une relation de reformulation diffèrent selon les chercheurs et selon les objectifs des analyses. « L'identification des occurrences dépend de la tolérance de l'interprétant en ce qui concerne la limite où deux énoncés ne lui paraissent plus vouloir dire la même chose ... » (Norén 1999 : 14). Certaines théories vont faire le choix de distinguer l'élaboration de la reformulation, comme la Théorie des structures théoriques ou RST (Mann/Thompson 1988), tandis que d'autres postulent une seule relation de discours - élaboration, qui englobe la reformulation. C'est le cas de la Structure de la représentation discursive segmentée ou SDRT (Asher/Lascarides 2003). La relation de discours d'élaboration, elle aussi, est définie de façon diverses. Il y a différentes façons d'élaborer: reformuler, clarifier, raffiner, décrire, exemplifier, commenter ... Pour le bilan des types d'élaboration en SDRT se référer à Vergez-Couret (2010) qui s'interroge sur les réalisations linguistiques de la relation d'élaboration dans le corpus annoté en relations de discours ANNODIS.

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Nous considérons à la suite de Fuchs (1994 : 83) qu' « un sujet se livre à une activité de reformulation paraphrastique [lorsqu' ...] il pose une relation qui [...] s'appuie sur une parenté sémantique ». On revient en arrière sur un syntagme déjà énoncé, soit pour la compléter soit pour la modifier. Pour Fuchs une relation paraphrastique existe entre deux énonciations si les sujets les traitent comme si elles étaient identiques. Cette parenté du sens instaurée entre l'énoncé source (ci-après ES) et l'énoncé reformulant (ci-après ER) n'est pas fondée strictement sur l'identité sémantique, équivalence instaurée par la langue, mais aussi sur une équivalence discursive qui s'appuie sur l'existence d'une »identité momentanément opérée en discours » (Combettes/Tomassone 1988 : 144).

2.2 Reformulation imitative et reformulation élaborative

Pour les besoins de notre étude nous prenons en considération les relations qui seront de deux ordres:

1. reformulation à visée d'imitation (reformulation imitative, annotée R) où il n'y a pas d'apport de contenu, l'ER n'a qu'une valeur d'intensification ou d'insistance ;
2. reformulation à visée d'élaboration (reformulation élaborative, annotée E) où le poids informationnel dans les deux segments n'est pas le même, il est plus grand soit du côté droit soit du côté gauche, mais la ressemblance entre les deux segments est toujours ressentie. Nous serions d'avis d'inclure l'exemplification comme un cas particulier de la reformulation élaborative dans la mesure où il y a un rapport d'équivalence (un holonyme est repris par un méronyme, ou un hyperonyme exemplifié par un hyponyme).[1]

Dans l'exemple (1), illustratif de notre reformulation imitative, l'équivalence s'établit entre l'ES « *trois remarques* » et l'ER « *trois messages* », n'apportant aucune information nouvelle par rapport au premier segment. Les deux segments contiennent des items lexicaux liés sémantiquement mais l'équivalence ne se situe pas au niveau de la forme: « remarque » et « message » ne sont mis en relation dans aucun dictionnaire de synonymes. Pourtant, on pourrait qualifier le lien sémantique de synonymie, non pas lexicale mais discursive. Ici la réduplication est introduite par un marqueur de reformulation (ci-après MR), le coordonnant *ou*.

(1) Exemple de reformulation élaborative (Source : corpus CBB)
FR: Je voudrais vous faire part de <u>trois remarques</u>, (R) ou <u>trois messages</u>.
SL traduction: Z vami bi rad delil <u>tri pripombe</u> ali (R) <u>tri sporočila.</u>
SL interprétation: Rad bi sporočil <u>tri zadeve</u>

La reformulation est retenue dans la traduction mais omise dans l'interprétation qui introduit un nouveau terme, quasiment vide au niveau sémantique, un nom sous

[1] Corollairement, les cas tels que *Vous avez, ces derniers jours, fait le tour des mesures à la disposition de l'Union pour peser, par exemple, sur les autorités russes* ne seront pas retenus pour l'annotation.

–spécifié, à la limite du lexique et de la grammaire, un hyperonyme « chose », se substituant aux deux énoncés du discours d'origine.

Reformulation	ES	MR	ER
Discours français d'origine	trois remarques	ou	trois messages
Traduction	tri pripombe (fr. trois remarques)	ali (fr. ou)	tri sporočila (fr. trois messages)
Interprétation	tri zadeve (fr. trois choses)	/	/

Tableau 1 : Le schéma tripartite traditionnel (ES – MR – ER) de la reformulation en (1)

Mais » paraphraser un texte source par un autre texte T' n'est pas simplement s'en tenir au contenu de T pour le reformuler, mais s'en inspirer pour construire un nouveau texte T' qui, tout en restant fidèle au contenu de T, le développe et l'explicite » (Fuchs 1998 : 133). Exemple (2) tiré de notre corpus, annoté à l'aide de RSTTool (O'Donnell 1997), illustre la reformulation élaborative : d'abord, l'ES *ailleurs* est élaboré par l'ER *sur des questions qu'ils ne regardaient pa*s, ensuite l'ES *des questions qu'ils ne regardaient pas* est élaboré par l'ER *celles des marchés financiers*.

(2) Exemple de reformulation élaborative (Source : corpus CBB)

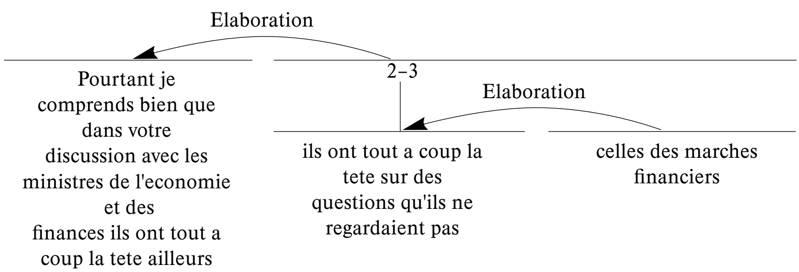


Figure 1a : Visualisation d'annotation en relation de discours d'après la RST.

La conception de la reformulation élaborative chez nous est plus étroite que la relation d'élaboration dans la Théorie RST qui prend en compte aussi les exemples de relations non restrictives, comme fait voir l'exemple (3) de l'élaboration, emprunté au site officiel de la RST.

(3) Exemple d'élaboration (Source: http://www.sfu.ca/rst/07french/introduction.html)

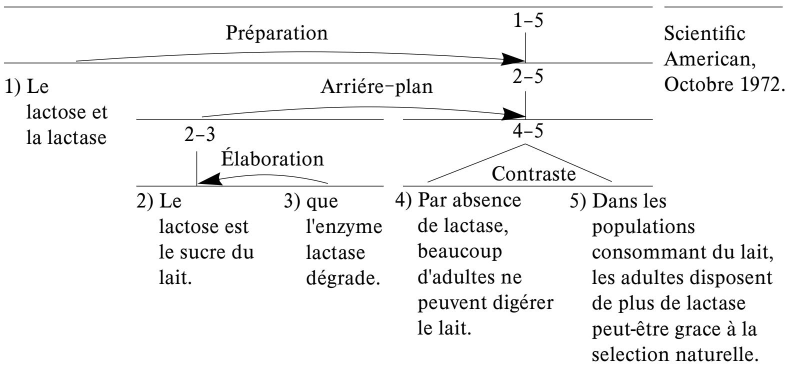


Figure 1b : Visualisation d'annotation en relations de discours d'après la RST.

Nous avons pris en compte uniquement les reprises localisées dans des énoncés adjacents, c'est-à-dire entre les segments d'une phrase (position intraphrastique) ou entre deux phrases consécutives (positions interphrastiques). Deuxièmement, l'analyse concerne toujours les reformulations lexicales, et non pas les reprises anaphoriques qui se situent au niveau inférieur de la hiérarchie organisationnelle du discours, quoique la reformulation de par sa structure présente des ressemblances avec l'anaphore (reformulé/reformulant: antécédent/anaphorique). En plus, nous avons écarté de notre étude les reformulations interlinguales pour nous limiter aux occurrences de la reformulation intralinguale auto-initiée. Les exemples de corrections sont aussi écartés de notre analyse parce que la reformulation postule la conservation de sens.

2.3 Indices de la relation de reformulation

Les relations reformulatives dans notre corpus sont établies sur la base des procédés syntaxiques (position), connaissances lexicales et connaissances du monde, procédés métalinguistiques tels les marqueurs lexicaux, typographiques (virgule, point, deux points, tiret, parenthèse) et procédés prosodiques (réduction de vitesse, articulation plus nette), qui, dans notre contribution, n'entreront pas en compte.[2]

Deux segments reliés par la reformulation sont souvent dans la position de juxtaposition (sans un MR) ou de coordination (avec un MR), les reformulations élaboratives se trouvent aussi dans une structure syntaxique particulière comme par exemple les propositions gérondives (10 occurrences). L'interprétation coréférentielle est rendue encore plus accessible en présence d'un MR. Pourtant, »il est exceptionnel que la relation de reformulation soit explicitée par un marqueur » (Norén 1999 : 13). On s'attend à une basse fréquence de MR aussi en raison du type discursif étudié – discours parlementaires où les connecteurs en général sont d'une occurrence plutôt rare (Schlamberger Brezar 2010).

Dans l'exemple (4) ci-dessous les prédicats *mettre en cause* et *tourner en ridicule* renvoient à la même action. C'est un cas de coréférence événementielle (Danlos 2004).

L'orateur français produit les énoncés ressentis comme équivalents, tout en y apportant de l'information nouvelle par rapport à l'ES. Le procédé fait appel à une relation lexicale qu'on peut qualifier d'hyponymie étendue, pas enregistrée dans la langue. On remonte d'un niveau plus général au spécifique, ce qui, selon Danlos, relève d'un discours particularisant (ibid.). Le reformulant *tourner en ridicule* n'est pas substituable à l'ES *mettre en cause* dans tous les co-textes. Le remplacement est possible seulement dans « un cotexte assimilateur » (Fuchs 1994 : 134) dans lequel la signification des deux items proposés se recouvre. L'ER apporte des nuances supplémentaires sur le rôle sémantique de l'acteur (p*résident du conseil* est repris par *président de la République française)* et le rôle du patient (*parti politique* est repris par *compatriotes*).

(4) ***FR** : Je suis indigné par l'ostracisme exprimé ici contre les socialistes français. Je n'ai jamais vu, jamais vu, un président du Conseil <u>mettre en cause</u> QUELQUE PARTI POLITIQUE que ce soit! /E/ Je n'ai jamais vu un président de la République française <u>tourner en ridicule</u> SES COMPATRIOTES dans une enceinte internationale comme la nôtre et, en conséquence, je considère que c'est une faute, et j'aurais souhaité que l'on ait des excuses officielles du gouvernement de la République.*

En slovène la traduction (4a) reproduit fidèlement la relation de reformulation, tandis que l'interprétation (4b) ne retient que l'ER, tout en étant plus explicite plus en amont quant à l'objet du verbe (*M Shultz*) et le cadre spatial (précisant que le *forum international* est le *Parlement Européen*). L'interprète omet le niveau général pour aller tout suite aux faits. La relation reformulative est donc perdue à ce point- là, mais dans le contexte immédiat on trouve des ajouts par rapport au discours d'origine, qui instaurent deux nouvelles reformulations – créations de l'interprète : *ostracisme* est explicitée en *sovražni nastop* (*discours ennemi*) et le mot *trpeti* (*souffrir*) est reformulé en *tolérer*. Du fait des transformations apportées par l'interprète au moyen des reformulations intralinguales, il y a un glissement vers plus d'explicite par rapport au discours d'origine en amont du segment ce qui entraîne moins d'explicitation en aval.

(4a) ***SL traduction**: Razjezilo me je iskanje grešnega kozla v francoskih socialistih, ki smo mu bili priča. Še nikoli nisem doživel, da bi predsednik Sveta <u>postavil pod vprašaj</u> KATERO KOLI POLITIČNO STRANKO. /E/ Še nikoli nisem doživel, da bi predsednik Francoske republike <u>takole smešil</u> SVOJE SONARODNJAKE v mednarodni areni, zato se mi zdi to žaljivo in rad bi uradno opravičilo francoske vlade.*

(4b) ***SL interprétation**: Mislim da tukaj ne moremo <u>tega ostracizma +/R/ tega sovražnega nastopa</u> proti <u>predsedniku socialistov</u> <u>trpeti +/R/ tolerirati</u> | Ne moremo si privoščiti da bo nek predsednik neke države na mednarodnem forumu kakršen je Evropski parlament -/E/ se posmehoval nekomu kot je <u>gospod Schultz</u>.*

Reformulation	ES	MR	ER
Discours français d'origine	Un président du Conseil... mettre en cause ... parti politique ...	!	Un président de la Rép. française ... tourner en ridicule ... ses compatriotes ...
Traduction	Predsednik Sveta ... postavil pod vprašaj ... politično stranko	.	Predsednik francoske republike ... smešil ... svoje sonarodnjake ...
Interprétation		/	Predsednik neke države ... se posmehoval ...

Tableau 2a : Le schéma tripartite des reformulations de l'exemple (4), (4a) et (4b) en aval.

Reformulation	ES	MR	ER
Discours français d'origine	indigné par ... l'ostracisme ...	/	/
Traduction	razjezilo ... iskanje grešnega kozla ...	/	/
Interprétation	tega ostracizma ...	/	tega sovražnega nastopa ...
	trpeti (fr. supporter) ...	/	tolerirati (fr. tolérer)
	predsedniku socialistov ...		gospod Schultz

Tableau 2b : Le schéma tripartite des reformulations de l'exemple (4), (4a) et (4b) en amont.

3 REFORMULATION ET EXPLICITATION

Les descriptions données des fonctions du dispositif de la reformulation intralinguale s'apparentent à celles de l'explicitation interlinguale: la reformulation vise à lever l'ambigüité, élucider le sens, faire œuvre de vulgarisation, ajouter une précision, faciliter l'accès au sens, remplir une fonction dialogique de coopération. En dépit du rapport net entre la reformulation et l'explicitation, le lien n'est pas toujours celui d'équivalence : il faut prendre en compte d'autres facteurs qui favorisent l'emploi de structures reformulatives, notamment, norme communicationnelle valable pour le registre en question, le système linguistique,[3] le code utilisé[4] et le profil rhétorique de l'orateur. L'explicitation est typiquement perçue comme un procédé visant à ac-

[3] Plusieurs auteurs soulignent le caractère synthétique de la langue française: » Les Français semblent jouer, plus que d'autres, avec une sorte de *dédoublement du lexique* « (Blanche Benveniste 1991 : 53, 54).

[4] La reformulation est une des structures préférées de l'oral et moins fréquemment attestée à l'écrit, qui, de ce fait, se distingue par une plus grande densité informative. C'est un mécanisme discursif d'insistance, que l'on peut rapprocher de trois structures communément reconnues comme emphatiques: la dislocation, l'extraction, et les tournures pseudo-clivées.

croître la densité informative, mais en fait, elle aussi parfois, fait fonction de réduire l'effort cognitif dans le sens où le traducteur/interprète essaie de faciliter la compréhension pour l'adressé (Kamenická 2007; Baumgarten/Meyer/Özçetin 2008). La première à avoir lié l'explicitation et l'emphase est Séguinot (1988 : 108) : si la traduction accorde à un élément du texte source plus d'importance à travers focalisation, emphase ou choix lexicaux, il s'agit, pour elle, d'une explicitation. Pourtant, comme le remarque justement Becher, elle ne spécifie pas ce qu'elle entend par « focus, emphasis, or lexical choice » (Becher 2011 : 118).

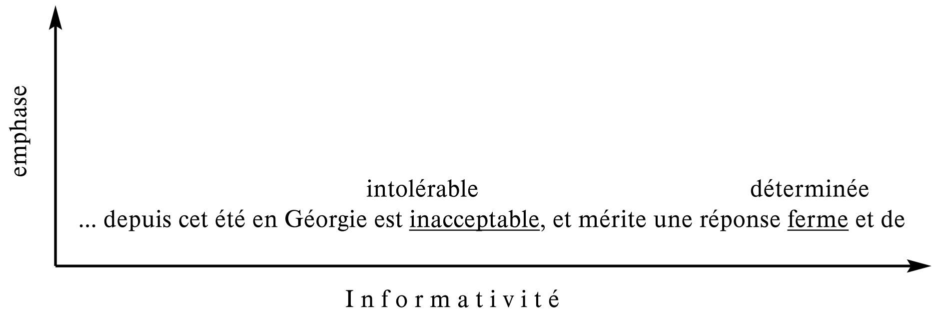
Dans notre analyse nous considérons que la reformulation en tant qu'entassement des éléments paradigmatiques tirés d'un même champ sémantique est un moyen de donner de l'emphase à un élément du texte et par conséquent renforcer la cohésion et/ou élever le degré de l'explicite.

(5) ***FR** : La situation qui prévaut depuis cet été en Géorgie est <u>inacceptable, intolérable</u> et mérite une réponse <u>ferme et déterminée</u> de la part de l'Union européenne.*

Si l'on reprend *inacceptable* par *intolérable* dans l'exemple (5), il y a une focalisation paradigmatique, qui aboutit à une reformulation imitative. Évidemment, le degré de l'explicite n'est pas considérablement élevé, mais la reprise ici bloque la densification informationnelle et de ce point de vue, relève d'un effort d'explicitation. Celui-ci est bien plus significatif dans la reformulation élaborative donnée dans l'exemple (6) ci-dessous, où l'ES *la très grande convergence de points de vue*, est repris par l'ER *la grande cohérence de notre Parlement sur le paquet télécom*. Il s'agit, en plus de la focalisation paradigmatique (emphase), d'un ajout syntagmatique (informativité) spécifiant l'agent et le patient, accroissant visiblement le degré de l'explicite du segment.

(6) **FR** : *Madame la Présidente, au terme de ce débat, je voudrais remercier le Conseil, remercier Mme la commissaire, pour l'écoute attentive dont ils ont fait preuve et qui leur a permis de constater <u>la très grande convergence de points de vue</u>, <u>la grande cohérence de notre Parlement sur le paquet télécom</u>.*

Les mots s'organisent cognitivement en relations syntagmatiques (informativité) et paradigmatiques (reprise). L'axe paradigmatique gouverne l'éventail des mots d'un même champ sémantique, les éléments sur l'axe syntagmatique assurent la progression. L'explicitation est fonction des deux axes. Parfois une densification informative est nécessaire afin d'apporter les précisions et ainsi accroître le degré d'explicite. Dans une autre situation cette même densification rendrait la compréhension difficile. La langue, par sa souplesse, permet l'option d'arrêt sur l'axe syntagmatique et production des éléments sur l'axe paradigmatique.



Graphique 1 : Focalisation paradigmatique dans l'exemple (5).

Au vu des remarques ci-dessus, il est difficile de déterminer dans quelle mesure la reformulation relève de la redondance ou de l'explicitation. Dans notre analyse nous considérons que l'explicite est fonction de l'informativité et de l'emphase ; la reformulation, soit par son effet de réduction de l'effort cognitif soit par l'apport des informations supplémentaires nécessaires à la compréhension, constitue une tentative d'explicitation. L'explicite qui en résulte diffère selon le type de reformulation. Il y a un continuum qui s'étend de l'explicitation minime (par reformulation imitative) à l'explicitation étendue (par reformulation élaborative).

4 PRÉCIS SUR LE CORPUS ET LE MÉTHODE D'ANALYSE

Le corpus sur lequel est basée notre étude comporte le matériel issu des deux modalités – l'écrit et l'oral, et s'étend sur deux langues (français, slovène). Y figurent les traductions écrites ainsi que les transcriptions des traductions simultanées. Il s'agit donc du corpus bilingue bimodal parallèle (ci-après CBB), dans le sens employé par Shlesinger (2008 : 240). Le corpus parallèle est construit à partir des débats menés par 19 membres parlementaires francophones d'une extension totale de 64 646 occurrences de mots (26 004 dans le volet des discours français d'origine, 21 185 dans le volet de la traduction écrite en slovène, 17 4576 dans le volet de l'interprétation en slovène).[5] Tous les discours étaient tenus dans une période allant du mois de septembre jusqu'au mois de décembre 2008, étaient interprétés, traduits et ensuite archivés sur le site du PE.[6] Le français parlé examiné dans cette étude est celui du discours institutionnalisé plus proche de l'écrit puisque ce n'est pas une conversation impromptue mais un monologue préparé, au moins partiellement rédigé et lu.

[5] Il n'est pas surprenant que les discours dans le volet interprété ont subi un raccourcissement (de 33 pourcents), puisque les contraintes cognitives imposent toujours des réductions et des omissions.

[6] PE: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/members/public/geoSearch.do?language=SL Pour plus d'information sur le corpus recueilli se rapporter à http://www.isit-paris.fr/documents/publications/bulletin-recherche-isit_nov10.pdf

Le prétraitement du corpus s'est fait en plusieurs étapes : d'abord les débats français ainsi que leurs interprétations simultanées ont fait l'objet d'une transcription, réalisée en orthographe standard. Les transcriptions des trois sous-corpus (FR discours français, SL traduction vers le slovène et SL interprétation vers le slovène) ont fait l'objet d'une annotation,[7] qui a permis l'analyse statistique et l'extraction automatique des exemples.

5 BILAN

La première remarque qui s'impose est que le nombre élevé des reformulations élaboratives en général ne devrait pas surprendre puisque l'élaboration est une relation de discours par défaut (Verguez-Couret 2010 : 116). Le taux de la reformulation le moins élevé dans la catégorie des interprétations n'est pas une surprise non plus du fait de la situation de l'interprétation où les contraintes de temps et d'effort cognitif bloquent la transmission intégrale. Mais sous cette apparente réduction se cachent les fréquences élevées des ajouts et des omissions. La supériorité des ajouts de reformulations imitatives par rapport aux autres catégories est beaucoup plus marquée pour les interprètes. Le tableau 3 propose un récapitulatif du mécanisme de reformulation dans les trois sous corpus.

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="3">Reformulations dans le CBB</th><th>Occurrences d'origine</th><th colspan="6">Transformations par rapport aux discours français d'origine[8]</th><th colspan="2">Occurrences totales de reformulations</th></tr>
<tr><th rowspan="2">Discours d'origine en français</th><th colspan="3">Traduction slovène</th><th colspan="3">Interprétation slovène</th><th rowspan="2">Traduction slovène</th><th rowspan="2">Interprétat. slovène</th></tr>
<tr><th>+</th><th>–</th><th>*</th><th>+</th><th>–</th><th>*</th></tr>
<tr><td>Reformulation imitative</td><td>95</td><td>6</td><td>10</td><td>5</td><td>50</td><td>63</td><td>8</td><td>86</td><td>93</td></tr>
<tr><td>Reformulation élaborative</td><td>132</td><td>1</td><td>0</td><td>6</td><td>12</td><td>36</td><td>10</td><td>127</td><td>98</td></tr>
<tr><td>Total</td><td>227</td><td>7</td><td>10</td><td>11</td><td>62</td><td>99</td><td>18</td><td>213</td><td>191</td></tr>
</table>

Tableau 3 : récapitulatif du mécanisme de reformulation.

[7] Annotation dans le volet de discours d'origine FR:
/R/ pour reformulation imitative, /E/ pour reformulation élaborative
Annotation dans les volets SL traduction et SL interpretation:
/R/, /E/ pour les reformulations préservées,
+/R/, +/E/ pour les reformulations ajoutées par rapport au discours d'origine,
-/R/, -/E/ pour les reformulations omises et
*/R/, */E/ pour les cas où les éléments de deux énoncés de la reformulation sont préservés mais la relation discursive n'est plus celle de reformulation mais une autre,
+/M/ pour les marqueurs de reformulation ajoutés et -/M/ pour ceux qui étaient omis.

[8] + ajouts, - omissions, *les éléments de la reformulation sont préservés masi n'entrent plus dans la relation de reformulation, mais plutôt un autre, par ex., causale, etc.

Les reformulations dans la situation de l'oral et celle de l'écrit ne se recouvrent pas, ni du point de vue de la forme ni de la fonction. Blakemore (2007) postule qu'à l'écrit la reformulation relève surtout de la recherche d'un effet rhétorique tandis qu'à l'oral sa fonction dominante est la correction. La situation de l'oral autorise des retours en arrière, des apports de précisions que l'écrit ne permet guère. La différence s'explique aussi par les contraintes cognitives qui interviennent en interprétation : le temps pour pouvoir faire la production d'une expression explicite est réduit, surtout quand le segment suivant dans le discours à être interprété est plus pertinent et exigerait plus d'attention de la part de l'interprète.

5.1 Résultats dans le volet du discours d'origine en français

Dans le volet des discours d'origine en français, nous avons classé dans la sous catégorie reformulations à visée imitative (95 annotations R au total) des énoncés qui entrent dans les relations synonymiques, antonymiques et les répétitions sans variation lexicale. Les reprises sont opérées sur un item lexical (par ex. *clair – précis, examiner – regarder de près, dire – proposer, …),* un segment entier *(mettre le turbo – battre le fer, dispositions non contraignantes – soft law, Office de lutte antifraude – OLAF, X doit être distingué de Y – X n'est pas Y)* voire une phrase entière *(Je me demande pourquoi il n'est pas à côté de vous.. je trouve un peu étrange que le commissaire responsable ne soit pas là).* La synonymie stricto sensu est moins fréquente que la synonymie étendue ancrée dans un contexte assimilateur, permettant les associations du type *remarque – message,* ou les associations du type *monsieur le Commissaire, ancien ministre irlandais* qui fait appel aux connaissances extralinguistiques.

La liste des reformulations à visée d'élaboration (132 annotations E au total) met en relief une fréquence élevée des relations de métonymie (tout – partie) où l'ER introduit une partie ou un exemple de l'ES, ainsi qu'un bon nombre d'occurrences (40 exemples) des relations d' hyponymie où un hyperonyme apparaît en premier pour être ensuite repris au moyen d'un hyponyme, comme dans l'exemple (7) ci-dessous :

(7) ***FR*** *: Il rappelle que les sanctions de l'Union ne s'adressent pas qu'aux États tiers mais aussi aux <u>entités physiques et légales</u>, <u>comme /E/ les mercenaires ou encore les multinationales</u>, qui défient le droit international /E/ en opérant en quasi-impunité.*

SL traduction *: Poročilo opozarja, da sankcije EU niso namenjene le tretjim državam, ampak tudi <u>fizičnim in pravnim subjektom</u>, kot so /E/ <u>plačanci ali seveda multinacionalke</u>, ki nekaznovano kršijo mednarodno pravo -/E/.*

SL interprétation: *Lahko eh se obrnemo eh tudi na eh <u>tiste</u> - /E/ ki ne spoštujejo človekove pravice in mednarodno pravo -/E/*

Fréquemment recensées sont aussi les relations sémantiques de troponymie s'établissant entre deux verbes. Notre corpus nous a fourni 26 exemples de coréférence verbale où un ES abstrait est repris par un ER plus concret, souvent articulé par le coordonnant « et » (ex. 8) :

(8) ***FR :*** *Pour mon groupe la Commission devrait aller encore plus loin et /E/ prendre davantage de mesures concrètes;*

(9) ***FR :*** *L'examen simultané de ces textes relève du défi et /E/ représente un travail considérable pour chacune de nos institutions.*

10 exemples de coréférence verbale adoptent une structure syntaxique particulière, celle du gérondif. Nous constatons après Vergez-Couret (2010 : 213, 214) que « la proposition régissante a la caractéristique d'être abstraite et/ou métaphorique et le rôle du syntagme gérondif est de donner une réalisation concrète du procès dénoté par le verbe régissant », comme c'est évident dans l'exemple (10) de notre corpus :

(10) ***FR :*** *Et j'invite aussi le président Barroso peut-être à élargir sa task-force pour faire face à cette crise /E/ en incluant le commissaire Kovács, si on veut effectivement traiter ces questions?*

5.2 Résultats dans le volet de la traduction slovène

Dans le volet des traductions écrites presque toutes les relations sont majoritairement retenues intégralement (213 par rapport au 227 du discours d'origine). La catégorie de reformulations à visée imitative a subi plus de transformations (ajouts et omissions) que les élaborations. Les traducteurs ont surtout soin d'omettre les rephrasages aux apports informatifs les plus marginaux, réduisant ainsi le taux de la redondance comme dans l'ex. 11 où la partie soulignée montre que le traducteur slovène emploie « soglasje » (fr. *accord*) à la place de « en phase et en accord ».

(11) ***FR :*** *Nous avons donc besoin d'une philosophie très solide et nous devons être vraiment en phase et /R/ en accord sur nos procédures et notre politique…*

SL traduction *: Zato potrebujemo zelo zanesljivo filozofijo ter soglasje -/R/ v zvezi z našimi postopki in politiko.*

Plus de prudence est affichée devant les reformulations élaboratives. Il n'y a pas d'omissions, l'ajout est exceptionnel, en fait, un seul, celui de l'exemple (12) ci-dessous :

(12) ***Fr:*** *… permettez-moi de vous dire qu'aujourd'hui, votre cote n'est pas très bonne.*
SL traduction *: … če +/E/uporabim metaforo iz sveta športa[9] in rečem, da na današnji prireditvi ni ravno favorit.*

SL interprétation : ... ampak lahko vam povem da danes niste dobro stavili

5.3 Résultats dans le volet des discours d'interprétation en slovène

Dans le volet de l'interprétation on observe la supériorité du nombre d'omissions par rapport à la traduction écrite, ce qui est sans doute lié à la situation d'interpré-

[9] L'énoncé ajouté dans la traduction : ... [*si j'utilise la métaphore du domaine de sport] et je dis que …*

tation. Les reformulations d'origine sont omises dans 99 des cas: le plus souvent seuls les ER, informationnellement plus pertinents et moins abstraits que les ES, sont restitués. De même, les interprètes procèdent assez volontiers aux ajouts, en particulier à travers des reformulations imitatives. Ces reformulations-créations de l'interprète ont tendance à introduire des items lexicaux qui relèvent de la classe générique des mots (des hyperonymes), sans apport significatif d'information. Dans l'exemple (13) ci-dessous *l'ES naredila inventar (fr. faire le bilan)* est repris par un triplet *ugotovila kaj pravzaprav imamo / ocenila bi kaj imam / kje bi bili danes brez evra (fr. constater ce que nous avons / évaluer ce que nous avons /évaluer où serions-nous sans euro).* Cette multiplication d'un seul segment *faire le bilan* se fait aux dépens du segment suivant (*mais à travers un bilan en période de crise, bien évidemment, il nous faut trouver les moyens de rebondir*) qui a été sans doute mal compris et donc écarté de l'interprétation.

(13) **Fr** : C'est aujourd'hui l'occasion de faire le bilan, mais à travers un bilan en période de crise, bien évidemment, il nous faut trouver les moyens de rebondir.

SL traduction : Zdaj je čas za oceno stanja, prek ocene v času krize pa moramo tudi najti način, kako zadeve spet pognati v tek.

SL interprétation : Danes pa bi rada naredila inventar +/R/ in ugotovila kaj pravzaprav imamo. +/R/ Ocenila bi kaj imamo v prim v trenutku krize in +/E/ kje bi bili danes brez evra

Dans l'exemple (14) ci-dessous le nom des *archaïques* est repris par deux adjectifs évaluatifs synonymes (*démodés et arriérés*), dévoilant une difficulté ressentie par l'interprète devant un référent sans équivalent direct. La reformulation intralinguale en interprétation slovène est un moyen d'accéder au référent par des nominations multiples, indirects pour approcher le vouloir-dire qui le sous-tend.

(14) **Fr** : Nous ne sommes pas des archaïques qui veulent condamner ou interdire les fonds alternatifs ou les fonds d'investissement.

SL traduction : Nismo le neki zoprneži, ki želimo obsoditi in prepovedati alternativne sklade ali investicijske sklade. *(fr. des râleurs)*

SL interprétation : Nismo tako staromodni in +/R/ starokopitni da bi takoj obsojali te investicijske sklade

La catégorie des transformations de loin la plus intéressante est celle des ajouts de reformulations élaboratives (12 exemples), introduisant des explications plus poussées. L'interprète cherche en premier lieu à faire sens et non pas à reprendre exactement les mots de l'orateur. C'est ici qu'entrent en jeu ses connaissances extralinguistiques qui lui permettent de dépasser le traducteur dans le niveau d'explicite produit. Dans l'exemple (15) ci-dessous l'expression *bateau ivre,* allusion au poème d'Arthur Rimbaud, est explicitée dans l'interprétation par *perdre sa valeur.*

(15) ***FR** : Nous le savons bien, l'IASB est <u>un bateau ivre</u> entre les mains des auditeurs qui ont produit ces fair values, dont personne ne sait comment on les a élus quand il n'y a plus de marché.*

SL traduction : *Dobro vemo, da je IASB <u>pijana ladja</u> v rokah revizorjev, ki so ustvarili te tako imenovane „poštene vrednosti", in nihče ne ve, kako so bili izvoljeni, če ni več trga, da bi ga nadzirali.*

***SL interprétation** : IASB se obnaša kot <u>pijan čoln</u> in +/E/ <u>[izgublja svojo vrednost]</u> [10] in nihče ne ve kaj bo potem ko ne bo več trga*

6 MARQUEURS DE REFORMULATION

Le processus de traitement discursif se fait plus rapidement en présence des marqueurs de reformulation (MR) articulant les deux énoncés de reformulation d'une manière explicite. Ce sont des connecteurs (ou, et ...), compatibles avec plusieurs relations de discours, et les commentaires métadiscursifs à partir des verbes et des noms sous-spécifiés (*autrement dit, donner un exemple* ...). A part d'en procurer les statistiques (voir Tableau 4), nous n'avons effectué aucun travail d'analyse détaillée. Étant donné les possibilités relevées dans d'autres discours (Woroch 2010), la liste des marqueurs dans notre corpus apparaît relativement peu variée (*et, c'est à dire, ou, dit, en d'autres termes, en clair, autrement dit, à savoir, je parle de, en particulier, comme, y compris, notamment, par exemple, je pense à, pour prendre un exemple concret)*. La plupart (58%) des relations de reformulation prises en compte dans le rapport verbatim écrit du discours parlé français sont liées implicitement au moyen d'un signe typographique (tiret, deux points, point, point d'interrogation, virgule, parenthèses). Dans le volet des traductions en slovène on observe une faible tendance à expliciter (les relations qui n'ont pas été signalées explicitement descendent à 42 %, avec 21 MR ajoutés et 3 enlevés par rapport aux discours originaux). Dans les discours d'interprétation en slovène la tendance est à l'omission (la part des liens non- signalés par un MR s'élève à 65%, avec néanmoins 8 cas de MR ajoutés par rapport aux discours d'origine). L'absence de variété parmi les MR est encore plus remarquable dans les interprétations.[11]

[10] En interprétation slovène l'ES *se obnaša kot pijan čoln* (fr. *se comporte en bateau ivre*) est repris par un ajout de l'ER *izgublja svojo vrednost* (fr. *perd de sa valeur*).

[11] MR dans le volet traductions: *in, oziroma, ali, in sicer, ali da povem odkrito, povedano jasneje, to je, to pa so, predvsem, namreč, vključno s, na primer, kot so/je/sta, za konkreten primer poglejmo, zlasti, s tem mislim na, tu imam v mislih, v primerih, govorim o.* MR dans le volet interprétations: *in, in sicer, oziroma, to pa je, ali pa, kar pomeni, torej, na primer, kot so, predvsem, zlasti, govorim o recimo.*

Et (*in* en slovène) est le MR qui domine de loin dans tous les trois volets (avec ses 24 occurrences en discours d'origine, 48 occurrences dans les traductions et 50 occurrences dans les interprétations).[12]

	Discours d'origine en français	**Traduction slovène**	**Interpretation slovène**
R/E implicite (sans MR)	131 (58 %)	89 (42%)	130 (68%)
R/E marqué explicitement (avec MR)	96 (42 %)	124 (58%)	61 (32%)
Total	227 (100%)	213 (100%)	191 (100%)

Tableau 4 : Marqueurs de reformulation en statistiques

7 CONCLUSION

Les reformulations intralinguales dans les discours originaux, traduits et interprétés ne se recouvrent ni au niveau de la fréquence ni du point de vue de la forme. En général, le traducteur, qui transpose le message à l'écrit, procède à une traduction complète. L'omission et l'ajout interviennent dans la catégorie de la reformulation imitative: par l'omission, il vise à réduire la redondance. Les ajouts lui permettent d'éviter la répétition sans modifier l'information ou bien donner des précisions, nécessaires pour les lecteurs qui ne font pas partie de la situation d'échange.

Les discours soumis au processus d'interprétation sont saturés de reformulations imitatives ajoutées qui pourtant ne permettent pas de cerner avec plus de précision le référent mais font effet de tâtonnement dans la recherche de l'expression juste. Les énoncés reformulants synonymiques sans apport significatif d'informations permettent parfois de pallier les difficultés de compréhension et cacher des lacunes dans le vocabulaire: un segment est rendu saillant aux dépens d'un autre segment passé sous silence. Ou encore, il s'agit d'un moyen d'intensification sémantique pour souligner les segments qui semblent être plus pertinents.

Au plan de l'explicitation, on peut affirmer que le traducteur explicite plus au niveau textuel, qui concerne l'organisation du texte en termes de marqueurs de reformulation, tandis que l'interprète procède à la réduction de densité informative, qui elle même découle de l'effort d'explicitation, au moyen des reformulations intralinguales ajoutées. Par ailleurs, l'interprète introduit plus facilement les reformulations élaboratives apportant des explications plus poussées, qui rendent le discours ponc-

[12] Nous avons relevé le connecteur ET qui semble articuler la relation de reformulation bien que Txurruka (2000) pose que le coordonant ET exclut la relation discursive d'élaboration et reformulation.

tuellement plus explicite. Chez lui, le glissement vers plus de l'explicite s'observe donc plutôt au niveau idéationnel, qui concerne la représentation du monde.

Que ce soit dans les discours de traduction ou ceux d'interprétation, on peut observer l'interaction entre les deux principes antinomiques formulés par Horn (1984) : l'un, principe Q (ang. *quantity*), visant à économiser les efforts du locuteur (ne pas en dire plus que nécessaire), l'autre, principe R (ang. *relevance*), visant à économiser les efforts de l'allocutaire (en dire autant que possible) pour respecter la pertinence. Les résultats observés infirment en grande partie l'hypothèse de départ selon laquelle il se produirait, lors des processus de traduction et d'interprétation, des glissements ponctuels vers plus d'explicite par rapport aux discours d'origine.

Les résultats ne sont bien entendu pas généralisables, l'échantillon de corpus étant assez limité. Pour pouvoir parvenir à une explication plus complète du mécanisme de la reformulation nous devrions inclure dans l'étude la prise en compte d'autres facteurs, soit linguistiques (différences entre les systèmes linguistiques des langues comparées) soit paralinguistiques (profil du traducteur/interprète, les normes établies dans le domaine, etc.). Les quelques régularités permettant de distinguer la traduction écrite et l'interprétation simultanées décrites dans cette étude ont simplement l'ambition d'ouvrir des pistes nécessitant à être poursuivies et élargies par des recherches ultérieures allant dans ce sens.

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Résumé

REFORMULATION DANS LE DISCOURS DE TRADUCTION ET INTERPRÉTATION : ÉTUDE D'UN CORPUS FRANÇAIS - SLOVÈNE

L'article se situe dans la problématique de reprises discursives. L'étude est basée sur les opérations de reformulation dans deux modalités (oral, écrit) et deux langues (français, slovène). Le travail repose sur l'hypothèse selon laquelle le passage d'une langue et d'un mode à l'autre sera lié à un glissement de l'explicite, perceptible dans le changement du nombre de reformulations intralinguales, le nombre et la nature des marqueurs de reformulation ainsi que les changements au niveau des relations sémantiques entre le segment reformulant et le segment reformulé.

L'article se structure de la façon suivante: la première partie abordera la notion de reformulation, qu'elle ait ou non un caractère paraphrastique. Par la suite, nous donnerons un précis sur le corpus, composé de trois volets s'élevant à 64 800 occurrences de mots: transcriptions des débats parlementaires français tenus au Parlement Européen, leurs traductions écrites et les transcriptions de l'interprétation simultanée en slovène. D'après les résultats le taux des structures reformulatives employé dans le discours d'origine est réduit dans le volet des traductions et encore moins élevé dans le volet des interprétations, ce qui n'est pas surprenant du fait des contraintes de temps et d'effort cognitif. Mais sous cette apparente réduction se cachent les fréquences élevées des structures reformulatives nouvelles par rapport au discours d'origine, soulignant d'autres aspects. Chez les traducteurs on observe le glissement vers plus d'explicite surtout au plan textuel, au moyen de marqueurs de reformulation. Chez les interprètes, par contre, ce glissement s'opère plutôt au niveau idéationnel, qui concerne la représentation du monde et s'observe à travers le taux élevé des élaborations.

Mots-clés : reformulation, élaboration, explicitation, relations sémantiques, corpus.

Povzetek

REFORMULACIJA V FRANCOSKO-SLOVENSKEM KORPUSU PREVEDENIH IN TOLMAČENIH GOVOROV

Članek obravnava problematiko pomenskih vračanj (nanašanj) v diskurzu. Analizirani so bili primeri reformulacije v dveh kodih (ustni, pisni) in dveh jezikih (francoščina, slovenščina). Izhajamo iz hipoteze, da pri prenosu iz enega jezika oz. koda v drugega, prihaja do sprememb v intralingvalnih reformulacijah in s tem do premikov v eksplicitnem, kar se kaže v spremenjenem številu in tipu označevalcev reformulacije kot tudi v drugačni konfiguraciji semantičnih odnosov med izhodiščno reformulirano enoto in reformulacijsko enoto.

V prvem, teoretičnem delu članka na kratko predstavimo pojem reformulacije in njene pojavne oblike, zajete že v preteklih raziskavah. Sledijo podrobnosti o korpusu, ki obsega 64 800 pojavnic in je sestavljen iz treh delov: transkripcij francoskih parlamentarnih razprav Evropskega Parlamenta, njihovih pisnih prevodov in transkripcij tolmačenih prevodov v slovenščino. Statistični rezultati kažejo, da predvsem pri tolmačenju prihaja do izpusta reformulacij, ki so bile uporabljene v izhodiščnem govoru, kar zaradi časovnih in kognitivnih omejitev ni presenetljivo, vendar pa se za to na videz nižjo stopnjo eksplicitnosti skrivajo številni primeri novih reformulacij, ki uvajajo dodatne informacije in poudarke, s katerimi tolmač/prevajalec osvetljuje druge vidike in usmerja proces razumevanja. Čeprav na podlagi statističnih izsledkov ne moremo govoriti o povečani eksplicitnosti sporočila kot celote, podrobnejša analiza kaže na povečano eksplicitnost posameznih delov sporočila. Pri prevajalcih zasledimo premik v smeri večje eksplicitnosti na področju besedilne metafunkcije, kar se kaže na primer v večjem številu označevalcev reformulacij, medtem ko pri tolmačih ta premik opažamo predvsem na področju predstavne metafunkcije, kar se kaže na primer v večji specifikaciji posameznih delov sporočila.

Ključne besede: reformulacija, elaboracija, eksplicitacija, semantični odnosi, korpusna raziskava.

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USING THE TOBI TRANSCRIPTION TO RECORD THE INTONATION OF SLOVENE

INTRODUCTION

ToBI is an acronym for *Tones and Breaks Indices*.[1] The term can be used in two ways: a) it originally denotes an intonation system developed between 1991 and 1994 designed to annotate intonation and prosody in the database of spoken American English (Mainstream American English); b) this transcription system rapidly spread onto prosodic annotation of other variants of English and many other languages. Terminologically, "MAE_ToBI" is used to denote the original meaning of the term, while "ToBI" is used for the evolving systems in individual languages. The paper presents the process of creating the transcription system, its basic parts and symbolic labels. It also deals with the annotation of Italian and speaks of the first ever application of the ToBI system onto a corpus of spontaneous speech of Slovene Istria.

1 ToBI

The MAE_ToBI was developed in a series of meetings which were attended by representatives of various disciplines: engineers, who wanted to learn about automated voice recognition and to develop a better system for the automatic conversion of written text to speech; psychologists, who wanted to explore the relationship between prosody and the process of human speech; computer experts, who wanted to build better models of dialogue and systems of speech; and phoneticians, who wished to test their theories about the integration of tone sequences and the alignment of tone and text. In the short run, they wanted to create tools that would allow researchers from different fields to work together in the development of a comprehensive prosodically annotated and freely accessible online database with a wide range of use in speech technologies and speech science. In the long term, they wanted to develop a common terminology that researchers from different fields could use for the interpretation of their data and one which they could consequently contribute to with further analyses and enhancement of the basic sets of methods and data.

The transcription system is based on extensive studies of English intonation and the segmentation of the speech signal. Any adjustment of the ToBI system to other

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[1] Unless otherwise stated, the description and presentation of the method are summarized following Beckman/Elam 1997, Beckman/Hirschberg, online source, ToBI, online source, Beckman et al. 2005.

languages should reflect the typical and theoretically-based understanding of intonation and prosodic grammar in the given language. Every new version of the ToBI-system should therefore be based (at least) on analyses of intonational phonology; ideally, the rules should be based on extensive studies in phonology, dialectology, pragmatics and discourse analysis. If in a given language only segments of the transcribed and analysed phenomenon were explored, the adjustment of the ToBI system could help in drafting relevant topics for further research. The MAE_ToBI group was diverse enough to enable the participants to reach an agreement that met the interests and needs of experts in various fields of interest. The group established a system which covered only those segments of prosody they wished to identify because the system had to be effective and couldn't afford to waste the transcribers' time with incidental tasks, such as the symbolic representation of undistinctive tone sequences which could be automatically extracted from the recording of the speech signal. The MAE_ToBI system was therefore aimed at a broader community of researchers with different interests and theoretical currents. The system allows all other evolving systems to include larger and more diverse groups of users, upon the condition that the system is in constant evolution and is accepted as a broader social standard. Rules should therefore be sufficiently simple so that their use would not be restricted to a handful of experts and trained transcribers.[2] A freely accessible guide for using the system, with many examples of already transcribed utterances from simple to complex structures is provided (http://www.ling.ohio-state.edu/˜ToBI/). The rules of the new or adapted system must constantly be checked and updated. Also, multiple testing and evaluation of the transcribers' consistency in using the rules are important in the development process because they assure the researchers that the system is reliable (eg. Yoon et al. 2004). Setting up transcription rules is an ongoing process which requires agreement among all the participants in the process and adjustment to their needs and interests. Any proposed change to the original ToBI-system is based on a review of the speech material. A good ToBI-transcription therefore cannot and should not replace the recording of the speech signal only with a symbolic representation, but should include symbolic comments with data and acoustic recordings on which it is based.

The MAE_ToBI-system is based on the five most important facts about intonation and prosodic structure of language:

a) Prosodic patterns of the utterance can be presented/transcribed separately in individual tiers representing independent structural types. The intonational contour can be represented linearly with a series of tone sequences, while the metrical hierarchy of intonational phrases and minor prosodic units and its parts should be presented hierarchically, for example, with a scale of the perceived break index between two words.

b) Intonational contour is structured in relatively high and relatively low pitch levels. In order to indicate or describe a tone, H tags are used for high tone and L tags for low tone. These levels of labeling are, statistically speaking, in paradigmatic contrast with

[2] For further information on the purpose of transcription, cf. Šumenjak 2012.

one another – relatively high means high in the local pitch range of the observed phrase in comparison with the nearest low pitch peak.

c) Local pitch range is determined by various factors, e.g. the so-called downsteps and upsteps. A high tone (H) can therefore in some parts of the phrase be lower than a low tone (L) which means that high and low tones cannot be quantified in an absolute way.

d) Tones in any phrase functionally differ depending on whether they are boundary tones or whether they are included in the lexical pitch accent. The absolute value of the highest or lowest tone therefore depends on its function and its position – the lexical pitch accent is generally aligned with a corresponding accented syllable, while the boundary tone is aligned with the corresponding phrase boundary or the ending of the utterance.

e) The distinction between high and low boundary tones (H- and L- or H% and L%) is shown also at two different levels of intonational phrasing which indicates two different levels of the intensity of boundaries (phonological and intonational phrase).

According to the original agreement, the MAE_ToBI-transcription consists of six parts (cf. Table 1) – the audio recording, the graphical representation of the sequence of basic frequency, the symbolic representation of intonational contour, the orthographic transcription of the utterance, the quantitative record of the degree or strength of disjuncture between words, as well as the transcriber's comments during the transcription of the utterance.

Audio	audio recording of the utterance in selected format
F0	electronic and/or manual representation of the sequence of fundamental frequency F0
Tones	transcription of the intonational contour and other tone-related data
Words	ortographic transcription of every word of the utterance aligned with the ending of the word
Break-indices	numerical index of the perceived degree of disjuncture between ortographically transcribed words
Misc	tags for lack of smoothness, comments, other data

Table 1: Basic elements of the MAE_ToBI transcription (Beckman et al. 2005).

The symbolic representation of prosodic elements is usually arranged in four temporally aligned tiers and is also aligned with the corresponding contour of fundamental frequency F0 and the representation of the sound wave. The four parallel aligned tiers are:

- *tone tier* – the tier for transcribing tone sequences,
- *ortographic tier* – the tier for the ortographic transcription of the utterance,
- *break-index tier* – the tier for transcribing breaks between words,
- *miscellaneous tier* – the tier for noting down additional observations.

The basic transcription can be complemented with two additional tiers:

- *alternative tier* – the tier for alternative annotation in cases of ambiguity,
- *discussion tier* – the tier for recording data which refer only to a part of the research results.

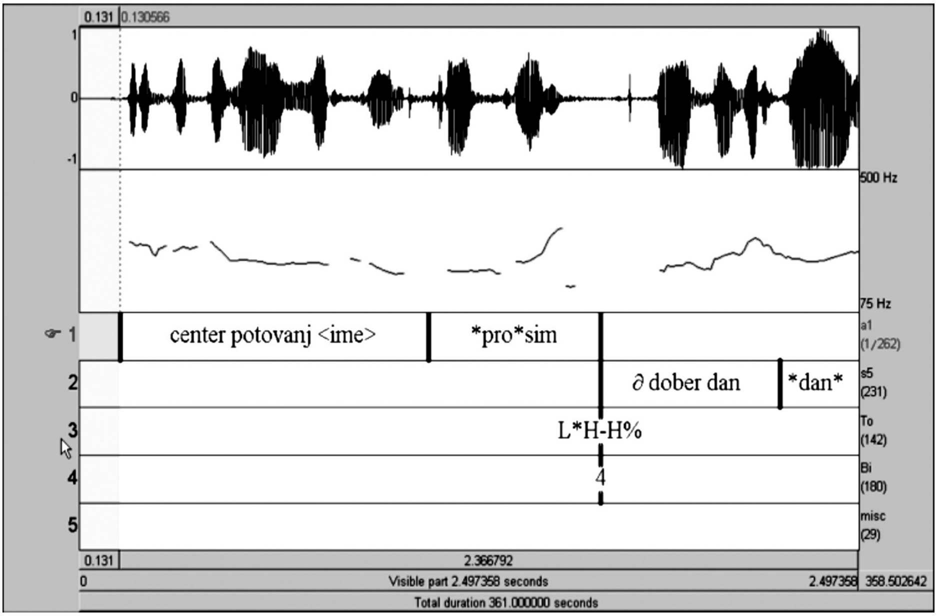

Figure 1: The use of the ToBI system in Praat.
(English explication: Speaker 1: travel agency <name> / how can I help you
Speaker 2: hello / hello)

1.1 Tone tier

The tone tier is that part of the transcription which corresponds most approximately to the phonological analyses of the intonational pattern of each utterance. It consists of labels for distinguishing pitch peaks or distinctive pitch events which are transcribed as a sequence of high (H) and low (L) tones. A tone may represent a pitch accent (H* or L*) or a part of it (H+L* or L+H*); in these cases we speak about bitonal pitch accent, or a phrasal tone which indicates the endings of two types of intonationally annotated prosodic units or phrases, high (H-) or low tone (L-) in a phonological phrase (phrase accent), and high (H%) or low tone (L%) in an intonational phrase (boundary tone). The tone is therefore related to the intonational boundaries or to the (boundary tone) after the accented syllable in each intonational phrase.

Phrasal tones
Phrasal tones are annotated for every *phonological* and *intonational phrase*:

a) labels L- and H- indicate a tone which occurs at the end of a phonological phrase; it is marked with number 3 in the break-index tier, which represents a similar annotation to the one used in the dissertation by J. Pierrehumbert (1980);

b) labels L% and H% indicate the tone which occurs at the end of the intonational phrase and is marked with number 4 in the break-index tier;

c) label %H denotes a high initial tone that starts relatively high in the speaker's voice register. Transcribers use %H only in cases where a high initial tone sequence cannot be associated with a high pitch accent on the first or second syllable of the utterance (when the first word is not accented or when the accented syllable is placed too close to the end of the word and therefore cannot be considered an initial accent) and when the utterance contrasts with a possible interpretation with low tonality.

An intonational phrase can consist of one or more phonological phrases, and can therefore exhibit one or two phrase accents and a boundary tone; the symbolic transcription of the sequence of phrasal tones can therefore be as follows:

a) L-L%, indicates an intonational phrase with a low phrase accent (L-), the last phonological (and therefore intonational) phrase ends in a boundary tone (L%) which falls to a lower point in the speaker's voice register. In American English, this sequence is typical of declarative sentences;

b) L-H%, indicates an intonational phrase with a low phrase accent (L) ending in a final high boundary tone (H%), which may indicate a continuation of the utterance;

c) H-H%, indicates an intonational phrase with a high (H-) phrase accent growing to a high boundary tone (H%). In English, this is typical of yes/no questions;

d) H-L%, indicates an intonational phrase with a high phrase accent (H-), followed by a low boundary tone (L%) which comes close to the middle of the speaker's voice register; this generates the final plateau.

Pitch accents

Pitch accents are annotated in every accented syllable. The MAE_ToBI transcription distinguishes five different annotations of pitch accents:

1. H* – *peak accent*; tone target in the accented syllable which is in the high part of the speaker's voice register in the pronounced intonational phrase. This label can also be used for tones in the middle voice register, but it excludes a very low level of F0;
2. L* – *low accent*; tone target in the accented syllable which is in the lowest part of the speaker's voice register;
3. L* + H – *scooped accent;* low tone target in the accented syllable, directly followed by a sharp rise into the upper part of the speaker's voice register;
4. L + H* – *rising peak accent*; high tone target in the accented syllable which follows relatively high from the lowest part of the speaker's voice register;

5. H + !H* – downstep to the accented syllable from a pitch, which in itself cannot be counted as a high boundary tone (H-) at the end of the preceding phonological phrase, or if in the same phrase the previous accent is the H-accent. It is used only when the pitch before the label is high and unaccented in the speech signal (otherwise it is marked by !H*).

As can be seen, pitch accents can be simple or monotonal, or complex or bitonal, which means that two tones (high and low) are combined in the same accented syllable. In the symbolic representation of pitch accents L*+H and L+H*, the speaker forms the same sequence of high and low tones – L H L H, but the difference in tone sequences is marked with the position of the asterisk (*). Both tone sequences contain a bitonal pitch accent in the same syllable, followed by a low boundary tone (L-) and a high ending (H%); they have identical numerical break indices and words. The difference is in the alignment of the pitch accent with the accented syllable. In the symbolic representation L*+H the initial tone, which is aligned with the accented syllable, is low (L) and growing towards the end of the syllable. In the symbolic representation L+H*, the syllable starts with a low tone which is growing throughout the accented syllable and reaches the top at its end.

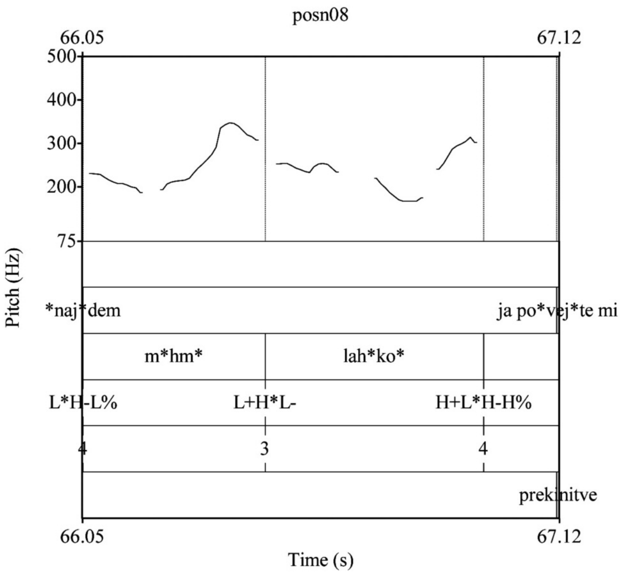

Figure 2: L + H* pitch accent in the word "mhm".
(English explication: Speaker 1: (let me) find / yes tell me
Speaker 2: aha / may I

1.2 Break-index tier

This tier indicates how strongly linked every word of the analysed segment is with the following word. A numerical scale from 0 to 4 is used for indicating different types of breaks. Index 0 indicates a low boundary between words, for example, in the blending of voices (e.g. the Slovene numeral "šest sto" (six hundred) which is pronounced "šesto" in the corpus) or in clitics. Index 1 is used in most word boundaries which occur between words in the middle of phrases (phrase medial word boundary). Index 2 is used for stronger boundaries with pauses or seeming pauses, but without tone breaks (the tone continues beyond this boundary) or for boundaries which are weaker than expected, as in cases with a clear intermediate or full intonational boundary between phrases. Index 3 is used for boundaries within intonational phrases (e.g., it only indicates the phrasal tone which affects the part of the phrase from the last accent to the end of the last phrase, i. e. the tone in boundary tones). Index 4 is used for the boundary at the end of intonational phrases or for final boundary tone.

Uncertainties regarding the annotation of break indices are marked with a minus (-) on the right side of the numerical index. Ambiguities (e.g. unclear or abrupt termination or prolongation of sound or word) are marked with a "p" on the right side of the numerical index. Ambiguity labels are only used with numerical indices 1, 2 and 3, where "1p" stands for unclear terminations and "2p" and "3p" stand for prolongation; more precisely, "3p" stands for delay after the pitch peak in a phonological phrase.

1.3 Ortographic tier

The ortographic tier is used for the transcription of the words of the analysed utterance. The transcription of the word is aligned with its position in the speech signal.

1.4 Miscellaneous tier

The miscellaneous tier is used for noting down comments; coughing, laughter, long silence and other non-verbal events are recorded in square brackets. Like the ortographic tier, this tier can include types of events which are not essential to prosodic analysis in itself, but can contribute to the interpretation of the tone tier and break-index tier analyses, since they interrupt the rate of speech and the annotated and presented intonational contours. Labels in this tier usually appear in pairs – they indicate the beginning and the ending of a given event; with the exception of the label *disfl*, which indicates lack of smoothness.

Basic tones	
Phrase accents	H-, (!H), L- (mandatory with BI 3 or higher)
Boundary tones	H%, L% (mandatory with BI 4) %H (marginal, at the beginning of certain intonational phrases, after the pause)
Pitch accents	L*, H*, (!H*), L+H*, (L+!H*), L*+H (L*+!H), H+!H*
Other labels	
Downstep	! (indicates the beginning of a falling tone)
Uncertainty	*?, -?, %? (indicating uncertainty regarding the presence of *, - or %) X*?, X-?, X%? (indicating uncertainty regarding the type of tone)
Phonetic events, transcribed and precisely annotated	< (delayed peak) HiF0 (highest F0, associated with accent in an intermediate phrase)
Restart	%r

Table 2: Inventory of tags of the MAE_ToBI system in the tone tier (Beckman et al. 2005).

With the aid of these suprasegmental aspects of spoken language, spoken texts can be interpreted semantically, syntactically and even morphologically. For this reason, researchers who investigate speech are keenly interested in the transcription of prosodic structure.

The ToBI-transcription system has been adopted in a number of languages and dialects, for example in German, Greek, Dutch, Serbo-Croatian, Japanese, Korean, Pan-Mandarin, Chinese, the Chinese dialect Cantonese, Native American language Chickasaw, Bininj Gun-Wok in Australia, Swedish, French, Italian, Portuguese, as well as in English and Irish dialects. Several new ToBI systems, adapted to a specific language, were created: C-ToBI for Chinese, J-ToBI for Japanese, K-ToBI for Korean, GR-ToBI for Greek, G-ToBI for German, SP-ToBI for Spanish, Cantonese-ToBI for Chinese dialect Cantonese, Pan Mandarin-ToBI for Pan-Mandarin, P-ToBI for Portuguese.

2 TOBIT

The reason why this paper presents the use of ToBIt, the ToBI system for Italian, is that the research and transcription of intonation in spontaneous speech of Slovene Istria was compared with studies of intonation in Northern Italian dialects.

The first attempt to adapt the system for the annotation of prosodic events proposed by Pierrehumbert (1980) was presented for Italian by Avesani in 1995. The author proposes an inventory of pitch accents and boundary tones for standard Italian which is based on data from the Tuscan dialect and the speaking style of a professional speaker. Avesani (1995) lists four types of pitch accents for Italian – two simple tones, H* and L*, and two composite tones, H+L* and L+H*, while the possible tone sequences for boundary tones are: L-L%, which is typical for completed declarative, imperative and exclamative contours and a possible wh- question contour, the H-H% and L-H%, which are typical for yes-no question contour or for indicating that the interpretation of the utterance rests on the utterance following it (continuation); and H-L%, which is phonetically realized as a plateau in the middle speech register and denotes the so-called calling tune ("richiamo") – it is used to name/call/attract attention of a person who is spatially distant from the speaker. The use of the adapted ToBI system for Italian therefore gives the possibility of distinguishing intonational contours which share the same phonological structure in the post-nuclear position (they discriminate the same boundary tones) based on different types of pitch accents and intonational contours which have the same type of pitch accent.

The system introduced by Avesani for the study of intonation of standard Italian began to be used for the study of intonation in other regional variants of Italian. Most research was done for Southern Italian variants: Bari, Naples, Palermo, Florence, Rome, Perugia, Treviso, Parma, Milan, Genoa, for Venetian Italian and for the nine provincial variants. All research dealing with Northern dialects shares in common the observation that these variants display a more pronounced tonal variation compared to the Central or Southern Italian dialects. Canepari (1980) finds that in the variants of Friuli-Venezia Giulia transitions between tonal planes are frequent. Using the ToBI method, tone sequence in completed utterances can be transcribed as L*H-L% (in standard Italian H*L-L%), in incomplete utterances as (H+L)*H-L% (in standard Italian H*H-L%), and in questions as (L+H)*L-H% (in standard Italian L*L-H%). According to the study of Payne and Folli (2006), the patterns of tone sequences in questions and statements in the Northern Italian town of Treviso are identical – falling (H+L*), rising (L*+H) or rising-falling pitch accent (L*+H or L+H*, followed by a phrase accent L-) in declarative sentences; all three types of accents may also occur in yes-no questions (the question form is determined from the syntax). Pitch accents in the studied materials are always bitonal (H*+L, H+L*, L*+H or L+H*). Payne (2005) transcribes the typical tone sequence of completed declarative utterances as a sequence of high and low tones – H L * H L, but does not specify a more accurate tonal structure of the analyzed data. Typical structure of incomplete utterances is L*H- and (H+L*)H-. For wh-questions, possible tone sequences are L*H-H%, and L*H-L% for questions associated with emotions, or H*L-L% in the case of a change in word order. In yes-no questions, the most frequent structure is H*L-L%, with a high final accented syllable, boundary tone(s) (are) mid to high. If yes-no questions are associated with emotions, the most frequent structure is L*H-L%.

3 TOBI IN SLOVENE MATERIAL

The described transcription method was first used in a corpus of spontaneous speech of speakers from Slovene Istria. The corpus consists of 12 audio recordings of telephone conversations between employees in travel agencies[3] in Slovene Istria and their (potential) customers. A total of 15 speakers participated, 5 travel agents (marked A1, A2, A3, A4 and A5 in the corpus) and 10 customers (marked with the letter S + numbers 1 through 10 in the corpus). The overall length of the recordings is 36 minutes and 17 seconds. The speakers were classified according to age, gender, place of residence, education, occupation, ethnicity and language (cf. Table 3).

variables \ speakers		15
gender	female male	11 4
age	15–29 years 30–44 years 45–59 years	4 10 1
residence	coastal towns (Koper, Izola, Piran) hinterland of Slovene Istria	9 6
education	completed university or higher education uncompleted university or higher education university student	11 3 1
profession	independent trader/employer employee with upper secondary education employee with university or higher education other	2 4 8 1
nationality	Slovene Istrian	14 1
language	monolingual speaker of Slovene bilingual speaker of Slovene and Italian[4]	3 12

Table 3: Speakers according to variables.

The analysed material[5] shows the following pitch accents: monotonal H* and L*, bitonal (H+L)* and (L+H)* and tritonal H+L+H* and L+H+L*.

[3] We would like to thank Center potovanj and Partner travel agencies from Koper, and Laguna from Izola for their permission to record telephone conversations. Conversations were recorded for the basic research project Multilingual corpus of tourist texts: an information resource and analytical database of Slovene natural and cultural heritage (available online at http://jt.upr.si/turk).

[4] Nine bilingual speakers of Slovene and Italian learnt Italian from the environment prior to any formal education in primary school (e.g. through the Italian television and radio programs, Italian music etc.), while three respondents started learning Italian in primary school.

[5] For a more precise analysis of the material, cf. Volk 2011.

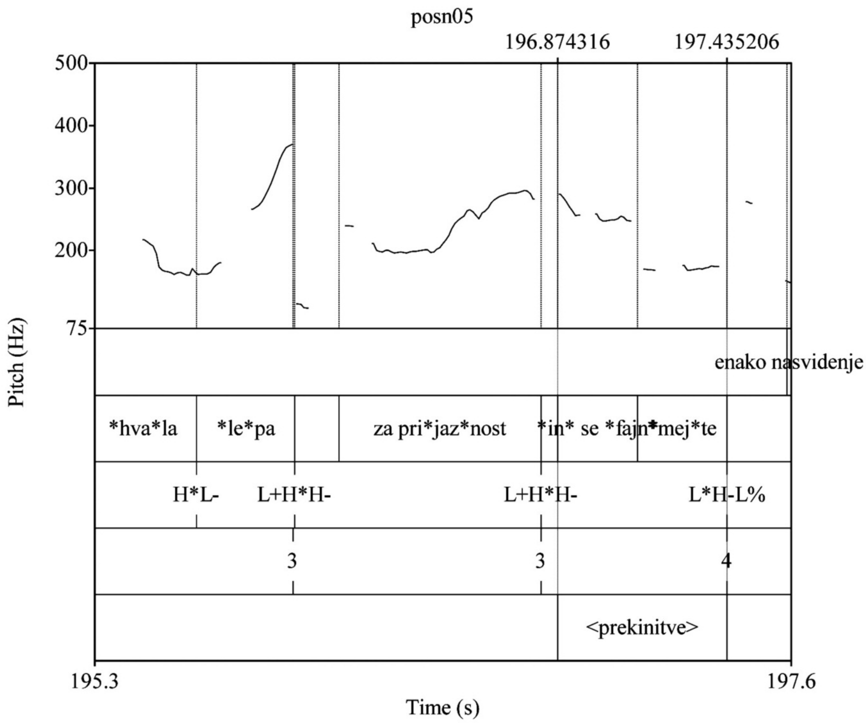

Figure 3: H* pitch accent in the word “hvala”.
(English explication: Speaker 1: you too goodbye
Speaker 2: thank you / for your kindness / and have a great time

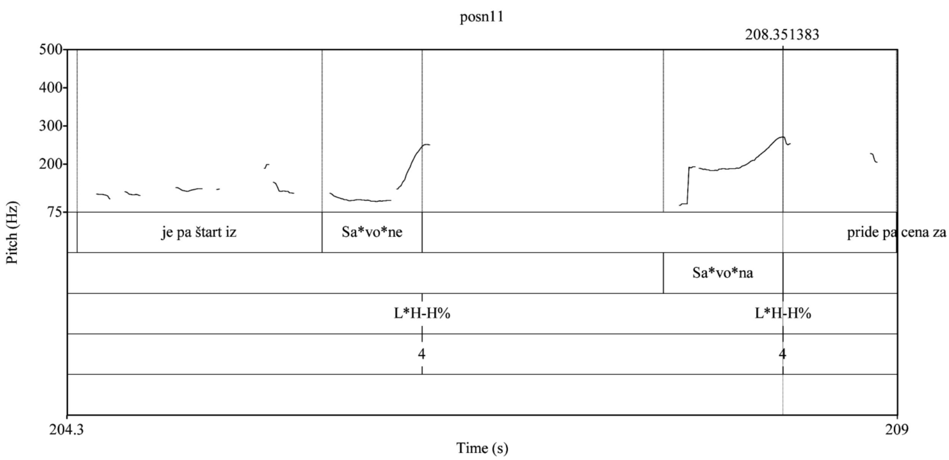

Figure 4: L* pitch accent in the word “Savone”.
(English explication: Speaker 1: it starts from Savona / and it costs
Spaekar 2: Savona

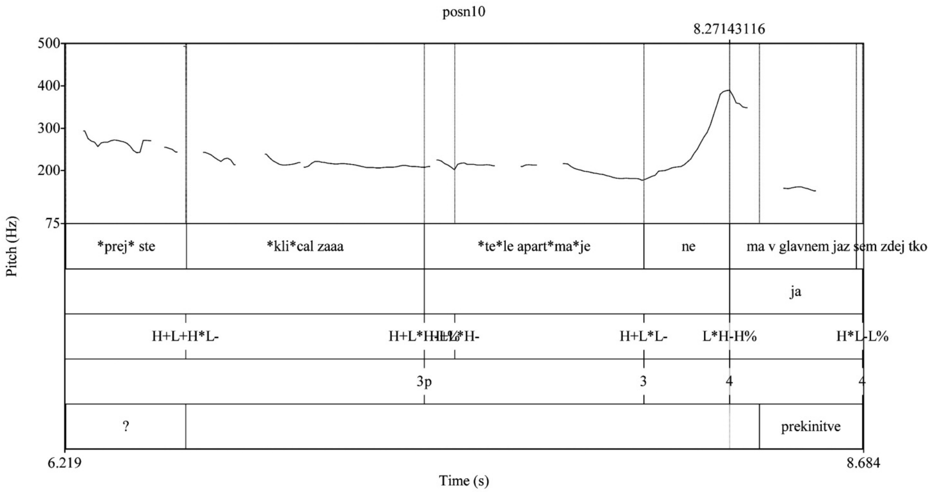

Figure 5: Tritonal pitch accent in the word "prej".
(English explication: Speaker 1: you called before fooor / these appartments / right / so basicly now I
Speaker 2: yes

The phrasal tones found in the analysed material are: H- and L- (for incomplete utterances), and H-L%, L-L%, H-H%, L-H% for completed utterances, wh-questions and yes-no questions.

The analyses of boundary tones and phrase accents in different types of utterances show the expected tone sequences: L% for completed utterances and H- for incomplete utterances, L% for wh-questions and H% for yes-no questions, but the same boundary tone can appear in more than one type of utterance, and each type of utterance may have several possible tone endings. Incomplete utterances can therefore end in an unexpected low final tone (L), these are mostly utterances including discourse markers and/or speaker signals and utterances with a prolonged final sound; completed utterances may contain an unexpected high boundary tone (H%), especially utterances with speaker signals and/or discourse markers.

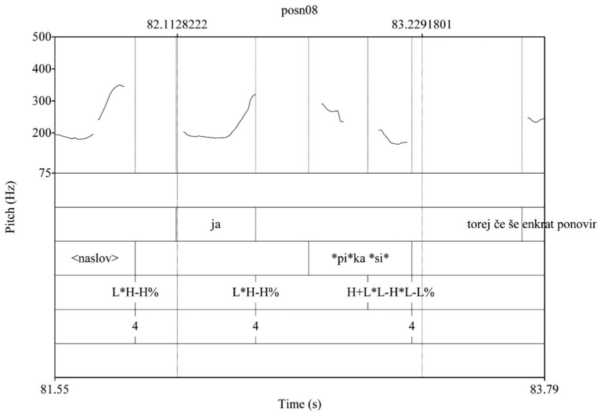

Figure 6: Expected L% tone boundary in completed utterance “pika si”.
(English explication: Speaker 1: yes let me repeat it again
Speaker 2:<adress> / dot s i

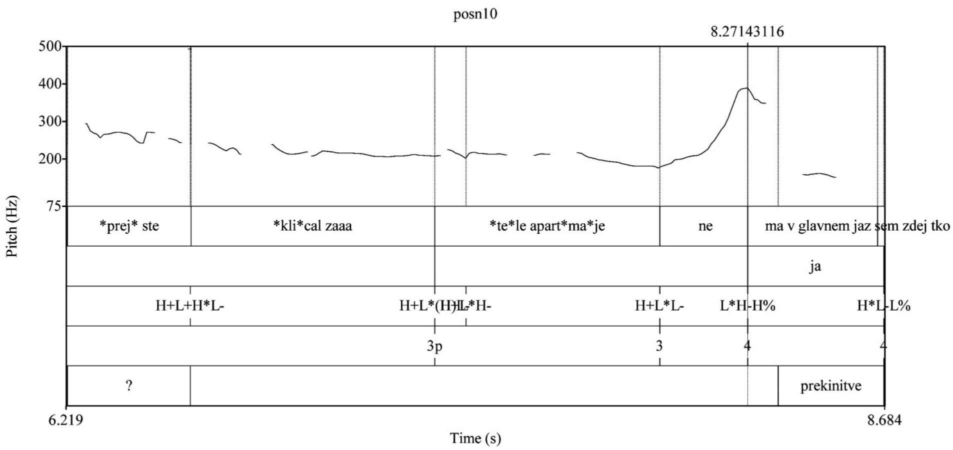

Figure 7: Unexcepted H% tone boundary in completed utterance “prej ste klical zaaa tele apartmaje ne”.
(English explication: Speaker 1: you called before for / the appartments / right /
so basicly now I
Speaker 2: yes

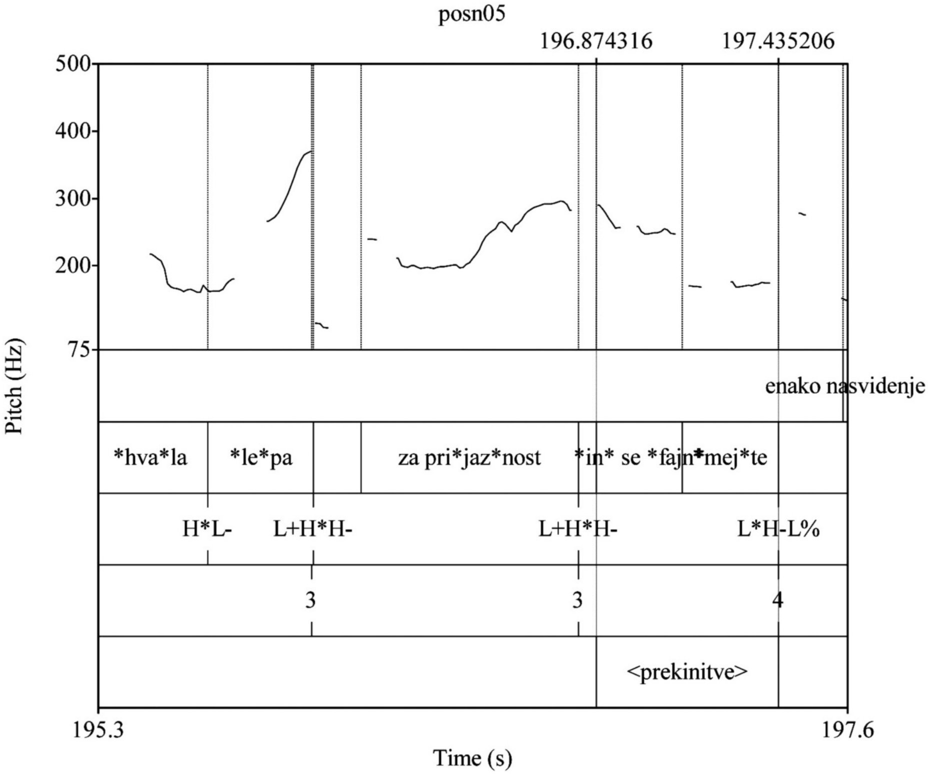

Figure 8: Excepted H- tone sequence in uncompleted utterance “hvala lepa”.
(English explication: Speaker 1: you too goodbye
Speaker 2: thank you / for your kindness / and have a great time

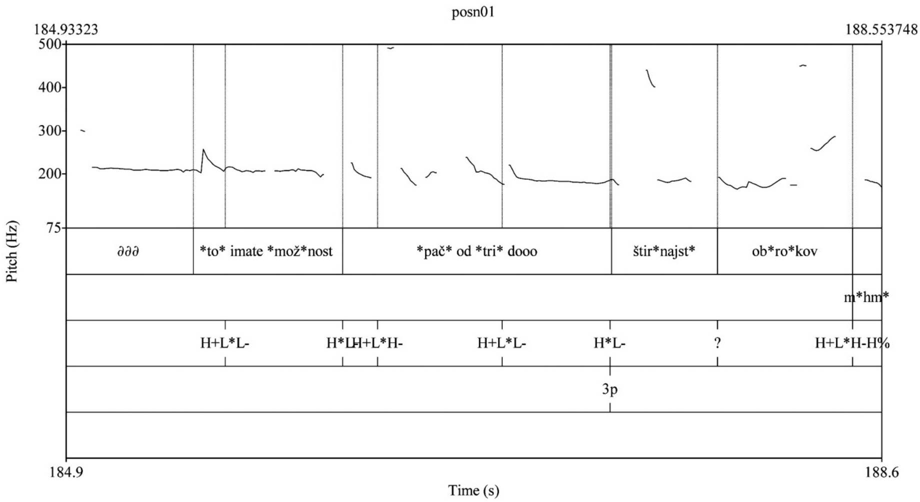

Figure 9: Unexcepted L- tone sequence in uncompleted utterance "(to imate možnost) pač od tri dooo".
(English explication: Speaker 1: er / you have the option / of well three tooo / fourteen installments
Speaker 2: aha

The results of the analysis show that tonal variation is a more important and evident feature of spontaneous speech of Slovene Istria than boundary tones. It appears in all types of utterances and is independent of high or low boundary tones. Related to this is the tritonal pitch accents and the so-called "valley" intonation pattern.[6] The original ToBI transcription system does not annotate tritonal pitch accents, but they are transcribed by researchers of Italian regional dialects, for example, in the town of Treviso in northern Italy, in cases where the tonal variations high-low-high or low-high-low take place in the accented syllable or when tonal variations before or after the bitonal accent cannot be attributed to preceding or subsequent unaccented syllables (e.g., in cases where the accented syllable, which is annotated as pitch accent, is also the first accented syllable of the utterance, or when two pitch accents follow each other).

[6] For details on the valley intonation pattern, cf. Volk 2011 and Volk 2011a. This intonation pattern is characterised by a sudden fall in the last accented syllable, followed by rising tones.

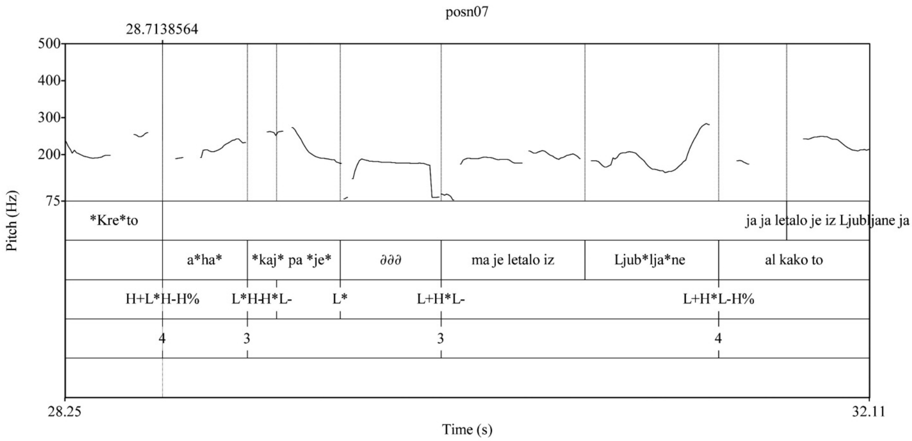

Figure 10: "Valley" intonation pattern in an utterance "ma je letalo iz Ljubljane".
(English explication: Speaker 1: Crete / yes yes the plane is from Ljubljana
Speaker 2: aha / what is / er / but the plane leaves from Ljubljana / or what

4 CONCLUSION

Since 1992, when it was presented for the prosodic marking of standard American English, the ToBI model has been adjusted to the needs of many languages and researchers have been using it in various fields of research, from linguistics to systemic engineering. There are (at least) two main reasons for the rapid acknowledgment and wide spread of the application: before 1992 there was no widely accepted and used system for the transcription of prosodic events which would include both intonation and voice flow segmentation in units of study; secondly, a pronounced growth in computational methods led to significant progress in speech identification and synthesis (Wightman 2002). Computer technology requires automated analysis of large speech corpora which must be annotated with standardized annotation strings. This need, combined with the need for a vast corpus, led to the creation of the ToBI transcription system. The paper presented the use of the ToBI transcription method in a corpus of spontaneous speech of Slovene Istria, with the aim of investigating whether this transcription system is useful for the prosodic annotation of Slovene. The analyses of tone boundaries show that the speech of Slovene Istria is characterised by a more frequent and more emphasised tonal variation in utterances and by the so-called valley intonation pattern, thus forming a basis for further development of the transcription system for intonation with adjustments, necessary for the particularities of Slovene language and its regional variants.

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Abstract

USING THE TOBI TRANSCRIPTION TO RECORD THE INTONATION OF SLOVENE

The paper presents ToBI, a transcription method for prosodic annotation. ToBI is an acronym for Tones and Breaks Indices which first denoted an intonation system developed in the 1990s for annotating intonation and prosody in the database of spoken Mainstream American English. The MAE_ToBI transcription originally consists of six parts – the audio recording of the utterance, the fundamental frequency contour and four parallel tiers for the transcription of tone sequence, ortographic transcription, indication of break indices between words and for additional observations. The core of the transcription, i. e. of the phonological analyses of the intonation pattern, is represented by the tone tier where tonal variation is transcribed by using labels for high tone and low tone where a tone can appear as a *pitch accent*, *phrase accent* and *boundary tone*. Due to its simplicity and flexibility, the system soon began to be used for the prosodic annotation of other variants of English and many other languages, as well as in different non-linguistic fields, leading to the creation of many new ToBI systems adapted to individual languages and dialects. The author is the first to use this method for Slovene, more precisely, for the intonational transcription and analysis of the corpus of spontaneous speech of Slovene Istria, in order to investigate if the ToBi system is useful for the annotation of Slovene and its regional variants.

Keywords: ToBi, intonation, spontaneous speech, Slovene Istria.

Povzetek

UPORABA TRANSKRIPCIJSKE METODE TOBI ZA ZAPIS INTONACIJE SLOVENSKEGA JEZIKA

Članek predstavlja ToBI, transkripcijsko metodo za zapis prozodičnih dogodkov. ToBI je kratica za *Tones and Breaks Indices*, ki izvirno poimenuje intonacijski sistem, ki je bil razvit v 90-ih letih prejšnjega stoletja in zgrajen za označevanje intonacije in prozodije v podatkovni bazi govorjene ameriške angleščine (Mainstream American English). MAE_ToBI transkripcija po prvotnem dogovoru sestoji iz šestih delov – iz zvočnega posnetka izreka, zapisa poteka osnovne frekvence in štirih vzporedno poravnanih pasov, ki so namenjeni transkripciji tonskega poteka, ortografskemu zapisu izreka, označevanju jakosti mej med besedami ter zapisovanju dodatnih opazovanj. Jedro zapisa oziroma fonoloških analiz intonacijskega vzorca predstavlja tonski pas, v katerem z oznakami za visoki in nizki ton transkribiramo razlikovalna tonska nihanja. Sistem se je zaradi svoje enostavnosti in prilagodljivosti hitro razširil na prozodično označevanje ostalih variant angleščine in mnogih drugih jezikov ter na različna nelingvistična področja, nastali so številnih novih ToBI-sistemi, prilagojeni posameznim jezikov ali narečjem. Metoda je bila prvič uporabljena za zapis in analizo intonacije na korpusu spontanega govora govorcev v Slovenski Istri z namenom preizkusiti, v kolikšni meri je ToBI primeren za opis intonacije slovenskega jezika in njegovih pokrajinskih različic.

Ključne besede: ToBI, intonacija, spontani govor, Slovenska Istra.

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UDK 811.521'42:159.942:004.773

SAY WHAT? (笑): THE REPRESENTATION OF LAUGHTER AS A CONTEXTUALIZATION CUE IN ONLINE JAPANESE DISCOURSE

INTRODUCTION

Over the course of several years of texting and Tweeting while living in Japan, I noticed that many Japanese users utilize orthographic symbols of laughter to convey a tone for, or key, utterances in the digital realm. According to Werry (1996), users can strategically employ symbols to achieve interactional goals throughout digital exchanges. In this paper, a sub-component to a larger study I am conducting with Takafumi Ohyama, I expand upon Werry's (1996) findings by examining representations of laughter as contextualization cues in Japanese digital discourse. I explore how saywhat327,[1] a Japanese male college student from Tokyo, uses (笑), the *kanji* character for "laugh" situated between two parentheses, and *w*, the first letter of the *romaji* transliteration of that same *kanji* character, *wara*, on Twitter to key his utterances as warm/friendly and playful, respectively. At an interactional level, I analyze how he employs these characters to build rapport with other users.

I begin by situating this study within literature pertaining to digital discourse as a hybrid mode of communication, focusing specifically on contextualization cues and their written equivalents in online interactions. In order to explore how Japanese users constrain the ways in which they utilize the (笑) and *w* cues in the digital realm, I will explain the symbols in terms of the pragmatic meaning they carry based on prior texts that associate *kanji* with formality and *romaji* with informality. I supplement these inferences with insights provided by seven Japanese college students, collected via a survey of media ideologies on (笑) and *w* usage. In these surveys, participants offer that (笑) is considered standard and/or formal which conveys a warm/friendly tone and that *w* is informal and conveys a playful tone. Based on this information, I analyze three examples of Twitter discourse from saywhat327's public account, to demonstrate how he (1) uses (笑) to key his utterances as warm/friendly in the formal register of Japanese, (2) uses *w* to key his utterances as playful in the informal register of Japanese, and (3) uses both variants with informal Japanese to key two separate utterances within the same Tweet as warm/friendly and playful, respectively, based on the semantic content of each utterance. In each of these cases, I argue that saywhat327 builds rapport with his inter-

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[1] While their accounts are open to public access, I have given pseudo-screennames to all users whose pages I accessed for data in this paper.

locutor by keying his utterances via the (笑) and *w* cues. Overall, the different ways in which saywhat327 uses both characters is an indication that variations in stylistic representations of text in digital discourse can, as written contextualization cues, signal different keys for the purpose of achieving interactional goals.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Over the past two decades, linguists have mused over whether to classify computer-mediated communication (CMC), or what has more recently been subsumed under the more general term, digital discourse, as speech or writing. This issue became increasingly pertinent in describing the interactional nature of synchronous (instantaneous, one-to-one communication) modes of CMC such as Internet Relay Chat and instant messaging. Werry (1996) addresses this issue, claiming that despite the fact that synchronous CMC exchanges are conducted orthographically, they still exhibit properties that are similar to conversational discourse. Because synchronous CMC consists of real-time, instantaneous exchanges comprised solely of text, he argues, users have developed "a complex set of orthographic strategies designed to compensate for the lack of intonation and paralinguistic cues that interactive written discourse imposes" (Werry 1996: 57) on participants. Werry cites punctuation, capitalization, and nonstandard spellings as three stylistic aspects of text that users can manipulate in order to convey such paralinguistic cues. In turn, he states, these cues can then be utilized to achieve myriad interactional goals such as shifting in and out of different speech registers.

The textual variants that Werry describes as being the written equivalent of paralinguistic and prosodic cues in conversational discourse can, therefore, be seen as the digital version of Gumperz' (1982) contextualization cues. Gumperz offers that as participants interpret contextualization cues, or "constellations of surface features of message form" (Gumperz 1982: 131) such as pitch, intonation, and gesture, they do so based on prior spoken interactions in which they have previously encountered the cue and the tones it signals. These tones that exhibit meaning above the semantic level are what Goffman (1981) calls linguistic "keying" which convey to other participants not to take what is being said for its literal meaning. In the case of synchronous digital discourse, as we saw in Werry's study, the textual constraints of the digital realm cause users to manipulate stylistic aspects of orthography in order to convey contextualization cues as they make sense of what is transmitted throughout their interactions. When Japanese users employ symbols such as (笑) and *w* online to convey linguistic keys, they make sense of which variant to use based on prior contexts in which they have encountered the symbols as speakers do with prosodic and embodied cues in conversation.

Here, Becker's (1995) concept of prior text comes into play as users fit old orthographic symbols into new digital contexts. The texts in which participants have previously encountered *kanji* and *romaji* scripts provide users a basis upon which they can link (笑) with formality and *w* with informality and thus make judgments about which interactional contexts merit the use of one variant over the other. These associations of formality and informality are rooted in the notion of group relations, whereby the formal register (i.e. *kanji* script for official reports) is used with members of a speaker's "out-group" — usually someone who is not a close friend or family member — and the informal register (i.e. non-*kanji* scripts such as *romaji* for passing notes) is used for showing closeness with those in one's "in-group." As contextualization cues, (笑) and *w* can thus serve as a means by which users can signal pragmatic meaning based on how the characters *look*, just as speakers signal pragmatic meaning in conversation based on how their words *sound.* In this way, Japanese users can utilize (笑) and *w* as contextualization cues to position themselves and others within a participant's in-group or out-group, and thus convey rapport and mitigate interactional distance.

Overall, these prior text associations influence the ways in which Japanese users select between (笑) and *w* as contextualization cues in digital discourse. In turn, they comprise user ideologies about how the cues should be used in digital media. Gershon (2010: 3) cites media ideologies as the "set of beliefs about communicative technologies with which users...explain perceived media structure and meaning" and ultimately shape the ways in which they use a particular medium to communicate. Applying this notion to written-out laughter as a contextualization cue in Japanese digital discourse, it holds that users maintain a set of beliefs constraining how laughter should be represented textually based on prior texts of formality, which impacts their conceptualization of the contexts in which they deem it appropriate to employ a particular orthographic representation. In other words, the prior texts that associate *kanji* with formality and *romaji* with informality directly influence users' media ideologies about how and in which digital contexts it is appropriate to use (笑) and/or *w*.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The Archivist: Collecting Twitter Data

In order to collect and analyze public exchanges that feature (笑) and *w* usage, I turned to the micro-blogging site Twitter. As Baron (2010) notes, many media that are traditionally considered to be asynchronous (one-to-many communication) mediums can be used synchronously (one-to-one communication) if the exchanges take place in real-time, instantaneous turns (i.e. an e-mail exchange between two users in which both participants send replies immediately upon receiving a transmission). Even though Twitter is considered to be a traditionally asynchronous medium as it is a micro-blogging site, many users direct their Tweets specifically to other users by attaching the @-sign to the respective user's screenname (i.e. saywhat327: @sobasnare Where are you?). These types of Tweets, or "Mentions" as Twitter labels them, appear in a user's Mentions tab whenever another user addresses a Tweet to their account. For this paper, I collected synchronous exchanges that feature (笑), and from that group, discovered users who also utilize *w*. I used The Archivist (http://archivist.visitmix.com/), a free online search engine, to compile a corpus of

243 Tweets taken from 22 different public Twitter accounts. Of these users, I chose to focus on saywhat327 because he employs both (笑) and *w* in his Tweets. The examples I analyze here are taken from his public Twitter account and are comprised of both asynchronous and synchronous interactions that he conducted with three different users: sobasnare, ykt42, and kels81.

Media Ideologies Survey Data

In order to gain a preliminary sense of how Japanese users perceive (笑) and *w* usage in digital discourse, I administered a survey of media ideologies asking participants to comment on hypothetical and actual Twitter discourse that featured both contextualization cues. I asked seven college-aged Japanese students to answer essay-style questions that targeted their media ideologies about how and to what effect (笑) and *w* are used in online discourse. Of these seven participants, all commented on (笑) usage as follows: standard, friendly, respectful, formal, soft, and warm, and five students claimed that *w* is playful, affectionate, friendly, casual, light-hearted, and for use between close friends. These results are in line with the prior text associations between *kanji* usage in formal written discourse with people in one's out-group, and *romaji* usage in informal written discourse with people in one's in-group. It is based on these media ideologies about how and to what effect both variants are used in digital discourse that I analyze three exchanges taken from saywhat327's public Twitter account.

ANALYSIS

The User: saywhat327

Based on saywhat327's Twitter account profile, he is a male college student attending a major university in the Tokyo region of Japan. He is a member of the Folk Song Society on campus and is chief of the percussion squad. Most of his Tweets pertain to music and the recording industry. At the time of my data collection he had produced a total of 1,191 Tweets, was following 142 other Twitter users, and had 125 followers. saywhat327 invokes both the formal and informal register when posting updates and directing Tweets at other users. In both types of Tweets, however, he employs (笑) and *w* to textually represent laughter.

Overview of Examples

I have selected three Twitter exchanges in which saywhat327 was a participant and used (笑) and/or *w* to represent laughter. In the first example, saywhat327 uses the (笑) variant to represent laughter together with formal Japanese as he builds rapport with and shows respect to another musician, sobasnare. In the second, saywhat327 represents laughter using the *w* variant with informal Japanese during a synchronous exchange of Tweets with ykt42 as he builds rapport through playful criticism about ykt42's restaurant. In my final example, saywhat327 uses both (笑) and *w* to represent laughter in the same Tweet to key the utterance that directly precedes each variant as warm/friendly and playful, respectively, based on the utterance's semantic content, achieving rapport with user kels81 as he replies to her Tweet. For each of these examples, I will base my analysis on the media ideologies that constrain (笑) and *w*-usage in Japanese digital discourse as expressed by the participants in my survey: that (笑) is standard for representing laughter to key utterances as warm/friendly and can be used in the formal register, and that *w* signals a playful key and can be used in the informal register. Each example Tweet is presented as follows: the original Japanese text followed by a word-by-word gloss and English translation.

Example 1: Using (笑) in the Formal Register

The following example consists of an exchange in which saywhat327 is responding to a Tweet that sobasnare, a user whom he follows on Twitter, posted. Per the information listed in his account profile, sobasnare is a male resident of Tokyo who plays percussion in a local band and follows saywhat327 on Twitter. Below, saywhat327 Tweets a public link to a YouTube video of Yokose, a percussionist whose work he enjoys. sobasnare responds by uttering a comment about the video and referencing the lyrics to Yokose's song, "Storm". saywhat327 then replies to sobasnare, tweeting about how he once saw Yokose performing live at an event in which he played the beat to a famous contemporary children's song called "The Maru Maru Mori Mori Dance":

(01) [4:18pm] saywhat327:

youtube.com/watch?v=93Vwym… 横瀬 さん ぱねぇ。
*youtube.com/watch?v=93Vwym… Yokose name-marker to a great extent (**slang**).*

youtube.com/watch?v=93Vwym… That's absolutely Yokose.

(02) [7:43pm] sobasnare:

うわぁ！俺 も 懐かしい！ありがとう！あーら～し をっ♪ RT
Woww! I also nostalgic! Thank you! ST-OR~M object marker♪ RT
@saywhat327 bit.ly/HA6aNb 横瀬 さん ぱねぇ。
*@saywhat327 bit.ly/HA6aNb Yokose name-marker to a great extent (**slang**).*

Woww! Now I'm all nostalgic! Thanks! The S-T-O~R~M♪ RT @saywhat327 bit.ly/HA6aNb That's absolutely Yokose.

(03) [8:13pm] saywhat327:

@sobasnare もう 流石 の 横瀬 さん です！
*@sobasnare Yeah as one would expect POSS Yokose name-marker to be (**formal**)!*
あと マルマルモリモリ 叩いてる の も 見させて
Later Maru Maru Mori Mori to play drums NOM also to see-CAUS
頂きました！ （笑） 赤い カノウプス の セット は
*to receive (**formal**)-PAST! (**laugh**) Red Canopus POSS set topic-marker*
レインフォースドメイプル って やつ です か！？
reinforced maple (English import word) is called thing to be (formal) question-marker?!

@sobasnare Yeah, that's Yokose for you! Next, I had the pleasure of seeing him tap out the beat to the Maru Maru Mori Mori dance! (**笑**) Is the red Canopus drum set the reinforced maple one!?

In line 1, saywhat327 gives an evaluation of the YouTube video link he includes in his non-Mention Tweet using slang Japanese, positioning himself as a member of his followers' in-group. sobasnare ratifies saywhat327's positive evaluation in line 2, emphasizing it with exclamation points: *Woww! Now I'm all nostalgic!*, and aligns himself with saywhat327 by employing the informal register as well. The combination of sobasnare's positive evaluation in the informal register and his use of exclamation points at the end of each utterance shows rapport with saywhat327 at an interactional level.

saywhat327 responds to sobasnare in line 3, shifting into the formal register with *to be (formal)*, for *Yeah, that's Yokose for you!* and *to see-CAUS to receive (formal)-PAST* for *I had the pleasure of seeing him*. His use of exclamation points at the end of each utterance mirrors the form of sobasnare's previous utterances, continuing the rapport-building process that began in line 2. In shifting from informal Japanese into the formal register, however, saywhat327 creates distance with sobasnare despite his use of exclamation points.[2] Because sobasnare initiated the rapport-building process when he responded to saywhat327's original Tweet with informal Japanese, saywhat327 runs the risk of offending sobasnare by distancing himself through formal language, even if his intent is to convey respect and continue building rapport.

To mitigate this, saywhat327 keys *Next, I had the pleasure of seeing him tap out the beat to the Maru Maru Mori Mori dance!* as warm and friendly by using the standard, formal (笑) to represent laughter. In this case, (笑) functions as a contextualization cue that draws upon the users' knowledge of the prior text in which *kanji* characters are associated with formality and the symbol 笑 means *laughter*. Because he has shifted into the formal register, saywhat327 is constrained by this prior text to use the (笑) variant instead of *w* to signal the warm and friendly key in a digital setting. In keying his utterances as warm and friendly by using (笑) as a contextualization cue, saywhat327 de-emphasizes the distance created by his shift into the formal register as he simultaneously shows sobasnare respect and continues to build rapport. However, because he is using the formal register, saywhat327 is constrained by the prior text that associates *w* with informality. Thus, he does not use it here.

Example 2: Using w in the Informal Register

When saywhat327 uses the informal register, however, *w* becomes permissible as a contextualization cue. The example below consists of an excerpt of a longer

[2] It is certainly possible that sociolinguistic factors such as age and/or social status of the adressee, sobasnare, could influence saywhat327's shift into the formal register here, though it is difficult to speak to the certainty of this potential influence given the limited ethnographic information I could obtain via each user's Twitter profiles. The nature of their online accounts provides information about each respective user in terms of their interests and their professions. However, I cannot deduce either user's specific age, only that they are within the realm of 18–22 as university undergraduate students. Lastly, I know nothing more about their relationship to each other, only that at the time of this study they were following each other's account on Twitter. These ethnographic limitations notwithstanding, it is surely worth noting that sociolinguistic factors such as age and/or social status are certainly probable influences that constrain saywhat327's use of the formal register.

exchange between saywhat327 and his friend, ykt42, which is conducted using informal Japanese. According to his Twitter account profile, ykt42 is a male college student who plays the bass and shares saywhat327's interest in music. ykt42 works at a tempura restaurant in Tokyo and follows saywhat327 on Twitter, who follows him in return. saywhat327's interactions with ykt42 are synchronous and largely informal. Prior to this excerpt, saywhat327 responds to an asynchronous Tweet that ykt42 posted about a *ramen* (thin noodle soup) dish he enjoyed. Over the course of five subsequent synchronous exchanges, the topic eventually shifts to *tendon*, an item on the menu at the restaurant where ykt42 works. In the exchange below, saywhat327 is complaining about how expensive it is to order *tendon*, a rice bowl with tempura and sauce on top, according to his preferences:

(01) [11:17am] saywhat327: @ykt42 どんぶりじゃなくて 定食 で 食べたい ん だ けど
@ykt42 Donburi NEG set meal by to eat-want emphatic marker to be but
なんで あんなに 値段 上がる の?
what by to that extent price to go up ***(informal)*** *question-marker?*

@ykt42 Instead of on its own, I wanna eat a combo meal, but why's it so expensive?

(02) [11:20am] ykt42: @saywhat327 小鉢 ついてる から ねー
@saywhat327 small bowl to be in a state ***(informal)*** *because emphatic marker-ELONG*
でも＋１５０ 円 て 高い よね (ノД`)
but + 150 money-counter topic-marker expensive emphatic marker (ノД`)

@saywhat327 Because it's in a small bowl, you know- but yeah, +150 yen is expensive, isn't it (ノД`)

(03) [11:21am] saywhat327: @ykt42 サクサくの 状態 で 食べたい ん
@ykt42 Crunchy POSS state of being as to eat-want emphatic marker
だ けど１５０ 円 が。。。 別 の 器 に
to be but 150 money-counter however… Separate POSS device location-marker
→ → 盛って ください とか **駄目 かな** ww
→ → *to serve please do for me among other things* ***bad I wonder (informal)*** *ww*

@ykt42 I wanna eat the tempura when they're crunchy, but 150 yen…
→ → I wonder if it's bad of me to ask for them on a separate dish and stuff **ww**

(04) [11:25am] ykt42: @saywhat327 別 の 皿 に は
@saywhat327 Separate POSS dish direction-marker contrastive topic-marker
盛れない ん だ よねー 最悪
to serve-POT-NEG emphatic marker to be emphatic marker-ELONG worst
→ → タレ 無し で 頼んで 塩 で 食べる とか! **笑**
→ → *tempura sauce without as to ask salt by to eat among other things!* ***Laugh***

@saywhat327 They can't really serve it on a separate dish, you know-
→ → At least ask for the tempura without sauce and use salt or something! **笑**

In line 1, saywhat327 issues a question criticizing the service charge that ykt42's restaurant imposes upon customers when they request that the tempura be served in a separate dish from the rice bowl with *but why's it so expensive?* in the informal register. Here, saywhat327 does not cue his utterance with any representation of laughter. Despite the fact that he issued the criticism in the form of a question, it can still be considered mildly offensive to publicly criticize ykt42's restaurant on Twitter where other users can view the interaction.

Given saywhat327's criticism, ykt42 is caught in an interactional bind that strains his loyalties to saywhat327, a friend, and his employer, the company of which the restaurant where he works is a subsidiary, and of which he is a representative. ykt42 first aligns himself with his employer, giving a reason for the service charge in line 2: *Because it's in a small bowl, you know* – using informal Japanese. While this utterance serves to explain the reason for the service charge and defends his employer, ykt42 softens his disalignment with saywhat327 by utilizing the elongated sound marker . After doing so, he realigns himself with saywhat327 by affirming saywhat327's original complaint with a repetition that echoes his sentiments: *but yeah, +150 yen is expensive, isn't it (ノДˋ)*. In using the emoticon (ノДˋ), ykt42 solidifies the alignment move he makes in agreeing with saywhat327's complaint and seems to rebuild rapport with his friend. Thus, ykt42 creates an environment in which saywhat327 can continue his criticism of the restaurant's service charge. As we can see in line 3 above, saywhat327 begins his reply to ykt42's Tweet with another complaint in the informal register: *I wanna eat the tempura when it's crunchy, but 150 yen….* Again, while his use of ellipses (...) softens his complaint, issuing such a criticism as *but 150 yen* in a public Twitter domain can still be considered offensive and possibly insulting toward ykt42's employer. To mitigate this, however, saywhat327 issues an alternative to the service charge in the form of a question, followed by laughter which he represents using *w*: *I wonder if it's bad for me to ask for them on a separate dish and stuff ww*.

Based on the prior text that associates *romaji* with informality, it follows that saywhat327 uses *w* with an utterance in the informal register. At an interactional level, the *w* symbol in this example serves as a cue that signals the playful key, which contextualizes saywhat327's utterances as non-serious criticism and serves to continue building rapport with ykt42. In using the *w* symbol twice, saywhat327 emphasizes this key, mitigating the distancing effect of his criticism and suggested change to ykt42's restaurant's fee policy. In this case, while saywhat327 could have used the (笑) variant as a contextualization cue because it is considered standard, it would not signal the playful key to ykt42. He would only be keying his suggestion as friendly or warm and thus his criticism could be interpreted as friendly, yet legitimate dissatisfaction. Doing so would not serve to mitigate the distancing effect of his criticism, and thus, saywhat327 would not maintain the rapport-building process.

In using the *w* variant, however, saywhat327 signals the playful key to indicate that the interaction is non-serious, which allows ykt42 to engage him in an exchange of playful criticism, as seen in ykt42's response in line 4: *At least ask for* *the tempura on the side and use salt or something!* 笑. Here, ykt42 issues a response criticism, cueing it with笑[3] and the rapport-building process continues. Altogether, while formality seems to be a constraint that impacts the appearance of either the (笑) or *w* variant in saywhat327's Tweets they both seem to mitigate distance and build rapport as contextualization cues that key utterances as warm/friendly and playful, respectively.

Example 3: Comparing (笑) with w in the Informal Register

In most of saywhat327's Tweets, (笑) and *w* appear to be constrained by register formality. In example 1, we saw that he used (笑) with formal Japanese and in example 2, he employed the *w* variant with an informal utterance. In this example, however, we will see that saywhat327 uses both variants to key two informal utterances within one Tweet. Below, saywhat327 is responding to an asynchronous Tweet that kels81 posted for public viewing. kels81 is a female Japanese college student who saywhat327 follows on Twitter, plays guitar in a local band in Tokyo, and works in a music instrument shop as a packing assistant. The following example begins with kels81's asynchronous Tweet in which she issues a public, general invitation to other users for a Skype chat and a request for music to a girl named Narumi:

(01) [5:12am] kels81: 暇な 人 Skype しましょー♪ kels81 です！
Spare time person Skype to do-VOL-ELONG (formal) ♪ kels81 to be (formal)!
そしてなるみ さーん 音源 ください (*ov.v)o
*And Narumi name marker-ELONG sound source please give me (*ov.v)o*

Attention all bored people: let's Skype-♪I'm kels81!
And Narumi- please give me a sound source (*ov.v)o

(02) [5:34am] saywhat327: 暇 だ けど バイト **なう** **(笑)** ← ←
Spare time to be but part-time job ***now (slang)*** ***(laugh)***
→ → ギターパッキング だけ なら **楽しそうじゃん** **w**
→ → *guitar packing (English imported word) only if* ***fun-seems-NEG (informal)*** ***w***
耳 コピ？
ear copy (English imported word)?

→ → I'm free, but **I'm at work now (笑)** If you're just packing
→ → guitars, **I'd say you're goofing off, huh w** Playing by ear?

[3] Though I have not explored this variant in my paper because saywhat327 does not use it, in the media ideologies survey results, 笑 is considered by some to be a contextualization cue that has a different keying effect than (笑) and w. The answers provided in the survey pertaining to this variant were staggered in terms of describing how and to what effect 笑is used. It is worth noting that ykt42 does not use either the (笑) or w variant, so while the 笑 variant may or may not necessarily be associated with signaling the playful key for all users, I argue that the prior text associations of 笑 representing laughter serve to maintain a basic key of friendliness here, which allows ykt42 to continue with playful criticism, given the content of his utterance.

In line 1, kels81 addresses two audiences in her Tweet: her group of Twitter followers such as saywhat327 (*Attention all bored people*), and a girl named Narumi whom she addressed by her first name rather than her Twitter screenname (*And Narumi-*). She issues a different request to each audience using formal Japanese – she invites her group of Twitter followers to join her in a Skype chat (*let's Skype-♪*) and requests that Narumi provide her with music (*please give me a sound source (*ov.v)o*). Because saywhat327 is a follower of kels81, he falls within the group of people that kels81 addresses in her invitation to Skype chat and thus, as a recipient of the invitation, issues a reply in which he rejects her offer using informal Japanese: *I'm free, but I'm at work now* (笑*)*. In responding to kels81's invitation written in the formal register with informal Japanese, saywhat327 positions himself as a member of kels81's in-group. In spite of that, however, the content of his utterance is an implicit denial of kels81's original request to chat on Skype – he acknowledges that while he is indeed a member of the group of *all bored people* in stating *I'm free*, he follows this with the contrastive marker *but* to preface his reason for rejecting her offer: *I'm at work now* without explicitly writing a rejection such as *No, I can't*. This softens his rejection by issuing a statement that foregrounds his current state of affairs rather than highlighting the fact that he is not accepting her invitation. Yet, in rejecting her offer, he still distances himself from kels81. To mitigate this, saywhat327 keys his utterance as warm/friendly with the standard (笑). Though it stands to reason that saywhat327 would use *w* to match the informal register, based on the survey data that deem (笑) the standard form of representing laughter online, we can account for saywhat327's use of the (笑) variant. In using the standard variant to key his utterance as warm/friendly, he reduces the distancing effect of his rejection and shows rapport with kels81 at the interactional level.

saywhat327 follows his rejection with a criticism of her activity at work: *If you're just packing guitars, I'd say you're goofing off, huh w*. While he also produces this utterance in the informal register, his criticism (*I'd say you're goofing off, huh*) has a stronger distancing effect at the interactional level than his rejection *I'm free, but I'm at work now* in the previous utterance. His criticism, therefore, counteracts the rapport building process that he began with (笑) previously. To minimize this effect, saywhat327 employs *w*, keying his criticism as playful thusly reinstating the rapport-building process. While he could have used the (笑) variant again to maintain continuity across both utterances, his switch to the *w* variant indicates not only that for saywhat327, the two variants can be used in the informal register but also that they are indeed separate contextualization cues used to key utterances that differ by semantic content.

In this example, we can gain a sense of how saywhat327 distinguishes between variants: he uses (笑) to key his rejection of kels81's offer as warm/friendly, yet somehow it is not the appropriate cue with which he may key his criticism. The difference between both utterances in saywhat327's Tweet is that the second (*I'd say you're goofing off, huh*) has a stronger distancing effect than the first (*I'm free, but I'm at work now*). Thus, we can infer that the warm/friendly key signaled by (笑) is not enough to mitigate the distancing effect of a criticism, as it would not give any indication to kels81 that he is criticizing her playfully. Rather, in using the (笑) variant, he could signal to kels81 that while he is criticizing her in a warm/friendly way he is still expressing legitimate disapproval which would ultimately lead to creating distance between both users.

Therefore, in using the *w* variant saywhat327 mitigates the stronger distancing effect of his criticism by keying *I'd say you're goofing off, huh* as playful such that he may foreground a tone of non-seriousness rather than conveying friendly, yet legitimate criticism. Altogether, this is entirely dependent on the notion that *w* is inherently different from (笑) in its function; namely, that it signals the playful key rather than the warm/friendly key. saywhat327's use of both variants in the same register yet in different semantic contexts (rejection and criticism, respectively) indicates that they are indeed different contextualization cues that achieve more than merely representing laughter in text. Rather, both variants are distinct forms that cue different keys – warm/friendly and playful, whereby the neutrality of warmness/friendliness is associated with achieving rapport with out-group members and the teasing nature of play is restricted to the arena of in-group camaraderie – and saywhat327 utilizes these differences to appropriately contextualize particular utterances such that he may achieve rapport with the other user.

CONCLUSION

I have shown that saywhat327 uses (笑) in a formal context to signal the warm/friendly key while showing respect, *w* in an informal context to signal the playful key throughout an exchange of criticisms, and both variants within the same Tweet written in the informal register to signal the warm/friendly key and the playful key for the rejection and criticism that directly precedes each respective variant. Ultimately, while he uses both variants to achieve rapport with the other user, he employs them with particular utterances to signal the appropriate key for contextualizing their semantic content. Additional analysis is needed to uncover the particularities of how other users with differing media ideologies utilize and employ these variants in their discourse. Certainly, however, the common thread between saywhat327 and other users who harbor different media ideologies about how to represent laughter in digital discourse lies in the fact that they utilize these different representations of laughter in the first place. That fact alone speaks to the idea that users feel compelled to convey contextualization cues in the digital realm to achieve different interactional goals, and do so by manipulating the stylistic aspect of the text that constitutes their exchanges. Whether via changing orthography as we have seen with (笑) and *w*, or opting to use a period-mark or even abstaining from doing so at the end of an utterance, for example, these are conscious decisions that users make in the digital realm, and for many, regardless of their differing media ideologies, such decisions leave a lasting impact on the interaction itself.

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Gloss Conventions

POSS = Possessive marker
NOM = Nominalizer
NEG = Negation
PAST = Past tense
PROG = Progressive tense
POT = Potential tense
PASS = Passive tense
ELONG = Elongated sound
English import word = A borrowed word from English uttered with Japanese pronunciation

Abstract

SAY WHAT? (笑): THE REPRESENTATION OF LAUGHTER AS A CONTEXTUALIZATION CUE IN ONLINE JAPANESE DISCOURSE

In this paper, I compare two variants for representing laughter in synchronous Japanese Twitter discourse: (笑), the *kanji* symbol meaning "laughter" situated between two parentheses, and *w*, the first letter of the *romaji* transliteration of that same word *wara*. I argue that they are digital equivalents of what Gumperz (1982) calls contextualization cues and that users employ each variant to convey a pragmatic tone, or what Goffman (1981) refers to as linguistic keys.

To demonstrate, I analyze the public Tweets of saywhat327, a male Japanese university student. I find that saywhat327 (1) uses (笑) to key his utterances as warm/friendly in the formal register of Japanese, (2) uses *w* to key his utterances as playful in the informal register of Japanese, and (3) uses both variants with informal Japanese to key two separate utterances within the same Tweet as warm/friendly and playful, respectively, based on the semantic content of each utterance. In each of these cases, I argue that @saywhat327 builds rapport with his interlocutor by keying his utterances via the (笑) and *w* cues.

Keywords: digital discourse, contextualization cues, discourse analysis, interactional sociolinguistics, orthographic variation.

Povzetek

SAY WHAT? (笑): REPREZENTACIJA SMEHA KOT KLJUČ KONTEKSTUALIZACIJE V JAPONSKEM SPLETNEM DISKURZU

V prispevku primerjam dva načina reprezentacije smeha v sodobnem japonskem diskurzu na Twitterju: (笑), med dvema oklepajema uporabljena pismenka zapisa *kanji*, ki pomeni "smeh", in *w*, ki je v latiničnem zapisu *romaji* prva črka besede *wara*. Menim, da ta dva načina zapisovanja predstavljata digitalna ekvivalenta ključev kontekstualizacije (Gumperz 1982) in da z izbiro enega od možnih načinov zapisa uporabnik doseže želeni pragmatični ton, kar Goffman (1981) poimenuje tudi jezikovni ključ.

Tezo dokazujem z analizo javnih sporočil na omrežju Twitter uporabnika saywhat327, japonskega študenta moškega spola. Analiza pokaže, da saywhat327 uporablja (1) pismenko (笑) za kodiranje tistih izrekov, ki predstavljajo topel oziroma prijazen ton znotraj uradnega jezikovnega registra v japonščini, (2) črko *w* za kodiranje igrivih izrekov v neformalnem registru in (3) obe varianti pri neformalnem diskurzu, kadar želi v dveh ločenih izjavah istega tweeta ustvariti najprej topel, nato igriv ton, s čimer tvori končno semantično podobo vsake od izjav. Na podlagi zgornje analize menim, da zapisa (笑) in *w* kodirata odnos, ki ga @ saywhat327 pri svojih objavah vzpostavi z naslovnikom.

Ključne besede: elektronski diskurz, ključi kontekstualizacije, analiza diskurza, interakcijska sociolingvistika, ortografska variacija.

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UDK [811.131.1'276.6:33]:004.773.3

TRATTI DEL PARLATO NELLE E-MAIL D'AFFARI IN LINGUA ITALIANA SCAMBIATE TRA PARTNER ITALIANI E SLOVENI

1 INTRODUZIONE[1]

Nell'ambito dello studio dell'italiano per gli affari (L 2) per futuri economisti, alla EF[2] vengono insegnate le competenze tanto nel campo della comunicazione parlata (riunioni, negoziazioni, conversazioni telefoniche) quanto nel campo di quella scritta (lettera cartacea, fax, e-mail). Per il versante scritto, i libri di testo usati e i manuali disponibili offrono all'insegnante e allo studente abbondante materiale per la redazione di lettere tradizionali e di fax, mentre, i modelli per le e-mail scarseggiano. Pertanto, alcuni anni fa, dall'autrice, docente d'italiano alla detta Facoltà, è stata intrapresa una ricerca volta a verificare i tratti distintivi della comunicazione per posta elettronica nella prassi effettiva, i cui risultati sono illustrati in Lenassi (2010). Nella parte empirica è stato così raccolto e in seguito analizzato un corpus di 294 e-mail scambiate tra partner d'affari italiani e sloveni (cf. par. 1.1).

Dalle analisi è emerso che le e-mail d'affari – come rilevato da altri studiosi già per le e-mail di comunicazione quotidiana (cf. par. 2) – abbracciano testi caratterizzati da vario grado di formalità (da quelli marcatamente ufficiali fino a quelli prettamente informali) e da vari tratti diamesici (da elementi appartenenti esclusivamente alla comunicazione scritta fino a quelli tipici del discorso parlato). Ad illustrazione di quanto detto si osservino i primi tre esempi riportati.[3]

Gli esempi (1) e (2) rappresentano due diverse realizzazioni di uno stesso atto di operazione commerciale, cioè di un'offerta. Il primo esibisce un atteggiamento decisamente formale (assenza di formula introduttiva, espressioni ricorrenti come *da accordi, ns migliore offerta,* e chiusura stereotipata *Rimaniamo a Vs completa disposizione per ogni eventuale chiarimento e con l'occasione porgiamo cordiali saluti*):

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1 Vorrei cogliere quest'occasione per porgere i miei più vivi ringraziamenti alla prof. dr. Tjaša Miklič per le preziose osservazioni e i suggerimenti relativi a una versione precedente del presente articolo.

2 Facoltà di economia dell'Università di Lubiana/Ekonomska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani.

3 Per evidenziare le singole particolarità linguistiche, le e-mail impiegate nell'articolo sono state oggetto di taluni interventi quali sottolineature e il grassetto. Per il resto i testi sono stati mantenuti in forma originale, inclusi gli eventuali errori di battitura o altro. Per il significato delle abbreviazioni, degli asterischi e l'anonimizzazione v. il par. 1.1.

(1) Oggetto: Offerta

Come da accordi inviamo **ns migliore offerta** per i seguenti macchinari:
- Pressa U*** per s***
USATA REVISIONATA
Euro _____
Rimaniamo a Vs completa disposizione per ogni eventuale chiarimento e con l'occasione porgiamo cordiali saluti
R* (O 1)

Il secondo, invece, è caratterizzato da tratti conversazionali e di prossimità sociale tra gli scriventi (*Ciao D*, ecco, calcola che, saluti*):

(2) Oggetto: LANA DI VETRO PESANTE AUTOADESIVA TAGLIATA

Ciao D*,
ecco la nostra offerta per la lana di vetro pesante autoadesiva tagliata in altezza 7 e 15 mm come da tuoi campioni:
- 7 mm: ____ /RT (mix 7 mm x 50 mt) min. da acquistare 214 RT
- 15 mm: ___ /RT (mix 15 mm x 50 mt) min. da acquistare 100 RT
Calcola che ad ogni rotolo H 150, al prezzo della lana di vetro, viene aggiunto un costo di taglio di __ .
Saluti
S* S** (O 29)

L'es. (3), infine, con i propri tratti lessicali e le "traduzioni" grafiche (puntini di sospensione, da assumere forse come segnale di pausa indicante che il tema non è del tutto esaurito) sembra mimare una comunicazione per telefono (lasciata alla segreteria telefonica):

(3) Oggetto: Re: Contratto
Cara I*,
grazie come sempre per la tua tempestivita'.
Bene, attenderemo la copia del contratto, **poi vedremo.**
Quanto a R*, interessante**...**
Ci sentiamo appena rivero'[4] la copia**...**
Con l'augurio che il lavoro non sia troppo oberante**...**
un abbraccio,
A* (AP 19)

Data una notevole presenza, nella comunicazione d'affari analizzata, di un registro informale, esternato anche nel ricorso alla modalità parlata, sorge a questo punto la domanda quali elementi del parlato (cf. par. 3) vi siano presenti e in quali situazioni

[4] Errore di battitura al posto di *rivedro*'.

comunicative nei testi pur sempre caratterizzati – rispetto alla corrispondenza privata – da una relativa istituzionalità.

1.1 Dati relativi al corpus

La raccolta dei testi di posta elettronica è stata dall'autrice effettuata, tra il 2005 e il 2010, in varie istituzioni e aziende slovene che con l'Italia intrattengono rapporti d'affari in lingua italiana.[5]

Dato che da elementi contenuti nelle e-mail eventuali segreti professionali potevano essere riconosciuti, a raccolta ottenuta si è proceduto all'anonimizzazione.[6] Per tutelare i dati relativi alle aziende e alle persone ci si è serviti dei codici nel modo seguente: A* per nome di una persona, A** per cognome di una persona, A*** per nome dell'azienda/nome del marchio, A**** per nome geografico. La combinazione alfanumerica in calce al singolo esempio riportato si riferisce al singolo esemplare della collezione archiviata dall'autrice.

Il corpus ottenuto consta di 193 testi prodotti da madrelingua e di 101 testi prodotti da non madrelingua (sloveni). Gli esemplari rientrano in varie tipologie testuali (offerta, risposta all'offerta, reclamo, risposta al reclamo, notifica dell'invio dell'allegato, ecc.) e contengono da 5 fino a 307 parole a testo.[7]

2 CARATTERISTICHE LINGUISTICHE E TESTUALI DELLE E-MAIL

Non esiste praticamente saggio sulla posta elettronica in cui non siano chiamati in causa *il parlato*, *l'imitazione del parlato*, *la comunicazione faccia a faccia*, *l'oralità*, *le forme di comunicazione orale*, *la dialogicità*, *la colloquialità*, ecc.

Trattando, infatti, le caratteristiche del messaggio elettronico in italiano,[8] vari autori sono concordi circa il suo carattere ibrido, non facilmente collocabile sulla linea diamesica tra la comunicazione scritta e quella parlata (cf. Antonelli 2007: 187; Fiorentino 2002: 187; Fiorentino 2004: 84–85; Fiorentino 2008: 98–99; Lorenzetti/Schirru 2006: 94; Peticca 2005: 97).[9]

La Fiorentino (2008: 92), confrontando la struttura dell'e-mail del suo corpus con il modello prototipico della lettera ordinaria – caratterizzata da una parte iniziale con la data e il luogo di emissione; una formula di apertura e saluti (con talvolta il nome del destinatario); una parte centrale che contiene il motivo della scrittura; la parte finale e la firma del mittente – constata che la maggior parte dei messaggi elettronici tende ad

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[5] Ringrazio qui i rappresentanti delle aziende e dei vari istituti, che a scopi di ricerca, hanno voluto gentilmente concedere l'uso della propria corrispondenza.

[6] Mentre in una piccola parte della posta gli estremi erano stati cancellati già dalle aziende stesse, prima della consegna/cessione dei testi, la sostituzione necessaria nella maggior parte dei materiali è stata dall'autrice effettuata in seguito.

[7] Alla stregua di altre trattazioni sulla posta elettronica, nel presente contributo viene normalmente riportato solo il corpo centrale di ogni singola e-mail. Per eventuali ulteriori informazioni si possono consultare i testi del corpus nella collezione conservata in forma autentica.

[8] Per l'inglese, cf. Baron 1998; Crystal 2001, ecc.

[9] Sulla problematica delimitazione *parlato* vs. *scritto* cf. Nencioni 1983.

essere incompleta rispetto alla struttura sopra menzionata, e soprattutto più breve (fino a ridursi ad un mero saluto): "Data la sua brevità e viste anche le diverse funzioni comunicative di un messaggio, si deve concludere che la posta elettronica può sostituire forme di comunicazione anche orali: una telefonata, un messaggio lasciato ad una segreteria telefonica, un fax." (ibid.). Dal punto di vista delle caratteristiche morfologiche e sintattiche la lingua nelle e-mail è giudicata piuttosto "corretta e si può qualificare come *italiano dell'uso medio* (secondo una ben nota definizione di Sabatini 1985) " (ibid.: 76).[10] La Fiorentino constata il variare del registro in dipendenza dal destinatario, dal contenuto, dallo scopo, come in qualunque tipo di comunicazione (ibid.).[11]

Antonelli (2007: 148, 149), riguardo alle caratteristiche delle nuove forme di comunicazione, individua tutta una serie di strategie espressive che mirano a ridurre la distanza comunicativa tra i due interlocutori. Secondo questi, diversi fenomeni sono riconducibili a tre fattori principali: a) alla dialogicità; b) alla carenza di tempo a disposizione e alla scarsa pianificazione, e c) al tono quasi sempre informale della comunicazione. Così al primo gruppo appartengono i saluti e le altre formule che servono ad avviare la conversazione e l'alta frequenza dei vocativi; i segnali discorsivi (danno al testo un andamento parlato) e l'uso degli *emoticons,* cioè faccine ottenute con caratteri della tastiera per aggiungere chiavi di interpretazione alle frasi (cf. Fiorentino 2008: 78); alcuni costrutti sintattici che tendono a mettere in rilevo un particolare tema (dislocazione a sinistra o a destra) e un alto grado di implicitezza (determinata dalle presupposizioni comuni ai due interlocutori). Alla carenza di tempo e alla scarsa pianificazione sono ascrivibili la sintassi poco complessa (che può arrivare fino alla giustapposizione) delle frasi e il raro uso di elementi connettivi. Al tono quasi sempre informale, infine, va attribuito l'impiego di un lessico colloquiale con eventuale turpiloquio e modi regionali e dialettali. Secondo Antonelli, fra queste strategie vi sono anche quelle basate sull'imitazione (o meglio, simulazione) dell'oralità, soprattutto la punteggiatura enfatica che sembra voler rendere una intonazione concitata (ibid.: 153).

3 ELEMENTI DI LINGUA PARLATA NEL CORPUS DELLE E-MAIL D'AFFARI

Si è visto, quindi, che nella posta elettronica in generale, dal carattere spesso non impegnativo, una forte presenza del **parlato** è data per scontata. Le analisi della posta elettronica nel nostro corpus dimostrano che anche questa comunicazione, nonostante sia di norma relativamente istituzionalizzata, permette il ricorso ai singoli ele-

[10] Sorvoliamo qui sulle notorie caratteristiche della comunicazione giovanile (come ad es. grafie simboliche) messe in risalto dalla pubblicistica che, contrariamente alle apparenze, sono di estensione assai limitata (cf. Antonelli 2007: 152, 153).

[11] Per i fattori che incidono sulla produzione dei messaggi e-mail, cf. anche Nidorfer Šiškovič (2010: 60). Sulla base del lavoro di Mallon e Oppenheim (2002), che elencano fattori come età, sesso e grado d'istruzione dello scrivente, nonché l'ambiente, lo scopo del messaggio, il tempo a disposizione, l'opinione dello scrivente sull'adeguatezza del medium e sulla sua affidabilità, i rapporti tra i comunicatori e l'alfabetizzazione elettronica, l'autrice aggiunge anche fattori come la cultura d'azienda e la padronanza di vari generi testuali da parte dello scrivente.

menti generalmente ascrivibili al parlato. Ciò avviene di regola nelle situazioni in cui sono soddisfatti soprattutto i seguenti parametri: rapporto simmetrico o asimmetrico di dominanza, conoscenza personale dei comunicatori e scarso tempo a disposizione.

Vediamo a questo punto le concrete spie di lingua parlata individuate nei testi analizzati.[12] Affrontiamo per prima la costruzione testuale e le sue regolarità. Un tratto che avvicina alcuni messaggi e-mail alla conversazione è il suo carattere dialogico (cioè la vicinanza temporale dei singoli turni e i rapporti e mezzi di referenza che li uniscono, cf. Fiorentino 2008: 95). Così nella sequenza di e-mail (4), (5) e (6)[13] sono bene riconoscibili sia la dialogicità (si osservi del resto, nell'indicazione dell'ora in (5) e in (6), la vicinanza temporale tra le produzioni testuali) sia la referenza implicita nel secondo e nel terzo testo. Mentre il primo testo[14] è semanticamente autosufficiente, gli altri due, senza la conoscenza del contenuto dei messaggi precedenti, non risulterebbero comprensibili:[15]

(4) Sent: Tuesday, December 04, 2007 **<u>11:44 AM</u>**
Subject: Promotional sales

Dear Distributors,
see the attachments and let me have your comments.
Best regards
I*** srl
M* R** (IM 39)

(5) Sent: Tuesday, December 04, 2007 **<u>3:00 PM</u>**
Subject: ordine

Ciao m*,
Allora nel ordine mi puoi dare (christmas sale)
-2x c*** 6891 con m*** (6975 e 6973)
-1x S*** 6845 con m*** (6972)

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[12] La discussione si concentrerà soprattutto su fenomeni contenuti nelle e-mail scritte dai madrelingua, la cui produzione potrà in seguito servire da modello ai parlanti non nativi. Data, infatti, la forte oscillazione nella padronanza linguistica dei non madrelingua, una presentazione adeguata relativa ai fenomeni in questione nei loro testi italiani, peraltro molto interessanti, per limiti di spazio qui non sarebbe possibile. La problematica sarà, invece, discussa in un'altra sede, dedicata a vari aspetti dell'interferenza e alla didattica. È stato, però, sporadicamente incluso qualche caso di particolare rilievo.

[13] L'e-mail (IM 40) in (5) è stata redatta da un non madrelingua.

[14] Il testo è eccezionalmente in inglese, in quanto lo scrivente si rivolge ai clienti presenti in vari paesi. Secondo quanto riferito da alcuni informatori, molte società italiane operanti a livello internazionale comunicano con i propri clienti anche o solo in lingua inglese.

[15] Cf. Antonelli (2007: 149) il quale osserva che i testi di un serrato scambio sono caratterizzati da, "un alto grado di implicitezza che si fonda sulle presupposizioni legate al contenuto dei messaggi precedenti o a informazioni note a tutti e due gli interlocutori."

Ti pregherei di mandarmi la fattura al piu presto, chosi la pagho subito.
Saluti
S* (IM 40)

(6) Sent: Tuesday, December 04, 2007 **3:16 PM**
Subject: Re: ordine

Scusami forse non era chiaro ma il prezzo speciale e' per un acquisto minimo di 10 pezzi.
Ciao
M* (IM 41)

A livello lessicale, una spia dell'osmosi tra la comunicazione parlata (con le attività di *dire* e *sentire*) e quella scritta (con le attività di *scrivere* e di *leggere*), nell'ambito delle e-mail analizzate, è rappresentata dalla funzione di iperonimo dei verbi ***dire***[16] e ***sentire***. Così l'autore dell'e-mail (7) si riferisce alla propria lettura del messaggio di I* come se questo fosse stato pronunciato, per cui si serve del verbo *sentire*:

(7) Cara I*, che bello **sentir**ti! (AP 15)

Il verbo *dire* in sostituzione del verbo *scrivere* è usato, invece, nei seguenti brani:[17]

(8) Mi hanno risposto **dicendo**mi (vedi sotto) che avete gia' contatti [...] (EE 35)
(9) Non mi **hai detto** la quantita' dei C*. (IM 18)[18]
(10) **Detto** ciò torniamo al ns lavoro. (IN 1)

A livello morfosintattico, un ulteriore tratto del parlato nelle e-mail commerciali si potrebbe riconoscere nell'uso del **connettivo *che così***:

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[16] È chiaro che la presenza del verbo *dire* di per sé non è un riflesso del discorso parlato. Diversi modelli prototipici di lettera commerciale (appartenente al registro burocratico) pullulano di occorrenze del verbo al participio passato, usato in funzione anaforica: *detti prezzi*, *detto carico*, *detta scelta* ecc.

[17] Ci sono, però, dei casi in cui non è possibile stabilire se il verbo *dire* sia usato come iperonimo per *scrivere*, o si riferisca invece a una comunicazione effettivamente parlata (ad es. ad una previa telefonata o ad una conversazione faccia a faccia). Il contesto spesso non fornisce informazioni sufficienti:
– [...] *ti chiedo anche di fare un controllo su T*** che ci* **dice** *di avere delle fatture scadute che ancora non sono state pagate.* (EE 34)
– *D* mi h* **detto** *che H*** ha mandato un email in luglio: abbiamo controllato ma non abbiamo niente.* (O 9)
– *Come* **detto** *al tuo collega B** [...] (O 41)

[18] Il verbo *dire* dell'es. (9) rimanda ai messaggi ricevuti precedentemente, dove la quantità a cui lo scrivente si riferisce non figurava.

(11) fatemi sapere quando viene **che così** preparo la fattura. (S 11)

Pure al registro parlato è ascrivibile l'uso delle frasi interrogative introdotte dalle congiunzioni ***e*** e ***ma***:[19]

(12) D* **Ma** la richiesta è la stessa dello scorso anno? (O 5)

Si confronti Fasulo (2009: 31, 32), che nella variante con il connettivo *e* vede un ritorno all'agenda. Nel nostro corpus ne troviamo un esempio in un messaggio dal registro informale:

(13) Cara I*, che bello sentirti! **E** quali liete notizie... Grazie! (AP 15)

Tipico della lingua parlata è pure il ricorso alla **dislocazione a sinistra**, dettato dalle esigenze della disposizione TEMA vs. REMA, con la successione risultante NOME OGGETTO + PROFORMA OGGETTO + VERBO (cf. anche Antonelli 2007: 149)**:**

(14) vedo che gli S*** **li** stai vendendo.... (IM 13)
(15) la sostituzione del quadrante ve **l'**ho passata in garanzia (IM 32)

Nel materiale analizzato appare anche il seguente costrutto tipico del parlato, in cui la proforma atona è rafforzata da quella tonica:

(16) basta che ci mandi **a noi** (IS 3)
(17) Mi fa davvero piacere anche **a me**. (AP 3)

Anche i seguenti **segnali discorsivi** (per il fenomeno cf. Bazzanella 2006: 456) ricordano in modo decisivo una comunicazione orale:

(18) p.s. **bene** vedo che gli S*** li stai vendendo .... (IM 13)
(19) Ciao I*, **oh** finalmente in stampa! (AP 5)
(20) **Beh sì** certo aspettiamo... (AP 9)
(21) **ok** per il giorno 16 (S 13)

Nella conversazione orale, il passaggio ad una nuova tematica o l'interruzione di quella attuale, quando l'autore non la senta come del tutto esaurita, vengono spesso segnalati dal connettivo *del resto*; nella comunicazione scritta, invece, questo fenomeno può essere realizzato tramite l'impiego dei **punti di sospensione** (v. anche l'es. (3)).[20]

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[19] Le frasi interrogative introdotte da ma potrebbero svolgere anche la funzione "di protesta" (cfr. Fasullo 2009: 38, 39). Di tale qualità sarebbe il seguente brano, tratto da un'e-mail di un non madrelingua:
– Ho ancora due orologi da riparare (un H***e un C***). Ma e nomale che ci sono tanti malfunzionamenti specialmente sui H***? Tanti clienti ci informano [...] (IM 28)

[20] Una funzione simile è svolta, tanto nella lingua parlata quanto nelle e-mail quotidiane, dal segnale discorsivo *comunque*. Cf. Fiorentino (2008: 81).

Se di regola i punti sono tre, nei testi analizzati questa norma ortografica non viene sempre rispettata, come testimoniano i seguenti brani:[21]

(22) Cara I*, come stai? Spero che stiate in vacanza... (AP 4)
(23) [...] quindi, se anche mettiamo in produzione un'altra volta lo stesso art. poi veniamo ancora scartati per i problemi tecnici.... Cosa facciamo?? Fammi sapere... (O 5)
(24) p.s. bene vedo che gli S*** li stai vendendo... (IM 13)

Un altro tratto determinato dalla natura dialogica dell'e-mail è l'uso della **domanda diretta** (cf. D'Achille 2006: 237). Non tutte le interrogative, però, hanno la stessa funzione: alcune vengono usate per stabilire o riprendere il contatto (*Ciao I*, Come stai?* (AP 4)); altre – con l'uso del verbo modale "potere" – fungono da richieste di azioni (*Potete quindi inviare con la prossima consegna 5 delle vostre gabbie metalliche piene?* (K 12) o *Puoi verificare con lo stampista qual'e' il sottosquadra che impedisce la realizzazione dello stampo*? (K 22)); altre, infine, sono usate come richieste di informazione (*Chi è il vostro riferimento commerciale in Z***?* (K 16)).

Una ulteriore spia di un grado minore di formalità nella posta elettronica, è la presenza della **punteggiatura allungata**[22] (cf. Fiorentino 2008: 82). Nel caso dell'impiego di più punti interrogativi si tratta per lo più di una funzione pragmatica, in particolare per segnalare il bisogno dell'autore di una risposta tempestiva:[23]

(25) mi fai sapere cosa dicono???? (IN 1)
(26) [...] mi conferma indirizzo esatto di consegna e di fatturazione??? (BD 13)
(27) Cosa facciamo?? (O 5)

Alcuni testi contengono il **punto esclamativo** come segnale per suggerire atti comunicativi diversi e possono essere interpretati come una specie di traduzione grafica di varie modulazioni intonative della comunicazione orale. Nei seguenti brani la punteggiatura impiegata mette in risalto in (28) un augurio o in (29) un benevolo rimprovero:

(28) Se non conosci questo tipo di lancio stampe, posso aiutarti. Buon lavoro! (EE 30)
(29) [...] bene vedo che gli S*** li stai vendendo .... e tu che non li volevi acquistare! (IM 13)

Anche i punti esclamativi possono essere **allungati** per aumentare l'espressività nei messaggi imperativi, come nei seguenti ordini:[24]

[21] L'espediente è usato esclusivamente dai comunicatori (madrelingua e non) che abbiano stabilito una relazione sociale di simmetria. Dalle analisi effettuate emerge che vi ricorrono con più frequenza i parlanti nativi (5,7% rispetto al 2% di quelli non nativi), anche perché tra gli stranieri se ne servono solo quelli con una buona padronanza dell'italiano.

[22] È interessante che questa usanza si riscontri solo nei testi scritti dai madrelingua, indipendentemente dal rapporto (simmetrico/asimmetrico), e non appare mai in quelli scritti dai parlanti sloveni.

[23] Nella lingua parlata detta funzione pragmatica viene realizzata con la modulazione della voce.

[24] In base a quanto riferito dall'informatore sloveno che ha ceduto il testo, si trattava di un rapporto asimmetrico: un datore di lavoro italiano di media età che impartiva istruzioni urgenti a giovani dipendenti sloveni.

(30) K***: mail, richiesta agreement (test per 3 mesi), scambiare dettagli amministrativi, quotazioni in promo!!! [...] ricerca Firme slovene; chiamare Corte delle Firme per sapere se esistono Banche dati, e cercare su internet!!! Una volta trovate tutte le aziende di informatica, partiremo con una mail mirata al mercato sloveno!! [...] Mercoledì ore 15,00 RIUNIONE PER FARE IL PUNTO!!! [...] (IN 1)

Punti esclamativi allungati accompagnano però anche enunciati dichiarativi o esclamativi con funzione di augurio in contesti comunicativi simmetrici:

(31) Ti auguro un finesettimana leggero!!! (AP 6)
(32) Se siete in vacanza, divertitevi!!! (AP 21)

Diversamente da quanto rilevato per le e-mail d'uso comune, dove le **maiuscole** possono essere interpretate come l'equivalente del tono alzato (cf. Trask 2005: 67), nella posta d'affari analizzata, il ricorso al detto espediente serve a mettere in risalto l'importanza della parte evidenziata, come ad es. nel messaggio (IN 1) dell'es. (30) sopra illustrato.

Un elemento stabile della comunicazione d'affari prototipica sono le **formule di apertura e di chiusura**. Mentre i messaggi caratterizzati da una relativa formalità vengono iniziati da formule stereotipate riservate alla lingua scritta (*Egregio signore / Gentile signore / Spettabile Ufficio*), i messaggi meno formali si aprono con espressioni allocutive frequenti anche nella comunicazione faccia a faccia (cf. Fiorentino 2008: 96). Solo che, nel caso di una situazione parlata, alcune di esse (ad. es. *Buongiorno / Buona sera / Buon pomeriggio / Signora + nome + buona giornata / Ciao* (+ *nome*)) svolgono la stessa funzione di apertura, cioè per avviare una conversazione, altre invece (ad. es. *Sig. + nome* o soltanto *Nome*) possono apparire, con funzione fatica, esclusivamente al suo interno, per attirare l'attenzione dell'altro.

Simile è la situazione per quanto riguarda le **formule di chiusura**, dove una serie di formule ed espressioni incontrate nelle e-mail funziona alla perfezione anche nella comunicazione orale, come ad es. *A più tardi. / Grazie come sempre e a presto. / A presto. / Grazie e a presto! / Grazie e buona giornata. / Grazie e buon lavoro. / Grazie, ciao. / Grazie mille. / Ciao. / Ciao e buona serata. / Ciao e a presto.*

4 CONCLUSIONE

La comunicazione d'affari scritta, nel corso della sua istituzionalizzazione, si è sempre più allontanata dai modi tipici del "parlato", cioè della conversazione faccia a faccia (e i suoi elementi di spontaneità, oralità, deissi, referenza implicita, termini generici, assenza di elementi connettivi, modi di dire colloquiali, imprecisione, modulazione della voce, interiezioni, pause, false partenze, ecc.). Si è così arrivati alla comunicazione fortemente caratterizzata da elementi dello "scritto": modelli prototipici di lettere con macrostrutture precostituite, frasi stereotipate, atteggiamenti impersonali, modi indiretti, lessico professionale, linguaggio burocratico. Con la diffusione e il largo uso del nuovo medium, la posta elettronica, che permette una comunicazione semisincrona, si nota un riavvicinamento ai modi della conversazione faccia a faccia (soprattutto quando la comunicazione è di tipo informale) con il ritorno, nei messaggi scritti, di alcune caratteristiche del "parlato".

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Riassunto

TRATTI DEL PARLATO NELLE E-MAIL D'AFFARI IN LINGUA ITALIANA SCAMBIATE TRA PARTNER ITALIANI E SLOVENI

Sullo sfondo delle constatazioni di vari studiosi relative alle caratteristiche dialogiche e orali nelle e-mail di natura prevalentemente privata, questa volta l'autrice ha condotto un'indagine in merito alla presenza dei tratti del parlato nella comunicazione elettronica d'affari. È stato constatato che quest'ultima, nonostante sia fortemente istituzionalizzata e perciò assai più restia all'irruzione dell'oralità nei testi, mostra pure un certo numero di tratti indubbiamente appartenenti alla comunicazione parlata. Così a livello diamesico, accanto ai messaggi formalmente assai strutturati, se ne trovano altri meno formali, fino a quelli che sembrano mimare una conversazione telefonica. A livello grafico, la punteggiatura enfatica (punti di sospensione, punti esclamativi e punti interrogativi) sembra essere usata in sostituzione della modulazione della voce (con una specifica funzione comunicativa). A livello lessicale e a livello sintattico, l'uso di alcuni verbi generici (*dire* e *sentire*) e di certe congiunzioni polifunzionali usate come segnali discorsivi (*e* e *ma*) tipici della comunicazione spontanea, allontana i messaggi dalla tradizionale formalità dell'interazione scritta. Al parlato ricordano, inoltre, anche il fenomeno sintattico della dislocazione a sinistra nonché alcune interiezioni. A livello testuale, infine, tradiscono un legame con il parlato determinate formule di apertura e di chiusura riscontrabili regolarmente in diversi punti di una conversazione faccia a faccia o in una conversazione telefonica.

Parole chiave: e-mail, parlato, istituzionalità, formalità, informalità.

Povzetek

PRVINE GOVORNEGA V POSLOVNIH ELEKTRONSKIH SPOROČILIH, IZMENJANIH MED ITALIJANSKIMI IN SLOVENSKIMI PARTNERJI

Na ozadju ugotovitev različnih raziskovalcev o elementih dialoškosti in govornega, vsebovanih v pretežno zasebnih elektronskih sporočilih, je avtorica tokrat raziskovala prisotnost lastnosti govornega v poslovnih e-mailih. Ugotovljeno je bilo, da čeprav le-ti zaradi svoje institucionaliziranosti dopuščajo precej manjši vdor pogovornih prvin, pa nekatere poteze v neformalnih besedilih vendarle izpričujejo svojo nedvomno povezanost z govorjeno komunikacijo. Tako najdemo na diamezični ravni poleg besedil, ki so formalno izrazito strukturiana, tudi besedila, ki so precej manj, vse do takih, za katere se zdi, da posnemajo telefonski razgovor. Na grafični ravni je raba poudarjenih ločil (tropičje, klicaji, vprašaji) prepoznana kot nadomestek za moduliranje glasu (s posebno komunikacijsko nalogo). Na leksikalni in skladenjski ravni raba nekaterih splošnopomenskih glagolov (*dire* /reči/ in *sentire* /slišati/) in nekaterih večpomenskih veznikov (uporabljenih kot diskurzivni označevalci, npr. *e* /in/ in *ma* /ampak, pa, a/), ki so značilni za spontano sporočanje, odmika ta sporočila od uveljavljene formalnosti pisnega sporočanja. Končno spominjajo na govorjeno tudi sintaktični pojav "premika na levo" in nekateri medmeti. Na besedilni ravni izdajajo povezanost z govorjenim diskurzom nekatere otvoritvene in zaključevalne formule, ki jih sicer redno najdemo na različnih mestih neposrednega dialoga oz. telefonskega pogovora.

Ključne besede: elektronsko sporočilo, govorno, institucionaliziranost, formalnost, neformalnost.

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LES PARTICULES SLOVÈNES ET LEURS ÉQUIVALENTS FRANÇAIS À L'ÉCRIT ET À L'ORAL : CAS DU LEXÈME SLOVÈNE *TUDI* ET DE SON ÉQUIVALENT FRANÇAIS *AUSSI*

INTRODUCTION

La présente contribution s'inscrit dans le cadre d'une étude contrastive sur les particules slovènes et leurs équivalents français et se propose d'examiner le lexème slovène *tudi* et son équivalent français le plus fréquent *aussi*. Nous nous pencherons sur les caractéristiques de *aussi* à l'écrit et à l'oral pour les comparer à celles du lexème slovène *tudi* à l'écrit. Les résultats obtenus à partir de l'analyse du discours oral confirmeront-ils ceux de l'analyse du discours écrit concernant l'équivalent français *aussi*, renforçant de par la même les conclusions dégagées après l'analyse contrastive portant sur le lexème slovène *aussi* et son équivalent français *aussi* à partir d'un corpus écrit ? Cette question a toute sa légitimité, puisqu'aujourd'hui le discours oral n'est plus considéré comme un dérivé de l'écrit mais un produit à part entière. Cette distinction est pertinente aussi bien dans le processus de l'apprentissage que dans celui de l'enseignement du français en tant que langue étrangère. L'enseignant est, en effet, amené à transmettre à l'apprenant le discours écrit tout comme le discours oral. De même, tout traducteur ou interprète doit maîtriser ces deux codes pour pouvoir assurer des productions écrites ou orales adéquates. Enfin, pour le chercheur, cette étude représente une modeste contribution dans le domaine de la recherche linguistique puisqu'abordant deux sujets, les particules ou adverbes de phrase et la distinction oral/écrit, qui n'ont que récemment trouvé leur place dans les travaux de recherches. A cet effet, nous nous proposerons d'abord, à partir d'un corpus écrit, de comparer le fonctionnement du lexème slovène *tudi* et celui de son équivalent français *aussi* pour en extraire les similitudes et surtout les divergences sur le plan sémantique, syntaxique et pragmatique. En nous appuyant sur ces divergences à l'écrit, nous procéderons ensuite, à partir d'un corpus oral, à l'analyse du fonctionnement de *aussi* à l'oral pour y constater un éventuel décalage entre l'emploi de *aussi* à l'écrit et à l'oral. Nous mettrons enfin en évidence un plus grand parallélisme entre le slovène écrit et le français parlé dans le cas de l'étude contrastive de *tudi* et de *aussi*, concernant les outils de cohésion mis en oeuvre dans le discours oral et écrit en examinant plus particulièrement le statut de la répétition (élément de cohésion ou de redondance ?).

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1 CADRE DE L'ANALYSE

Ayant dans des travaux antérieurs examiné et analysé certaines particules slovènes et leurs équivalents français respectifs (*tudi/aussi ; celo/même ; predvsem/surtout ; samo/seulement ; še/encore ; že/toujours …*) à partir d'un corpus parallèle de trois romans slovènes et de trois romans français ainsi que leur traduction respective en français et en slovène, il nous a semblé intéressant de comparer ces résultats à ceux obtenus à partir d'un corpus oral. Le public potentiellement visé (enseignant, apprenant, traducteur, interprète, chercheur) est en effet confronté dans un cadre éducatif ou professionnel aussi bien au discours oral qu'écrit, tous deux partageant certes des points communs tout en ayant chacun ses spécificités. L'enseignant transmet des compétences orales et écrites à l'apprenant en ayant peut-être un réflexe inapproprié, celui de vouloir calquer l'oral sur l'écrit et d'aboutir à une sorte d'écrit oralisé. Le traducteur et l'interprète, eux aussi, sont très souvent exposés à cette même tentation parce que se sentant peut-être plus à l'aise ou plus sûrs en ayant recours à un écrit oralisé. Contrairement à certaines convictions dans le passé, l'oral n'est plus aujourd'hui considéré comme étant un sous produit de l'écrit, mais comme un produit différent. *La Grammaire méthodique* (Riegel 1994 : 29) constate à ce propos :

> *Le rapport de l'oral et de l'écrit change avec le temps : alors que l'oral continue d'évoluer régulièrement, l'écrit tend à se fixer, et le décalage entre les deux codes s'accroît, d'autant plus que l'écrit, devenu autonome, n'est plus un simple système substitutif de l'oral.*

Les lexèmes faisant l'objet de cette étude appartiennent à la classe des connecteurs, un des systèmes de marques contribuant à la cohésion d'un discours. Dans ce même ouvrage (Riegel 1994 : 617), nous pouvons lire :

> *Dans l'enchaînement linéaire du texte, les connecteurs sont des éléments de liaison entre des propositions ou des ensembles de proposition ; ils contribuent à la structuration du texte en marquant des relations sémantico-logiques entre les propositions ou entre les séquences qui le composent.*
> *On limitera la liste des connecteurs aux unités linguistiques qui ne font pas partie intégrante des propositions, mais qui assurent leur liaison et organisent leurs relations, sans être des expressions anaphoriques.*

C'est donc un phénomène relevant de la phrase et du discours, ce qui explique l'insuffisance de certains cadres proposés en linguistique, certes utiles dans l'étude des lexèmes que nous nous proposons d'examiner dans la présente contribution, mais trop restrictifs : connexions structurales d'un point de vue syntaxique (L. Tesnière, M. A. K. Hallidays), modèle général des superstructures textuelles (T. A. van Dijk, J. M. Adam, Beaugrande et Dressler, H. Weinrich, B. Combettes), actes de langage (J. Searle), théorie argumentative (O. Ducrot).

L'analyse opérée par H. Nølke pour décrire les adverbes/adverbiaux de phrase en français (1983 ; 1990 ; 1993), étude reposant sur des critères de nature sémantico-pragmatique auxquels il a intégré des considérations d'ordre distributionnel/positionnel et syntaxique, nous a semblé appropriée et efficace. Dans notre étude, nous avons donc choisi une méthodologie similaire en examinant les outils relationnels de nature sémantico-pragmatique, les relations distributionnelles et positionnelles de caractère syntaxique ainsi que le dispositif logico-énonciatif.

2 ANALYSE CONTRASTIVE DU LEXÈME *TUDI* ET DE SON ÉQUIVALENT FRANÇAIS DANS LE DISCOURS ÉCRIT

L'analyse du discours écrit a été établie à partir d'un corpus constitué parallèlement de trois romans slovènes et leur traduction en français ainsi que de trois romans français et leurs traductions en slovène. Cette étude a permis de dégager les caractéristiques suivantes pour le lexème slovène *tudi* : il exerce à la fois une macrofonction au niveau du texte en tant que connecteur et une microfonction dans la phrase où il apparaît en tant que moyen de mise en relief de l'élément auquel il se rapporte. Sémantiquement, il véhicule de manière générale l'addition.

L'équivalent français le plus fréquent du lexème slovène *tudi* est l'adverbe de phrase *aussi* (qui apparaît dans plus d'un tiers du corpus). L'analyse de *aussi*, opérée à partir du corpus écrit, a dégagé les conclusions suivantes : *aussi* renferme deux fonctions – celle de connecteur et celle de moyen de mise en relief – , c'est-à-dire les mêmes que celles observées pour le lexème slovène *tudi*. D'un point de vue sémantique, cette analyse a permis de déterminer le sème mininal caractérisant le lexème *aussi,* à savoir l'addition.

Malgré un très grand degré de recoupement entre *tudi* et *aussi* (ce qui explique, entre autres, que *aussi* soit l'équivalent français le plus fréquent dans le corpus étudié), les deux présentent néanmoins certaines divergences.

La première différence relève de la position qu'ils occupent par rapport à l'élément auquel il se rapporte. Le lexème slovène *tudi* le précède, par contre l'adverbe de phrase *aussi*, qui normalement devrait suivre l'élément auquel il se rapporte, privilégie une position dans la phrase (après le verbe en cas de temps simple, entre l'auxiliaire et le participe passé en cas de temps composé), ce qui peut engendrer certaines ambiguïtés quant à l'interprétation, comme le montre l'exemple suivant :

(1) Izkazujem ti ***tudi*** *svoje popolno zaupanje.* (Bartol 1988 : 200)
(T1) Je te témoigne ***aussi*** *mon entière confiance.* (Bartol 1988 : 196)

L'exemple slovène ne présente aucune ambiguïté, alors que la formulation française peut être comprise de deux manières différentes :

(1a) Je te témoigne, moi aussi, mon entière confiance.
(1b) Je te témoigne, en plus de mon admiration, mon entière confiance.

La présence du contexte gauche est alors indispensable pour éviter les erreurs d'interprétation. Dans le cas cité, le contexte gauche montre qu'il s'agit de l'interprétation (1b).

L'étude du corpus écrit nous a également permis de répertorier un nombre important d'exemples (un tiers des cas) qui présentaient une omission (non-traduction) de *tudi* dans la traduction française. Citons quelques exemples qui seront pertinents lors de l'analyse du corpus oral (X – original ; TX – traduction ; Xa – rajout de *aussi)* :

(2) Mislim, da sem stavek celo nekje zapisal in po jazbecu <u>dodal tudi</u> Benza, svojega potepuškega mačka, … (Švigelj-Mérat 1998 : 15)
(T2) Je pense même avoir noté cette phrase quelque part et <u>avoir ajouté</u>, après le blaireau, Benz, mon vagabond de chat, … (Svit 1999 : 17)
(2a) Je pense même avoir noté cette phrase quelque part et <u>avoir aussi ajouté</u>, après le blaireau, Benz, mon vagabond de chat, …

(3) Njene veselosti so <u>se pridružile tudi</u> druge. Samo Mirjam je dejala resno. (Bartol 1988 : 23)
(T3) Sa gaîté <u>se communiqua</u> aux autres, mais Myriam la reprit sur un ton qui était celui du sérieux. (Bartol 1988 : 28)
(3a) Sa gaîté <u>se communiqua aussi</u> aux autres, mais Myriam la reprit sur un ton qui était celui du sérieux.

(4) Poveljnik oddelka je pridržal konja in velel <u>tudi</u> <u>ostalim</u>, naj postoje. (Bartol 1988 : 54)
(T4) Le chef du détachement retint son cheval et commanda <u>aux autres</u> de s'arrêter. (Bartol 1988 : 52)
(4a) Le chef du détachement retint son cheval et commanda <u>aussi</u> <u>aux autres</u> de s'arrêter.

Dans les exemples cités, présentant une double expression de l'addition, l'ajout de *aussi* serait possible bien que superflu sans que cela n'affecte l'acceptabilité grammaticale de la phrase. Le français ne retient qu'un seul des deux moyens exprimant l'addition (privilégiant la « non-particule »), alors que le slovène, lui, maintient les deux moyens traduisant l'addition.

Nous pouvons donc constater que l'on assiste à une non-traduction du lexème slovène *tudi* en français quand un autre élément dans le contexte immédiat exprime déjà l'addition, au sens large du terme. Les moyens additifs sont extrêmement variés dans les deux langues, incluant aussi bien des mots grammaticaux que des lexèmes sémantiquement pleins. La réintroduction du lexème français *aussi* serait, dans la plupart des cas de figure, possible bien que ressentie comme redondante. Ainsi, en français, emploie-t-on *aussi* s'il remplit ses deux fonctions (mise en relief et connecteur), alors qu'en slovène le lexème *tudi* peut se décharger de l'une de ces deux fonctions, si celle-ci est assurée par un autre élément du contexte immédiat. La principale divergence entre ces deux lexèmes réside dans le fait que le lexème slovène *tudi* est outil de mise en relief <u>et/ou</u> connecteur, alors que le lexème français *aussi* est outil de mise en relief <u>et</u> connecteur. Cette constatation pourrait être révélatrice de considérations plus générales quant au fonctionnement des deux langues : le français serait apparemment plus réticent au phénomène de la répétition que le slovène, qui lui ne la percevrait pas comme telle, mais plutôt comme un moyen de cohésion renforcée.

3 ANALYSE DU LEXÈME *AUSSI* DANS LE DISCOURS ORAL ET DIVERGENCES PAR RAPPORT AU DISCOURS ÉCRIT

Les marques de cohésion, qui confèrent au propos une continuité, sont différentes à l'écrit et à l'oral. Par ailleurs, les procédés de mise en relief sont des phénomènes plus fréquents à l'oral qu'à l'écrit. Le lexème *aussi* étant caractérisé par ces deux fonctions, nous nous intéresserons plus particulièrement au phénomène de la répétition, pouvant elle aussi constituer aussi bien un élément de cohésion qu'un moyen de mise en relief.

C. Blanche-Benveniste (1991 : 18, 20) différencie

> *entre axes syntagmatique (celui des unités à analyser dans leur successivité)* et *paradigmatique (phénomènes apparemment involontaires comme bredouillages, hésitations, maladresses, reprises, et d'autres qui semblent intentionnels comme répétitions intensives, variations stylistiques et autres.*

Dans notre étude, nous avons donc observé aussi bien les axes syntagmatique que paradigmatique pour rendre compte du fonctionnement du lexème *aussi* dans le discours oral.

L'analyse du corpus oral, établi à partir du *Corpus de la parole* et constitué d'une centaine d'exemples (enregistrements et transcriptions d'échanges au quotidien – chez le médecin, au travail, entre amis, dans un commerce, en voiture ...), a révélé certaines divergences sur le fonctionnement de *aussi* à l'écrit et à l'oral. Les domaines concernés sont la position de *aussi* dans la phrase et le phénomène de la répétition.

A l'écrit, le lexème *aussi* est très mobile à l'intérieur de la phrase (mobilité entraînant néanmoins souvent des changements de sens). Il peut en effet occuper différentes positions, à l'exception de la position initiale en tête de phrase (cette position étant « réservée » à l'expression de la conséquence et demandant l'inversion du sujet) :

Paul aussi a mangé des gâteaux dans le salon.
Paul a aussi mangé des gâteaux dans le salon.
Paul a mangé aussi des gâteaux dans le salon.
Paul a mangé des gâteaux aussi dans le salon.
Paul a mangé des gâteaux dans le salon aussi.

Il privilégie néanmoins une position dans la phrase (après le verbe en cas de temps simple, entre l'auxiliaire et le participe passé en cas de temps composé), ce qui peut, comme déjà mentionné, engendrer certaines ambiguïtés quant à l'interprétation de l'énoncé.

A l'oral, par contre, nous avons constaté un nombre conséquent de *aussi* en position finale (position peu fréquente à l'écrit) :

(5) Les autres parents que vous connaissez ils sont ils sont de votre avis aussi ?
(6) Euh, j'ai oublié le nom de, de euh, certaines machines qui passaient avant aussi.
(7) Ben voilà donc on pense qu'on fera une jolie petite fête aussi.
(8) Puis enfin en juin c'est un peu moins cher aussi.
(9) Les parents sont obligés de bien aider aussi.

Cette position engendre certaines ambiguïtés, tout comme celle privilégiée à l'écrit après le verbe, quant à l'interprétation et requiert un recours au contexte pour déterminer avec précision la portée de *aussi.*

Par ailleurs, nous avons relevé des cas de figure qui sont tout simplement proscrits à l'écrit, à savoir *aussi* en position initiale (qui à l'écrit est « réservée » à l'expression de la conséquence et demande l'inversion du sujet) :

(10) au lieu de dire un veau aussi ils disent
(11) aussi c'est lui qui s'occupe de

A l'écrit, on aurait respectivement *au lieu de dire un veau, ils disent aussi…* et *c'est lui aussi qui s'occupe de …*

Le rapport à la répétition est le deuxième segment qui s'est révélé être source de divergences dans l'emploi de *aussi* à l'écrit et à l'oral. Alors que le français évite toute répétition liée à l'idée d'addition à l'écrit car faisant effet de redondance, l'oral a fourni un grand nombre d'exemples de ce type :

(12) certaines règles / et je crois que c'est peut-être aussi la même chose
(13) euh / j'ajoute aussi que j'avais demandé / à pouvoir / plutôt que de travailler
(14) bon j'ai eu aussi une autre encyclopédie mais alors un peu particulière une encyclopédie des sciences
(15) ah oui mon mari aussi c'est pareil
(16) Et puis il y a beaucoup comme moi aussi d'ailleurs.

Aussi	Dans le discours écrit en français	Dans le discours oral en français
Position initiale	non	oui ex. 10 et 11
Position privilégiée	après le verbe (ou entre l'auxiliaire et le participe passé)	position finale ex. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9

Tableau récapitulatif 1 : Distribution de *aussi* en français écrit et oral.

Dans le discours écrit, *aussi* ne peut pas occuper la position initiale. Celle-ci est en effet réservée à l'expression de la conséquence et exige une inversion du sujet. A l'oral, par contre, nous avons pu répertorier des occurences de *aussi* en position initiale.

Concernant la position privilégiée par *aussi*, l'analyse de l'écrit et de l'oral a permis de mettre en évidence une autre divergence. L'écrit privilégie la position après le verbe (ou entre l'auxiliaire et le participe passé), suscitant parfois quelque ambiguïté quant à l'interprétation à attribuer à l'énoncé. L'oral, quant à lui, favorise la position finale, pouvant, tout comme à l'écrit, engendrer quelque ambiguïté au niveau de l'interprétation à attribuer à l'énoncé, mais pouvant, à la différence de l'écrit, être considérée comme un marqueur de cohésion car indiquant un renvoi au contexte gauche.

Aussi	Dans le discours écrit en français	Dans le discours oral en français
+ connecteur marquant l'addition (puis, et, alors, en plus de ...)	non	oui ex. 16, 17, 18
+ lexème renfermant le sème « addition » (ajouter, autre, comme moi)	non	oui ex. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17
+ lexème de mise en relief (même)	non	oui ex. 19

Tableau récapitulatif 2 : *Aussi* face à l'effet de répétition en français écrit et oral.

L'analyse du discours oral et écrit en français a également mis en évidence une divergence face à l'effet de répétition du sème inhérent au lexème *aussi*, à savoir l'addition (liée à sa fonction de connecteur), ou à celle de mise en relief (liée à sa deuxième fonction).

L'écrit évite soigneusement une quelconque double expression de l'addition (présente déjà au niveau d'autres connecteurs ou lexèmes) ou de la mise en relief dans le contexte immédiat d'*aussi* :

(T2) Je pense même avoir noté cette phrase quelque part et <u>avoir ajouté</u>, après le blaireau, Benz, mon vagabond de chat, … (Svit 1999 : 17)
(2a) Je pense même avoir noté cette phrase quelque part et <u>avoir aussi ajouté</u>, après le blaireau, Benz, mon vagabond de chat, …

L'oral, lui, permet ce genre d'accumulations :

(17) <u>Puis</u> vous voyez <u>d'autres</u> personnes <u>aussi</u>, vous voyez comment ils travaillent.
(18) <u>Puis enfin</u> en juin c'est un peu moins cher <u>aussi</u>.
(19) <u>même</u> peut-être pour son climat <u>aussi</u>

Rappelons qu'à l'écrit l'occurence de *aussi* dans les deux premiers de cas de figure (+ connecteurs ou lexème renfermant le sème « addition ») ne rendrait pas la phrase inacceptable mais serait ressenti comme redondant. Dans le troisième exemple, par contre, le discours écrit ne permet pas ce genre de cohabitation.

4 ANALYSE CONTRASTIVE DES CORPUS ÉCRITS (FRANÇAIS ET SLOVÈNE) ET DU CORPUS ORAL FRANÇAIS FACE À L'EFFET DE RÉPÉTITION

Le tableau 3 est une synthèse des tableaux 1 et 2 de la présente contribution. Il présente les résultats obtenus dans notre analyse contrastive du discours écrit slovène et français dans le cas des lexèmes *tudi* et *aussi* ainsi que ceux illustrant le fonctionnement de *aussi* en français écrit et oral.

Tudi /aussi	Discours écrit en slovène	Discours écrit en français	Discours oral en français
+ connecteur marquant l'addition (puis, et, alors, en plus de ...)	oui	non	oui
+ lexème renfermant le sème 'addition' (ajouter, autre, comme moi)	oui	non	oui
+ lexème de mise en relief (même, ...)	oui	non	oui

Tableau récapitulatif 3 : Occurrence de *tudi/aussi* dans les discours écrits slovène/français et occurrence de *aussi* dans le discours oral français.

Cette dernière récapitulation permet de dégager deux conclusions, quelque peu inattendues, à savoir :

- la nette divergence au niveau du fonctionnement du lexème *aussi* dans les discours oral et écrit en français (distribution, répétition),
- malgré une divergence incontestable quant à l'emploi de *tudi* dans le discours écrit slovène et celui de *aussi* dans le discours écrit français, notre analyse a permis de mettre en évidence un recoupement très élevé quant au fonctionnement du lexème slovène *tudi* dans le discours écrit et celui du lexème *aussi* dans le discours oral en français, donc une plus grande similitude entre le slovène écrit et le français oral qu'entre le slovène écrit et le français écrit.

5 CONCLUSION

L'analyse portant sur le lexème slovène *tudi* et le lexème français *aussi* a permis d'établir une plus grande similitude dans le discours écrit slovène et le discours oral français que dans le discours écrit slovène et le discours écrit français. Outre certaines divergences au niveau des caractéristiques distributionnelles constatées en français écrit et oral pour le lexème *aussi*, la présente contribution a permis d'établir une différence majeure dans les deux types de discours quant au statut de la répétition dans le contexte immédiat du lexème *aussi*. Sur le plan logico-sémantique, ce dernier véhicule en effet de manière générale l'addition, éliminant de ce fait à l'écrit tous les marqueurs d'addition dans un contexte immédiat (aussi bien les mots grammaticaux que les mots sémantiquement pleins) pour éviter tout effet de redondance. L'examen des exemples à l'oral a, lui, permis de dégager un fonctionnement foncièrement différent avec accumulation de marqueurs d'addition, devenant de par la même des outils contribuant à renforcer la cohésion du discours. C'est sur ce point que convergent le discours slovène écrit, qui peut accumuler ce genre de répétitions, sans qu'elles soient pour autant perçues comme superflues ou répétitives, et le discours oral en français. Ces résultats découlant d'une étude sur un cas très particulier mettent pourtant en évidence le statut à part entière du discours oral face au discours écrit en français, prouvant ainsi que l'oral n'est pas un simple calque de l'écrit ou un écrit oralisé. Ces constatations pourront ainsi être utiles non seulement au professeur de FLE mais également au professeur de français langue maternelle. Il en va de même pour le traducteur, pouvant être confronté au discours oral dans ses traductions, et l'interprète dont le champs de travail est l'oral. La divergence oral/écrit établie dans la présente contribution pourra enfin attirer l'attention de tout chercheur s'intéressant à cette problématique ou aux études contrastives (générales ou spécifiques - slovène/français -). Au vu de ces constatations, il serait toutefois intéressant de procéder à ce même genre de comparaison entre le slovène oral et écrit, telle que nous l'avons faite pour le français. Une question s'impose toutefois : ces constatations auraient-elles été les mêmes dans tous les types de discours oral (pouvant être plus ou moins formels) ? Une future étude pourrait par ailleurs porter sur les autres moyens de cohésion ou procédés de mise en relief présents dans chacune des langues, ce qui permettrait de confirmer, de moduler ou d'infirmer la constation établissant un plus grand parallélisme entre le slovène écrit et le français oral qu'entre le slovène écrit et le français écrit.

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Résumé

LES PARTICULES SLOVÈNES ET LEURS ÉQUIVALENTS FRANÇAIS
À L'ÉCRIT ET À L'ORAL : CAS DU LEXÈME SLOVÈNE *TUDI* ET
DE SON ÉQUIVALENT FRANÇAIS *AUSSI*

La présente contribution s'inscrit dans le cadre d'une étude contrastive sur les particules dans les langues slovène et française en y examinant le cas du lexème slovène *tudi* et de son équivalent français le plus fréquent *aussi*. Nous nous pencherons sur les caractéristiques de *aussi* à l'écrit et à l'oral pour les comparer à celles du lexème slovène *tudi*. Nous nous proposerons d'abord, à partir d'un corpus écrit, de comparer le fonctionnement du lexème slovène *tudi* et celui de son équivalent français *aussi* pour en extraire les similitudes et surtout les divergences sur le plan sémantique, syntaxique et pragmatique. En nous appuyant sur ces divergences à l'écrit, nous procéderons ensuite, à partir d'un corpus oral, à l'analyse du fonctionnement de *aussi* à l'oral pour y constater un éventuel décalage entre l'emploi de *aussi* à l'écrit et à l'oral. Nous mettrons enfin en évidence un plus grand parallélisme entre le slovène écrit et le français parlé dans le cas de l'étude contrastive de *tudi* et de *aussi*.

Mots-clés : analyse contrastive, slovène/français, discours écrit/oral, particules, *tudi/aussi*.

Povzetek

SLOVENSKI ČLENKI IN NJIHOVE FRANCOSKE USTREZNICE V PISNIH IN USTNIH BESEDILIH: PRIMER SLOVENSKEGA LEKSEMA *TUDI* IN NJEGOVE FRANCOSKE USTREZNICE *AUSSI*

V članku se avtorica s pomočjo kontrastivne analize loteva preučevanja slovenskih členkov in njihovih francoskih ustreznic ter analizira slovenski leksem *tudi* in njegovo najpogostejšo francosko ustreznico *aussi.* Namen prispevka je opisati členek *aussi* v pisnih in govorjenih besedilih in nato primerjati njegovo delovanje z delovanjem slovenskega členka *tudi* v pisnih besedilih. Avtorica na podlagi korpusa pisnih besedil začne s primerjavo delovanja slovenskega leksema *tudi* in francoskega *aussi* in izpelje podobnosti ter zlasti razlike s pomenskega, skladenjskega in pragmatičnega vidika. V nadaljevanju prispevka izhaja iz razlik v rabi členka v pisnih besedilih in ugotovitve uporabi za analizo korpusa govorjenih besedil ter skuša zaznati razliko med rabo *aussi* v pisnih in govorjenih besedilih. V zadnjem delu prispevka poudari primere ujemanja med rabo členkov *tudi* in *aussi* v pisnih besedilih v slovenščini in govorjenih besedilih v francoščini, pri čemer svojo analizo opre na sredstva kohezije, uporabljena v govorjenih in pisnih besedilih, še zlasti na ponavljanje (element kohezije ali redundance).

Ključne besede: kontrastivna analiza, slovenščina/francoščina, pisni/govorjeni diskurz, členki, *tudi/aussi*.

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LES MARQUERS DISCURSIFS « MAIS » ET « ALORS » EN TANT QU'INDICATEURS DU DEGRÉ DE L'ORALITÉ DANS LES DISCOURS OFFICIELS, LES DÉBATS TÉLÉVISÉS ET LES DIALOGUES LITTÉRAIRES

1 INTRODUCTION

L'oral et l'écrit présentent, selon la définition de C. Blanche-Benveniste (1997), deux mondes distincts d'expression. La même opinion est défendue par M. A. Morel et L. Danon-Boileau dans leur *Grammaire de l'intonation* (1998). Aussi F. Gadet (1996 ; 2007) qui a travaillé sur les marques spécifiques de l'oral, va dans ce sens.

Cependant il faut tenir compte des influences que l'écrit porte sur l'oral et vice-versa; l'oral, à son tour, est générateur de changements à l'écrit (cf. F. Gadet et la notion de la littératie (2007), ainsi que U. Tuomarla (1999) que nous citons pour la définition de l'oralisation de l'écrit dont nous parlerons dans la suite).

Ce n'est que dans les années '80 du siècle précédent avec l'intéret croissant pour les théories de la pragmatique linguistique selon Austin et Searle, l'énonciation et ses contextes et les stratégies dialogales que les recherches des interactions verbales se développent à Genève autour de l'équipe d'E. Roulet (1985) et J. Moeschler (1985) et à Lyon avec C. Kerbrat-Orecchioni et sa théorie de l'énonciation, du dialogue et du trilogue. Ces théories ont d'un côté mené vers les recherches des intentions communicatives, codées en tant que fonction illocutoire, et de l'autre côté vers la recherche de l'argumentation et ses marqueurs à l'écrit et à l'oral où s'ouvre le domaine très riche des connecteurs argumentatifs.

Autre courant français, développée à travers l'idée de l'énonciation comme elle est vue par A. Culioli (1991), (cf. M. A. Morel/Danon-Boileau (1998) pour la notion de l'énonciation et coénonciation) se consacre à l'analyse des interactions verbales du discours spontané à travers l'énonciation dans l'unité de parole nommée le paragraphe. Les recherches en slovène sous cette influence ont débuté avec A. Zwitter Vitez (2002 ; 2008) qui a appliqué les théories de l'analyse de l'oral spontané de M. A. Morel à la langue slovène.

En tenant compte de ces théories précieuses qui apportent chacune des détails importants sur ce qui est l'oral, nous allons baser notre analyse sur les marqueurs argumentatifs. Dans plusieurs études antérieures (Schlamberger Brezar 2002 ; 2009 ; 2010), nous avons essayé de décrire le rôle des connecteurs. Ici, nous voulons démontrer que

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l'utilisation de certains connecteurs dans leur rôle de marqueurs discursifs peut déterminer le niveau de l'oralité.

Nous optons pour les connecteurs *mais* et *alors*. A la base de l'analyse de trois corpus distincts, le premier issu de 6 heures d'enregistrements et des transcriptions des débats télévisés *Polémiques* (Schlamberger Brezar 2000), le deuxième étant constitué d'une heure et demie de discours officiels en français et leur interprétations en slovène (Zidar 2009) et le troisième, un corpus parallèle contenant un recueil des textes littéraires et des articles des journaux et leurs traductions (Mezeg 2011), à savoir 2 millions de mots, nous tâcherons de démontrer quel est le rôle des marqueurs discursifs et argumentatifs *mais* et *alors* dans l'indication du degré de l'oralité.

2 INTERACTIONS ENTRE L'ÉCRIT ET L'ORAL

C. Blanche-Benveniste (1997 : 9) traite l'écrit comme la langue de dimanche et non la langue de tous les jours. C'est un point de vue intéressant qui implique le soutenu, le standard, la norme. Il faut faire attention à ce qu'on écrit tandis que l'oral nous permettrait plus de liberté. Françoise Gadet (2007 : 27) précise que la variation de l'oral dépend de la communauté linguistique. Il faut ajouter que la situation de la communication et aussi le type du texte visé influencent le choix des mots, la manière de parler. Selon F. Gadet (2007 : 27), la réflexion sur le standard est souvent occultée par la norme qui est valorisée aux dépens des formes attestées non centrales, orales, ordinaires et populaires. Ceci est valable surtout pour le français où l'idéologie du standard est répandue et dominante.

Mais les recherches sur la norme, qui prennent aujourd'hui en compte la norme subjective et objective, et les consignes qui en dérivent préfèrent l'application de la norme fonctionnelle (Riegel/Pellat/Rioul 1994), adaptée à la situation de l'énonciation ou au type du texte. Plus la situation sera formelle, plus l'oral soutenu aura tendance à se rapprocher de l'écrit. Dans certains contextes, p. ex. dans les articles des journaux ou dans les œuvres littéraires où l'oralité est souvent mise en scène la norme de l'oral entrera partiellement dans l'écrit. A l'époque contemporaine, les deux modes s'entremêlent ; l'écrit influence l'oral et l'oral est en concurrence constante avec l'écrit dans les situations d'énonciation officielles ainsi que les situations du discours spontané. En théorie, deux termes qui désignent l'influence mutuelle de l'oral et de l'écrit ont été exposés, la littératie et l'oralisation.

F. Gadet (2007 : 37) parle de la « littératie » dans le cadre des discours qui se situent entre l'oral et l'écrit, selon elle (ibid.) c'est « la pratique généralisée de la lecture-écriture, les effets d'une culture de l'écrit sur les énoncés, les pratiques, attitudes et représentations pour un locuteur ou une communauté des locuteurs. » Elle souligne : « En pays de littératie et de l'idéologie du standard, le pouvoir prêté à l'écrit minorise le statut de l'oral » (2007 : 37).

L'opposition à cette notion de la « littératie » est présentée par la notion de l'oralisation de l'écrit, qui apparaît dans la littérature et aussi dans la presse. L'oralisation de l'écrit est décrite sous le terme de « conversationnalisation », ce terme a été introduit par Fairclough (1994) pour désigner les « procédé(s) qu'utilisent les médias pour créer un effet de reconnaissance et une illusion de familiarité dans les textes de presse en mélageant les pratiques du domaine privé avec celles du domaine public » (Tuomarla 1999 : 220)[1] ; U. Tuomarla cite (1999 : 221) entre autres les traits suivants de l'oralité : constructions disloquées, lexique, particules énonciatives (ou marqueurs discurisfs). Nous nous consacrerons plus particulièrement à ces derniers.

Dans notre analyse, il y a donc trois exemples distincts de l'utilisation de l'oral ; nous pouvons parler de la norme de l'écrit (corpus littéraire), de la norme de l'oral courant (corpus télévisuel), de l'oral cultivé sujet à la norme de l'écrit (discours officiels). L'oral des discours politiques étant soigné, il se rapprochera de la forme écrite ; l'oral des débats télévisés, qui est un peu plus spontané, présente des glissements soit vers l'écrit, soit vers l'oral spontané selon les locuteurs en question. L'écrit littéraire qui veut mimer l'oral est tout de même normalisé dans le cadre de l'orthographe et de la ponctuation.

Nous prendrons la littératie et l'oralisation de l'écrit comme le point de départ de notre recherche sur la présence des marqueurs de l'oral ; nous nous concentrerons sur les marqueurs discursifs *mais* et *alors*, marque pertinente pour la détermination de l'oralité, en formant l'hypothèse selon laquelle plus de présence des marqueurs discursifs veut dire plus de l'oralité, tandis que leur absence est la preuve de l'écrit et de la littératie.

Pour le prouver, nous avons effectué l'analyse des trois corpus déjà mentionnés – le corpus de l'oral des débats télévisés (Schlamberger Brezar 2000), le corpus de Jana Zidar (2009) des discours officiels interprétés et le corpus parallèle littéraire FraSloK de Adriana Mezeg (2011) dont nous n'avons pris en compte que la partie française. Ces trois corpus, ont une caractéristique en commun, c'est leur lien avec l'oral entre le spontané et le normalisé. Nous les présenterons en détail en partie analyse.

3 CONNECTEURS DISCURSIFS OU LES MARQUERS DISCURSIFS – UN BREF APERÇU DES VALEURS

Les marqueurs discursifs peuvent servir de l'indicateur de l'oralité du discours selon notre thèse développée dans Schlamberger Brezar 2011. Là, nous avions comparé la fréquence et la variété des marqueurs discursifs dans les débats télévisés et dans les discours officiels ; nous essayons à présent d'étendre la recherche aux romans du corpus FraSloK.

Les connecteurs à l'oral échapent à la logique propositionnelle et représentent, selon Ducrot (1980), les instructions à l'interprétation de l'énoncé. Il se peut que, dans les discours spontanés, ils jouent juste le rôle des marqueurs discursifs sans lien

[1] Cette citation en original: "Conversationalization involves a restructuring of the boundary between public and private orders of discourse – a highly unstable boundary in contemporary society characterized by ongoing tension and change. Conversationalization is also consequently partly to do with shifting boundaries between written and spoken discourse practices, and a rising prestige and status for spoken language which partly reverses the main direction of evolution of modern orders of discourse."

logique apparent (Roulet et al. 1985 ; Schiffrin 1987), mais tout en gardant leur « sens » d'origine (Schlamberger Brezar 2000 ; 2002 ; 2009), tant qu'on puisse parler du sens d'un mot relationnel ou connecteur. Notre hypothèse est que plus le discours est spontané, plus de marqueurs discursifs nous allons trouver et aussi le contraire ; plus le discours sera soigné et soutenu, moins de marqueurs discursifs il contiendra.

Les plus appropriés pour l'analyse nous semblaient les marqueurs discursifs *alors* et *mais* qui présentent une certaine polysémie : ils peuvent être employés soit comme connecteurs logiques de conséquence (*alors*) ou de concession (*mais*), soit comme simples balises de l'oral qui n'ont gardé que les traces du sens logique d'origine. Nous les avons choisi en tant qu'indicateurs d'oralité pour notre étude. A travers l'étude des débats télévisés (Schlamberger Brezar 2002), il s'est avéré que les connecteurs *mais* et *alors* passaient le plus souvent dans la classe des marqueurs du discours parmi tous les connecteurs analysés (qui étaient *et, parce que, puisque, car, donc, cependant, pourtant,* cf. Schlamberger Brezar 2009).

Le connecteur et le marqueur discursif *mais* est le connecteur adversatif et d'opposition avec plusieurs valeurs logiques différentes : celle du connecteur contre-argumentatif, du connecteur concessif (les deux valeurs étant très proches), du connecteur de renforcement – renchérissement, du connecteur *mais* de réfutation et *mais* de gradation (selon Adam 1989). Il apparaît aussi comme *mais* dit « phatique » (Ducrot 1980 ; Adam 1989 ; Schlamberger Brezar 2000 ; 2009) où il n'exerce pas forcément la fonction adversative mais peut aussi aller dans le sens contraire, vers l'affirmation, s'il est complété par les marqueurs modaux (cf. Schlamberger Brezar 2005 pour le sens de *mais évidemment*, *mais bien sûr*). Le *mais* phatique et aussi métalinguistique marque le changement du point de vue, la ségmentation du discours. Il est typique de l'oral où il restitue l'ordre entre les parties hétérogènes du discours qui apparaissent aux niveaux différents. A l'oral dans l'analyse de M. A. Morel et L. Danon-Boileau (1998), *mais* en tant que ligateur se place dans la coénonciation, c'est à dire que malgré son rôle adversatif et concessif il prend en compte le collocuteur en vue de changer son opinion grâce à sa valeur d'introducteur d'arguments. Les combinaisons de *mais*, marqueur discursif ayant perdu une partie de son sens logique avec les marqueurs modaux sont fréquentes, comme p. ex. *mais effectivement*, *mais évidemment, mais bien sûr* (Schlamberger Brezar 2002 ; 2009), ce qu'illustre l'exemple (1) ci-dessous:

1)
MC24 : **Mais** écoutez, les agriculteurs ne sont pas des jardiniers, ce sont des producteurs, des commercants !
MHA11 : Bien sûr, **mais justement**, ni les producteurs ni le consommateur ne s'y retrouvent.[2]
(Schlamberger Brezar 2005 : 149)

[2] Dans le modèle du marché tel qu'il existe maintenant en France (accessible du contexte antérieur).

Déjà le premier *mais* qui ouvre le dialogue introduit l'argumentation d'une manière indirecte et marque surtout l'insistance de la locutrice, ce qui est typique pour le *mais* phatique, tandis que le deuxième, combiné avec le marqueur modal *justement*, inverse la valeur adversative de l'intervention en valeur affirmative.

Le connecteur et le marqueur discursif *alors* passe par des processus similaires. Connecteur temporel fortement anaphorique de son origine, *alors* a gardé cette valeur d'anaphore pour exprimer la conséquence mais aussi pour devenir le marqueur de structuration discursive fréquemment employé à l'oral (Roulet et al. 1985 ; Gerecht 1987 ; Schlamberger Brezar 2009).

Alors dans cette fonction sert comme introducteur du thème n'ayant pas la faculté de lier deux idées ou actes de parole ou énoncés mais tout simplement enchaînant sur le contexte, ce que nous présentons dans l'exemple (2) ci-dessous :

2)
MC 1 : Pascal Hervé, numéro deux, hein, je crois qu'on peut le dire, de l'équipe Festina, accompagné de son avocat, maître Gilbert Collard. **Alors**, avant de nous lancer sur la santé, Bernard Kouchner↓ quelques questions plus politiques à vous poser, à poser au gouvernement Jospin où vous êtes ...
(Schlamberger Brezar 2009 : 166)

Dans cette fonction du marqueur discursif, *alors* peut apparaître en combinaison avec les marqueurs de modalité comme p. ex. *alors finalement*, *alors en effet*, *alors effectivement*, *alors évidemment*, *alors justement*, *alors c'est vrai.* L'utilisation des marqueurs discursifs dans le discours oral est beaucoup plus subjective, souvent complétée par les marqueurs de modalité qui renforcent l'impact que le locuteur veut produire sur ses allocutaires (cf. Schlamberger Brezar 2000 ; 2002 ; 2009).

A la base des recherches dans le corpus, nous allons analyser la fréquence des marqueurs discursifs dans nos trois différents types de textes.

3.1 Marqueurs de l'oral *mais* et *alors* dans les débats télévisés

Le corpus des débats télévisés *Polémiques* et *Bouillon de culture* dont les 6 heures d'enregistrements ont été analysées en vue d'obtenir les connecteurs ou les marqueurs du discours les plus fréquents et de décrire leurs valeurs discursives dans le cadre de l'argumentation. En comparaison avec l'analyse des discours spontanés (Morel, Danon Boileau 1998), les débats télévisés présentent un nombre considérable d'emplois des connecteurs avec la valeur logique, ce qui peut se voir dans l'exemple (3) ci-dessous : *mais* de la 2^e^ ligne introduit la réfutation de la proposition exprimée par la question de la locutrice MC.

3)
MC18 : Et vous-même, vous y pensez ?
BK30 : **Mais** personne ne me le propose alors, ...
(Schlamberger Brezar 2009 : 207)

Toutefois, les exemples de l'utilisation des connecteurs dans le rôle des marqueurs discursifs sont fréquents, nous donnons quelques exemples ci-dessous (4, 5, 6, 7) :

4)
PC42 : C'est de la perversité là, quand-même, oh, quand-même, oui. ↑
FC17 : **Oui, mais,** je peux dire que j'ai entendu tellement de récits de ce type, qu'ils vont bien au-delà de ce qu'ils en filment.
(Schlamberger Brezar 2009 : 207)

5)
CJ10 : **Mais** quelles aides européennes sont données aux producteurs comme ça ? ↑
Précisez les ! ↑
(Schlamberger Brezar 2009 : 208)

6)
BP54 : Elles ... Sans arrêt elles disent: **Mais** où sont les hommes ? ↑
(Schlamberger Brezar 2009 : 208)

7)
BP78 : **Mais** c'est bien. ↑ **Mais** c'est très bien, je vous félicite. ↑
Je n'ai jamais arrivé si bien au sommet. ↑
(Schlamberger Brezar 2009 : 208)

En total, dans les débats télévisés, le marqueur discursif *mais* dans sa valeur phatique prédominait ; de 323 exemples d'utilisation de *mais* dans le corpus il se présentait 241 fois soit dans 75% contre 1% de *mais* de gradation, 4% de *mais* de réfutation, 12% de *mais* de concession et 8% de *mais* d'argumentation.

Le connecteur et marqueur discursif *alors*, anaphorique, temporel, consécutif, dans son rôle de marqueur discursif présente l'ouverture d'un nouveau thème. Selon Roulet (1985) et Gerecht (1987), il est appelé aussi marqueur de structuration conversationnelle. Nous donnons dans la suite quelques exemples ((8), (9), (10), (11) provenant de notre corpus des débats télévisés (Schlamberger Brezar 2000 ; 2009) parmi lesquels est fréquent *alors* avec l'intonation interrogative (exemples (10) et (11)) :

8)
MC7 : **Alors**, ↓ Messieurs les politiques, ça, alors, vous êtes d'accord ? ↑
(Schlamberger Brezar 2009 : 167)

9)
BP79 : Eh bien, on va passer au roman de Françoise Chandernagor. ↑ Est-ce que... est-ce qu'il est aussi facile de parler d'un roman comme celui-ci à la télévision alors que vos précédents étaient des romans historiques. ↑ **Alors**, celui-ci évidemment, c'est un roman d'aujourd'hui. ↑
(Schlamberger Brezar 2009 : 168)

10)
MC27 : Pardon, je vais vous poser une question. Il y a quand-même beaucoup de médecins qui sont contre. **Alors** qu'est ce que vous allez faire, ↑
(Schlamberger Brezar 2009 : 172)

11)
NM43 : **Et alors** ?.
(Schlamberger Brezar 2009 : 172)

De 175 exemples de l'utilisation de *alors*, il y a 10 cas de l'usage temporel, 32 cas de valeur consécutive et 107 de valeur de marqueur discursif soit 77%. Dans ce rôle, il est souvent combiné avec les autres marqueurs discursifs (*et puis alors* 2x, *et alors* 7x, *et donc alors* 1x, *mais alors* 2x) ou les marqueurs modaux (*alors finalement* 1x, *alors en effet* 1x, *alors effectivement* 1x, *alors évidemment* 1x, *alors justement* 2x, *alors c'est vrai* et *alors c'est vraiment* 1x). Il s'ensuit que comme pour *mais*, la valeur du marqueur discursif est la plus fréquente de toutes les valeurs dans le discours oral analysé. Les débats télévisés contiennent un taux élevé d'oralité au niveau des marqueurs discursifs *mais* et *alors*.

3.2 Marqueurs de l'oral *mais* et *alors* dans les discours officiels

Les discours officiels analysés proviennent du corpus fait par J. Zidar (2009) pour son mémoire sur les techniques de l'interprétation. Le corpus consiste en 10 discours en français, interprétés en slovène dans le Parlement européen à partir de septembre 2008 jusqu'au mars 2009, soit 1 heure, 26 minutes et 29 secondes d'enregistrements. Les discours ont été donnés par N. Sarkozy, J. E. Barroso, M. Barnier, J. Daul, N. Kosciusko-Morizet, J.P. Jouyet, M. De Sarnez, J. Barrot, A. Lulling in E. Besson (www.europarl.europa.eu/archive/default_htm, Zidar 2009).

Dans son évaluation des discours, J. Zidar (2009) mentionne déjà leur degré de l'oralité ou littératie en se basant sur la vitesse du discours qui est très importante pour la qualité de l'interprétation et les techniques employées (Zidar 2009 : 31). L'oral, grâce à sa redondance (Blanche-Benveniste 1997) est plus favorable à la décondensation des idées et d'autant plus apprécié des interprètes.

De toute façon, la plupart des discours semblent être préparés d'avance. Déjà, les connecteurs ne sont pas très fréquents, et nous pouvons observer une absence totale des marqueurs
discursifs. L'oral de Sarkozy se caractérise par une forte utilisation de la mise en évidence et les apostrophes (*Mesdames, messieurs*). Au niveau des connecteurs et les marqueurs discursifs, dans une demi-heure de prise de parole, un *alors* apparaît qui pourrait être considéré comme phatique grâce à son introduction de conclusion (exemple (12) ci-dessous) :

12)
... au nom de ces grandes idées et de ces grandes ambitions, on peut surmonter les égoïsmes nationaux. **Alors**, que l'Europe reste ambitieuse et que l'Europe comprenne que le monde a besoin qu'elle prenne des décisions.
(Sarkozy, dans Zidar 2009 : 73)

Dans le corpus entier (Zidar 2009), le connecteur *alors* apparaît une fois dans son rôle consécutif chez la locutrice Kosciusko-Morizet : il n'a alors qu'une seule apparition de *alors* en tant que marqueur discursif dans le discours de N. Sarkozy (exemple (12) ci-dessus). Les autres locuteurs emploient surtout *mais* (Barnier une fois, Dahul et Barrot 2 fois, Jouvet 3 fois), tandis que chez les locuteurs Barroso, Sarnez, Lulling, Besson on observe l'absence totale de *mais* ou *alors*, le seul « connecteur » est *et*, employé comme ligateur des parties hétérogènes du discours.

Les traits caractéristiques de *mais* tel qu'il se présente dans les discours officiels, sont les suivants : il est très fréquent au début de l'énoncé (dans la transcription (Zidar 2009) marqué par une majuscule), alors venant après une pause. Il introduit un argument nouveau et enchaîne sur le discours précédent. C'est un trait qui le rapproche du *mais* argumentatif des débats télévisés (exemple (13) ci-dessous) :

13)
Ma conviction, c'est que nous n'avons pas d'avenir autre que de trouver avec nos voisins les condition du développement économique, de la sécurité et de la paix en leur expliquant que s'ils veulent compter dans le monde et la Russie est un grand pays, ils doivent respecter des valeurs, des pratiques et des comportements qui ne doivent plus être ceux qui étaient les leurs à une autre époque en Europe. **Mais** l'Europe a existé. Puis est arrivée la crise financière. La crise financière n'est pas née au mois d'août 2007, c'était le début des ennuis ! **Mais** la crise financière systémique que nous avons connue dans le monde commence lorsque les Américains ont pris la décision d'accepter la faillite /.../ des Lehmann Brothers ...
(Sarkozy, dans Zidar 2009 : 63)

Dans les discours officiels, nous nous retrouvons devant une absence totale des *mais phatiques*, marqueurs de la conversation. Il n'y a donc pas de liaison de *mais* avec les marqueurs de modalité, tellement fréquents à l'oral spontané. En général, les connecteurs retrouvés dans le discours officiel sont peu nombreux. Ceux que l'on retrouve sont plus proches de l'écrit – nous pouvons parler de l'influence de l'écrit, donc c'est un exemple de littératie. Le seul trait commun qui fait penser au caractère oral de ces discours est la fréquence des structures de mise en relief qui se présente sous forme de phrases emphatiques avec l'extraction.

3.3 Les exemples de l'utilisation des marqueurs discursifs *mais* et *alors* dans les textes littéraires : oralité mise en scène

Le corpus parallèle FraSloK est une partie constituante du corpus plurilingue traductologique SPOOK du projet de recherche de S. Vintar *J6–2009 Slovensko prevodoslovje - viri in raziskave*.[3] Le corpus FraSLoK a été élaboré par A. Mezeg dans le cadre de sa thèse du doctorat (Mezeg 2011) et comporte environ 2,5 millions de mots, une partie provenant des textes littéraires (12 romans français et francophones) et leurs traductions vers le slovène, l'autre de 300 articles et leurs traductions vers le slovène du Monde diplomatique entre 2006 et 2009 (Mezeg 2011).

Mais dans le dialogue a été retrouvé dans 85 concordances sur le total de 1250 occurrences de *mai*s obtenus par l'analyse du corpus littéraire. De ces *mais* dialogaux, nous pouvons interpréter quelques-uns comme connecteurs argumentatifs, mais la plupart assurent le rôle du marqueur discursif en tant que marqueur phatique. Celui-ci prédomine surtout en combinaisons *mais oui* (exemple (14)), *mais bien sûr* (exemple (15)), *mais non* (exemple (16)) ou dans les phrases exclamatives ou interrogatives (exemples (18) et (20) ci-dessous) :

14)
Il avait dit **mais oui**, laissez donc votre sac.

15)
Certes on n'a rien sans rien, certes il faut savoir ce qu'on veut. **Mais surtout**, très vite, le problème du parfum allait se poser.

16)
Mais non, je n'ai rien pris, c'est juste que je dormais, c'est tout.

17)
Mais oh, attendez un instant. Il m'a raccroché au nez, dis donc.

18)
Hector me prend à part et me demande : « **Mais** c'est qui ? » Je dis : « C'est Vincent. »

19)
Non **mais** tu ne te rends pas compte. La difficulté du travail en France en ce moment.

20)
Le gendarme qui était avec eux a dit : « **Mais** c'est la SPA qu' il faut appeler ! »

[3] La traductologie slovène – sources et recherche

Les exemples de l'oralisation de l'écrit se distinguent du texte narratif aussi par leurs traductions où prédominent les marqueurs de l'oral slovènes *ampak*, *samo*, *no, pa*. Parmi les textes littéraires choisis pour le corpus, nous pouvons constater que l'oralisation est particulièrement fréquente dans la partie tirée du roman de J. Echnoz *Je m'en vais* (exemples (15), (16), (17), (20)).

La recherche dans le corpus FraSloK - SPOOK sur *alors* donne 1264 concordances. Ces résultats contiennent différentes valeurs, parmi lesquelles *alors que*, *alors* temporel, *alors* concessif, et 65 *alors* dans le rôle du marqueur discursif. Ce dernier apparait toujours en dialogue. La plus nombreuse est la construction figée de la phrase interrogative « Et alors? » qui apparaît 10 fois (exemple (22)). Nous citons quelques exemples de *alors* ci-dessous.

21)
Ça **alors** ! m'écriai-je.

Cet exemple est très intéressant pour sa forme qui montre la distinction entre l'oral tel qu'il est donné entre guillemets et le passé simple de la narration.

22)
Et alors, dit Martinov.

23)
– **Alors** ? Tu ne sais pas ?

Ces quelques exemples de l'oralisation de l'écrit entrent dans les dialogues qui présentent du 5 à 7% d'un ensemble romanesque narratif et descriptif ; dans le corpus FraSloK analysé les *mais* et de *alors* dialogaux correspondent aux constructions les plus fréquentes à l'oral spontané.

4 CONCLUSION

L'analyse a démontré que les trois corpus analysés ont donné des résultats tout à fait différents sur l'utilisation des marqueurs du discours *alors* et *mais*. L'hypothèse sur l'oralité et la fréquence des marqueurs discursifs a été confirmée : plus le discours est proche de l'oral, plus de marqueurs discursifs il présente. Les débats télévisés comportent un certain degré de spontanéité qui apparaît dans l'utilisation des marqueurs discursifs, surtout au début de l'intervention du locuteur. En revanche, les discours officiels présentent un bon exemple de littératie. Préparés d'avance, ces discours ne permettent aucun glissement vers l'oralité. Apparemment le marqueur discursif *alors* est trop lié avec l'oralité pour être utilisé dans les discours officiels. Aussi, en ce qui concerne *mais*, le contexte strict des valeurs logiques est pris en compte.

Il est intéressant que les exemples des dialogues littéraires présentaient aussi un certain degré de l'oralité communiquée à travers l'écrit. D'un côté fortement normalisés par l'orthographe et la ponctuation, les dialogues littéraires sont, de l'autre côté, la source intarissable de l'inclusion de l'oral à l'écrit.

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Résumé

LES MARQUERS DISCURSIFS « MAIS » ET « ALORS » EN TANT QU'INDICATEURS DU DEGRÉ DE L'ORALITÉ DANS LES DISCOURS OFFICIELS, LES DÉBATS TÉLÉVISÉS ET LES DIALOGUES LITTÉRAIRES

L'oral et l'écrit présentent, selon la définition de C. Blanche-Benveniste, deux mondes distincts d'expression. A l'époque contemporaine, les deux modes s'entremêlent. L'écrit influence l'oral dans les situation d'énonciation officielles ainsi que les situations du discours spontané tandis que l'oral entre dans la littérature et la presse. Ces deux situations sont expliquées par les notions de la littératie et de l'oralisation de l'écrit. Les marqueurs discursifs en tant qu'organisateurs de la pensée sont surtout fréquents à l'oral mais ils ont des équivalents en discours normé, écrit ou oral, à savoir des connecteurs présentant une forme homonyme mais une fonction différente. La position des marqueurs discursifs est surtout au début de l'énoncé. Au niveau de la normativité, les marqueurs discursifs sont souvent considérés comme redondants pour un discours bien structuré. De ce point de vue, ils peuvent présenter les indicateurs de l'oralité.

Dans le but de le prouver, nous avons analysé les positions et les valeurs des marqueurs discursifs « mais » et « alors » dans les débats télévisés, dans le discours officiels et dans les dialogues des romans français provenant d'un corpus parallèle français-slovène FraSloK.

Les corpus oraux ont été transcrits analysés manuellement en vue de déterminer la fréquence de ces marqueurs discursifs dans chacun des types du discours en question. L'analyse a démontré que plus le discours est proche de l'oral spontané, plus nombreux sont les marqueurs discursifs, et vice-versa : plus le discours est officiel, moins de marqueurs discursifs il présente. Les dialogues littéraires représentent un genre de discours intermédiaire.

Mots-clés : analyse de l'oral, situations d'énonciation, marqueurs discursifs, débats, discours officiel, oral écrit.

Povzetek

DISKURZIVNA ZAZNAMOVALCA « MAIS » IN « ALORS » KOT INDIKATORJA STOPNJE ORALIZACIJE V URADNIH GOVORIH, TELEVIZIJSKIH OKROGLIH MIZAH IN LITERARNIH DIALOGIH

Po definiciji C. Blanche-Benveniste predstavljata govorjeni jezik in zapisana beseda dva različna svetova. V sodobnem času se oba svetova prepletata. Zapisana beseda vpliva na govorjeni jezik v uradnih izrekanjskih položajih, pa tudi v spontanem govoru, govorjeni jezik pa vstopa v tiskana besedila in književnost. Ta dva položaja lahko pojasnimo s pojmoma « poknjiženje » in oralizacija pisnega jezika.

Zaznamovalci diskurza kot organizatorji misli so predvsem pogosti v govorjenem jeziku, običajno gre za obliko, ki ima svojo ustreznico tudi v povezovalcih, ki so njihovi homonimi v drugačni funkciji. Najpogostejši položaj diskurzivnih zaznamovalcev je na začetku izreka. Norma povezuje rabo zaznamovalcev z redundanco, ki ne spada v ustrezno tvorjen diskurz, zato so le-ti lahko pokazatelji nepripravljenega govora. Da bi to dokazali, smo analizirali položaj in vrednosti zaznamovlacev diskurza v televizijskih okroglih mizah, uradnih govorih ter dialogih francoskih romanov iz francosko-slovenskega vzporednega korpusa FraSloK.

Govorni korpusi so bili transkribirani in analizirani z vidika ugotavljanja frekventnosti in vrednosti diskurzivnih zaznamovalcev v vsakem od besedil. Analiza je pokazala, da bolj ko je besedilo blizu spontanemu govoru, več diskurzivnih zaznamovalcev vsebuje, in obratno: bolj je besedilo uradno, redkejši so diskurzivni zaznamovalci. S tega vidika imamo lahko literarne dialoge za vmesni tip med govorom in zapisom.

Ključne besede: analiza govorjenega jezika, izrekanjski položaj, diskurzivni zaznamovalci, uradni govor, zapisani govor.

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DIE DANKESREDE BEI DER PREISVERLEIHUNG

1 DAS EPIDEIKTISCHE GENRE

Thema dieser Arbeit sind die Charakteristika festlicher Dankesreden, die zum epideiktischen Genre zählen und die wesentlichsten Kennzeichen dieses Genres aufweisen. Das epideiktische Genre ist nach Aristoteles, und dann auch nach anderen antiken Rhetorikern, eines der drei Grundgenres des rhetorischen Diskurses. Die drei Grundarten der Rede in diesen drei Genres sind: die Prunkrede (griech. *génos epideiktikón*, lat. *genus demonstrativum*), die Gerichtsrede (griech. *génos dikanikón*, lat. *genus iudicale*) und die parlamentarische Beratungsrede (griech. *génos symbuleutikón*, lat. *genus deliberativum*), (Matuschek 1994: 1258). Diese Dreiteilung wurde gewonnen mit Hilfe der Kriterien Auditorium, Thema, Funktion, Ambiente, Sprachstil und Argumentation. Das Adjektiv *epideiktisch* rührt vom griechischen Wort *epideiknumi* her, was soviel bedeutet wie sagen, enthüllen, zeigen, darstellen, auslegen, sich wichtig tun (Too 2001: 251) und wurde über das Lateinische als *demonstrativ* übernommen. Aristoteles (I, 3.4) meint von epideiktischen Reden, im Unterschied zu parlamentarischen oder forensischen, sie seien auf die Gegenwart gemünzt, obwohl sie auch Erinnerungen aus der Vergangenheit evozieren oder an die Zukunft alludieren können. Als Haupteigenschaft epideiktischer Reden wird das Lob der Tugenden und der Schönheit angeführt, vor allem solcher Tugenden wie Gerechtigkeit, Tapferkeit, Mäßigung, Hochherzigheit, Freigebigkeit, Sanftmut, Einsicht und Weisheit (Aristoteles I, 9). Der Redner lobt oder tadelt Unternehmungen, Menschen, Reden, menschliche Qualitäten, indem er die Aufmerksamkeit auf Umstände, physische und charakterliche Eigenschaften lenkt. Aristoteles sieht das epideiktische Genre in direkter Nähe zum poetischen Stil und charakterisiert es deshalb als hohen Sprachstil voller Figuren. Das stilistische Verfahren, das für epideiktische Reden als spezifisch angesehen wird, ist die Steigerung (lat. *amplificatio*).

Das epideiktische Genre ist zur Ausführung bei festlichen Anlässen und unter elitären Umständen gedacht. Es ist tief verwurzelt im bürgerlichen Bewusstsein, sein

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Zweck ist es, allgemeines Wohlgefühl zu erzeugen und das Publikum zu unterhalten. Entstanden im antiken Griechenland und Rom, hat es sich im Laufe der Geschichte weiterentwickelt und seinen Höhepunkt in der Epoche nach dem Verschwinden der Polis erreicht. Im Mittelalter und danach in der Renaissance lebte das Genre in literarischen Formen und Kirchenpredigten wieder auf (Too 2001). In der modernen Gesellschaft begegnen wir ihm in politischen Reden und in der Sprache der Werbung. In der Rhetorikpädagogik ist die didaktische Bedeutung der Lobrede ebenfalls bekannt. Unter der didaktischen Rolle wird das Auswendiglernen einer Rede epideiktischen Charakters und das Verfassen neuer Reden nach diesem Modell verstanden.

Von den antiken Zeiten her bekannte Unterarten der epideiktischen Rede sind: *panegyricus* (Festrede), *enkomion* (Lobrede), *epinikion* (Siegeslob) und *epitaphios* (Leichenrede). In der griechischen und römischen Einteilung der rhetorischen Gattungen schließen diese Reden auch Lob- und Tadelreden mit ein, gelobt wird, was ehrenhaft ist (*laudare quod honestum*), getadelt, was schändlich ist (*vituperare quod turpe*). In der heutigen Zeit werden zumeist lobende Festreden als Repräsentanten des epideiktischen Genres bezeichnet. Da Festreden hauptsächlich an Zeremonien gebunden sind, werden sie in der zeitgenössischen Literatur als *zeremonielle Reden* (*ceremonial speeches*, Ulloth und Alderfer 1998) oder *Reden zu besonderen Gelegenheiten (speeches on special occasions,* Kelley 1980; Jaffe 1998; Mason 2003; Detz 2006; Lucas 2009) oder *besondere Reden* (*special speeches*, Fletcher 1996) bezeichnet. Condit (1985: 287) rechnet zu den Grundgattungen epideiktischer Rede Willkommensreden, Abschiedsreden, Widmungen, Promotionsreden, Jubiläumsreden, Vorstellungen und Inaugurationsreden. Als epideiktische Randgattungen bezeichnet sie Dankesreden bei Preisverleihungen, Eröffnungsreden auf Konferenzen, Wahlreden und Trinksprüche/Toasts.

Reisigl (2010) analysiert das epideiktische Genre mittels dreier politischer Rededimensionen als *polity, policy* und *politics. Polity* meint jene Dimension, die der Aufrechterhaltung einer Gesellschaftsordnung dient (z. B. Kommemorationsreden, Gedenkreden, Jubiläumsreden, Reden zu Jahrestagen, zeremonielle Ansprachen, Nekrologen, Dankesreden bei Preisverleihungen und Geburtstagsreden) und zur Gänze den Regeln des epideiktischen Genres folgt. *Policy* wäre die Dimension, die politische Aufgaben und Programme innerhalb einer Gesellschaftsordnung zum Zwecke ihrer Formierung definiert (z. B. Inaugurationsreden, Wirtschaftsreden, Reden beim Zurücklegen einer politischen Funktion). *Politics* ist jene Dimension, die sich auf politische Werbung und Gewinnung Gleichgesinnter mit dem Ziel der Eroberung der Macht bezieht, gemeint sind vor allem Wahlreden.

Festreden in der Antike hatten den Ruf nur dann nützlich zu sein, wenn sie zur Unterhaltung und Zerstreuung des Publikums beitrugen und Genuss bereiteten (lat. *delectationis causa*), sonst aber waren sie im öffentlichen Leben eher suspekt, zum Teil wegen ihrer Verbindungen mit den Sophisten, jener gesellschaftlichen Elite, die im antiken Griechenland als Klasse von Müßiggängern galt. Die Kritik des epideiktischen Diskurses reicht bis zu modernen Autoren, etwa Lausberg, der von der Rede als einer „Exhibition der Redekunst", der „Rede als Kunstmwerk" und von der Epideiktik als einem „rhetorischen l'art pour l'art" spricht (nach Matuschek 1994: 1258).

Celeste Michelle Condit (1985: 284) beschreibt die Funktionen des epideiktischen Genres mit Hilfe dreier Begriffspaare, bei denen der erste Begriff das rhetorische Verfahren bezeichnet und sich der zweite auf die Perzeption durch das Publikum bezieht: Definieren/Verstehen, Herstellen von/Teilnehmen an einer Gemeinschaft, Selbstdarstellung/Unterhaltung. Das erste Paar, Definieren/Verstehen, bezieht sich auf das Vermögen des epideiktischen Diskurses, Geschehen in der äußeren Welt zu erklären (Beispiele sind Promotionsreden, Kriegserklärungen oder Leichenreden). Das zweite Paar, Herstellen von/Teilnehmen an einer Gemeinschaft, bezieht sich auf die Zugehörigkeit zu einer Gemeinschaft und wird durch das Organisieren von Festveranstaltungen erzeugt, womit die Herausbildung und Aufrechterhaltung gesellschaftlicher Identität gefördert wird. Das Begriffspaar Selbstdarstellung/Unterhaltung meint unterschiedliche Funktionen epideiktischer Reden, die jahrhundertelang als Einzelfunktion verstanden wurden. Allerdings ist die Unterhaltungsfunktion nur eine von drei Funktionen, sie befriedigt das natürliche menschliche Bedürfnis nach Unterhaltung *(homo ludens).* Über Sinn und Wert epideiktischen Rednertums als Bestandteil von Festen und Feiern handeln zahlreiche in dem Band *Fest und Festrhetorik* vereinte Arbeiten, der 1999 von Joseph Kopperschmidt und Helmut Schnanze herausgegeben wurde. Kopperschmidt (1999) fasst die Hauptkennzeichen der Festrhetorik zusammen als „Zustimmung zur Welt“, „Affirmation bestehender Ordnung“, „Verzicht auf Reflexion“, „Aussetzen diskursiver Klärungs- und Entscheidungszwänge“ und befristetes „Aussetzen des Alltags“.

Perelman und Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969: 47–51) sehen den epideiktischen Diskurs innerhalb der Argumentation, wo er, obwohl er sich nicht mit dem Wahrheitsgrad einer Behauptung beschäftigt, als Unterstützung eines Arguments auf die Weise dient, dass er die Akzeptanz des Publikums von Werten, an die es bereits glaubt, intensiviert und damit die Fundamente verstärkt, auf denen politische und forensische Reden wirksam werden. Nach Quintilian birgt jedes rhetorische Genre in sich sowohl Lob als auch Tadel, und Michael McGee unterstreicht, dass es sich dabei nur um die Menge an Lob und Tadel handele, die in der epideiktischen Rede am meisten zu finden sei (Condit 1985: 285).

2 DANKESREDE

Diese Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit einer Unterart der epideiktischen Rede, die bei Preisverleihungen Verwendung findet, wenn der Preisträger seinen Preis entgegennimmt und sich dafür bedankt, also mit der Dankesrede (engl. *speech of acceptance*). Obwohl Dankesreden bei Preisverleihungen ein neueres Genre sind und wir zu ihnen keine schriftlichen Aufzeichnungen über eine lange Tradition besitzen, vor allem nicht aus antiker Zeit (Bremerich-Vos 1994: 406), gewinnt dieses kleine Genre infolge der Fernsehübertragung von Preisverleihungszeremonien zunehmend an Präsenz. Obwohl Dankesreden häufig sehr kurz sind, lassen sich in ihnen zahlreiche Charakteristika des epideiktischen Genres ausmachen.

Der prestigeträchtigste und vermutlich auch finanziell am höchsten ausgestattete Preis ist der Nobelpreis. Die Gewinner des Nobelpreises halten häufig Reden, die nicht nur Danksagungen sind, sondern längere Reden ernsten künstlerischen, wissenschaftlichen, wirtschaftlichen oder politischen Inhalts. In dieser Arbeit werden nur solche kurzen Dankesreden analysiert, die Teil von Zeremonien bei kroatischen Verleihungen von Preisen für besondere Leistungen auf den Gebieten Musik, Theater, Sport und Wirtschaft sind und *live* im Fernsehen übertragen werden. Dankesreden sind Teil einer Zeremonie, die ritualisiert ist und detailliert vorbereitet wird. Dankesreden sind das einzige Element der Zeremonie, das nicht von den Organisatoren kontrolliert wird, sondern zur Gänze vom Vermögen des jeweiligen Preisträgers abhängt und somit als Improvisation innerhalb des Ereignisses angesehen werden kann. Der Organisator gibt nur den zeitlichen Rahmen der Dankesrede vor (zumeist zwischen 30 bis 45 Sekunden), nur ausnahmsweise kann er größer sein, etwa im Falle eines Preises für das Lebenswerk. Personen, die einen Preis entgegennehmen, tun das in der Regel im eigenen Namen oder im Namen eines Teams oder einer Firma. Dankesreden bei der Verleihung des „Oscar“ sind infolge der langen Tradition der Fernsehübertragung (seit 1953 in den USA, seit 1969 international), wegen des grossen Publikumsinteresses (heutzutage ausgestrahlt in über 200 Ländern) und allgemein infolge der Attraktivität von Filmkunst und Glamour, zu einem Klischee geworden und werden vielfach als Musterreden nachgeahmt. Solche klischeisierten Formen geben Antwort auf einige wenige Schlüsselfragen: was ist das, was mit Glück erfüllt, was ist wahrhaftig, aufrichtig und interessant, um es mit dem Publikum zu teilen, und was wird überhaupt von dem Redner erwartet (Jones 2008: 72).

In dieser Arbeit werden wir analysieren, welche der Elemente, die von modernen Rhetorikhandbüchern für Festreden als gut und erwünscht empfohlen beziehungsweise als unerwünscht abgelehnt werden, in Dankesreden bei Preisverleihungen Verwendung finden. Die moderne rhetorische Praxis, wie sie uns in Ratschlaggebern in englischer Sprache entgegen tritt (Kelly 1980; Fletcher 1996; Carnegie 2005; Jones 2008; Lucas 2009; Montefiore 2010), fordert als gute und erwünschte Eigenschaften von Festreden Kürze, eleganten hohen Stil, der eine sorgfältige Wortwahl voraussetzt, Bildlichkeit und Humor (da eines der Kennzeichen von Gelegenheitsreden das Unterhaltende ist) und nicht zuletzt eine langsamere Ausführung. Einen besonders guten Eindruck hinterlassen eine Anekdote mit Pointe, ein fröhlicher und positiver Zugang (ohne Kritik, Polemik, Tadel), persönliche Auslassungen des Redners (wenn der Redner im eigenen Namen und aufrichtig spricht), Feinfühligkeit und Spontaneität (wenn die Rede, obwohl vorbereitet, klingt, als wäre sie in diesem Augenblick konzipiert worden).

Ziel dieser Untersuchung ist es festzustellen, welche Charakteristika am meisten zur Qualität festlicher Dankesreden beitragen. Festgestellt werden soll, inwieweit folgende Eigenschaften miteinander in Korrelation stehen: interessant, geistreich, hoher Sprachstil, feierlich, emotiv, persönlich, originell, bescheiden, vorbereitet und spontan. Wir hoffen, dass die Erkenntnisse, zu denen wir mit Hilfe dieser Untersuchung gelangen, in der rhetorischen und didaktischen, die Textsorte „Festreden“ betreffenden Praxis nutzbringend angewendet werden können.

3 METHODE

3.1 Korpus der gesprochenen Texte der Dankesrede

In der Arbeit werden textuelle und rethorische Ausführungselemente der Dankesrede bei kroatischen Preisverleihungen analysiert. Das Korpus der gesprochenen Texte bilden TV-Mitschnitte von Dankesreden bei Preisverleihungen in den vergangenen sieben Jahren, die nach dem Zufallsprinzip ausgewählt wurden: Preis des Kroatischen Schauspielwesens[1] (2011), Sportpreis des Kroatischen Olympischen Komitees (2005), Diskografie-Preis „Porin“[2] (2006), Preis für Fernsehschaffende „Večernjakov ekran“[3] (2007) und Wirtschaftspreis „Zlatna kuna“[4] (für 2010) sowie Aufnahmen von der Verleihung des Literaturpreises „Književna nagrada Roman@tportal.hr“[5] (für 2011). Die Anzahl der Preiskategorien bei diesen Manifestationen schwankt: von 51 Kategorien beim Musikpreis „Porin“, über 30 Kategorien beim Theaterpreis, 16 Kategorien beim Sportpreis, 16 Kategorien beim Preis der Fernsehschaffenden, 7 Kategorien beim Wirtschaftspreises und bis zu einer Kategorie beim Literaturpreis.

Die Mehrzahl der Preisträger übernimmt bei Zeremonie der Preisverleihung den Preis persönlich und nimmt die Gelegenheit wahr, sich öffentlich zu bedanken. Bei den zur Analyse herangezogenen Zeremonien wurden mehr als 100 Dankesreden gehalten, von denen gemäß dem Kriterium der Repräsentanz aller in einer Dankesrede erwünschten und unerwünschten Charakteristika für die weitere Analyse und Bewertung 30 Reden ausgewählt wurden.

Auf der Grundlage von Videoaufzeichnungen (.avi) wurden die Reden aus dem Kontext herausgeschnitten (ohne Ankündigung des Moderators, musikalische Einleitung, Beifall u. ä.) und wurden die Videoausschnitte in das Format (.wav) umgewandelt, das nur Ton enthält. Auf diese Weise wurde der Einfluss visueller Informationen auf die Bewertenden ausgeschlossen, sodass die Bewertung der Reden ausschließlich auf Informationen beruht, die die Reden selbst beziehungsweise ihre textuelle und lautliche Schicht enthalten. Die Reden wurden den Bewertenden in zufälliger Reihenfolge ohne Informationen zur Art des Preises und zum Namen des Preisträgers präsentiert. Die ausgewählten Dankesreden haben eine durchschnittliche Dauer von 54 Sekunden (in einer Spannweite von 6 bis 132 Sekunden). Alle Reden wurden in kroatischer Sprache gehalten (größtenteils in der Standardvarietät, von einigen Rednern mit starken Dialektmerkmalen).

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[1] Verliehen vom Kroatischen Schauspielerverband für künstlerische Leistungen auf den Gebieten Theater, Radio, Fernsehen, Musik, Ballett und Tanz.

[2] Gemeinsam verliehen von der Kroatischen diskografischen Union (HDU), von der Kroatischen Musikerunion (HGU), vom Kroatischen Komponistenverband (HDS) und vom Kroatischen Radio und Fernsehen (HRT).

[3] Verliehen von der Tageszeitung „Večernji list“.

[4] Verliehen von der Kroatischen Wirtschaftskammer.

[5] Verliehen von der Kroatischen Telekom über ein Internetportal.

3.2 Hörer – Bewertende

Das derart vorbereitete Klangmaterial (30 Reden) wurde von insgesamt 36 Bewertenden gehört. Bewertende waren Studenten der Phonetik an der Philosophischen Fakultät in Zagreb, im durchschnittlichen Alter von 22 (in einer Spannweite von 18 bis 35 Jahren), überwiegend weiblichen Geschlechts (92 % Frauen, 8 % Männer). Muttersprache aller Bewertenden ist die kroatische Sprache. Die Teilnehmer wurden für ihre Mitwirkung am Experiment nicht bezahlt. Ein Mangel dieser Gruppe ist darin zu sehen, dass die Bewertenden sehr jung und überwiegend weiblichen Geschlechts sind, dass alle im System der Hochbildung in den Humanistischen Wissenschaften verortet sind und dass ca. die Hälfte von ihnen über ein Grundwissen in Rhetorik verfügt. Ein Vorteil dieses Modells ist es, dass die Bewertenden sehr sensibel sind für den sprachlichen und rhetorischen Ausdruck und besonders kritisch im Bereich von Orthoepie und Stimme. Einerseits könnte die Kenntnis rhetorischer Regeln die spontane Perzeption öffentlicher Reden hindern, andererseits erleichtert sie die Verbalisierung der Wertung, warum den Hörern eine Rede gefällt oder nicht. Die Wertung der Perzeption wurde im April 2012 durchgeführt.

3.3 Fragebogen zur Bewertung der Dankesrede

Die Bewertenden hatten für jede einzelne Rede einen Fragebogen auszufüllen, der aus insgesamt 12 Rubriken bestand, wobei in 10 Fällen Wertungen auf einer Skala von 1 bis 5 vorgenommen werden sollten (wobei 1 eine unerwünschte Eigenschaft und 5 eine erwünschte Eigenschaft bezeichnete) und in zwei Fällen offene Fragen zu beantworten waren. Die ersten 10 Rubriken bezeichneten Kategorien, die Eigenschaften des Textes und der rhetorischen Ausführung beschreiben und die in den Handbüchern als erwünschte oder unerwünschte Eigenschaften von Festreden angeführt werden:

1. langweilig – interessant,
2. humorlos – humorvoll, geistreich,
3. niedriger Sprachstil – hoher Sprachstil,
4. gewöhnlich – festlich,
5. unoriginell – originell,
6. wichtigtuerisch – bescheiden,
7. kalt – emotional,
8. unpersönlich – persönlich,
9. unvorbereiteter Text – vorbereiteter Text,
10. nicht spontane, „geschauspielerte“ Ausführung – spontane, natürliche Ausführung.

Die letzten beiden Teile sind offene Fragen:

11. Was gefällt Ihnen an der Rede?
12. Was gefällt Ihnen an der Rede nicht?

4 ERGEBNISSE UND DISKUSSION

Die Ergebnisse der Perzeptionswertung sind in zwei Tabellen dargestellt. In Tabelle 1 sind die Resultate der Wertung der ausgewählten Dankesreden in zehn analysierten Eigenschaften sowie der Gesamtnotendurchschnitt nach Rednern und anhand der Eigenschaften dargestellt. In Tabelle 2 werden die Korrelationskoeffizienten (r) zwischen zehn bewerteten Eigenschaften der Dankesrede wiedergegeben. Wenn die gewonnenen Durchschnittswerte zum Wert 1 tendierten, wurden sie als das Vorhandensein unerwünschter Eigenschaften interpretiert, die eine Rede schlechter Qualität ausmachen, je mehr sie sich der höchsten Wertung 5 näherten, als gewünschte Eigenschaften, die eine Rede höherer Qualität ausmachen.

Die Ergebnisse zeigen (s. Tabelle 1), dass der allgemeine Durchschnittswert des Eindrucks, den festliche Dankesreden machen, 3,11 beträgt und dass sich alle analysierten Reden nahe an diesem Durchschnitt befinden, die am schlechtesten bewertete Rede (Čačić – Note 2,56) liegt nur einen halben Punkt unter dem Durchschnitt, die am besten bewertete Rede (Stipišić – Note 3,84) liegt um weniger als einen Punkt über dem Durchschnitt. Aus der Untersuchung, welche erwünschten Eigenschaften von Dankesreden in einzelnen Reden präsent sind (zu diesem Punkt definieren wir, dass ein Durchschnittswert von 4,00 und mehr auf hohe Präsenz der erwünschten Eigenschaft hinweist) ersehen wir, dass die Reden eine Fülle an Persönlichem enthalten (insgesamt 12 Reden) und dass sie häufig Vorbereitung erkennen lassen. Nur ein Viertel der analysierten Reden zeigen eine großen Anteil an Emotivität (7 Reden) und Spontaneität (6 Reden). Eine sehr geringe Anzahl Reden wurde als originell (3), interessant (3), in hohem Sprachstil (2) und feierlich (2) perzipiert. Nur eine Rede wurde als sehr geistreich wahrgenommen, und keine einzige war unbescheiden.

	Eigenschaften, die in festlichen Dankesreden bewertet wurden (Mittelwerte)										
Redner (Gebiet des Preises)	1. inter essant	2. humor voll	3. hoher Sprach stil	4. fest-lich	5. origi-nell	6. be-schei den	7. emo-tional	8. per-sön-lich	9. vor-be-reitet	10. spon-tan	**Insge-samt**
Lj. Stipišić - Delmata (Musik)	3.58	2.68	4.33	4.49	4.25	3.63	4.15	4.08	4.29	2.91	**3,84**
J. Miholjević (Schauspiel)	3.83	3.75	3.50	3.33	4.06	3.56	4.31	4.36	3.50	3.69	**3,79**
A. Blaće (TV)	4.00	3.86	3.03	2.81	3.97	3.78	4.25	4.42	2.81	4.03	**3,69**
G. Novak (Musik)	3.36	2.50	3.97	3.97	3.49	3.42	4.08	4.17	4.08	3.23	**3,63**
S. Svilan (TV)	4.06	4.31	2.94	2.94	4.39	2.94	3.49	3.67	4.08	3.19	**3,60**
P. Dugandžić (Schauspiel)	3.83	3.00	3.25	3.22	3.86	3.33	4.03	4.25	3.00	3.92	**3,57**
J. Barbić (Wirtschaft)	3.44	2.64	4.11	4.22	3.61	2.51	3.36	4.03	4.50	2.72	**3,52**
S. Barišić - Gego (Musik)	3.72	3.44	1.97	2.25	3.72	3.43	4.44	4.31	2.06	4.50	**3,38**
L. Goluža (TV)	3.37	3.08	2.86	2.67	3.47	3.39	3.69	4.00	3.17	3.58	**3,33**
N. Puttar Gold (Schauspiel)	2.77	2.19	3.50	3.83	2.97	3.31	3.83	4.03	4.06	2.83	**3,33**
O. Dragojević (Musik)	3.28	3.03	2.72	3.00	3.56	3.14	3.75	4.17	2.83	3.77	**3,32**

	Eigenschaften, die in festlichen Dankesreden bewertet wurden (Mittelwerte)										
Redner (Gebiet des Preises)	1. inter essant	2. humor voll	3. hoher Sprach stil	4. fest-lich	5. origi-nell	6. be-schei den	7. emo-tional	8. per-sön-lich	9. vor-be-reitet	10. spon-tan	**Insge-samt**
G. Milić (TV)	3.08	2.83	3.08	2.81	3.00	3.67	2.94	3.44	3.17	3.58	**3,16**
F. Križan (Schauspiel)	3.39	3.00	2.44	2.44	2.74	3.72	3.75	3.64	2.17	4.06	**3,13**
B. Vukšić (TV)	3.11	2.97	2.86	2.86	3.06	2.36	3.22	3.72	3.19	3.36	**3,07**
T. Cetinski (Musik)	3.28	2.92	2.33	2.31	3.11	3.11	3.50	3.69	2.64	3.61	**3,05**
T. Rosandić (Schauspiel)	2.64	2.06	2.31	2.14	2.31	3.89	4.36	4.06	1.31	4.58	**2,96**
V. Rogošić (Sport)	2.53	2.27	2.66	2.92	3.03	1.78	3.44	4.00	3.97	2.72	**2,93**
Z. Srebrić (Sport)	2.17	1.83	3.69	3.97	2.39	2.74	2.94	2.72	4.58	2.17	**2,92**
O. Savičević Ivančević (Literatur)	2.54	2.42	2.28	2.47	3.15	3.20	3.17	3.50	2.42	3.69	**2,88**
H.Hasanfendić i A. Rahimovski (Musik)	3.06	2.53	2.36	2.19	3.00	2.78	3.50	3.44	1.67	4.19	**2,87**
Vertreter der Kroat. Tischtennis-mannschaft (Sport)	2.29	1.78	2.94	3.08	2.58	3.14	3.14	3.24	3.61	2.94	**2,87**
B. Galić (Wirtschaft)	2.39	1.83	3.56	3.83	2.36	2.67	2.69	2.50	4.61	2.25	**2,87**
A. Mandić (Wirtschaft)	2.39	2.47	3.00	3.06	2.67	2.81	2.61	2.78	4.11	2.56	**2,84**
Mitglied der Gruppe Leut Magnetic (Musik)	2.56	2.31	1.83	1.89	2.72	3.72	3.42	3.39	1.47	4.64	**2,79**
D. Žmak (Sport)	2.78	2.42	2.11	1.92	2.83	2.63	3.14	3.71	2.08	3.81	**2,74**
D. Vranić (Wirtschaft)	1.78	1.36	3.37	3.75	2.17	2.86	2.39	2.67	4.66	2.00	**2,70**
Š. Fontela i I. Marinić (Sport)	2.43	1.92	2.33	2.31	2.22	3.53	2.97	2.92	2.56	3.75	**2,69**
P. Radaković (Wirtschaft)	1.92	1.40	3.72	3.64	2.17	2.77	2.26	2.22	4.42	2.19	**2,67**
Z. Viduka (Wirtschaft)	2.00	1.44	3.56	3.44	2.08	2.22	2.19	2.33	4.61	1.97	**2,59**
R. Čačić (Sport)	1.78	1.43	3.00	3.03	2.00	2.42	2.69	2.89	4.25	2.09	**2,56**
Wertungsdurchschnitt nach Eigenschaften	**2.91**	**2.52**	**2.99**	**3.03**	**3.03**	**3.08**	**3.39**	**3.54**	**3.33**	**3.29**	3,11

Tabelle 1: Wertung der Eigenschaften festlicher Dankesreden (36 Bewertende)
(Die Reden sind rangiert in absteigender Bewertung entsprechend der Gesamtnote.)

Eine der Grundfragen, auf die wir in dieser Arbeit eine Antwort gesucht haben, ist, welche Eigenschaften es sind, die eine festliche Dankesrede in der Hörerwertung als ausgesprochen gut und welche Eigenschaften sie als ausgesprochen schlecht erscheinen lassen. Analysieren wir einige der am besten bewerteten Reden (s. Tabelle 1), sehen wir, dass diese Reden ausgesprochen emotiv und persönlich sind und dass sie im großen Ausmaß mindestens zwei weitere erwünschte Charakteristika aufweisen, als da sind hoher Sprachstil, Feierlichkeit, Spontaneität, Originalität und die Merkmale interessant und geistreich. Außer dass sie die Quantität der Expression der einzelnen Eigenschaften bewerteten, notierten die Hörer Eigenschaften, die ihnen besonders gefielen, am häufigsten *Aufrichtigkeit, aufrichtiger Dank, Gelöstheit, Natürlichkeit* und *Spontaneität.* Neben diesen Eigenschaften notierten die Hörer häufig, dass ihnen folgendes gefallen habe: *sympathische Wirkung des Redners, Optimisus, Heiterkeit, Lächeln, Wärme, Ausstrahlung von Ruhe, Nähe.* Der Sprachstil wurde ebenfalls wertend zur Kenntnis genommen und notiert. Gefallen haben *Wortwahl, Figuralität, Metaphern, Gehobenheit* u. ä. (zum Beispiel „vereinen Sie die Hände", „preisgekrönt für seine Fußstapfen", „Junioren des dritten Lebensabschnittes", „Papa dieses Preises"). An guten Eigenschaften wurde von den Hörern angeführt: *Emotion, Kürze, Klarheit, Einfachheit, Dankbarkeit, Würdigung der Konkurrenz, Widmung des Preises an jemanden* und *wohldosierter Humor,* besonders *ein Scherz auf eigene Kosten* und *effektvoller Schluss (Pointe am Schluss der Rede).* Da die Bewertenden ausschließlich Studenten der Phonetik waren, wurden als beim Redner geschätzte Eigenschaften sehr oft die Stimme (*schöne Stimme, angenehme Stimme, warme Stimme*), die gute *Diktion* und der hochsprachliche Standard (*Standardaussprache, kein Dialekt bemerkbar, Vier-Akzente-System*) angeführt.

Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass geistreicher Stil eine Eigenschaft ist, die am schwersten zu realisieren ist. Das bestätigen auch die Ergebnisse der Untersuchungen von Einleitungsteilen zu Reden unterschiedlicher Genres, in denen auf einer Skala von 1 bis 7 geistreicher Stil als die am schlechtesten bewertete Eigenschaft figuriert, Durchschnitt 2,50 (Vlašić i Pletikos 2006: 12). Trotzdem bekommt das Geistreiche in der festlichen Dankesrede (mit der Höchstnote 5) die Wertung 2,52, was als ein bedeutend höherer Durchschnitt anzusehen ist und bedeutet, dass geistreicher Stil in Festreden durchschnittlich stärker vertreten ist als in sonstigen Genres. Was machte die Rede von S. Svilan bei der Verleihung des Preises „Večernjakov ekran" geistreich, und damit auch interessant und originell? In der Funktion eines Programmdirektors des Senders Nova TV nahm Svilan den Preis entgegen, den die Schauspielerin J. Đokić bekommen hatte, und begann seine Rede mit einem Scherz auf eigene Kosten: „Es wurde behauptet, ich sei feminisiert, aber eine Frau bin ich doch noch nicht." Den Dank gestaltete er mit der Ankündigung einer Vierteilung: „Erlauben Sie mir, vier Mal danke zu sagen", wobei der letzte Dank ironisch formuliert war: „und viertens ein Dank an das Kroatische Fernsehen, das mir folgendes ermöglich hat: ZAHLEN SIE HTV, SEHEN SIE NOVA TV". Dass solche Art Ironie auf dieser Festveranstaltung als unangebracht empfunden wurde, war an der Musik zu hören, die in dem Moment einsetzte und stärker wurde, als Svilan seine Kritik äußerte (Zahlen Sie HTV), und an den kritischen Kommentaren der nachfolgenden Redner. Obwohl er auf Ironie fußte, hatte den von der Kritik nicht betroffenen Hörern Svilans Sinn für Humor gefallen.

Nehmen wir die vier Reden mit dem schlechtesten Wertungsdurchschnitt (2,4 bis 2,5) von der Analyse aus, gelangen wir zu der Feststellung, dass alle Reden sehr gut vorbereitet waren (durchschnittlich 4,2 bis 4,6). Untersuchen wir die Antworten auf die Frage, was den Hörern in diesen Reden ausdrücklich nicht gefällt, kommen wir zu folgenden Merkmalen: *Kühle, Unaufrichtigkeit, fehlende Spontaneität, geheuchelt klingend, gespielt;* danach folgen die Eigenschaften *formelhaft, zu offiziell, verklemmt, ge-*

zwungen. Diese Merkmale sind oft mit folgenden Eigenschaften verbunden: *Monotonie, Einförmigkeit, Gleichgültigkeit, heruntergelesen, flach, ausdruckslos, langweilig* und *zu langsam.* Eigenschaften, die bei den vier schlechtesten Reden den Hörern nicht gefallen, sind *Aufschneiderei, Prahlerei.* Da die Bewertenden durchwegs Phonetiker sind, führen sie als schlechte Merkmale an: *falscher Akzent, hörbares Atmen, Sigmatismus* und *keine flüssige Rede, leichtes Stottern, zu viele Pausen, zu langsames Tempo.* Diese unerwünschten Eigenschaften werden natürlich auch bei zahlreichen anderen Reden angeführt, zusätzlich sind aber auch folgende Eigenschaften unerwünscht: *Unvorbereitetheit; zu lange Rede,* dann auch *Kürze; zu persönlich,* oder auch *zu unpersönlich, mangelnde Emotionen;* dann wieder *Undeutlichkeit, Unlogik, Verwirrtheit, arroganter Ton, Lustlosigkeit*, schließlich auch *Affektiertheit.* Unerwünscht sind Kennzeichen schlechter Aussprache: *Unverständlichkeit, schlechte Diktion, Synkopieren, Vokalreduktion, Sprachfehler* sowie Merkmale schlechter Stimme: *heisere Stimme, dysphonische Stimme, Nasalität, Raucherstimme, rauhe Stimme, Alterstremolo.* Als am meisten unerwünschte Eigenschaft der sprachlichen Expression führen die Hörer an: *Dialektalität,* schreiben sogar die Bemerkung *die Dalmatiner bemühen sich nicht Hochkroatisch zu sprechen.* Als unerwünschte stilistische Merkmale werden erwähnt: *niedriger Sprachstil, Gewöhnlichkeit, Jargonismen, Archaismen, Füllwörter, Grammatikfehler, abgegriffene oder phrasenhafte Ausdrucksweise („Bretter, die die Welt* – im Kroatischen: *das Leben – bedeuten“).*

Aus dieser Analyse können wir den Schluss ziehen, dass einige Eigenschaften sowohl erwünscht als auch unerwünscht sein können, z. B. Dialekt, Persönliches und Kürze. Die Verwendung von Dialekt ist erwünscht, weil sie zur Authentizität, Nähe und Personalität, zu einem ungewöhnlichen Sprachstil beiträgt und die Aufrichtigkeit der Emotion zeigt. Als emotionalste Rede eingestuft wurde die Dankesrede des Gewinners des Musikpreises „Porin“ Stipe Barišić von der Gruppe *Gego i picigin band*, der nicht nur erkennbar glücklich, überrascht, atemlos und ausdrucksvoll wirkte, sondern in seiner Rede auch Standardsprache und seinen eigenen tschakavischen Dialekt von der Insel Hvar mischte.[6] Andererseits wurde von den Bewertenden Dialektsprache häufig als nicht willkommene Eigenschaft benannt.

[6] Transkription der Rede, Dialektausdrücke in Kursiv: „Hvala Osijek, šta drugo *da van rečen, fola lipa Osijek, fola mojin piciginima,* (hörbares Atmen) bilo je naporno (hörbares Atmen), *fola* mome rodnom Hvaru i hvala svim dobrim ljudima, naravno i Aquarijusu, pardon, *i fala Bogu, moli son Boga cilin puten do vamo.*“

	interes-sant	humor-voll	hoher Sprachstil	fest-lich	origi-nell	beschei-den	emo-tional	persön-lich	vorbe-reitet	spon-tan
interessant	1	0.70	0.19	0.16	0.68	0.21	0.55	0.51	-0.06	0.30
humorvoll	0.70	1	0.07	0.09	0.61	0.19	0.45	0.45	-0.02	0.25
hoher Sprachstil	0.19	0.07	1	0.68	0.25	0.00	0.06	0.09	0.47	-0.28
festlich	0.16	0.09	0.68	1	0.27	-0.04	0.07	0.09	0.52	-0.32
originell	0.68	0.61	0.25	0.27	1	0.23	0.47	0.52	0.03	0.22
bescheiden	0.21	0.19	0.00	-0.04	0.23	1	0.34	0.24	-0.22	0.35
emotional	0.55	0.45	0.06	0.07	0.47	0.34	1	0.68	-0.18	0.39
persönlich	0.51	0.45	0.09	0.09	0.52	0.24	0.68	1	-0.12	0.35
vorbereitet	-0.06	-0.02	0.47	0.52	0.03	-0.22	-0.18	-0.12	1	-0.67
spontan	0.30	0.25	-0.28	-0.32	0.22	0.35	0.39	0.35	-0.67	1

Tabelle 2: Korrelationskoeffizienten (r) zwischen zehn bewerteten Eigenschaften der Dankesrede.

In der Analyse der Verbindung von zehn bewerteten Eigenschaften auf Grund des Korrelationskoeffizienten (r) (s. Tabelle 2) zeigt sich, dass die Eigenschaft des Festlichen als tatsächlich wesentlich nur in Verbindung mit einer Rede eingestuft wird, die sprachlich hochstilistisch wahrgenommen wird (r = 0,68), wobei beide Charakteristika die einzigen Eigenschaften sind, die wesentlich mit der Vorbereitetheit des Textes korrelieren. Die Interessantheit einer Rede wird im Wesentlichen mit der Eigenschaft des Geistreichen (r = 0,70), des Originellen (r = 0,68), des Emotionalen (r = 0,55) und des Persönlichen (r = 0,51) in Verbindung gebracht. Wir können den Schluss ziehen, dass die besten Festreden Eigenschaften haben, die schwer miteinander zu verbinden sind, d. h. dass Reden, sollen sie interessant sein, zugleich geistreich und originell zu sein haben, dass sie, sollen sie festlichen Charakter haben, einen hohen Sprachstil pflegen müssen – was bedeutet, dass sie gut vorbereitet sein müssen –, und dass sie, sollen sie emotionell sein, sehr persönlich und spontan zu sein haben – was das Gegenteil ist von gut vorbereitet.

Zu den sechs am besten bewerteten Reden zählen die Reden aus dem Gebiet Musik (2), Schauspielkunst (2) und Fernsehen (2), während unter die sechs am schlechtesten bewerteten Reden die von Sportlern[7] (3) und Wirtschaftsleuten (3) fallen. Obwohl das Muster der analysierten Reden weder umfangreich noch repräsentativ ist, lässt sich doch der Schluss ziehen, dass Redner, die in der Öffentlichkeit exponierter sind und

7 Unter den Rednern aus dem Bereich Sport war auch der Politiker und Wirtschaftler R. Čačić, der als Präsident des Kroatischen Tennisverbandes im Namen der Kroatischen Nationalmannschaft sprach.

mehr Erfahrungen mit Bühnenauftritten haben, geschickter im Verfassen und Ausführen von Festreden sind als Redner, deren primäres Wirkungsgebiet in Sport oder Wirtschaft liegen.

5 SCHLUSSFOLGERUNG

Festliche Dankesreden bei Preisverleihungen sind eine kleine Randgattung innerhalb des epideiktischen Genres. Trotz ihrer Kürze sind sie von Wichtigkeit, denn sie sind ein Teil der Zeremonie, die das Fernsehen überträgt, womit die Feier zu Ehren eines Preisträgers ein öffentliches Ereignis und die Preisträger selbst öffentliche Redner werden. Obwohl die Hauptbedeutung des epideiktischen Genres und damit auch von Dankesreden in ihrem Unterhaltungswert liegt, gehören sie zum rhetorischen Diskurs und haben Überzeugungsfunktion (sie werben für ein preisgekröntes Werk) und Bildungs- und Erziehungsfunktion (Hervorhebung menschlicher Tugenden). Sowohl bekannte als auch unbekannte Menschen, die den Preis im eigenen Namen oder im Namen einer Gruppe (Team, Firma u. ä.) entgegennehmen, formieren mit ihrem Kurzauftritt ihr Ethos als öffentliche Redner. Auf Grund der empirischen Untersuchung mit Analyse und Wertung der Aufnahmen von Dankesreden zu unterschiedlichen Anlässen wie der Verleihung kroatischer Preise für Leistungen auf den Gebieten Sport, Musik, Schauspiel, Fernsehen, Wirtschaft und Literatur wurde festgestellt, dass zur Qualität einer festlichen Dankesrede alle Elemente beitragen, die von den rhetorischen Handbüchern beschrieben und empfohlen werden: Eine solche Rede soll emotional, spontan, persönlich, originell, bescheiden, von hohem Sprachstil und geistreich sein. Allerdings wurden im analysierten Korpus in keiner einzigen Rede alle gewünschten Elemente gleichzeitig angetroffen. Gute Festreden weisen darüber hinaus auch andere Eigenschaften auf, die von den Hörern in einigen analysierten Reden wiedererkannt und für erwünscht erklärt wurden, und zwar: Aufrichtigkeit, Wärme, Optimismus, Natürlichkeit, Lockerheit, angenehme Stimme und die Bewertung des Redners selbst als guten Menschen. Schlecht bewertete Reden sind solche, denen die gegenteiligen Eigenschaften zugeschrieben werden, und zwar: Mangel an Emotion, Kälte, Unpersönlichkeit, Mangel an Humor, Gewöhnlichkeit, Unoriginalität und niedriger Sprachstil. Unerwünschte Eigenschaften von Festreden, deretwegen manche Dankesreden bei den Bewertern keinen Gefallen fanden, sind vor allem Monotonie, Unaufrichtigkeit, Indifferenz, allzu große Formalität, Gehemmtheit und Eigenlob. Eigenschaften wie Sprechen im Dialekt, Kürze und betont Persönliches können sowohl als erwünscht wie auch als unerwünscht wahrgenommen werden. Wir können den Schluss ziehen, dass die besten Dankesreden Eigenschaften haben, die schwer miteinander zu verbinden sind: einerseits soll der Text vorbereitet sein (Wortwahl, Figuren, Originalität der Geschichte, Humor), andererseits wird bei der Ausführung Spontaneität (Aufrichtigkeit, Emotionalität, Persönlichkeit) erwartet.

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Abstract

DIE DANKESREDE BEI DER PREISVERLEIHUNG

Festliche Preisverleihungen sind Gelegenheiten, bei denen von den Preisträgern eine kurze Rede erwartet wird. Obwohl die Dankesrede eine kleinere Randgattung innerhalb des epideiktischen Genres ist, steht sie im Mittelpunkt des Ereignisses. Rhetorikhandbücher geben zahlreiche Ratschläge, wie eine gute Festrede vorbereitet werden soll, um zu unterhalten, zu bewegen und zu belehren. Ziel dieser Untersuchung ist es festzustellen, welche Eigenschaften der Dankesrede die Zuhörer als erwünscht oder unerwünscht wahrnehmen und welche Charakteristika am meisten zur Qualität festlicher Dankesreden beitragen. Das Korpus der gesprochenen Texte bilden 30 Dankesreden anlässlich kroatischer Preisverleihungen in den Bereichen Schauspiel, Sport, Musik, Fernsehen, Literatur und Wirtschaft. Die Audio-Aufnahmen der Dankesreden wurden einer Gruppe von Hörern zur Bewertung in folgenden Kategorien vorgelegt: interessant, geistreich, hoher Sprachstil, feierlich, emotiv, persönlich, originell, bescheiden, vorbereitet und spontan. Zusätzlich wurde zu jeder Rede die offene Frage gestellt, was dem Zuhörer an der Rede gefallen oder nicht gefallen habe. Die Resultate der Perzeptionsanalye lassen erkennen, dass die Interessantheit einer Rede mit der Eigenschaft des Geistreichen, des Originellen, des Emotionalen und des Persönlichen in Verbindung gebracht wird und die Eigenschaft des Festlichen im Wesentlichen nur mit dem hohen Sprachstil und der Vorbereitetheit des Textes korreliert. Einige Eigenschaften können sowohl erwünscht als auch unerwünscht sein, z. B. Dialekt, Persönliches und Kürze. Die besten Dankesreden haben Eigenschaften, die im Grunde schwer miteinander zu verbinden sind: Einerseits soll der Text vorbereitet sein (hoher Stil, Wortwahl, Figuren, Originalität der Geschichte, Humor), andererseits wird bei der Ausführung Spontaneität (Aufrichtigkeit, Emotionalität, Persönlichkeit) erwartet.

Schlüsselwörter: Rhetorik, Epideiktik, Dankesrede, Festrede, Stil.

Povzetek

SLOVESNI ZAHVALNI GOVORI

Na svečanih podelitvah nagrad se od nagrajencev pričakuje kratek zahvalni govor. Čeprav gre za kratko, skoraj obrobno retorično zvrst, je ta tip besedila vedno v središču pozornosti. V retoričnih priročnikih najdemo številne napotke, kako pripraviti dober govor, ki bo zabaven, ganljiv in poučen. Cilj pričujoče raziskave pa je ugotoviti, katere prvine zahvalnih govorov naslovniki dejansko zaznavajo kot želene in neželene ter katere izmed teh lastnosti največ prispevajo h kakovosti govora. Korpus proučevanih govorjenih besedil je sestavljen iz 30 izbranih zahvalnih govorov s hrvaških podelitev nagrad za igro, šport, glasbo, televizijo, književnost in gospodarstvo. Zvočne posnetke govorov smo predvajali skupini poslušalcev, ki so jih ocenili z naslednjimi kategorijami: zanimiv, duhovit, visokega jezikovnega sloga, slovesen, čustven, oseben, izviren, skromen, pripravljen in spontan, odgovorili pa so tudi na odprto vprašanje, zakaj jim je govor všeč oziroma zakaj ne. Rezultati kažejo, da k zanimivosti govora znatno prispevajo duhovitost, izvirnost, čustvenost in oseben pristop, slovesnost govora pa tvorita visok jezikovni slog in vnaprejšnja pripravljenost besedila. Pa vendar lahko pri najbolje ocenjenih govorih opazimo nekatere težko združljive prvine: po eni strani jih zaznamujejo lastnosti, ki so lahko tako želene ali neželene (osebni pristop, dialektalnost, zgoščenost, pripravljenost, visok slog, izvirnost, humor), po drugi strani pa naslovniki cenijo spontanost izvedbe (iskrenost, emotivnost, osebni slog).

Ključne besede: retorika, epideiktična zvrst, zahvalni govori, slovesni govori, slog.

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MOVING BEYOND T/V PRONOUNS OF POWER AND SOLIDARITY IN INTERACTION: PERSIAN AGREEMENT MISMATCH CONSTRUCTION

1 INTRODUCTION

Address forms contribute significantly to the marking of social relations and are thus crucial to the building and maintenance of human relationships. To date there has been limited research on how politeness is constructed in face-to-face interaction with variations in Persian address pronouns. This work aims to extend some existing research that has been conducted on the functionality of pronominal forms (Clyne et al. 2003) and the indexicality of pronouns' social meaning (Silverstein 2003).

The address pronouns will be examined by considering the concept of interface within politeness theory and interactional sociolinguistics (Brown/Levinson 1987; Gumperz 1982). Moreover, to determine how the address pronoun variation patterns index politeness, Ochs's (1992) notion of indexicality is applied. Thus, by examining the distribution of the second person pronouns *to/šoma* alongside other linguistic features such as enclitics and titles, a new path in the study of politeness theory and research in Persian address pronouns (i.e. a pro-drop language) is introduced.

2 BACKGROUND

In classical studies of address form research it is widely believed (Brown/Gilman 1960) that the choice of linguistic forms is determined by the formality of context and the relationship between interlocutors in a speech event. In sociolinguistics, a T/V distinction describes the situation where a language has second person pronouns that distinguish varying levels of politeness, social distance, courtesy, familiarity, or insult toward the addressee. Brown and Gilman (1960) suggested that the use of the familiar pronoun T and deferential pronoun V in European languages were governed by two forces: power and solidarity. It is argued that solidarity is mostly expressed in reciprocal use of either the T or the V pronoun, while power is expressed in non-reciprocal use of pronouns between the more and less powerful in communication. The plural form is thus used as a way of expressing formality, respect or social distance. On the other hand, solidarity implies intimacy and is reciprocal. Based on this hypothesis if the interlocutors are close and intimate with each other, they will mutually exchange T.

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Clyne et al. (2003) argue that the T/V dichotomy can no longer simply be understood in terms of solidarity vs. power but through social distance relations within the theory of politeness. Secondly, Clyne et al. (2003) argue that changes in the use of address pronouns are characterised by cyclical fluctuations in time, such as the use of Swedish *ni* to *du* and later to *ni* again, which no longer follows a simple linear development as claimed by Brown and Gilman (1960). Likewise, I argue that the T/V model does not provide an accurate explanation for the mixed *šoma* pronoun use with the second person singular verbal agreement in Persian as discussed in Section 6. The second person plural form is not necessarily always used to express formality, respect and social distance. *Šoma* can be used to denote appreciation and signal solidarity. I observed that solidarity can also arise from expressions of respect. Thus, *šoma* can be used as an address form among individuals who are intimate. Such constellations are harder to deal within a power-solidarity model.

Based on Brown and Levinson's account of politeness strategies (1987) and the notion of face (Goffman 1967), this paper investigates how politeness is performed with the variation in the use of Persian address pronouns in interaction. For example, how the interlocutors face is managed, negotiated or damaged with the variability in the use of address pronouns especially among speakers with no prior social relationships.

3 PERSIAN ADDRESS PRONOUN PARADIGM: NULL AND OVERT SUBJECT PRONOUNS

Persian, similar to Romance languages may be categorized as a null-subject, or a pro-drop language (word order in Persian is Subject-Object-Verb). In the case of subject position, the missing subject can be retrieved from the verb morphology, which uniquely identifies each person and number. The overt pronoun is optional in speech and when used it is mostly to show emphasis. The analysis in this paper is concerned with those contexts in which there is a choice between the two or more pronominal address forms in conversation. Persian has two personal pronouns for singular address, *to* the familiar or intimate "you" and *šoma*, the deferential or formal "you" (historically only the second person plural but now as a politeness strategy also used as second person singular). Table 1 illustrates the normative patterns of Persian pronominal address form paradigm.

Second Person Pronoun	Overt pro.+agreement	Null subject+agreement	Names/titles + agreement
Informal	*To*+2s	Ø +2s	Name/title+2s
Formal	*Šoma* +2h/2p	Ø+2h/2p	name/title+2h/2p

Table 1: Persian subject and verbal agreement.

As may be seen in Table 1 there is a possibility of variation in subject and verb agreement in Persian. For example, in subject position the address form may occur as an overt pronominal form, a phonetically null subject or as a title or a name. However, the variation paradigm in agreement position is not as diverse as the overt subject position. It allows for either the deferential (-id/-in) or the informal (-i)[1] verb agreement. The choice of different politeness levels for subject and verb agreement in speech is not merely socially-indexical but may be used to pay attention to the interlocutors' positive and negative face wants. There is limited research in Persian sociolinguistics examining the pragmatic strategies of the address pronouns and their agreement or mismatch paradigm. For example, Baumgardner (1982) only looked at the co-occurrence of the deferential address pronoun in agreement with a singular verb, but not different patterns of address form variation and their communicative strategies. Furthermore, much attention has been paid to the overt address pronouns (Keshavarz 2001), which claims that prescriptively, *to* is used to address inferiors in terms of age and authority, and *šoma* is used to express respect and distance. As a result, literature on Persian address forms have limited study of politeness of the pronominal address forms as a direct index of the forms themselves at first hand and concluded on the relevant social factors such as social distance and status between interlocutors as a determining factor in the choice of address forms.

4 PRAGMATICS OF DEVIATION FROM LINGUISTIC NORMS OF ADDRESS

In Persian morphology, number agreement between subject and verb is required. The plural pronouns and their agreement suffixes are used not only for plural address/referents but also for singular address/referents to indicate respect or when there is a status difference between interlocutors. However, as the analysis will show in polite speech there are cases where the overt deferential pronoun can be in agreement with singular verb agreement (*šoma* {2p} + 2s verb suffix). The co-occurrence of *šoma* and 2s verb agreement, which we will call a "mismatch", is underlined in Example 1.

1)

<u>šoma</u>	*zud*	*mi-ya-<u>i</u>*	*bala*?
2p	quick	dur-come-2s	yes

"You will come soon, right?"

The mismatch construction is deviant in interaction. This communicative strategy manifests attention paid to both speaker and hearer's positive and negative face wants. To date there has been limited research in conversational Persian focusing on the

[1] The deferential verbal agreement (-id) is coded as 2h showing great deference and (-in) is coded as 2p indexing politeness not necessarily deference. The singular verbal agreement (-i) is coded as 2s in the data.

communicative strategies performed by the mismatch construction. Sociolinguistic studies in other languages offer evidence of instances of agreement mismatches in politeness levels can be found in languages such as Hindi (Jain 1973), Spanish (Kany 1951) and Brazilian Portuguese (Head 1976). For instance, Head's (1976) study on the second person pronoun concluded that regional, social variation and the relationship between interlocutors is the main conditioning social variable in the choice of addressee pronoun.

5 DATA AND METHODS

Two sets of data were collected for the purpose of the analysis: audio-recordings of ten hours of spontaneous media conversations representing address pronoun usage among people with no prior social relationships and open-ended informal interviews with twenty individual informants (among family and friends) to obtain folk views of address form usage in contemporary Persian.

The media corpus is recorded from channel Two of national Iranian television http://tv2.irib.ir, collected in a field trip to Iran in summer 2007. This programme, *æz mæn ta ma* "From me to we", aims at raising awareness of the moral, social and economic dilemmas of society at large. It shows how to change from just thinking about oneself in society to a communal understanding of existing social problems. This data draws on examples of address form usage from conversation with 115 participants (Male: 90, Female: 25) categorised in three estimated age groups:[2] young (c.35 or under), middle aged (c.36–55 years) and old (c.56–80 years). Each episode is a programme with two sections, a hidden camera followed by an interview with the presence of a camera. With diversity of social interactions occurring among different age groups and across both genders, the spontaneous media conversations in this study provide a better picture of how language and politeness is used in different social contexts.

The feature of hidden camera provides a situation where the participants interact spontaneously. In the interviews, the interlocutors interact spontaneously, since the interviewer interrogates them unexpectedly. One might argue that media extracts involve the staging of interactions by professionals, who in a sense attempt to entrap passers-by into participating in a pre-planned interaction sequence. In order to rectify this issue, I have researched this matter and consulted with members from Iranian broadcasting programme. The producer of this programme (Taghavi-Zonouz 2010) mentioned that the improvised actor and the interviewer's speech are not scripted nor staged. The improvised actor and interviewer are just given a theme of what topic to talk about. There is also empirical evidence for this as both the improvised actor and the interviewer use different strategies in addressing each pedestrian. The data cannot be staged nor scripted as the use of pronouns of address is conditional on the

[2] As the episodes in the hidden camera and interview programme are spontaneous interactions therefore the indicated interlocutor's ages are estimates and are assessed on the basis of appearance and voice.

interaction of *both* interlocutors in the sequence of face-to-face interactions. Interviewer and improvised actors are not aware of what stances the pedestrians may take in response to their speech. This study contrasts with previous research on media television sitcoms (e.g. Quaglio 2009), where the interactions are predetermined.

To analyse data qualitatively, the methodology employed is based on interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982), with discourse analysis of sequences of talk. Thus, in order to investigate the functions of address pronouns in practice, it is essential to observe many interactions between participants from the target community. Furthermore, the content analysis[3] (Gillham 2000) of the open-ended interviews provides a clear picture of individuals' perception and attitudes towards the patterns of address pronoun usage in interaction. The ongoing interactions were investigated with the concept of face, stance and indexicality. Indexicality refers to the fact that "the understandability of any utterance, rather than being fixed by some abstract definition, depends upon the circumstances in which it appears" (Maynard/Clayman 1991: 397). Ochs (1992: 335) discusses two possible indexing strategies: "direct" referential and "indirect" constitutive indexing. In other words, indexicality indicates which cultural contexts, such as social identities (e.g. gender) and social activities (e.g. gossip), are constituted by a particular stance and acts in speech.

Stance is defined from a varied range of perspectives: individual, social, contextual and interactional or an amalgam of these social and individual roles. Accordingly, analysts of discourse in interaction (Gumperz 1982; Ochs 1992) account "stance" for how particular linguistic choices in interaction accomplish social and rhetorical actions. In this line Kiesling (2009) argues that "stancetaking is the main constitutive social activity that speakers engage in when both creating a style and style-shifting" (Kiesling 2009: 314).

In the course of the following discussion, I will argue that the sociolinguistic functions of agreement mismatch construction is constituted and mediated indirectly by the relation of language to speaker and interactional stances, social activities, and other social dimensions such as power, status and age.

6 RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This section casts new light on how the agreement mismatch construction and its variation are used as communicative strategic devices. One sometimes finds mismatches such as singular verb agreement with *šoma,* apparently to "soften" the formality. However, the singular agreement is not always used as a solidary social function. The analyses show that the sociolinguistic function of the agreement mismatch construction varies according to speaker and interactional stances. The claim, challenge, or negotiation of power and status between speakers is marked with the hybrid style of the deferential and informal address pronouns in interaction. In

[3] In order to ensure the participants confidentiality in the open-ended interviews, pseudonyms have been used.

speech, the agreement mismatch has an emphatic role that may indirectly index assertion of status and lobbying when one takes a begging or bribing stance respectively.

6.1 Pattern 1: Ø+2h --> Ø+2p --> *šoma* + 2s (indexing asserting status)

In this interaction between the beggar (B1) and pedestrian (G), power and status difference is indexed with the interlocutor's asymmetrical pronoun use. This pattern is clearly highlighted in the beggar's speech style which also includes the mismatch construction.

2)

[Programme: "Beggar", Setting: Hidden Camera, Speakers: B1: Beggar, M., c.45 - G: Pedestrian, M., c.65]

1B1:	*ghorban*	*sælam*	*ærz*	*kærd-æm,*		***xæste***	***næ-baš-id,***	
	honorific	hello	say	did-1s (honorific)		tired	neg-be-2h	
	"Your Excellency hello? don't be tired"							
2	*mi-xast-æm*		*ye*	*xaheš-i*		*bo-kon-æm*		
	dur-want-1s		one	desire-ind.		subj-do-1s		
	"I wanted to ask you a favour"							
3G:	*næ,*	***næ-kon***	**<with loud agressive voice>**					
	no	neg-do.2s						
	"no, don't"							
4B1:	*ye*	*nosxæst,*		***lotf***	***be-færma-yin***			
	ind	prescription		please	imp-do-2p (honorific)			
	"it is a prescription, if you could kindly"							
5G:	*mi-dun-æm*		*či*	***mi-xah-i***	***be-g-i***	*næ-dar-æm*		
	dur-know-1s		what	dur-want-2s	sub-say-2s	neg-have-1s		
	"I know what you want to say, I don't have any (money)"							
6B1:	*mæn*	*axe*	*čiz-i*		*næ-goft-æm*	*ke*	*be*	*šoma,*
	1s	but	something-ind		neg-said-1s	that	to	2p
	"but I didn't tell you anything"							
→7	***šoma***	*motevæjehe*	*hærf-e*	*bændeh*	***næ-šod-i***			
	2p	understand	speech-ez	servant	neg-became-2s			
	"you didn't understand what I said"							
→8G:	*xob*	***be-go***	*be-bin-æm*	*či*	***mi-g-i*** ↑			
	ok	imp-say.2s	subj-see-1s	what	dur-say-2s ↑			
	"ok, say what you want to say"							
9B1:	*nosxæst*	*bæra*	*in*	*bæče,*	*æz*	*šahrestæn*		*umæd-æm*
	prescription	for	this	child	from	town		came-1s
	"it is a prescription for this child, I have come from town"							

The beggar initiates the conversation by greeting the pedestrian, where three honorific linguistic features are used: title *ghorban* "your Excellency", a verb *sælam ærz kærdæm* "I say hello" and a deferential agreement *næbašid* "don't be" (line 1). In Persian, these politeness features are considered as *ta'arof*[4] and used frequently between strangers to establish a relationship. However, due to beggar's inferior social role and his dodgy request, this style of language use may be categorised as *čarb zæbani* "sweet talk", to flatter the hearer. Thus in line 1, the beggar used self lowering and other raising linguistic markers and expressions to redress the negative imposition of his request on the hearer's face needs. However, B1 is confronted with G's negative response (lines 3 and 5 respectively), which covertly delineates his inferior social role. In line 3, the informal agreement (2s) conjugated on a negated imperative verb *nækon* "don't" follows a negation *næ* "no", forming a double negation which serves to increase the perceived distance from the addressee. Asymmetrical use of address forms between B1 and G can also be seen in lines 4 and 5 where the pedestrian further delineates the beggar's status by overtly stating he knows what the beggar is after. Interestingly, the beggar switches to the mismatch construction (line 7) to take control in the conversation. He uses the deferential overt pronoun, and a negated imperative verb marked with a singular agreement forming a mismatch construction, which indexes the claiming of status and power in the interaction. Furthermore, the beggar's use of honorific self reference *bændeh* "I" is evidence of the assertion of power and status in the conversation. So the pedestrian gives him the floor in the conversation (line 8).

According to this example, the mismatch construction is to show both contradiction and emphasis toward the stance and discussion in the interaction. That is, it indexes giving status to the speaker rather than the hearer. With regard to the emphatic social function of *šoma* in interaction, the construction of *šoma* with a singular agreement is to raise the hearer's attention of his irresponsible action. This is further accompanied by the switch between the singular and deferential form. In the following interaction, we can see that the mismatch agreement construction functions as a positive politeness strategy.

6.2 Pattern 2: Ø +2h --> *šoma* +2s --> Ø +2s à *šoma* +2s (indexing lobbying)

Partibazi "lobbying" in Iran deals with the representation of individual interests to persons with the power to grant privileges of various sorts: employment, licences and exemptions from certain laws, etc. (Binder 1962: 255). In the following interaction, the bribery is a form of *partibazi*, which involves exemption to the law of registration in a public school. As bribing somebody in return for a favour is considered a suspect on-record action, it may threaten the addressee's negative face wants. Thus it is expected that deference in speech style is used in order to hedge the imposition of this act. The conversation in Example 3 occurs between a parent (C) and a suborner (B) in a school. There are various pronoun switches and the mismatch construction in B's speech in order to notify and convince C to bribe him. These switches and mismatches can be seen at all levels of pronoun usage (address forms, enclitics and agreement), as well as verb stems.

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[4] *Ta'arof is an important aspect of politeness in the Persian language and culture. The word ta'arof is defined as a kind of welcoming, praising, and presenting (Dehkhoda 1966).*

3)

[Episode: “Bribe”, Setting: Hidden Camera, Speakers: B: Suborner, M., c.45 - C: Parent, M., c.40]

1B: *ærz* *kon-æm* *huzur-e-tun* *mæn* *mi-tun-æm* *kari*
say do-1s prescence-ez-2p.cl 1s dur-can-1s job-ind
“may I say that I can be of help”

2 *bæra-tun* *bo-kon-æm inja,* *agar* ***mayel*** ***hæst-id***↑
for-2p.cl subj-do-1s here if like is-2h
“here for you if you like↑”

3 *mæn* *dær* *xedmæt-e-tun* *hæst-æm*
1s in service-ez-2p.cl is-1s
“I am at your service”

4C: *xaheš* *mi-kon-æm,* *emsal* *ma* *næzdiktær* *hæst-im* <inaudible>
please dur-do-1s this year 1s near is-1p
“thank you, this year we are closer (to this school)”

→5B: *čon* ***šoma*** ***mayel*** ***hæst-i,*** *inke* *ma* *dær* *xedmæt-e-tun-im*
beacuse 2p fond is-2s that 1p in service-ez-2p.cl-1p
“as you are inclined, I am at your service”

→ 6 *ægær* *æz* *dæst-e-tun* *bær* *mi-yad* *ye* *šiiriniy-e* *kuček*
if from hand-ez-2p.cl prep dur-come ind. sweet-ez small
“if you can, reward me”

→7 *be* *ma* ***be-d-i*** *særi* *sæbtenam-et* *mi-kon-æm* *bær-at*
to 1p imp-give-2s quickly register-2s.cl dur-do-1s for-2s.cl
“I’ll register you quickly”

8C: *xaheš* *mi-kon-æm*
please dur-do-1s
“thank you”

9B: *moškeli* ***næ-dar-i?***
problem neg-give-2s?
“is that OK?”

10C: *næ* *moškel* *næ-dar-æm*
no problem neg-have-1s
“no, that’s not a problem”

11B: *næ* ***moškel*** ***næ-dar-i*** *širini* ***mi-d-i****?*
no problem neg-have-2s sweet dur-give-2s?
“don’t you have any concern to reward me?”

12C: *širini* *mi-d-æm,* *hala* *čegædr* ***mi-xah-i?***
sweet dur-give-1s now how much dur-want-2s?
“I’ll give you a reward. Now, how much do you want?”

13B: *čegædr* ***dust*** ***dar-i,*** ***šoma*** *hæm* *razi* ***ba-š-i*** *dege*
how much like have-2s 2p also satisfy imp-be-2s else
“whatever you like. Well, you should be happy with it too”

14C: *xaheš* *mi-kon-æm*

please dur-do-1s
"thank you"

In this interaction, B is offering to register C's child in a public school[5] in return for money. Interestingly in line 1–3, the suborner uses the honorific speech style in greeting C. This includes a) honorific verbs *ærz konæm* "I say", b) deferential agreement *-id* (2h) *mayel hæstid* "if you like", and c) plural enclitics *–tun* (2p). While C welcomes B's offer with discourse marker *xaheš mikonæm* "you are welcome", in line 5 the suborner avoids the use of the deferential verb agreement and switches to the use of: a) a mismatch construction, and b) informal verbal agreement *bedi* "give me", and enclitics *sæbtenamet* "register 2s.cl". In this informative stance, *šoma* emphasises the addressee's role and relation in the interaction, to ensure that C is happy to bribe B and take the responsibility of this action; by softening the formal agreement to mismatch, B shows solidarity. Moreover, to accommodate with C's plural self referent form *ma* "we", B switches to the first person plural overt pronoun and agreement (line 5) and then he switches back to first person singular agreement in line 7. Within the same utterance, we can see variation of first person agreements: plural *-im* (line 5)/singular *-am* (line 7), and second person enclitics: singular *xedmætet*/plural *xedmætetun*. This shows the ambivalent nature of how pronouns may be used to accommodate to the situational needs of the interaction (Ervin-Tripp 1972).

In colloquial Persian, use of the full form of "to be" verb *hæst*[6] gives a formal flavour to the interaction. It should also be mentioned that 2s occurs with a deferential form of the "to be" verb *hæst* (line 5). This constitutes a mismatch, though a different kind to the pronoun-agreement mismatches that we have mainly discussed until now. These kinds of mismatches between verb stems and inflection show that in general people use mismatches to serve different sociolinguistic purposes. In this interaction, establishment of negotiation and solidarity is marked by use of reciprocal informal agreement forms between both parties. As we observed, the use of mismatch construction may also index intensification of role and relationship between interlocutors, in other words *partibazi* "lobbying".

Qualitative analysis of the mismatch construction revealed that incongruent use of address form and agreement may be considered as a communicative strategy to mitigate the power and status differences in face-to-face interaction. As the mismatch construction consists of *šoma* and a singular agreement, we might expect it to index a hybrid pragmatic function in communication. The communicative function of agreement mismatch may vary according to the speaker's stancetaking in the conversation and may serve as either a positive or a negative politeness strategy. Therefore, the mismatch construction in interaction is used as a turning point or a "transition stage" in the social dimensions of speech such as power or solidarity.

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[5] Registration with public school requires being resident in the catchment area.

[6] The infinitive *hæstæn* "to be" has a written form (*hæst*) and in the colloquial form, verbal agreement is used.

7 Community view

Content analysis of the sociolinguistic interviews reveals little awareness among individuals of the deviant uses of the Persian pronominal address system. The interviewees were asked when and why they use the mismatch construction in conversation. They either diverged from the question by providing an irrelevant answer or paused in surprise at the idea that they used the address pronouns in such ways. Among all the interviewees I spoke to, only two female speakers showed awareness of the use of the mismatch construction. In the first case, the interviewee denoted generational change in the use and function of the mismatch construction. This was mentioned in an interview with Niloufar (female, 40 year, teacher), as translated here:

4)
Author:
"What effect do you see in the use of a deferential pronoun in agreement
with a singular verb?"
Niloufar:
"Cultural, moral and speech style differences between young and old generation is the main reason for the mismatch construction usage. The young generation use more singular informal *to* pronoun and this is in a form of second person singular. And that if changes [cultural, political] occur people use a deviant form such as 'what did you(2p) do(2s)'".

In the second case, Shila (female, 45 year, nurse) shows that how the mismatch construction can be used as a tool to reduce distance or to show deference.

5)
Author:
"What does the use of a deferential pronoun in agreement with a singular verb show?"
Shila:
"It shows that the speaker doesn't know whether to be close to his/her addressee or not, the speaker doesn't know whether to maintain the closeness when he/she switches in the verb and says 'come(2s)', [or] when he/she says 'come(2p)', keeps distance from the addressee and this results in a loss of an intimate mood."

This re-conceptualisation of the deferential form of address in interaction may result in hybrid function, combining deferential and casual indexes. As a result, the mismatch construction shows the versatility of the Persian address system.

8 CONCLUSION

This study argued that in order to provide a cognitive account of address form variation patterns, we need to consider these forms in the context of the interaction, and identify how they may index communicative strategies in different stances. It discussed the dynamicity of Persian address forms and politeness. Variation patterns observed in the Persian address system contributes to our better understanding of the versatility of the pronominal forms of address and the multifarious politeness strategies in face-to-face interaction.

The interactional analysis showed that the versatile forms the pronouns of address take function as an asset for mitigating behaviours in interaction. The dynamicity of form and function of politeness features in Persian provides a web of strategies of how complex and yet systematic language may function. The conducted interviews show that individuals are only aware of the prescribed attributes of address pronouns which they have acquired in formal education not their pragmatic or interactional properties (i.e. agreement mismatch construction). The occurrences of agreement mismatches are not random but strategic that serve communicative goals below individuals conscious awareness. These hybrid patterns show that in practice address forms are not constrained to the existence of social relationship but in turn are an asset in developing acquaintance in the moment of interaction and index transition of interpersonal and interactional stances. Thus, the communicative strategies indexed with address pronoun variation patterns themselves are not quantifiable as each strategy is dependant on the stance in the interaction. In sum the address pronoun variation paradigm in the Persian language offers a unique and interesting aspect of the human communication system.

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Appendix

Morphological glossary

agr	agreement
assoc	associative marker (-ina)
cl	classifier
comp	complementiser (ke)
def	definite marker (-æ)
dur	durative marker (mi-)
ez	the Ezafe vowel (-e)
imp	imperative
ind	indefinite marker (-i)
infl	inflection
neg	negative marker (næ-, ne)
om	object marker (-ro, -o)
part	participle
sg	singular
pl	plural
pres	present
subj	subjunctive marker (be-)
pro	pronoun
1s.cl, 2s.cl	pronominal possessive enclitics
2s	second person singular
2h/(2p)	second person plural
3p	third person plural

Transcription notation

Character Format

Italics	*Transcription for Persian utterances*
Bold	**Emphasis for transcription of Persian utterances**
Normal	Syntactic transliteration and English translation of Persian utterances
<u>Underline</u>	To highlight linguistic features other than address form in speech

Symbols

( )	Indicates unclear speech
(.)	A pause between utterances
:	Lengthened sound/syllable
[	Overlap
< >	Material that is not part of talk being transcribed (e.g. laughter, loud aggressive voice)
↑	Indication of higher pitch
	Marking transition point in address form usage

Abstract

MOVING BEYOND T/V PRONOUNS OF POWER AND SOLIDARITY IN INTERACTION: PERSIAN AGREEMENT MISMATCH CONSTRUCTION

Research on Persian pronominal address forms (*to* the intimate "you" represented as "T" after French *tu* and *šoma* the deferential "you" similar to French *vous* represented as "V", historically plural but now also used as singular) has been limited to questionnaire data with a simplistic analytical model of T/V distinction. This paper documents the communicative strategies indexed by agreement mismatch construction (e.g. the mixed *šoma* pronoun use with the second person singular verbal agreement). The qualitative analysis is based on a corpus of interactional data and open-ended interviews to explain variations observed in the Persian pronominal address system. Strategic use of agreement mismatch construction suggests that politeness in address forms could be based on interlocutors stancetaking in negotiating relationships.

Keywords: politeness, address pronouns, pro-drop, stancetaking, indexicality, Persian.

Povzetek

RAZŠIRJENA VLOGA ZAIMKOV TIKANJA IN VIKANJA PRI IZRAŽANJU MOČI IN SOLIDARNOSTI: MEŠANE STRUKTURE V PERZIJSKEM JEZIKU

Obstoječe raziskave zaimkov naslavljanja v perzijskem jeziku so bile večinoma izvedene s pomočjo vprašalnikov o rabi in slonijo na poenostavljenem analitičnem modelu T/V (kategorijo "T" v perzijščini predstavlja *to* (*ti*), vljudnostno kategorijo "V" pa *šoma* (*vi*)). Pričujoči prispevek se osredotoča na analizo komunikacijskih strategij pri rabi mešane konstrukcije (vikanje z zaimkom *šoma* v kombinaciji z glagolom v drugi osebi ednine). Analiza je osnovana na korpusu interaktivnih pogovorov in odprtih intervjujev, njeni rezultati pa razlagajo variantnost dejanske rabe perzijskega sistema naslavljanja. Strateška uporaba mešane konstrukcije namreč kaže, da je vljudnost pri naslavljanju lahko odvisna od pogajalskega odnosa med govorcema.

Ključne besede: vljudnost, zaimki naslavljanja, izpust zaimka, naravnanost, znakovnost, perzijščina.

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UDK 811.163.6'322:808.5:[81'373:27]

PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF CHRISTIAN EXPRESSIONS IN SPOKEN DISCOURSE

1 INTRODUCTION

Religion has been a powerful mechanism in the development of world cultures. It continues to have a strong impact on everyday life all around the world, even in those (mostly Western) countries where many people do not pay particular attention to it, or do not feel special religious commitments; for example, many Christian holidays are declared as national holidays, Sundays are work-free days, etc. The impact of religion on human history is stronger than anything else; it has prompted people to resettle, to go to war, and has inspired some of the most precious human achievements in art, architecture, etc. Every person, whether religious or not, has an attitude towards religion. It is, therefore, not surprising that religion can also be traced in our everyday speech; not only when we are speaking about religion, but in casual conversation or in discourse. This can be heard on television or radio, where expressions having their origins in religion are used, often in a meaning-free manner. In such usages, they function as a special group of pragmatic expressions, such as discourse markers, interjections, topic orientation markers, pragmatic deictics, general extenders, etc. However, even though different groups of pragmatic expressions in spoken discourse have received significant attention from researchers over recent decades (cf. Aijmer 1996; Norrick 2009; Schourup 1999), there have only been a few studies on the topic of religious expressions in spoken discourse from the pragmatic perspective.

When we talk about religious expressions within the Christian tradition, we refer to religious entities such as *God, Mary, Jesus, Devil,* or notions like *heaven* and *hell*. To our knowledge, these expressions have not as yet been analyzed as a distinct group of expressions within speech. However, the pragmatic status of expressions using *God* in phrases like *God knows* and *Goodness knows* was recognized and analyzed by Hill (1992), who observed differences in their usages that went beyond a difference in the level of emotional intensity expressed. According to her findings, each expression is associated

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with a particular attitude reflecting the extent to which the speaker does in fact *know* something. In the same study, Hill focused on another word with pragmatic functions, the curse word *bloody.* Even though she did not establish (stipulate) any connection between these two types of expression, we can speculate that a comparison between religious expressions and curse words in spoken interactions might reveal interesting findings. This goal, however, goes beyond the scope of the present study.

We were unable to find any other study of religious expressions in everyday interactions from the pragmatic perspective within Western cultures, whilst within the Muslim culture interesting research was undertaken by Nazzal (2005). He investigated the motivations and reasons that induce Muslims to invoke the recitation of Qur'anic verses in their ordinary discourses, again finding different pragmatic functions that stimulate such usages. These functions ranged from mitigating one's commitment for carrying out a future action or failing to honour one's commitments, to avoiding the effects and adverse consequences of one's actions towards others. In addition, such recitation appears to function as a confirmation of the participants' religious, cultural and linguistic identities.

The present study was based on the Slovene language. Religious expressions in Slovene spoken discourse have not as yet been the focus of linguistic research from the pragmatic perspective; however, the Slovene dictionary SSKJ does note that in colloquial speech such expressions are used as interjections. The aim of the present study was to investigate more common expressions with origins within the Christian religion, as used in everyday spoken discourse in Slovene. Based on data from the GOS reference speech corpus, these expressions are: *bog* and *bože* "God", *marija* "Mary", *madona* "Madonna", *jezus* "Jesus", *hudič* and *vrag* "Devil". The study attempted to shed light on the pragmatic perspectives of their usages.

2 DATA AND ANALYTICAL PROCEDURE

The reference speech corpus of the Slovene language, GOS (Verdonik/Zwitter Vitez 2011), was used for the analyses. It is available through a web-concordancer[1] that provides access to sound and detailed contextual information, including information about the recorded situations and speakers. Without access to sound and broader contexts, pragmatic analysis would be impossible. Even with such access, several usages remain rather unclear: pragmatic usage could be detected, but further details could not be specified (the function, the attitude expressed, etc.).

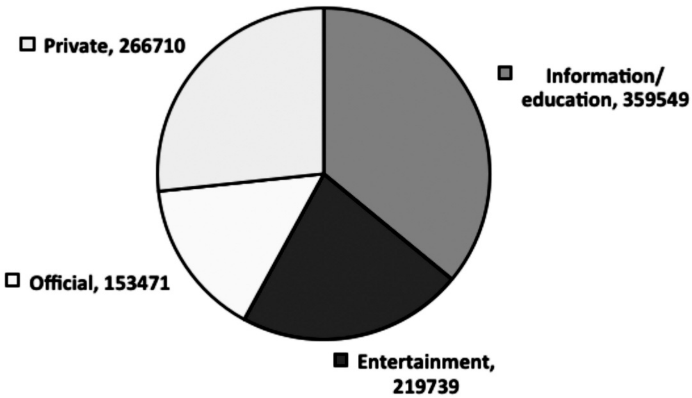
Some important characteristics of the corpus data for our study were:

- most of the recordings included spontaneous speech (read speech was avoided);
- real speech events were recorded between friends, family members, or within different institutional settings;

[1] Available at www.korpus-gos.net (5. January 2012).

- the private discourse section was demographically balanced (according to age, gender, education and region), with a total of 186 speakers in this section;
- the total number of words within the corpus was 1,032,775.

When investigating the corpus data for the selected expressions, data recorded among the Slovene minority in Italy, Austria and Hungary was eliminated, since we were not sufficiently familiar with these dialects to carry out reliable analyses. Graph 1 shows the number of words for the different discourse types within the GOS corpus, without the data from the Slovene minority.



Graph 1: Discourse types within the GOS corpus regarding the number of words.

In order to obtain a broader picture on how often the selected expressions are used in different sections of the corpus, we began our analytical procedure with corpus analysis. Usages with direct meanings were treated separately. These are usages where the religious expressions refer to a religious entity, for example: *Bog nas je ustvaril takšne kakršni smo* "God created us the way we are". Such usages were counted, and a survey was made of examples in which they appeared, but they were not investigated in detail. The focus of our interest was usages that we will call pragmatic, where religious expressions do not refer directly to a religious entity, e.g., *ne vem bog ve kva si je on prevedu s tem* "I don't know, God knows what he translated with this".

In the second part of our analysis, we investigated the expressions in more detail, listening to each usage and learning about its context. In this sense, the method approaches the analytical procedure of conversation analysis (cf. Have 1990), which studied the social organization of "conversation", or "talk-in-interaction", through a detailed study of tape recordings and their transcriptions. However, whereas conversation analysis was oriented particularly towards the social dimensions of discourse, in the present research we considered the textual and cognitive dimension as well, attempting to describe what each particular usage expresses by considering the textual, interpersonal and cognitive/emotional planes of the discourses. Common characteristics were then sought, and an attempt was made to find an appropriate scheme to describe such characteristics. In order to produce a clear representation of the findings, the results were organised according to the primary functions of the expressions in the discourse. This representation should not, however, be understood as a classification of religious expressions or their usages, as expressions can perform several discourse functions at the same time. A similar situation exists with regard to other pragmatic expressions (cf. Schiffrin's (1987: 315–316) findings on discourse markers). The results are presented in the following section.

3 RESULTS OF ANALYSIS

3.1 Corpus analysis

The most common religious expression within our data was *bog* "God". *Bože* "God", the appearance of which is rare compared to *bog*, has the same origin, but its function is expressive (also defined as such by the Slovene dictionary). Table 1 presents more details on the frequency of usages within the GOS corpus.

Bog, bože	**No. of occurences**			**Per 100,000 words**		
	Bog	*Bože*	Both	*Bog*	*Bože*	Both
Information/education	50	0	50	13.9	0.0	13.9
Entertainment	49	0	49	15.3	0.0	15.3
Official discourse	10	0	10	6.5	0.0	6.5
Private conversations	56	4	60	21.0	1.5	22.5
Total	**165**	**4**	**169**			
Pragmatic usage	100	4	104			
Direct meaning	65	0	65			

Table 1: Expressions *bog* and *bože* "God" within the GOS corpus.

Overview of the usages with direct meanings:

- in private conversations, *bog* "God" is used in the speech of persons with deep religious beliefs (priests, some older people);
- in public discourse, it is common in education, especially when referring to the past: history lessons about early eras of human civilization, literature lessons, classes about the middle ages;
- in informative radio programmes, it is used during interviews with etymologists discussing the linguistic development of the word *bog* "God";
- in TV and radio entertainment, it is often used in a humorous context, e.g., *o Boh če mi ne dovoliš da shujšam prosim te pomagaj saj mojim prijatlcam da se zredijo* "Oh God, if you don't let me lose weight please at least help my friends to gain weight", as well as in non-humorous contexts, such as: *ljudje smo takšni kakršen je kakršne nas je ustvaril Bog* "we are the way God created us".

The negative religious opposite, the Devil, appears much less frequently in everyday speech. In Slovene, there are three different expressions for the Devil: *hudič*, *vrag*, and *satan*. The latter, *satan* "Satan", appears only twice in the GOS corpus, once using the direct meaning and once metaphorically (*kot tristo satanof* "as three hundred Satans"). The frequencies of *hudič* and *vrag* in the GOS corpus are presented in Table 2.

Hudič, vrag	**No. of occurrences**			**Per 100,000 words**		
	Hudič	*Vrag*	Both	*Hudič*	*Vrag*	Both
Information/education	15	5	20	4.2	1.4	5.6
Entertainment	6	9	15	1.9	2.8	4.7
Official discourse	0	3	3	0.0	2.0	2.0
Private conversations	11	9	20	4.1	3.4	7.5
Total	**32**	**26**	**58**			
Pragmatic usage	20	22	42			
Direct meaning	12	4	16			

Table 2: Expressions *hudič* and *vrag* "Devil" in the GOS corpus.

The usages with direct meanings are:
- in propositional usage, *hudič* was used in a school lesson on literature (e.g., *hudiča ima Pegam dva* "Pegam has two Devils" – a rhyme from an old poem); and
- in a radio talk show about religion (e.g., *znamenito kamenjanje hudiča* "the famous stoning of the Devil");
- with direct meaning, *vrag* was used in a radio talk show (e.g., *te vrag brez dela ne najde ko pride po tebe* "that the Devil doesn't find you unoccupied when he comes for you"); and
- in entertainment TV shows (e.g., in the rhyme from the Slovene hymn, a poem by Prešeren: *da rojak prost bo vsak ne vrag le sosed bo mejak* "Who long to see, That all men free, No more shall foes, but neighbours be").

Jesus is the next religious entity referred to in everyday speech. However, this expression appears much less frequently than God, and also less frequently than Devil.

Jezus	**No. of occurrences**	**Per 100,000 words**
Information/education	2	0.6
Entertainment	9	2.8
Official discourse	0	0.0
Private conversations	26	9.8
Total	**37**	
Pragmatic usage	31	
Direct meaning	6	

Table 3: Expression *jezus* "Jesus" in the GOS corpus.

Usages with direct meanings occur:
- in private conversations in the speech of a priest;
- during a school lesson.

The female side of religious entities is represented by Mary, in reference to whom two expressions are used in Slovene discourse: *marija* "Mary" and *madona* "Madonna". Both expressions are used less frequently than God, but more frequently than Jesus, with *Marija* "Mary" being used more frequently than *madona* "Madonna". This is also the case in direct meaning, because *Marija* is a common Slovene female name whereas *Madona* is not. More details are presented in Table 4.

Marija, Madona	**No. of occurrences**			**Per 100,000 words**		
	Marija	Madona	Both	Marija	Madona	Both
Information/education	2	1	3	0.6	0.3	0.8
Entertainment	35	7	42	10.9	2.3	13.1
Official discourse	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Private conversations	21	7	28	7.9	2.6	10.5
Total	**58**	**15**	**73**			
Pragmatic usage	32	14	46			
Direct meaning	26	1	27			

Table 4: Expressions *marija* "Marie" and *madona* "Madonna" in the GOS corpus.

Usages with direct meanings:
- *Marija* is used as a Slovene female name;
- referring to the religious entity, *marija* "Mary" was used in private conversation in the speech of a priest;
- with direct meaning, *Madona* "Madonna" was used as the name of the famous singer Madonna.

3.2 Pragmatic functions

The pragmatic usages of religious expressions are treated as pragmatic markers, and the results are presented in five sections according to the primary functions of the expressions: marking the attitude, marking the content, discourse markers, metaphors, and greeting phrases.

3.2.1 Marking the attitude

All of the religious expressions examined in the present paper can have the primary function of marking or expressing the speaker's attitude. This category includes all of the usages of *bože* "God" and most of the usages of *marija* "Mary", *madona* "Madonna" and *jezus* "Jesus", as well as some usages of *bog* " God", and *hudič* and *vrag* "Devil".

When marking the attitude, the main function of a religious expression is that it expresses a speaker's inner state of feeling/state of emotion at the moment of speaking. This state is connected either to the content of the conversation or to the conversational situation (context). More specifically, usages can be described according to the sound impression and the local context, but not always: often we are unable to specifically explain the emotion or attitude of the speaker. However, based on the context, we can quite reliably distinguish between usages where the emphasis is either in general negative or in general positive. It was also observed that the intensity of the emotion or attitude expression can vary, based mostly on prosodic realization: sometimes it seems very low, like moaning (quieter, calmer pronunciation), while other times it is high, perhaps angry, strongly disappointed (especially swearing), or, on the positive side of the scale, very surprised (louder voice, higher pitch, etc.). Although this distinction is not very clear cut, we nevertheless attempt to provide examples from the data according to these two criteria, not in order to classify usages but merely to point out that there are very different types of usages within this category.

1) Negative attitude

a) Low intensity, for example moaning: expressions *ljubi bog* "dear God"*, o bože* "Oh God"*, jezus* "Jesus"*, ljubi jezus* "sweet Jesus"*, vrag* "Devil"*, Marija* "Mary"

Examples:

- a speaker explains her negative attitude when she hears about someone's plans because she thinks they will not last: *a veš je reku jez bi pa kitaro sem rekla o lubi bog to bo pa za dva mesca pa konc* "y'know he said I would like a guitar and I said oh dear God this will last for two months and then be over"
- a speaker comments on something she considers bad: *jezos sam da neki zaslovžijo* "Jesus, anything just to earn some money"
- a speaker doubts whether she will be able to have her garden in the future: *Jazos vrt eee čim še mola* "Jesus, will I still have the garden?"

b) Moderate intensity: expressions *vrag* "Devil"*, hudiča* "Devil"*, madona* "Madonna"*, jezus* "Jesus"*, o marija* "oh Mary", *ni vrag* (literally "it is not the Devil")

Examples:

- a speaker realizes that something is not the way she expected: *to ze pa ... oh vrag* "this and now ... oh hell"
- a speaker feels that her family members worry too much about what she wears and she is therefore dissatisfied: *ma sej imam duosti dej in obljek madona* "oh I have enough blankets and clothes Madonna"
- a speaker explains how a girl reacted furiously after a kiss, when his beard tickled her: *enkrat me kušnala te pravla jezoš kak pika* "once she kissed me and she said Jesus how it tickled"

c) High intensity, usually swearing: expressions *pod milim bogom* “under sweet God” (literally)/“for Christ’s sake” (similar Eng. phrase), *pri bogu* “by God/for Christ’s sake”, *ti boga* “you God/Jesus Christ”, *jebem ti boga* “fuck your God/fuck”, *madona* “Madonna”, *porka madona* “Porca Madonna”, *hudiča* “Devil/hell”, *ni vrag* “isn’t the Devil/hell”

Examples:

- a speaker explains his problems regarding writing in school: *nisem mogu spis napisat za dva pod milim bogom* “I couldn’t write the essay for a positive mark for Christ’s sake”
- a speaker explains her poor physical condition: *ja pa jz po štengah ne pridem pr bogu* “well I can’t climb the stairs for Christ’s sake”
- a speaker considers the event that the previous speaker was telling him about to be bad, undesirable: *in po je pa ta klinac pršu | ja porka madoa* “and then this fuck came | oh Porca Madonna”

2) Positive attitude

a) Low intensity, for example satisfaction, admiration: expressions *madona* “Madonna”*, bože moj* “my God”

- a speaker is surprised at how nice the other girl/woman looks: *o madona s se zrihtala* “uh Madonna you dress nicely”
- an older woman explains how she enjoyed an event: *bože moj tak mi je blo všeč* “my God, I liked it so much”

b) Moderate intensity, swearing: expressions *ni hudič* “not the Devil”, *ni vrag* “not the Devil”, *o ti boga* “oh God” (we find no equivalent English phrases):

- an interviewee on the radio explains the beginnings of a music festival and his determination and that of his group to pursue their goal: *in smo rekli če bomo vztrajali n() ni ni ni ni vrag da ne bi prišli do tukaj* “and we said that if we persist there’s no way in hell we won’t get there”
- a speaker is positively surprised/expresses admiration about what the other speaker is saying: *tak akustičen al pa polakustičen no | o ti boga* “such acoustics or half-acoustics | wow that’s nice”

c) High intensity, all of the examples in our data show surprise: expressions *marija* “Mary”, *jezusmarija* “Jesus Mary”, *moj bog* “my God”

- the reaction of a radio listener when he hears that he has won something: *jozusmarija* “Jesus Mary”

In general, it seems that the positive attitude is more rarely expressed than the negative.

3.2.2 Marking the content

In this section, we describe the types of usages of the expression *bog* "God" in the following phrases: *hvala bogu* "thank God", *bog ve kaj/kje...* "God knows what/where...", *bog ne daj "*God, don't make it happen", and *bog pomagaj* "God help me". These phrases are quite frequent. From the pragmatic perspective, they are found to primarily express a speaker's opinion (i.e., rational state) about (part of) the propositional content of a conversation, about what is being talked about. Specifically, these phrases express whether a speaker considers something to be good, unknown, undesirable or beyond his/her power. However, the emotional state cannot be excluded completely: these phrases can express a speaker's attitude (emotional state) as well, just like attitude markers (e.g., they express gratitude, relief, etc. – cf. examples below). Nonetheless, we find this to be a secondary, context-bound function, less explicative than attitude markers.

a) Something is good: phrases *hvala bogu, bogu hvala, boga hvaliti* "thank God"

These phrases express that a speaker considers something to be good (and therefore thanks God for it). Based on the impressions gained when listening to each of the examples, and according to contextual information, it is possible to describe these examples more specifically (see examples below); however, such explanations are always partly dependent on interpretation.

Examples:[2]

- a speaker feels gratitude because something did/did not happen: *ne tist ne hvala bogu* "no this not, thank God"
- a speaker is relieved or satisfied because something did/did not happen: *o hvala bogu* "oh thank God", *zaj sn pa jaz pogruntala hvala bogu* "now I get it right, thank God"
- a speaker considers something to be positive: *sn rekla ja hvala bogu d best ne* "I said, well thank God, the best"
- a speaker considers something to be luck: *hvala bogu je bla sreda* "thank God it was Wednesday"

b) Something is unknown: phrases *bog ve kje/kdaj...* "God knows where/when...", *bog si ga vedi* "God knows"

Phrases that name God as the one who knows inform us that the speaker does not know something, or that it is not within his/her power to know something.

Examples:

- a speaker does not know something, but he is curious: *bog ve kaj je* "God knows what it is"

[2] Due to space limitations, all of the examples and the descriptions of their contexts within the paper are very short. Readers who wish to hear them can visit www.korpus-gos.net and browse through the examples, in order to see the broader context or obtain details about the recorded situation.

- a speaker expresses doubt about something unknown: *pa zej bog si ga vedi če bodo glede na to kar se dogaja* "and God knows if they will, given what's going on"
- a speaker hints that something may be a secret: *boh vej kaj mata vidva med sabo* "God knows what secret you two know"
- something unknown is considered to be out of the ordinary scope: *mislijo da boh ve kaj jih bom vprašala* "they think only God knows what I will ask them"
- anything at all is possible: *bog ve kaj bom pol delala* "only God knows whether I will work after this"

However, one usage of this phrase lies outside the scope of that which is described above. Used together with the negative particle *ne* "no", it expresses diminution:

tukej ga imamo nje glih bog ve kaj duosti "we don't have it here a lot, God knows why"

c) Something is not desired: the phrase *bog ne daj* "God forbid"

When God is used in a phrase with *ne daj* (literally "God do not give" or Eng. "God forbid"), it expresses that the speaker considers something as undesirable.

Examples:

- a desire for something not to happen: *e to pa boh ne dej* "well God forbid this happens"
- something is marked as absolutely wrong: *bog ne dej da date toplo gor* "God forbid that you put it on hot"

d) Something is not within the power of the speaker: the phrase *bog pomagaj* "God help"

When used in a phrase with the verb *pomagaj* "help", speakers usually express that something is not within their power, and that they therefore feel powerless or indifferent, as well as compassionate, etc.

Examples:

- a speaker is compassionate: *se je stric utopil buh pomagi* "uncle drowned, it's God's will"
- a speaker is indifferent: *ja to mu pa bog pomagej* "well, God help him for that"
- a speaker feels powerless: *bog pomagi tako je* "God help, that's the way it is"

Only one example is closer to the more literal meaning, where a speaker calls God for help if something undesirable happens:

pa mi tuk dol pade če bom mogu čez poletje se za štrom učit da buh pomagi ne "and it would be so unfortunate for me if I had to study electricity during the summer, God help me"

3.2.3 Discourse marker

Discourse markers are a set of pragmatic expressions that have attracted a lot of attention (cf. Schiffrin 1987; Redeker 1990; Fraser 1999; Schourup 1999; Blakemore 2002, etc.). Different definitions of discourse markers are used, but in the present paper discourse markers are considered to be primarily pragmatic elements conveying no or minimal propositional content (for a more detailed explanation see Verdonik et al. 2007;

2008). In the corpus GOS data, there are a few very specific usages of the expression *marija* "Mary", the expression that we feel best describes discourse markers. These usages are rather similar to the usages of the discourse markers *zdaj* "now" or *no* "well" (cf. Verdonik et al. 2007). However, this type of usage is present in only one private discourse, i.e., a conversation between a grandmother and her granddaughter in the north-west region of Slovenia. In these usages, *marija* "Mary" functions as a meaning-empty word, as some sort of filler, often used to commence the utterance or as a backchannel signal.

Examples:

- a grandmother starts a new turn after a short pause: *marija pa s() eee se spomnm eno starejš žensko u Križah* "well, I remember an older women in Križe"
- a grandmother starts a new utterance: *eee marija ga pa umerkam* "um, and I noticed him"
- a grandmother responds with backchannel to the event that her granddaughter is describing: *jezer je bil tok dol k smo bli tok visok gor a veš* | *marija a res* "the lake has been down there since we were so high up y'know | Madonna, really"

3.2.4 Metaphorical usages

Amongst the expressions in our study, *vrag* and *hudič* "Devil" were metaphorically very rich, being used in the following metaphors:

Devil:

- *zamisliti vraga* "imagine the Devil", meaning something very unexpected happened: *zamisli vraga Nataša druga* "imagine the Devil, Nataša was second"
- *videti hudiča/vraga* "to see the Devil", meaning a threat: *če ne boš tega naredu boš pa že vidu hudiča* "if you don't do this you'll see the Devil"
- *vrag vzeti* "Devil takes", meaning "to die": *do te bo me pa tag vrag vzeo* "by then I'll be dead anyway"
- *iti k vragu* "go to the Devil", meaning something is broken or is turning bad: *vse gre k vragu* "everything goes to hell"
- *biti od hudiča* "to be from the Devil", meaning to be problematic, or to be very clever, etc.: *kdo je bolj od hudiča* "who is more from the Devil"
- *vsega hudiča/vraga* "all Devils", meaning all kinds of things: *vsega hudiča pišejo* "they write all kind of things"
- *hudič/vrag biti* "to be the Devil", meaning the problem: *hudič je v podrobnostih* "the Devil is in the detail"; *pijača je hudič* "alcohol is the Devil"; *to je hudič če ne veš* "it's Devilish if you don't know"
- ta vrag "this Devil", meaning the problematic thing: *poglejte piska ta vrag* "look, it whistles this Devil"
- *ko hudič/ko sto hudičev* "like the Devil/like one hundred Devils", for comparison, something bad: *težko ko hudič* "it will be as hard as the Devil", *ropota ko hudič* "it rumbles like the Devil"

God:

- *bog i batina* "God and punisher", meaning someone who gives commands, and someone who punishes any disobedience: *tak bota Pahor pa Borut prihodnje leto najtrdnejša koli()*

koalicija / bog i batina “this way Borut and Pahor will form the strongest coalition next year / God and the punisher”

- *svega boga* “all God”, meaning all kinds of things: *d meš dva centimetra pudra in svega boga po celmu telsu* “that you have two centimetres of powder and all kinds of things all over your body”
- *biti bog* “to be God”, meaning to be an unquestionable authority: *zdaj pa je internet bug* “and now Internet is God”

3.2.5 Greeting phrases

Bog “God” is also used in greeting phrases, especially amongst the older generation in border regions of Slovenia. The following were used in the GOS corpus:

- *bog lonaj* “God repay”, meaning thank you: *lep pozdrav tebi pa kolego* | *bog klone ejda adijo* “best regards to you and your friends | thank you alright bye bye”
- *bog plati* “God will pay you”, meaning may God repay your good work/intentions: *bog ploti to ste tak lepo povedali ze* “may God bless you, what you said was so nice”
- *bog daj* “God give”, meaning hello: *a pozdravleni [ime] [ime]* | *bog dej* “oh hello [name] [name] | hello”

4 CONCLUSIONS

The usage of the Christian religious expressions God, Devil, Jesus, Mary and Madonna in everyday spoken discourse was investigated, and it was found that these expressions are used in a content-free manner, as pragmatic expressions, much more often than in their direct meanings, with reference to the religious entity. The most common of these expressions is God, while all of the others (Devil, Mary, Madonna, Jesus) are much less common.

Qualitative analyses were used to investigate the pragmatic usages of these expressions. According to their primary functions, their usages were described in five groups: marking the attitude, marking the content, discourse markers, metaphorical usages, and greeting phrases, as summarized in Table 5.

Type	**Expressions**	**Description**
Marking the attitude	*bože* “God”, *Marija* “Marie”, *madona* “Madonna”, *jezus* “Jesus”, *bog* “God”, *hudič* and *vrag* “Devil”	expresses the speaker’s inner state of feeling/state of emotion at the moment of speaking
Marking the content	*hvala bogu* “thank God”, *bog ve kaj/kje...* “God knows what/where...”, *bog ne daj* “God don’t make it happen”, and *bog pomagaj* “God help”	expresses the speaker’s opinion (i.e., rational state) about (part of) the propositional content of a conversation
Discourse marker	*marija* “Mary”	meaning-empty word, as some sort of filler

Type	Expressions	Description
Discourse marker	*marija* "Mary"	meaning-empty word, as some sort of filler
Metaphorical usages	*vrag*, *hudič* "Devil", bog "God"	metaphors like zamisliti vraga "imagine the Devil", iti k vragu "go to the Devil", biti bog "to be a God"
Greeting phrases	*bog* "God"	bog lonaj "God repay", bog daj "God give", bog plati "God pay"

Table 5: Overview of the results of qualitative analyses.

Usages in greeting phrases and as discourse markers are rather exceptional. Usage as a metaphor refers mostly to the expressions for the Devil (*vrag* and *hudič*), but exceptionally also to the expression *bog* "God". Phrases with *bog*, such as *hvala bogu*, *bog pomagaj*, *bog ne daj*, are described as marking the content, as their primary function is to express a speaker's opinion (something is good, unknown, undesired, or not in the power of speaker) with regard to (part of) the propositional content. When they are not used in direct meaning, the most widespread function of religious expressions in everyday speech is to express a speaker's inner state of feeling or state of emotion (or attitude) at the moment of speaking. A distinction was made between usages where this attitude is in general negative (more common), or in general positive (less common), while it was also observed that the intensity of the emotion/attitude can vary.

Along with the results, some interesting findings are worthy of further discussion.

The same expression can be used to express various attitudes, from very negative (*in po je pa ta klinac pršu | ja porka madoa* "and then this fuck came | oh Porca Madonna") to very positive (*o madona s se zrihtala* "uh Madonna you dressed really nice"). It seems that it is not the expression that carries a particular attitude, but rather the context and the voice (prosody) that provide attitude.

Often, we cannot name the attitude, e.g., *ja pa jz po štengah ne pridem pr bogu* "well I cannot climb the stairs, for Christ's sake"; we cannot say definitively whether the speaker is angry, dissatisfied, is in a bad mood or similar. When we listen to this utterance (and it is very important that we listen!), it almost feels like the speaker is emphasizing what is said with emotional energy transferred through the swear phrase *pri bogu* "by God".

We are used to thinking of God, Jesus and Mary as positive entities, and of the Devil as a negative entity. Similarly, when these expressions function as attitude markers, we found that we can distinguish between those usages where they express a positive attitude and those where they express a negative attitude. However, it would be wrong to expect positive religious entities to express positive attitudes, and negative entities to express negative attitudes: Jesus, God, Mary and Madonna can all express negative attitudes, while Devil can express positive attitude as well.

Based on the results and discussion above, one conclusion should be highlighted for future work, even though there may be many others: the expression of attitude in spoken discourse is a highly interesting but, thus far, sparsely investigated topic of research.

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Abstract

PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF CHRISTIAN EXPRESSIONS IN SPOKEN DISCOURSE

Different kinds of pragmatic expressions in spoken discourse, such as discourse markers, interjections, topic orientation markers, pragmatic deictics, general extenders, etc., have attracted the attention of researchers over recent decades. However, expressions that have their origins within religions have not as yet been studied from the pragmatic perspective, even though in everyday conversation they are used in non-religious contexts and content-free manners more often than within a religious context. The present study is based on the GOS Slovenian reference speech corpus, and covers the more common Christian expressions used in the corpus data, namely: *bog* “God”, *bože* “God”, *marija* “Mary”, *madona* “Madonna”, *jezus* “Jesus”, *hudič* “Devil”, *vrag* “Devil”. The study attempts to highlight the contexts in which these expressions are used, as well as the pragmatic functions they perform.

Keywords: religious expressions, speech, discourse, attitude.

Povzetek

PRAGMATIČNE VLOGE KRŠČANSKIH IZRAZOV V VSAKDANJEM GOVORU

Različni pragmatični izrazi v govorjenem diskurzu, kot so diskurzni označevalci, medmeti, kažipoti, označevalci propozicijske vsebine ipd., so bili v zadnjih desetletjih deležni precejšnje pozornosti raziskovalcev. Toda izrazi, ki imajo svoj izvor v religiji, kot so *bog, hudič, marija, madona* ipd., s pragmatične perspektive niso bili sistematično raziskani, čeprav jih v vsakdanji govorni komunikaciji pogosteje uporabljamo v nereligioznem pomenu, kot vrsto pragmatičnih izrazov, kakor v njihovem izvornem religioznem pomenu. Raziskava temelji na slovenskem referenčnem govornem korpusu GOS in zajame najpogostejše krščanske izraze, ki jih najdemo v njem. To so: *bog, bože, marija, madona, jezus, hudič, vrag*. Osvetliti skušamo, v kakšnih kontekstih so ti izrazi rabljeni in kakšne so njihove pragmatične vloge.

Ključne besede: religiozni izrazi, govor, diskurz, odnos.

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LA NOMINALIZZAZIONE COME INDICATORE DEL GRADO DI FORMALITÀ IN ALCUNI TIPI TESTUALI DELLA LINGUA PARLATA

1 INTRODUZIONE

Nonostante la naturale primarietà del parlato rispetto allo scritto, tradizionalmente, la lingua parlata è stata trascurata o addirittura evitata nelle analisi linguistiche, data la sua natura acustica e inafferrabile, nonché l'informalità delle situazioni alle quali essa viene tipicamente associata. Solo con l'avvento della tecnologia e con la conseguente possibilità di registrare e, in seguito, digitalizzare il suono, si è resa possibile un'analisi sistematica della lingua parlata. Negli ultimi anni, l'ingigantimento delle capacità di memoria dei computer e lo sviluppo di nuovi software capaci di sincronizzare con relativa semplicità le trascrizioni del parlato alle registrazioni, hanno reso possibili progetti di ricerca in passato impensabili. Sono nati così i corpora della lingua parlata, tra i quali anche il corpus referenziale dello sloveno parlato GOS.

Il corpus linguistico è definito come una raccolta di testi che sia rappresentativa di una data lingua e che sia disponibile in una forma utilizzabile per analisi linguistiche (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 2), dove il formato in questione è oggi naturalmente quello elettronico e dove si presuppone anche che i testi raccolti siano di produzione naturale e scelti con criteri chiaramente definiti. Un corpus parlato, oggi, solitamente offre la trascrizione (ortografica e/o altro) delle registrazioni di eventi comunicativi diversi (da conversazioni spontanee a registrazioni di trasmissioni radiofoniche ecc.), la quale include, tra l'altro, tutti gli elementi lessicali e non della produzione e a cui si aggiunge la segmentazione e l'annotazione dei testi. L'uso di convenzioni e annotazioni standardizzate permette al ricercatore di svolgere analisi precise e di alta qualità. In tal modo diventa infatti possibile osservare innumerevoli fenomeni linguistici quali aspetti fonetici, prosodici, morfologici e sintattici attraverso i generi testuali del parlato inclusi nel corpus analizzato.

Questo contributo presenta una ricerca in cui si vuole verificare se e in quali modi differiscono tra loro vari generi di testi parlati sloveni in relazione a una caratteristica specifica, solitamente associata piuttosto alla lingua scritta, ovvero la nominalizzazione. Il fenomeno, definito con più precisione nella sezione 3, è spesso associato ai registri formali della lingua scritta, pertanto l'ipotesi che si propone nel presente scritto è che la nominalizzazione avrà un numero di occorrenze molto basso nel cor-

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pus analizzato: sarà pressoché assente nei generi parlati meno sorvegliati quali la comunicazione telefonica privata, mentre sarà probabilmente un po' pìu presente in testi letti, preparati per iscritto in anticipo, come ad esepio numerose trasmissioni televisive o radiofoniche. A tale scopo ci avvarremo delle possibilità di analisi separate di determinate parti del corpus referenziale del parlato GOS.

2 LO STUDIO DELLA LINGUA PARLATA SLOVENA

Sebbene gli inizi dello studio moderno del discorso parlato sloveno si possano datare agli anni Sessanta (p. es. Pogorelec 1965), è durante l'ultimo decennio che i fenomeni del parlato sono stati studiati con nuova profondità (cf. Zemljarič Miklavčič 2008: 15–16). Lasciando da parte i numerosi studi dialettologici, le ricerche si sono occupate di aspetti pragmatici del parlato spontaneo (Verdonik 2007) e dei suoi vari generi (Smolej 2012), di generi specifici quali i dialoghi giornalistici radiofonici (Verovnik 2010), di prosodia (Zwitter Vitez 2005) ecc. Per ragioni di spazio non è possibile entrare in maggiori dettagli, né per altro offrire un elenco esaustivo delle opere dedicate al parlato sloveno. Le sopraccitate opere monografiche vengono menzionate con il solo scopo di dare un'idea sul crescente interesse e sull'attenzione dedicati a progetti legati alla lingua parlata slovena.

Per quanto riguarda la nominalizzazione, infine, non sembrano essere reperibili studi sulla sua presenza nella lingua parlata slovena, mentre si riscontrano invece numerosi studi di altre lingue, alcuni dei quali sono menzionati nella sezione seguente.

3 LA NOMINALIZZAZIONE E LA LINGUA PARLATA

Il termine nominalizzazione viene usato per denominare quel tipo di metafora grammaticale per cui, riassumendo Halliday/Matthiessen (2004: 636–658), un processo, che congruentemente verrebbe codificato con un verbo, viene espresso con un nome. L'esempio (1a)[1] presenta una frase slovena (e la relativa traduzione in italiano) tratta dal corpus GOS, in cui *izjava* "dichiarazione" è la nominalizzazione che potrebbe essere espressa congruentemente con il verbo *izjaviti* "dichiarare", come si vede in (1b).

(1) a. *mal sem bil razočaran ker je nekako dal eno tako <u>izjavo</u> zlo podobno tej*
"ero un po' deluso perché ha fatto una <u>dichiarazione</u> così simile a questa"
b. *mal sem bil razočaran ker <u>je</u> nekako <u>izjavil</u> nekaj zelo podobnega tej*
"ero un po' deluso perché <u>ha dichiarato</u> qualcosa di molto simile a questa"

Secondo Halliday/Matthiessen (ibid.: 654), il fattore più determinante per la quantità di metafore nella grammatica di un testo è se si tratta un testo scritto o parlato. I due modi comunicativi implicano tipi diversi di complessità – la lingua scritta è più complessa in termini di densità lessicale,[2] mentre quella parlata lo è per la sua intri-

[1] L'esempio (1a) è tratto dal corpus GOS, mentre la variante (1b) è opera dell'autrice dell'articolo.
[2] La densità lessicale è definita come la relazione tra il numero di parole lessicali e grammaticali in una proposizione (cf. Halliday/Martin 1993: 76–77).

cata grammatica proposizionale (ibid.: 655) – ed è il linguaggio scritto (ibid.: 656) quello che implica la presenza della metafora grammaticale.

Anche Chafe (1982: 46) collega l'uso della nominalizzazione allo scritto formale e al distacco (*detachment*, ibid.) che caratterizza lo scritto, benché ammetta (ibid.: 48) che esso sia riscontrabile anche in alcuni generi del linguaggio parlato.

Biber et al. (1998) presentano uno studio sulla frequenza della nominalizzazione[3] in alcuni generi testuali inglesi e appurano che essa è di gran lunga più frequente negli scritti accademici, sia se comparata con opere letterarie sia al confronto con il parlato. La sua distribuzione è invece molto simile nelle opere letterarie e nel corpus parlato (con una leggera maggioranza in quest'ultimo). In conclusione, gli autori deducono (ibid.: 65) che la nominalizzazione come gruppo, come anche i suoi singoli suffissi derivazionali, presentano forti legami di associazione con diversi registri, riflettendo le funzioni comunicative primarie dei registri.

Considerando quanto esposto sopra, si è voluto verificare se anche nella lingua parlata slovena si riscontrano le stesse tendenze evidenziate per altre lingue, in particolare l'inglese. Oltre alla generale presenza della nominalizzazione nel parlato sloveno, però, lo studio è orientato al paragone tra diversi tipi di discorso parlato: si ipotizza che i generi parlati possano essere caratterizzati in qualità di entità distinte anche in relazione alla frequenza della nominalizzazione in essi riscontrata, poiché diverse situazioni comunicative e la conseguente differenziazione del grado di formalità possono dar luogo a una presenza maggiore o minore di nominalizzazioni.

In sloveno la nominalizzazione, comunque, non è stata ancora oggetto di uno studio generale che ne determinasse la presenza (né nello scritto né tanto meno nel parlato), sebbene esistano studi su tipi testuali (scritti) particolari, quali Žele (1996) o Mikolič Južnič (2011), o paragoni con altre lingue come Plemenitaš (2007), Mikolič Južnič (2007) o Klinar (1996). I risultati potranno così colmare una lacuna sia dal punto di vista dell'analisi del discorso parlato che da quello sintattico-grammaticale.

4 IL CORPUS GOS

Il primo (e unico) corpus referenziale del parlato sloveno, il corpus GOS, è nato nel 2008. Il corpus, disponibile gratuitamente in rete, è stato concepito come parte del progetto *Sporazumevanje v slovenščini*[4] ("Comunicazione in Sloveno").

Si tratta, come già detto, di un corpus referenziale della lingua parlata slovena bilanciato secondo criteri tipologici e demografici, contenente circa un milione di parole. L'intero processo di compilazione del corpus, assieme ad alcuni esempi del suo uso, è descritto nell'opera monografica di Verdonik/Zwitter Vitez (2011). La Tabella 1 rias-

[3] In Biber et al. (1998: 59–65) la nominalizzazione è intesa in un senso leggermente più ampio di quello usato nel presente studio. Gli autori, infatti, comprendono anche le nominalizzazioni di aggettivi (o meglio, attributi), non solo quelle di verbi (ovvero processi). Va detto che in entrambi i casi si tratta comunque dello stesso tipo di metafora grammaticale, ossia la reificazione di elementi primariamente (o congruentemente) non nominali.

[4] http://www.slovenscina.eu/vsebine/en/domov/domov.aspx

sume gli aspetti strutturali salienti del corpus ai fini della presente ricerca. Secondo il tipo di discorso, il corpus è suddiviso in due categorie principali, ovvero il discorso pubblico e il discorso non pubblico, le quali sono poi suddivise ulteriormente in relazione al contenuto del discorso (il discorso pubblico comprende il genere informativo-educativo e quello d'intrattenimento, mentre il discorso non pubblico comprende il genere non privato e quello privato). La tipologia si ramifica anche rispetto al canale usato per la comunicazione (radio, televisione, contatto personale, telefono) e ad altri fattori pragmatici che però non sono stati presi in considerazione in questa ricerca.

Tipo di discorso		Canale	No. parole	%
pubblico	informativo-educativo	radio	94.536	9,16
		televisione	102.263	9,90
		contatto personale	162.750	15,76
	di intrattenimento	radio	123.152	11,93
		televisione	105.613	10,22
non pubblico	non privato	contatto personale	119.987	11,62
		telefono	33.484	3,24
	privato	contatto personale	222.907	21,58
		telefono	68.083	6,59
Totale			**1.032.775**	**100**

Tabella 1: Dati statistici del corpus GOS (adattato da Verdonik/Zwitter Vitez 2011: 109)

5 METODO

La ricerca presentata è articolata in tre fasi principali. Inizialmente sono state selezionate, in base ad analisi precedenti (Mikolič Južnič 2007), le desinenze deverbali nominali slovene più produttive;[5] quindi se n'è verificata la presenza nel corpus GOS (e, più dettagliatamente, nei suoi vari subcorpora) con l'aiuto del motore di ricerca disponibile al sito internet. Infine, i dati così estratti sono stati analizzati ed interpretati in relazione alle ipotesi esposte nella sezione 1.

Le desinenze nominali che sono state verificate sono le seguenti: *-anje* (esempio 2), *-enje* (3) , *-tev* (4), *-cija* (5), *-tje* (6), *-ava* (7) e *-ek* (8).[6]

(2) *ki jih večinoma lahko porabimo kr tako brez predhodnega <u>kuhanja</u> na voljo so nam tud zeleni pripravljeni s špinačo in*
"che possiamo per lo più usare così senza previa <u>cottura</u> sono a disposizione anche quelli verdi preparati con spinaci e"

[5] Con produttività si intende in realtà la frequenza con la quale le desinenze sono usate nel grande dizionario sloveno Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika o SSKJ (1994), non le reali occorrenze in un qualsiasi corpus. Le sette desinenze studiate sono usate in più del 90% di tutte le nominalizzazioni derivate presenti nel dizionario.
[6] Tutti gli esempi sono tratti dal corpus GOS.

(3) *in si tako z štirimi srečnimi bomo rekli vrtenji kolesa sreče prislužila deset tisoč*
“e con quattro fortunati chiamiamoli così giri della ruota della fortuna guadagnare dieci mila”
(4) *te okrepijo eee to kredibilnost eem Obama veliko govori o krepitvi mednarodnega prava eee dejmo ga spodbudit da vstopi v kekšen*
“queste rafforzano eee questa credibilità eee Obama parla molto di rafforzamento del diritto internazionale eee incoraggiamolo a entrare in qualche”
(5) *je imel čas torej par mescev za zbiranje podpisov za organizacijo referenduma in na podlagi tega da da prepreči*
“ha avuto quindi un paio di mesi per la raccolta di firme per l’organizzazione del referendum e in base a questo per per impedire”
(6) *ne vem a bom zadela te tone in tko pa petje v živo je res nekej kr neskončno občudujem in tukej*
“non so se beccherò quelle note e così e il canto dal vivo è veramente qualcosa che adoro immensamente e qui”
(7) *v postmoderno družbo pa ni mogoče da bi prišlo do izboljšav samo po sebi zradi tega ker osnova tega prehoda je*
“nella società postmoderna ma non è possibile che si abbiano miglioramenti da sé a causa del fatto che la base di questo passaggio è”
(8) *stroko je zmotu in se mi zdi da tud ta poudarka ki sta bla tukej dana nnn nista prov vsebinsko pravilna*
“ha disturbato gli esperti e mi sembra che anche gli accenti posti qui non siano proprio giusti dal punto di vista del contenuto”

Il motore di ricerca permette di controllare vari parametri contemporaneamente, alcuni dei quali vanno selezionati nella finestra iniziale, come il tipo di ricerca (semplice o avanzata) o la ricerca per trascrizione standardizzata o per versione parlata, altri invece possono essere determinati in seguito, dopo aver ottenuto la lista di risultati, come ad esempio il tipo di discorso, il canale, la regione di provenienza dei parlanti ecc. Nella presente ricerca abbiamo scelto l’opzione della ricerca avanzata, in cui si può determinare la categoria grammaticale della parola ricercata. Ma poiché le nominalizzazioni ovviamente non sono marcate diversamente da tutti gli altri nomi presenti nel corpus, ci siamo serviti della “wild card” ricercando tutte le parole che terminano con le desinenze elencate. Ciò ha comportato naturalmente che insieme agli esempi desiderati, contenenti nominalizzazioni, sono stati estrapolati anche numerosi esempi con altri tipi di nomi (ad esempio *stanovanje “appartamento”* con la desinenza -*anje*), che sono stati in seguito eliminati manualmente. Inoltre, dopo la selezione iniziale, i risultati ottenuti sono stati suddivisi in relazione ai parametri di tipologia testuale e di canale esposti nella Tabella 1. I risultati dell’analisi sono presentati nella sezione a seguire.

6 RISULTATI E DISCUSSIONE

Nel corpus GOS sono state dunque trovate, in base alla metodologia esposta, un numero complessivo di 7.013 nominalizzazioni. Rispetto al numero di tutti i nomi presenti nel corpus (153.148), le nominalizzazioni ammontano al 4,58%.[7] Il numero indubbiamente non è altissimo, ma non può di certo essere ignorato. Esso testimonia il fatto che la nominalizzazione, attestata antecedentemente in alcuni generi scritti dello sloveno, com'è stato menzionato nella sezione 3, è penetrata anche nel parlato, nonostante sia stato più volte affermato che, in sloveno, la struttura tenda a risultare innaturale e di difficile comprensione, specialmente se usata di frequente (cf. Klinar 1996, Žele 1996).

6.1 Distribuzione delle singole desinenze

La Tabella 2 mostra dettagliatamente la distribuzione delle nominalizzazioni formate con le singole desinenze analizzate nei vari generi testuali del parlato.

Tipo di discorso	***Desinenze (occorrenze assolute)***						
Canale	***-anje***	***-enje***	***-tev***	***-cija***	***-tje***	***-ava***	***-ek***
Pubblico informativo educativo	**1.683**	**636**	**468**	**588**	**74**	**338**	**452**
Televisione	600	180	211	215	16	138	156
Radio	546	204	143	158	20	60	136
Contatto personale	537	252	114	215	38	140	160
Pubblico d'intrattenimento	**501**	**222**	**105**	**108**	**34**	**97**	**276**
Radio	332	127	57	50	22	50	104
Televisione	169	95	48	58	14	47	172
Non pubblico non privato	**318**	**94**	**97**	**124**	**8**	**89**	**118**
Contatto personale	208	70	72	77	2	74	92
Telefono	110	24	25	47	6	15	26
Non pubblico privato	**173**	**117**	**34**	**104**	**8**	**56**	**91**
Contatto personale	142	100	30	75	8	38	86
Telefono	31	17	4	29	0	18	5
Totale	**2.675**	**1.069**	**704**	**924**	**124**	**580**	**937**

Tabella 2: Statistica delle nominalizzazioni riscontrate nel corpus GOS.

Dalla Tabella 2 si può dedurre che la desinenza più usata nel parlato sloveno in generale (come rappresentato nel corpus GOS) è *-anje*, con 2.675 occorrenze, il che è in linea con la frequenza preponderante di questa desinenza riscontrata in alcuni generi testuali sloveni scritti (cf. Mikolič Južnič 2011) e con la sua grande produttività

[7] La percentuale è stata calcolata in base ad una ricerca con la sola "wild card" (*, ovvero zero o più caratteri) per la categoria grammaticale del nome.

riscontrata nell'analisi del dizionario SSKJ (cf. Mikolič Južnič 2007). Sono molto meno frequenti le altre desinenze, tra cui primeggia *-enje* (con 1.069 occorrenze, cioè meno della metà di quelle con *-anje*), quindi *-ek* (937), *-cija* (924), *-tev* (704), *-ava* (580) e *-tje* (124). L'immagine 1 presenta questi dati sotto forma di percentuali del numero complessivo di tutte le nominalizzazioni riscontrate.

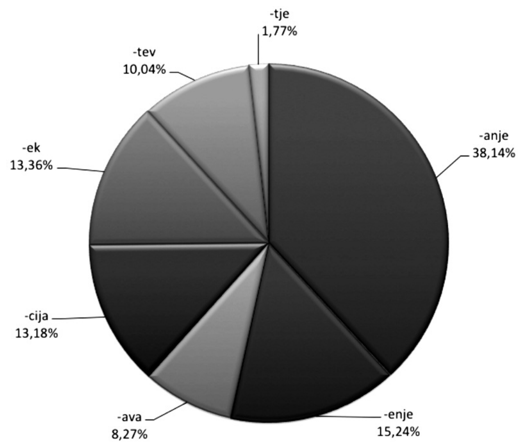

Immagine 1: Percentuali delle singole desinenze delle nominalizzazioni riscontrate nel corpus GOS.

6.2 Tipi testuali del parlato e nominalizzazione

Molto più significativo, comunque, della statistica sulla presenza delle varie desinenze delle nominalizzazioni analizzate, è osservare come si differenzia il parlato in relazione ai tipi di discorso e ai canali usati. La Tabella 3 mostra i dati relativi ai due tipi di discorso generali (discorso pubblico e non pubblico), mentre nella Tabella 4 troviamo i relativi sottotipi (discorso informativo-educativo, d'intrattenimento, non privato e privato). Infine, la Tabella 5 offre uno sguardo sulle differenze riscontrabili nei discorsi appartenenti ai vari canali usati (televisione, radio, contatto personale, telefono). Al fine di dare un termine di paragone più completo per la frequenza delle nominalizzazioni, le tre tabelle indicano anche i dati sul numero di parole grafiche nel singolo subcorpus nonché il numero di tutte le parole categorizzate come nomi (sostantivi) presenti in esso.

	Discorso pubblico	Discorso non pubblico
Numero parole grafiche	588.314	444.461
Numero nomi	102.490	50.658
% nomi	17,42	11,40
Numero nominalizzazioni	5.582	1.431
% nominalizzazioni	5,45	2,82

Tabella 3: Occorrenze delle nominalizzazioni e dei nomi nei due tipi testuali principali.

	Discorso pubblico		Discorso non pubblico	
	informativo educativo	d'intratteni-mento	non privato	privato
Numero parole grafiche	359.549	228.765	153.471	290.990
Numero nomi	64.924	37.566	18.827	31.831
% nomi	18,06	16,42	12,27	10,94
Numero nominalizzazioni	4.239	1.343	848	583
% nominalizzazioni	6,53	3,58	4,50	1,83

Tabella 4: Occorrenze delle nominalizzazioni e dei nomi nei quattro sottotipi testuali.

	Canale			
	televisione	radio	contatto personale	telefono
Numero parole grafiche	207.876	217.688	505.644	101.567
Numero nomi	36.720	38.837	65.850	11.741
% nomi	17,66	17,84	13,02	11,56
Numero nominalizzazioni	2.530	2.009	2.117	357
% nominalizzazioni	6,89	5,17	3,21	3,04

Tabella 5: Occorrenze delle nominalizzazioni e dei nomi nei quattro canali analizzati.

Osservando le tre tabelle notiamo che il discorso parlato analizzato comprende un numero di nominalizzazioni relativamente basso (ma è tutt'altro che privo di esse); tuttavia è comparando i vari generi che si notano differenze importanti. In primo luogo, appare significativo il dato che la percentuale di nomi tra tutte le parole grafiche nel discorso pubblico ammonta al 17,42%, mentre nel discorso non pubblico ve ne sono solo l'11,40%, il che potrebbe indicare un legame tra il tipo di discorso e il grado di pianificazione e controllo presente nel singolo genere di discorso, considerando che un linguaggio ricco di nomi viene associato a un grado più elevato di formalità data la maggiore densità lessicale che comporta, come abbiamo visto nella sezione 3. Il discorso pubblico, per sua natura, richiede più preparazione e spesso un più alto grado di formalità rispetto al discorso non pubblico. Ciò sembra riflettersi sia nel più alto tasso di nomi sia nel tasso nettamente più alto di nominalizzazioni[8] (il 5,45% nel discorso pubblico contro il 2,82% in quello non pubblico), come indica la Tabella 3, da cui si può dedurre che siano i discorsi pubblici quelli caratterizzati dalla nominalizzazione, considerando che ne contengono quasi il doppio dei discorsi non pubblici.

[8] Naturalmente si parla delle nominalizzazioni derivate con i sette suffissi analizzati; è chiaro che tra i nomi presenti nei vari subcorpora sono presenti anche altre nominalizzazioni, che tuttavia in base alle ricerche statistiche esposte sopra (citando Mikolič Južnič 2007) non dovrebbero raggiungere numeri abbastanza alti da poter modificare sensibilmente i risultati ottenuti.

La situazione, tuttavia, non è così semplice se si considerano i dati nella Tabella 4. Se le percentuali di nomi nei due tipi di discorso pubblico (informativo educativo e d'intrattenimento) da una parte e in quelli del discorso non pubblico (non privato e privato) dall'altra sono piuttosto vicine (18,06% vs. 16,42% nel primo, 12,27% vs. 10,94% nel secondo caso), la differenza è più eloquente nella percentuale di nominalizzazioni tra questi nomi. È il discorso pubblico informativo educativo quello con la percentuale più alta (6,53%), mentre nel discorso pubblico d'intrattenimento le nominalizzazioni sono presenti con una frequenza pari a poco più della metà (3,58%). Si conferma anche qui l'uso più esteso della nominalizzazione nel genere dove il grado di formalità della lingua richiesto è più elevato. Tra i due generi di discorso non pubblico, poi, la discrepanza è ancora più marcata: nel discorso non privato le nominalizzazioni rappresentalo il 4,50% di tutti i nomi (addirittura più che nel discorso pubblico d'intrattenimento), mentre in quello privato ve ne sono un mero 1,83%. Considerando che tra gli eventi comunicativi del discorso non pubblico non privato, Verdonik/Zwitter Vitez (2011: 109) enumerano riunioni formali e informali, consultazioni, servizi, colloqui formali ecc., mentre tra quelli del discorso privato troviamo dialoghi in famiglia o tra amici o conoscenti, si conferma di nuovo il legame tra un uso più frequente della nominalizzazione e la formalità del discorso.

Similmente, anche nella Tabella 5, la nostra ipotesi viene confermata: i canali con un'impostazione più sorvegliata (e formale) mostrano una presenza più estesa di nominalizzazioni (nel discorso televisivo ammontano al 6,89%, in quello radiofonico al 5,17%). Nei discorsi dove spesso il grado di formalità si abbassa, come il contatto personale (3,21%) e il telefono (3,04%), invece, se ne fa un uso minore. Coincide con gli altri dati sopra esposti e con la nostra ipotesi generale anche la percentuale di nomi rispetto al numero di tutte le parole presenti nei subcorpora: gli eventi comunicativi che sono avvenuti tramite contatto personale o telefono sono caratterizzati da una minore presenza di nomi in generale, non solo dal minor numero di nominalizzazioni tra questi nomi.

Andando oltre l'aspetto quantitativo e accennando di passaggio a quello qualitativo, si nota nel discorso parlato analizzato, anche solo osservando gli esempi citati nella sezione 5, la tipica complessità sintattica del parlato, caratterizzata da una densità lessicale relativamente bassa e da una sintassi con numerose proposizioni coordinate o subordinate. Nell'esempio (9), che ripetiamo per comodità aggiungendovi una versione congruente della nominalizzazione, ci sono tre proposizioni con 20 parole, tra cui 13 parole lessicali; dunque la densità lessicale è pari a 4,33 parole lessicali per proposizione. Poiché si tratta di una frase che comprende una nominalizzazione (*kuhanje*), la densità della proposizione in questione avrebbe potuto essere ancora più bassa se invece della nominalizzazione fosse stata usata una forma congruente come quella espressa in (9b), dove la densità lessicale scende addirittura a 3,50, vista l'introduzione di una proposizione in più.

(9) a. *ki jih večinoma lahko porabimo kr tako brez predhodnega* <u>*kuhanja*</u> *na voljo so nam tud zeleni pripravljeni s špinačo in*
"che possiamo per lo più usare così senza previa <u>cottura</u> sono a disposizione anche

quelli verdi preparati con spinaci e”
b. *ki jih večinoma lahko porabimo kr tako <u>ne da bi jih predhodno kuhali</u>* [...]
“che possiamo per lo più usare così <u>senza che le cucinassimo prima</u> [...]”

La situazione sembra essere molto simile anche negli altri esempi: la nominalizzazione condensa leggermente il messaggio, ma trattandosi in genere di casi isolati, di nominalizzazioni relativamente lontane l’una dall’altra, e non di un uso frequente, la densità lessicale aumenta, ma di poco e quindi non sembra avere un grande impatto sui testi in generale. Comunque sia, si tratta per lo più di ipotesi che andrebbero confermate con una ricerca approfondita.

7 CONCLUSIONI

La lingua parlata si articola in diversi generi e sottogeneri, ognuno caratterizzato da un proprio corredo di regole, convenzioni e caratteristiche. Molte di queste si differenziano da quelle tipiche della lingua scritta e sembra sensato giudicarle piuttosto in base a esse stesse, non solamente in relazione allo scritto. Benché nel presente contributo si sia partiti da analisi della presenza delle nominalizzazioni nella lingua scritta, si è cercato di esplorare i vari generi del parlato senza paragoni esterni.

I dati raccolti con il corpus GOS confermano la nostra ipotesi iniziale solo in parte: la nominalizzazione è nettamente più frequente nei generi testuali parlati più formali rispetto a quelli meno formali, sia se si considerano diverse tipologie testuali, sia guardando il tipo di canale usato nell’evento comunicativo. Si è però dimostrato che il fenomeno non è del tutto marginale nella lingua slovena parlata in generale: nel corpus GOS sono state trovate circa 7.000 nominalizzazioni su un milione di parole; tenendo conto che nella ricerca non sono state incluse tutte le nominalizzazioni, bensì solo quelle con una delle sette desinenze analizzate, il numero reale sarebbe senza dubbio leggermente più alto. La percentuale, come abbiamo visto, in alcuni generi testuali sale considerevolmente, in altri si abbassa anche fino a poche centinaia di occorrenze, ma la nominalizzazione non è mai del tutto assente. Si può supporre che i tipi testuali in cui la nominalizzazione è più ricorrente siano anche quelli più influenzati dalle regole e dalle usanze dello scritto, poiché spesso si tratta di testi parlati almeno in parte preparati in anticipo in forma scritta (per esempio le trasmissioni televisive o radiofoniche, ma anche alcuni tipi di contatti personali come le riunioni formali e simili), tuttavia per una conferma conclusiva si renderebbe necessaria una ricerca mirata e approfondita. Indipendentemente dia ciò, però, non sembra possibile sostenere che l’influenza dello scritto si estenda a tutte le nominalizzazioni riscontrate, poiché se ne trovano anche nei tipi di discorso più spontanei e meno controllati, come le conversazioni private.

Molte sono le questioni che rimangono aperte: prima fra tutte, come si è accennato nella sezione precedente, rimarrebbe da svolgere un’analisi qualitativa approfondita della densità lessicale nei vari generi del parlato, la quale potrebbe essere un criterio pertinente nella determinazione delle caratteristiche peculiari dei singoli tipi di discorso parlato.

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Riassunto

LA NOMINALIZZAZIONE COME INDICATORE DEL GRADO DI FORMALITÀ IN ALCUNI TIPI TESTUALI DELLA LINGUA PARLATA

Il presente contributo si pone come oggetto una ricerca su alcune caratteristiche del discorso parlato legate alla complessità sintattica e lessicale determinata dall'uso della nominalizzazione. Partendo dalla considerazione, più volte espressa, su come la lingua parlata differisca da quella scritta anche dal punto di vista della complessità sintattica e lessicale, dalla quale può dipendere il grado di formalità, e basandoci su studi antecedenti sulla presenza di un fenomeno sintattico-lessicale relativamente complesso, quale è la nominalizzazione, in alcuni generi della lingua slovena scritta, si intende verificare se e in quali aspetti i vari tipi di testi della lingua parlata differiscano tra loro sotto questo punto di vista. La nominalizzazione, qui intesa come metafora grammaticale nel senso hallidayiano, secondo vari studiosi è, infatti, generalmente un elemento caratteristico della lingua formale scritta, la quale trova minore spazio nei generi parlati, sebbene non sia completamente assente in alcuni suoi generi formali. Per la raccolta dei dati necessari ai fini della ricerca viene usato il corpus della lingua parlata slovena GOS, in cui i testi compresi sono divisi in vari subcorpora secondo criteri predefiniti riguardanti la tipologia testuale, il canale dell'evento comunicativo, il tipo di evento comunicativo, la regione di provenienza dei parlanti ecc. La metodologia usata è quella della linguistica dei corpora, integrata, in parte, con ipotesi basate soprattutto sul quadro teorico della linguistica sistemico funzionale.

Parole chiave: lingua parlata, linguistica dei corpora, metafora grammaticale, nominalizzazione, registro.

Povzetek

NOMINALIZACIJA KOT POKAZATELJ STOPNJE FORMALNOSTI V NEKATERIH BESEDILNIH TIPIH GOVORA

Prispevek je osredotočen na raziskavo o nekaterih značilnostih govorjenega diskurza, povezanih s sintaktično-leksikalno kompleksnostjo, ki se pojavlja zaradi uporabe nominalizacij. Če izhajamo iz večkrat izražene trditve, da se govorjeni diskurz razlikuje od pisnega (tudi) s stališča sintaktične in leksikalne kompleksnosti, od katere je lahko odvisna stopnja formalnosti, in upoštevamo predhodne študije o prisotnosti nominalizacije kot relativno kompleksnega sintaktično-leksikalnega fenomena v nekaterih besedilnih vrstah slovenskega pisnega jezika, želimo preveriti, če in v katerih pogledih se razni besedilni tipi govorjenega jezika s tega vidika razlikujejo med sabo. Nominalizacija, ki jo razumemo kot slovnično metaforo v hallidayevskem smislu, je namreč po mnenju številnih znanstvenikov večinoma prvina, tipična za formalni pisni jezik, v govorjenih vrstah diskurza pa je manj prisotna, čeprav jo je mogoče zaslediti v nekaterih relativno formalnih besedilnih vrstah. Potrebne podatke smo pridobili s pomočjo korpusa slovenskega govorjenega jezika GOS, v katerem so besedila razdeljena v različne podkorpuse v skladu s predhodno določenimi kriteriji o besedilnih tipih, kanalih govornega dogodka, tipu govornega dogodka, regiji pripadnosti govorcev itd. Uporabljena metodologija izhaja iz korpusnega jezikoslovja, delno pa je podkrepljena tudi s hipotezami, ki slonijo zlasti na teoretičnem okviru sistemsko funkcijske slovnice.

Ključne besede: govorjeni jezik, korpusno jezikoslovje, nominalizacija, slovnična metafora, register.

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LES SPÉCIFICITÉS DU DISCOURS INDIRECT DANS L'ÉCHANGE ORAL SPONTANÉ EN SLOVÈNE

INTRODUCTION

Les analyses du discours rapporté, qu'il soit direct ou indirect, ont trait généralement à la langue écrite standard. Ainsi, dans *La Grammaire du slovène* (*Slovenska slovnica*, ouvrage de référence en matière de grammaire slovène), nous lisons :

> Nous pouvons rapporter à un destinataire un acte de parole primaire /.../ de quatre façons différentes /.../, a) tel quel, sans le modifier, donc sans phrase introductive /.../ : il s'agit de la reprise littérale /.../ ; b) en citant littéralement ce qui a été dit tout en précisant, si besoin est, dans une phrase spéciale, dite introductive, qui parle ou pense et quand, où, comment, pourquoi (etc.) il le fait : c'est le discours direct /.../; c) nous rapportons ce qui a été dit sous la forme d'une phrase subordonnée complétant un verbe d'énonciation ou d'opinion inclus dans l'énoncé de la phrase introductive /.../ ; č) nous rapportons ce qui a été dit à la troisième personne sans avoir recours à une phrase introductive : c'est le discours indirect libre ou discours semi-direct. /.../ Le discours direct se caractérise tout particulièrement par la présence de phrases introductives où le rôle principal revient au verbe (ou autre expression) d'énonciation ou d'opinion, par exemple *reči* (dire), *povedati* (dire), *obljubiti* (promettre), *vprašati* (demander), *misliti si* (penser en soi-même), etc. Le verbe de ce type peut également être omis, laissant place dans la phrase introductive exclusivement à d'autres circonstances plus importantes (par exemple : *Marjeta jo je slišala in spodbudila* – la mention de l'énonciation *z besedami* (par ces mots) ou *rekoč* (en disant) est ommise) (Toporišič 2000 : 653–655).

Si nous nous concentrons sur le discours rapporté direct et sur la phrase qui l'introduit, nous constatons que *Slovenska slovnica* propose une définition selon laquelle la phrase introduisant le discours rapporté comprend toujours un verbe d'énonciation ou d'opinion, ou bien un autre verbe exprimant un état d'esprit : « Dans la phrase introductive, le verbe d'énonciation peut-être omis et remplacé par un verbe exprimant un étant d'esprit ou une réaction /.../ » (Toporišič 2000 : 656).
Nous trouvons une définition semblable de la phrase introductive (ou accompagnatrice) chez Martina Križaj Ortar :

> Dans le discours direct, comme dans le discours indirect, il s'agit d'exprimer par des mots l'acte de parole primaire, et ce en ayant le plus souvent recours à des verbes d'énonciation, à des participes passés ou présent formés à partir de verbes d'énonciation /.../. La transmis-

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sion à l’aide des verbes d’énonciation est primordiale ; ces derniers sont inclus dans l’énoncé de ce que l’on appelle la phrase accompagnatrice/introductive (Križaj Ortar 1997 : 160).

Dans le présent article, nous nous intéresserons avant tout à l’analyse des phrases introductives du discours rapporté, mettant ainsi en valeur les éléments que les composent dans la langue parlée. Notre hypothèse est que le discours rapporté et les éléments constituant les phrases introductives accompagnant le discours direct diffèrent suivant que nous les rencontrons dans la langue standard écrite ou dans la langue parlée. Nous concentrerons notre attention sur les caractéristiques du discours rapporté direct propres à la langue parlée.

CARACTÉRISTIQUES DES ENREGISTREMENT FORMANT LE CORPUS

Le corpus qui sert de base à notre analyse du discours rapporté comporte trente échantillons textuels de langue parlée produits de manière spontanée par trente locuteurs différents.

Pour permettre une analyse linguistique cohérente du point de vue de l’appartenance régionale ou dialectale, les locuteurs sélectionnés sont tous originaires de Ljubljana ou des environs. En revanche, ils diffèrent par leur sexe (10 hommes et 20 femmes), leur âge (entre 21 et 72 ans) et leur niveau d’instruction.

Seuls deux intervenants participaient à chaque discours : le locuteur et le récepteur. Du fait qu’aucune durée minimale ou maximale ne leur était imposée, les locuteurs ont produit des textes de longueurs différentes, enregistrés à l’aide d’un dictaphone. L’enregistrement de tous les discours a duré environ 15 heures (la longueur totale des textes est de 181 483 signes espaces comprises).

Pour mettre par écrit le discours, nous avons eu recours à la transcription, qui favorise la compréhension et la lisibilité aux dépens de la précision des phonèmes. Nous avons donc utilisé la transcription orthographique pour établir les trente textes constituant le corpus. En dépit de ce principe de base, on rencontre quelques exceptions où ont été retranscrites des formes introuvables dans le dictionnaire de la langue standard. Nous avons opté pour la prise en compte de ces exceptions lorsque celles-ci sont communes à tous les locuteurs enregistrés et lorsqu’elles n’entravent pas la lecture.

CATÉGORIES DE DISCOURS RAPPORTÉ DANS LA LANGUE PARLÉE

Suite à notre analyse, nous remarquons également dans la langue parlée différentes catégories de discours rapporté que nous pouvons classer dans trois grands groupes :

a) Le groupe du discours rapporté direct avec phrase introductive. On y distingue cinq sous-groupes en fonction de la forme que revêt la phrase introductive :

Exemples :

- **le vrai discours direct :** Pol se mi je enkrat /.../, se mi je Andreja opravičvala /.../, je rekla: »Joj, ej, jaz sem ti pa takrat težila, ej, šit, ne, sori.« Jaz sem rekla: »No, saj zdaj vidiš, kako je to, ne.« (B1)

- **Le faux discours direct :** No, po sem pa še tist, sem se udal v usodo, ne, sem reku, zdaj bo dal mir, k bo vidu, kaj je notr, kakšna stvar, ne, kaj za sestavt, al, ne vem, ne. (B30)

- **Le vrai discours direct avec ellipse partielle du verbe d'énonciation/d'opinion dans la phrase introductive :** In kar naprej sem: »A bosta že luč ugasnile?« (B5)

- **Le vrai discours direct avec ellipse totale du verbe d'énonciation/d'opinion dans la phrase introductive :** In pol, k je blo konc, on tist: »Ja, Maja, počakajte, počakajte.« (B2)

- **Le vrai discours direct avec réalisation partielle de la phrase introductive ou introductive** : Pride en, a je to stažist, al kaj jaz vem kaj /.../ mislim, da je stažist, ne, pa tud če ne, no: »Ja, bomo kar mehur prepiknil, ne.« (B1)

b) Le discours rapporté direct sans phrase introductive annonçant la reprise du discours primaire.

<u>Exemples</u> :
- Dons, ne, v knižnci, pride k pultu en fant /.../ pa prav, da bi rad Letino tehniko 2 /.../. Po pa sem rekla: »A mate to za slovenščino?« Prav: »Ja.« Sem rekla: »Najbrž knjigo Ninina pesnika 2.« »Ja, ja.« (B20)

- Ja, joj, ne, take majo, čaki, to je tud ena, k je pršla, dobr maš maš, ka pa jaz vem, {*em*} Antigono od Šekspira, al pa, čaki ena je enkrat rekla, da bi SHAKESPEARA, ne, pa to to se je eni drugi knižničarki zgodl, ne, pa prav, da bi od SHAKESPEARA, tko, »Ja, posluš, ne, ti si drug letnik, še..., že tok let maš angleščino, saj to bi lohk vedla, da se reče Šekspir pa to je tud splošna izobrazba.« »Ja, pa je turšica na tablo napisala SHAKESPEARE.« (B20)

c) Le discours indirect, divisé en trois sous-catégories

<u>Exemples</u> :
- **Le vrai discours indirect** : Sem rekla Boštjanu, naj gre spat, k nima smisla /.../. (B1)
- **Le discours indirect avec ellipse partielle du marqueur jonctif** : Pol so me, ta L. me je prepričvala, ful morm it, pa obe sestri od. N., da morm it. (B12)

- **Le discours indirect avec réalisation incomplète de la phrase introductive** : Ta čas se vmes ni nič dogajal, tko da mene so še poslal hodit okrog, da naj se še mal sprehajam, pa to. (B1)

Chacune des catégories et sous-catégories mentionnées possède ses propres caractéristiques formelles et fonctionnelles ou métatextuelles. Il convient maintenant de les étudier plus en détails.

1 LE DISCOURS RAPPORTÉ DIRECT AVEC « ELLIPSE PARTIELLE » DU VERBE D'ÉNONCIATION/D'OPINON DANS LA PHRASE INTRODUCTIVE

Dans la langue parlée, il est fréquent de rencontrer une forme de discours direct caractérisée par une phrase introductive où le verbe d'énonciation ou d'opinion n'est pas complètement réalisé ou bien n'est pas remplacé par un autre moyen linguistique équivalent sur le plan sémantico-fonctionnel. Dans la phrase introductive, seuls sont exprimées l'identité du locuteur de l'acte de parole primaire et la forme verbale conjuguée de l'auxiliaire être.

Exemples :

- K sta pršla unadva, sem rekla: » O šit, zdaj pa...« Tolk, da sta čakala..., do polnoči sta bla pri nama, {*eee*} ob ene osmih zvečer... ampak vseen, *jaz sem: »Daj bodta še mal {H}, mene je mal strah, a veš«.* (B1)

- In {*e*} tko ful enga folka in skratka da bi šli na ta žur, tud mi, in tko mislim, tud jaz pa L. pa to, in *jaz sem najprej: »Joj, jaz ne bi šel,«* pa ful sem travmiral pa to. (B12)

Dans les deux cas, nous pouvons remarquer dans la phrase introductive une sorte d'autonomisation de l'auxiliaire *biti* (« être »).[1] Pour définir cette autonomisation fonctionnelle du point de vue métatextuel, nous pouvons dire que le rôle du participe « omis » est assumé par la citation rapportant l'acte de parole primaire. Ainsi, les marques de l'acte de citation ou de transmission de l'acte de parole primaire se trouvent estompées ; le monde textuel et, de ce fait, les conditions initiales accompagnant l'acte de parole primaire sont placés au premier plan et semblent en partie s'amalgamer avec les circonstances de l'acte de parole actuel. La distance temporelle séparant les actes de parole primaire et secondaire. La citation prend donc en charge un rôle sémantique et structurel proche de celui assumé par le participe dans la formation de la forme verbale du passé. Ce que nous venons d'écrire signifie que, lorsque nous avons affaire à ce type de discours rapporté, nous ne devrions pas parler d'ellipse du participe passé, puisque la forme est en réalité pleinement réalisée sur les plans sémantique et structurel. Dans ces cas, l'emploi du participe serait redondant et l'assimilation de cette absence à une omission (ellipse) du participe est un non-sens, vu que le co-texte, les circonstances extérieures et les structures syntaxiques potentielles n'appuient pas cette interprétation. Nous pouvons donc parler d'ellipse exclusivement en se basant sur une comparaison structurelle (sur la prise en compte d'écarts structurels) entre la formation habituelle du discours direct dans la langue standard et la formation de ce même discours direct dans la langue parlée.

- Rekla mi je petnajsti do dvajseti oktober, ne, no pol sem pa jaz enaindvajsetega rodila, ampak je blo, {*em*}, že tolk, razumeš, da *me je tast na hodniku, k sva se srečala, ne: »Ja a si še kar doma?«* Ej, pismu, mislim, k bi lohk saj te, k so bli domači ne težil. (B1)

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[1] Quand la phrase est au passé, en principe la phrase introductive est formée du pronom personnel (qui est le plus souvent ommis), de l'auxiliaire être et du participe (par exemple : (jaz) sem rekel – « j'ai dit »). Dans les échanges oraux spontanés, nous avons affaire à une structure différente où le participe est ommis. Ainsi, le locuteur ne réalise que le pronom personnel et l'auxiliaire être.

Dans ce dernier exemple, la locutrice exprime dans la phrase introductive l'identité de l'auteur de l'acte de parole primaire (*tast* – « mon beau-père »), l'identité du récepteur de l'acte de parole primaire (*me* – accusatif du pronom personnel « je ») et les circonstances spatio-temporelles dans lesquelles l'acte de parole primaire a eu lieu (*na hodniku, ko sva se srečala* – « dans le couloir, quand nous nous sommes rencontrés »). Le pronom personnel exprimant le récepteur de l'acte de parole primaire est à l'accusatif. Lorsque la citation assume le rôle de complément sémantico-structurel de l'auxiliaire *biti* - *être* (ici : *je* – « est »), l'accusatif est le cas le plus fréquemment employé pour désigner le récepteur de l'acte de parole primaire.

2 LE DISCOURS RAPPORTÉ DIRECT AVEC « ELLIPSE TOTALE » DU VERBE D'ÉNONCIATION/D'OPINON DANS LA PHRASE INTRODUCTIVE

Il convient de présenter une forme plus fréquente que celle évoquée précédemment : la forme où la phrase introductrice ne comprend aucune forme verbale – conjuguée ou non – ayant pour fonction d'annoncer la citation.

Exemples :

- A: Virus je dobila in je bla v bistvu ene štiri dni tam s takim (G: *kaže s kakšnim*) nosom, ne. No, medve sva čaj, {*em*} tist čaj natepavale, ona je tisto tortico, *pol je pa rekla: »Zdaj pa moram it,*« ne, »v Ljubljani moram bit ob dvanajstih,« k ma pač zamenjavo, ne, ker ma prvi razred devetletke in *unadva: »Midva bi šla pa s tabo v Celovc. A lahko greva?«* ne. K je še tolk ur blo, veš, to je blo pet ur za čakat. Midve sva ble..., ob devetih smo bli že tam, a veš, ob dveh pa trideset je bil pa let, no, še več, ne.

M: {*Uuu.*}

A: Ja, no in, *pol unadva: »Ja, kdo bo pa naše kufre čuvu, ne?«*

M: {*H*}

A: A veš, in pol jaz nisem hotla nič rečt, ne, in, in potem je Sandra že šla. *Je rekla: »Kaj je zdaj? Vidva gresta z mano do Celovca al ne*?« In pol midve tko tih, ne, a veš, jaz tko izdajalska do svojga bratranca, ne, zamera pa to, in pol Mateja tko, veš, čist na koncu, k..., veš, Sandra je bla že tam zunaj, ne, ker je mela tud sam pol ure parkirišča, ne, in *pol ona tko milostno, merciful: »Lahko gresta, okej bova pogledale, sam dol jih pa ne bova…«* a veš, ker smo bli gor na galeriji, v kafiču, je rekla: »Dol jih pa ne bova nosile, če ne bosta pršla do takrat.«, ne. *In pol una: »Hvala, hvala,« in sta šla.*

M: Ja. (B5)

- Pol sva začela si o čustvih govort, *jaz tko njej: »Joj, N., jaz te ljubim, {e} nikol v življenju nisem bol ljubil…«*

S: A ti to resno, al kaj?

K: Ja ja ja, {*aha*}, tko po telefonu, *in ona: »Ja, jaz tud tebe ljubim,« in tko sva si totalno ljubezen izpovedala prek telefona*. (B12)

Dans le première exemple, nous pouvons constater une structure intermédiaire entre, d'une part, le discours rapporté avec phrase introductrice où le rôle d'annonce de la citation est assumé non seulement par le pronom personnel, mais aussi par la forme verbale conjuguée (*je rekla*) et, d'autre part, le discours rapporté avec phrase introductive où seul le pronom personnel mentionnant l'auteur de l'acte de parole primaire (*unadva, ona*) est exprimé. Il est intéressant de constater que la locutrice à « omis » la forme verbale conjuguée dans les phrases introductives annonçant des événements/citations particulièrement importants, étonnants, inattendus ou captivants. En « omettant » le verbe d'énonciation/d'opinion ainsi que les précisions concernant les autres circonstle verbe pravitiances, la locutrice oriente l'attention du récepteur directement et exclusivement sur l'acte de parole primaire. Ce faisant, elle le souligne et le met en valeur. Avec l'omission de la forme verbale, la dimension temporelle de l'acte de parole primaire (le passé) reste également inexprimée, ce qui a pour effet d'associer en apparence l'acte de parole primaire à la dimension temporelle de l'acte de parole secondaire (le présent).

- In pol spet s to kartico, ne. Jaz sem šla kar stran, veš, res nisem mogla bit tam zraven, ne. In *ona men tko čez cel oddelk otroških igrač: »Spet je ratal.«* (B5)

Dans ce dernier exemple de discours direct avec « ellipse totale » du verbe d'énonciation ou d'opinion dans la phrase introductive, la locutrice mentionne (seulement) l'auteur de l'acte de parole primaire (*ona*), le récepteur (*men*) et le lieu où l'événement narré a eu lieu (*čez cel oddelk otroških igrač*). Dans les phrases introductives avec « ellipse totale » du verbe d'énonciation/d'opinion, on rencontre toujours, en règle générale, un lexème assumant le rôle de sujet (l'auteur de l'acte de parole primaire) sous la forme d'une particule de phrase. Cela n'a rien d'étonnant, car il s'agit là du seul moyen disponible (en dehors des moyens anaphoriques possibles) permettant de se référer à l'auteur de l'acte de parole primaire.

3 LE DISCOURS RAPPORTÉ DIRECT SANS PHRASE INTRODUCTIVE

Le rôle métatextuel consistant à rapprocher le monde textuel du récepteur et à accroître progressivement l'attention du récepteur en renforçant le rôle conatif est assumé également par les formes de discours rapporté où les phrases introductives semblent avoir été omises.

<u>Exemples :</u>

- P: Jaz niti dihat nisem znala. Matjaž prav: »Dihat dihat.« ***Pride** sestra notr: »A ste hodila na šolo za starše?« »Sem.« »Ja, pa saj so vas učil tam dihat.« »So, ampak men ne gre. Dejva skupi.«* No, pol sva skupi dihale, mislm, po pa, k je šla ona ven, pa jaz tko: »Matjaž, jaz to škodo delam dujenčku. Jaz sploh ne diham prou, sploh ne diham v trebuh, jaz kar nekam diham, sam da diham.« Prav: »Ne ne, saj bo, saj bo.« Pol je šu mal za hrbet mi, pa me je mal masiru, /.../ in pol sem spala in spet, ne. Ampak to, ne, *in pol kar naenkrat **so pršle**: »Kera ekipa, {aaa} gospa, zdaj pa na ta drug bok, pa noge skup pa fajn prtisnte,« pa smo trikrat tlele, »pa nogo pa glavo naprej, pa še na unga.«* Pa me je umes ubi- uuujel pupadek, k sem glih na hrbet, pa, a ne, k še nisem do naslednga boka pršla. (B16)

- M1: Bla sem tam, sem se kar sprehajala ene dve uri. Pa pridem nazaj, *pa spet una **pride**: »Ja, nič.«* Pupadki so pa minil, mislim minil, niso bli več tko na pet minut, ampak kar na deset pa, taki švoh, ne, mislim tko.

M2: {*Mhm mhm.*}
M1: Pol je, pol je ob pol devetih je bil Boštjan že tam. ***Pride** en, a je to stažist, al kaj jaz vem kaj, en mlad dohtar, k še ni niti ni dohtar, mislim, da je stažist, ne, pa tud če ne, no: »Ja, bomo kar mehur prepiknil, ne.«* (B1)

Dans les deux cas, nous voyons clairement que, fréquemment, les citations ne sont précédées d'aucune phrase introductive classique annonçant l a mention des actes de parole primaires. Dans le premier exemple, nous rencontrons au début la reproduction littérale du discours primaire sans aucune phrase introductive (*Pride sestra notr. »A ste hodila na šolo za starše?« »Sem.« »Ja, pa saj so vas učil tam dihat.« »So, ampak men ne gre. Dejva skupi.«*).[2] Un examen plus attentif de ce cas montre que, en réalité, l'ellipse des phrases introductives n'est qu'apparente. L'annonce de la citation est le plus souvent prise en charge par le verbe *priti* au passé ou au présent (présent historique). Ce dernier voit son champs sémantique élargi et remplit au moins deux fonctions à la fois : il recouvre son champs sémantique primaire et, par élargissement sémantique, accroît la tension dramatique de l'acte de parole primaire ou de l'événement passé dans lequel s'inscrit l'acte de parole primaire.

4 LES DEUX VERBES SIGNIFIANT « DIRE », *REČI* ET *PRAVITI*, DANS LA PHRASE INTRODUCTIVE

L'un des verbes d'énonciation les plus fréquents dans les phrases introductives ou introductives est le verbe *reči (dire)*. Par ailleurs, les locuteurs emploient souvent également le verbe *praviti (dire)*. Bien que leur usage soit habituel, il est intéressant d'analyser leurs formes et les cas où ils sont en concurrence.

Exemples :

- Prideva tja. Najprej tam mi CT delajo, pol me pregleda, ***prav**: »Tri pa pol samo odprt.« **Sem rekla**: »Pol grem lahka dam.« **Prav:** »Ne, lahko greste gor v sobo al pa v porodno.*« (B1)

- K je bil Val majčkn, /.../ in jaz mu {*ee*} kupim en Kinder jajček, je že takrat norel za temi Kinder jajčki, ne, in on je spet to reku Kindel solplajs, in {*ee*} je skratka ... sedi na kahlci *pa **prav**: »Dida, odvi mi,«* ne, jaz pa v tisti naglc, mislim, da sem hotu prpravt mu tist njegov zrezek, ne, k je stalno meso jedu, ne, {*ee*} ***rečem**: »Joj, Val, ti bom pol, ne, rajši, ne. Zdele nimam časa.« {ee} Pa **prav**: »Ne, kar odvi,«* in sem mogu odvit, ne, potem ***je** pa **reku**: »Ja,«* čez neki časa, seveda tam notr je tist jajček, ne, {*ee*} čukuladnega itak on ni nikol pojedu, ga je kar zraven odložu, pa tko naprej, ne, nakar je {*ee*} tist jajček..., ***je reku**: »Ja, pa tud udrpri*, ne.« No, po sem pa še tist, sem se udal v usodo, ne, sem reku, zdaj bo dal mir, k bo vidu, kaj je notr, kakšna stvar, ne, kaj za sestavt, al, ne vem, ne, in skratka, je po tem {*ee*} no, {*ee*} grem jaz nazaj s h tisti svoji kuhi, ne, {*ee*} nakar on **prav**: »Dida, {*ee*} na zdaj mi pa puvej, kako se to sestav, bova sestavla, ne.« **Jaz sem reku**: »Val, veš kaj, nimam špeglou tuki, ne.« Potem se pa zlo zamisl, pa neki časa je tih, potem pa prav, ko gleda tist listek,

[2] Trad. « L'infirmière est entrée. 'Vous avez suivi le stage pour les futurs parents ?' 'Oui.' 'Eh bien, là-bas, ils ont bien dû vous apprendre à respirer, non ?' 'Oui, mais moi je n'y arrive pas. Allons-y ensemble.' »

ne, na kterem je blo pač shema za sestavt tale {*ee*} tisto igrco v Kinder jajčku oziroma tist tist predmetek, ne, *in **prav**: »Dida, tuki piše Ne jabiš očal.«* (B30)

- Nobenga človeka nisva srečala, no, pol prav Nastja ..., jaz sem šel glih lu- lulat, /.../ ***sem reku:*** *»Ti pejt pa mal naprej, pa poglej, če tam glih približn pri križu, če kakšen dol pride,« pa **prav**: »Dva gresta, dva gresta*.« Jaz hiter pol naprej, pol pa vidm..., enga znanca vidm, /.../, {*ee*} hudiča, ves tak je bil, tkole {*H*} ves pobit prav, pa smo se tem ene deset minut pogovarjal pa to, pa ***prav*** *Nastja: »Tale ga pa fejst pije.« **Sem reku**: »Ja, prav, zakuga*?« »Ja, zato, saj svidu, kakšen je.« »A misliš, da zato, k je pobit?« »*Ne,« **prav** »zato k ga v ksiht pogledaš.*« /.../ No, pol midva sva hotla it tam naprej še potem do do koče v Vojah, {*ee*} no, pol sta pa unadva rekla..., sta šla pa dol, pa {*ee*} ob koritih gor nazaj, ne, *pol **sem reku**: »Tle je zdaj nevarnost, da se že spet srečamo, pa debatirat, na konc se bomo še domu povabil al kaj tazga, pejva midva pol tam.«* (B11)

Dans les trois exemples, l'analyse des verbes *reči* et *praviti* montre que l'emploi du verbe *praviti* est avant tout lié à l'interlocuteur de l'acte de parole primaire et apparaît à la 3e personne (*on/ona prav-i* – « il/elle dit »). Dans tous les exemples retranscrits précédemment, le verbe *praviti* est toujours employé au présent (présent historique) et à la 3e personne. En revanche, le verbe *reči* est avant tout lié à la première personne (*sem reku/rekla* – « j'ai dit »), donc au locuteur qui rapporte l'acte de parole primaire. Contrairement au verbe *praviti*, il est le plus souvent employé au passé. Du point de vue métatextuel, cet emploi est habituel. Par son aspect imperfectif et son présent, le verbe *praviti* introduit une tension, fait croître l'attention du récepteur. Du point de vue du locuteur et de son appréhension du monde textuel et de l'événement narré lui-même, les déclarations de l'interlocuteur de la situation de parole primaire représentent une péripétie, un tournant inattendu. Ainsi, la tension dramatique ou péripétie caractérisant la citation des interlocuteurs de l'acte de parole primaire est le plus souvent soutenue précisément par un choix lexical (le verbe *praviti* opposé à *reči*) et la forme verbale elle-même (présent historique/véritable présent, aspect perfectif/imperfectif).

Les déclarations du locuteur de l'acte de parole primaire, qui est en même temps le rapporteur de ce dernier, ne constituent pas pour le locuteur une péripétie, un tournant illogique, c'est pourquoi ce dernier annonce le plus souvent ses autocitations à l'aide du verbe *reči* au passé.

5 LE DISCOURS INDIRECT AVEC RÉALISATION INCOMPLÈTE DE LA PHRASE INTRODUCTIVE

La langue parlée se caractérise aussi par le fait que le discours rapporté y est cité à l'intérieur d'une phrase introduite par une conjonction, mais dont la réalisation est interrompue, incomplète. Ici, le discours rapporté est toujours introduit par une conjonction de subordination (par exemple, *da* – « que », *če – « si »*) qui, précisément du fait que la phrase introductive reste non réalisée, assume un rôle élargi.

Exemples :

- Pol je, pol je ob pol devetih je bil Boštjan že tam. Pride en, a je to stažist, al kaj jaz vem kaj, /.../ »Ja bomo kar mehur prepiknil, ne.« Pa gre z uno, tako iglo (G: *kaže z rokami,* *kako dolga*) noter, veš. /.../ Je blo pa z vodo čist vse v redu, ne, {*em*}, ja, *da bo to pospešil,* ne. Pol pa, {*em*}, ni blo nič bolš, pol sem mela pa še umetne. (B1)

- Me pokliče N. »{*Neee*}«, *če gremo ven, in da bo tud L.*, to je ta njena najboljša prjatelca, v bistvu smo bli skupi v Rimu, trojka, v bistvu, in smo bli tam en teden, cel žur in to, skratka, tko, dokaj prjatli, pa to. No in {*e*}, me skratka pokliče in {*e*} *če gremo ven,* tko bla bla bla in sem reku: »Ja valda, the best.« (B12)

- Sem mela enga, k je reku, da je Jezus Kristus. Pršu je, pa niti ne moj pacient, sem bla dežurna, in *da ga boli*, /.../, mulc, sem rekla: »Tle je treba sam trakec dat notr, pa pač menat, saj bo nehal tekom enga tedna,« ne. In drug dan je pršu, *da nega tok boli*, je reku..., pa že prej sem vidla, da ni pr č- čisti, k je začel, če ga bo nehal, da pol mu verjetn ni treba it samomora delat, zarat tega, ne, pa take fore. No poj pa drug dan pršu, *da ga še zmer boli*, sem rekla: »Ja, v redu.« (B25)

Si nous observons de plus près le premier et le troisième exemples, nous constatons que la conjonction *da* (« que ») introduisant l'acte de parole primaire y revêt un rôle élargi. En dehors du rôle consistant à introduire, la conjonction *da* endosse également un rôle proche de celui d'une particule modale. En effet, le locuteur l'utilise pour exprimer son point de vue subjectif et ainsi commenter la déclaration/citation de l'interlocuteur du premier acte de parole (par exemple, en exprimant un doute concernant la véracité d'une affirmation). Si nous examinons le deuxième exemple, nous pouvons conclure que, ici aussi, le rôle subordonnant initial de la conjonction *če* (« si ») est élargi. La seule différence réside dans le fait que, dans ce cas, ce rôle n'est pas modal (il ne consiste pas à exprimer un point de vue subjectif), mais consiste à annoncer le résumé (et non la citation intégrale) de l'acte de parole primaire.

CONCLUSION

D'après *Slovenska slovnica* (2000 : 653–656), nous pouvons identifier dans la langue parlée différentes formes de discours rapporté absentes de la langue écrite standard. Après analyse, nous constatons que les formes de discours rapporté étudiées se rencontrent essentiellement dans la langue parlée en raison de différents facteurs conditionnant la formation du texte parlé (la prosodie, la simultanéité de l'énonciation et de la réception du texte, les signes de communication non verbale venant du locuteur, diverses lois syntaxiques et textuelles propres à la langue parlée, etc.). En dehors des caractéristiques spécifiques au niveau structurel ou formel, toutes les catégories de discours rapporté observées présentent des particularités également au niveau métatextuel (tentative de rapprocher le monde textuel du récepteur, association des dimensions temporelles des actes de paroles primaire et secondaire, gradation du rôle conatif, gradation du caractère dramatique de l'événement raconté, etc.).

Il paraît évident que l'observation des emplois et des différentes formes du discours rapporté est intéressante et nécessaire non seulement dans la perspective d'une comparaison entre les langues standard et parlée, mais aussi dans le but d'établir une analyse contrastive du slovène et des autres langues. En effet, s'il est courant en slovène d'omettre la phrase introductive ou de substituer le verbe d'énonciation par un verbe d'opinion ou par un mot une autre catégorie grammaticale, il n'en est pas de même, par exemple, en français où cet usage est connoté, voire impossible. Formons des vœux pour que le présent article encourage de futures analyses contrastives ayant pour sujet d'étude le discours rapporté dans différentes langues.

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Résumé

LES SPÉCIFICITÉS DU DISCOURS INDIRECT DANS L'ÉCHANGE ORAL SPONTANÉ EN SLOVÈNE

Contrairement à ce que l'on peut constater dans d'autres langues (notamment en français), le discours indirect en slovène est caractérisé par la possibilité laissée à l'énonciateur de faire l'ellipse du verbe d'énonciation pour lui préférer un verbe exprimant son opinion ou son état d'esprit. Or, si on aboutit dans la langue écrite standard à une ellipse partielle (par exemple, le verbe d'énonciation est remplacé par un verbe d'opinion dans la phrase introductive du discours indirect), en revanche on peut souvent remarquer dans les énoncés tirés de la langue parlée spontanée une ellipse totale (la phrase introductive ne comporte aucun verbe d'énonciation, d'opinion ou d'état d'esprit). Dans bien des cas, les phrases introductives n'indiquent que l'auteur de l'acte discursif initial et le destinataire de ce dernier (singulièrement mentionné le plus souvent à l'aide de l'accusatif). En dehors de l'ellipse complète du verbe dans les phrases introductives, on distingue également d'autres types de transmission du discours indirect absentes des autres formes écrites ou orales de la langue. Parmi les types de discours indirect les plus fréquents, mentionnons le cas où seule la citation est fournie, introduite par un signal discursif accompagné du lexème « da » (« que »), tandis que la phrase principale ou introductive reste non réalisée. En tant que structures caractéristiques du discours parlé spontané, les formes de discours indirect mentionnées précédemment présentent un intérêt non seulement pour les grammairiens étudiant la syntaxe structurale, mais aussi, plus généralement, du point de vue discursif et métatextuel.

Mots-clés : discours indirect, types de discours indirect, langue parlée, phrases introductives, ellipse du verbe.

Povzetek
POSEBNOSTI POROČANEGA GOVORA V SPONTANO GOVORJENIH BESEDILIH V SLOVENŠČINI

Za posredovanje poročanega govora v slovenskem knjižnem jeziku je značilno, da je v nasprotju z nekaterimi drugimi jeziki lahko glagol rekanja eliptično izpuščen, uporabljen pa glagol, ki razkriva mišljenje ali duševno stanje. Če je za knjižni jezik značilna delna elipsa (v spremnem stavku je npr. uporabljen glagol mišljenja, ne pa glagol rekanja), je v spontano govorjenih besedilih velikokrat zaslediti polno elipso (v spremnem stavku ni izraženega glagola rekanja oz. mišljenja ali duševnega stanja). V spremnih stavkih v spontano govorjenih besedilih sta tako nemalokrat podana le tvorec prvotnega govornega dejanja in naslovnik prvotnega govornega dejanja, ki pa je presenetljivo največkrat izražen v tožilniški obliki. Poleg polne elipse glagola v spremnih stavkih je v spontano govorjenih besedilih zaznati tudi druge vrste posredovanja poročanega govora, ki kot take niso pričakovane v drugih jezikovnih zvrsteh. Pogoste so oblike poročanega govora, kjer je podan le citat, ki ga uvaja določen govorni signal skupaj z leksemom da, spremni oz. glavni stavek pa ostaja neizpeljan. Omenjene oblike poročanega govora v spontano govorjenih besedilih niso zanimive le s stališča slovničnega oz. strukturnoskladenjskega raziskovanja, pač pa predvsem s širšega diskurznega in metabesedilnega pristopa.

Ključne besede: poročani govor, oblike poročanega govora, govorjeni jezik, spremni stavki, elipsa glagola.

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KEY WORD ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSES IN SLOVENE SPEECH: DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

1 INTRODUCTION

This study addresses the differences and similarities between different types of speech. There is a great deal of research available that compares linguistic characteristics (lexical and grammatical) of different discourses, registers or genres. The comparisons are more often made at a specific level, i.e. in terms of a particular feature in the discourse, rather than at a general level. One well-known general comparison comprised a corpus-based study of four major registers of English (conversation, fiction, newspapers and academic writing), and was conducted by Biber et al. (1999). Although this comprehensive study considered a spoken register, it described linguistic features of the spoken register in comparison with three written registers; therefore, it provides no information on internal variety of speech.

One of the main obstacles to wider research into internal variety of speech is the lack of large and balanced spoken corpora. Academic language, especially English, seems to be an exception – the availability of spoken corpora such as the British Academic Spoken English (BASE) corpus,[1] the Michigan Corpus of American Spoken English (MICASE),[2] and the spoken part of the corpus used in the TOEFL 2000 Spoken and Written Academic Language (T2K-SWAL) project has resulted in considerable research into the variety of spoken academic registers (e.g. Nesi 2001; Biber et al. 2002; Biber 2006; Louwerse et al. 2008; Lee 2009). While many of these studies report on internal variety in academic speech in terms of individual linguistic features, one of the important findings of the studies on the T2K-SWAL project is that "all [academic] spoken registers are similar in their typical linguistic characteristics" (Biber 2006:223).

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[1] http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/celte/research/base

[2] http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/micase/

For Slovene, one can observe a situation similar to other languages – speech has attracted considerable attention in the past decade; however, few studies have investigated the differences and similarities between different spoken discourses (e.g. Verdonik 2010; Verdonik et al. 2008). Research has mainly focussed on speech in general (e.g. Kranjc 1999; Smolej 2007; Volk 2007), one discourse type (e.g. Krajnc 2005), or a particular linguistic feature (e.g. Verdonik 2007). The recently created first reference spoken corpus of Slovene, called GOS (presented in more detail in the next section), is an important resource that should help researchers fill this gap in research on variety in Slovene speech.

This paper makes the first step towards filling this gap by examining the distinguishing lexical items of the five different discourse types of the GOS corpus, and identifying lexical characteristics shared by different discourses. We employed the key word extraction method to identify statistically significant lexical items. An important finding is that the presence or absence of a particular word class in the key word list can be a good indicator of the type of spoken discourse, or discourses.

2 DATA AND METHOD

The data used for the analysis were from the Slovene reference speech corpus GOS (Verdonik/Zwitter Vitez 2011), consisting of 1,032,775 words or 120 hours of recordings. It contains speech events from five different discourse types with different channels (Table 1). An important characteristic of the corpus, ensuring a good comparability of different discourse types, is that the majority of the recordings consist of spontaneous speech (as opposed to read speech).

Discourse type	Channel	Number of tokens	Totals	Percentage
Classes		162,750	162,750	16%
Media - informative	radio	94,536	196,799	19%
	TV	102,263		
Media - entertainment	radio	123,152	228,765	22%
	TV	105,613		
Official	phone	33,484	153,471	15%
	personal communication	119,987		
Private	phone	68,083	290,990	28%
	personal communication	222,907		

Table 1: Discourse types in the GOS corpus.

We used a well-established method of key word extraction (Scott 1997; 1998; 2000; 2001a; 2001b; 2002) – applied by researchers such as Tribble (2000), Toolan (2004), Johnson and Esslin (2006), and Duguid (2010) – to identify typical lexical items of each discourse, and observe characteristics shared by different discourses. Key words are words that occur unusually frequently in a text or corpus of texts compared to their frequency in a reference corpus (i.e. the difference between their frequency in the study corpus and their frequency in the reference corpus is statistically significant).

A very important aspect of key word analysis is the selection of a reference corpus. A reference corpus is normally much larger than the text or sub-corpus under analysis. In terms of content, Scott and Tribble (2006: 58) suggest that the reference corpus "should be an appropriate sample of the language which the text we are studying (the 'node-text') is written in." The GOS corpus was the only corpus of Slovene speech that met these conditions for our study. It is not common for the reference corpus to be obtained from the corpus under analysis when employing the method of key word extraction. However, we justify the use of this method for this study as other corpora of Slovene speech tend to be smaller or more specialized, for example Broadcast News Speech Database (Žgank et al. 2004; Žibert/Mihelič, 2004) or the Sloparl corpus (Žgank et al. 2006), which contains transcriptions of parliamentary debates, and were thus unsuitable for our purposes. Each discourse sub-corpus under analysis was excluded from the GOS to create its respective reference corpus, to improve key word extraction results (Jeon/Choe 2009) – consequently, five different reference corpora were used, one for each discourse sub-corpus of GOS.

The list of key words for each discourse was extracted using the WordSmith Tools 5.0 (Scott 2008) computer program. In order to be able to conduct this statistical analysis, we first prepared word lists for discourse sub-corpora and for reference corpora. Word lists were prepared for word forms (as opposed to lemmas), as this was expected to give more reliable results; in addition, by focussing on word forms, some indication of the relevance of the word's grammatical characteristics, such as case, gender and number could be deducted directly from the key word list.

The statistical test used for key word extraction was loglikelihood ($p<0.001$). The minimum frequency of a word from a particular discourse to be listed a key word was initially set to 3, in order to exclude hapax legomena and very rare words. The key word lists obtained differed in the number of words they contained: there were 2566 key words for classes discourse, 2992 for media-informative discourse, 2511 for media-entertainment discourse, 1091 for official discourse, and 1550 for private discourse. Because the number of words in each list was very large, we decided to focus on top key words in each list (up to 10 %), but rather than taking the top X % of words on each list, we set a keyness threshold of 50, as this enabled a better comparability of the analysed key lexical items. This resulted in the final lists of items for our analysis: 220 for classes, 213 for media-informative, 133 for media-entertainment, 51 for official, and 131 for private discourse.

The qualitative part of the analysis involved examining concordances of each word on the final lists, eliminating words that featured due to their high frequency of use in just one discourse or by just one speaker, and identifying the topic-bound words. Also, corpus noise items, such as speaker IDs, # symbol, etc., were removed. The remaining words were categorized according to word classes. During manual examination of corpus concordances we noted the most common, outstanding, or non-standard usages (including the most common phrases that contain a key word). We also attempted to establish a connection to the pragmatic aspects of word usage, wherever possible.

3 RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS

The results are presented as a summary of key words according to standard word classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives etc.). However, during the manual examination of concordances, it became evident that some words could also be grouped on pragmatic aspects (e.g. discourse markers, markers of approximation, fillers, greetings etc.), and that several key words often featured in a phrase; therefore the phrase, rather than just the word, could be assigned to a group.

3.1 Classes discourse

The most common group of key words in classes discourse is verbs. They indicate the common actions that are going on in the class: a teacher explains ((*se) pravi* 'it means', *predstavlja* 'it represents'), introduces new terminology (with verbs such as: *imenujemo* 'we name', *rečemo* 'we say'), categorizes (*spada* 'it belongs'), instructs pupils (*napišite* 'write down', *preberi* 'read'), repeats what has been told, for improved recall (*smo* <u>*rekli*</u> 'we said') etc. Plural is the most common verb form: in the second person when the teacher refers to pupils, and in the first person when the whole class cooperates in the same action. The verb *prosim* 'please', which is located very high on the key word list, indicates politeness conventions. Direct imperative forms are commonly found (e.g. *preberi* 'read'). Among other typical verb forms are future forms of the auxiliary *biti* 'be'.

Another well-represented group of key words is pronouns, especially those used to ask questions: *kaj* 'what', *katere* 'which', *(iz/od) česa* '(from) what', *kdo* 'who' (referring to pupils: *kdo manjka* 'who's missing'). Demonstrative pronouns, such as *tale* 'this one', are also typical and are used as deictics, to point to the subject of discussion.

Nouns are also often found among key words in classes, but are mostly related to a particular discourse topic (e.g. *povedek* 'predicate', *polmer* 'radius', *verjetnost* 'probability'). There are few typical topic-free nouns, like *del* 'part', *učitelj/-ica* 'the teacher' etc.

Other word classes rarely feature on the key word list; there are few numerals (*ena* 'one', *dve* 'two') and adverbs (*tukaj/tukajle* 'here', *najprej* 'first of all',[3] *značilno* 'typical').

Other noticeable words on the key word list are conjunction *torej* 'so' (found at the top of the ley word list), conjunction or pronoun *zakaj* 'why', preposition *med* 'among' (commonly used to introduce comparisons) and the filler *eem* 'um' (indicating pauses between long explanations).

3.2 Media–informative discourse

Few verbs feature on the key word list of media-informative discourse; those that do usually act as discourse markers (*po/glejte* 'look'), constitute similar pragmatic ex-

[3] It is not always possible to find an appropriate English translation with the same part-of-speech category as the one of the Slovene word.

pressions (*(moram)* *reči* 'I have to say'; *(kar se pa mene/tega)* *tiče* 'concerning this'), or perform discourse politeness strategies (*(če/a)* *dovolite* 'if you allow me'). Others express discourse acts such as agreement (*strinjam* 'I agree'), wish (*želel* 'I wish') and asking for opinion (*(kaj)* *pravite* 'what do you say'). Some forms of auxiliary verb 'be' are also on the list (past and future plural and conditional).

The largest group of key words is nouns; however, many are connected to the discourse topic (e.g. *vlada* 'government', *plače* 'salaries', *podjetja* 'companies'). Non-topical nouns are: *gospod* 'mister', *gospa* 'Mrs (missis)' and *gospoda/-om* 'sir', used by speakers to address each other, and *(tvoje/svoje/moje/vaše)* *mnenje* '(your/my) opinion' and *stališče* 'standpoint' for asking and expressing someone's opinion. Also, time appears to be quite an important element: *(tem/tistem/vsakem/zadnjem)* *trenutku* '(in this/each/last) moment' and *(v zadnjih/prihodnjih)* *letih* '(in the last/next) years' feature on the key word list. There are other nouns on the list such as *vprašanje* 'question', *dejstvo* 'fact', *možnost* 'possibility' etc.

A number of adverbs are found among the key words, such as *predvsem/zlasti* 'especially', *zelo* 'very', *veliko* 'a lot', *popolnoma* 'completely' etc. Some of these are employed as a sort of pragmatic expression (especially *pravzaprav* 'actually', *seveda* 'of course', *nenazadnje* 'after all'). The adverb *naprej* 'on' is common as part of the general extender *in tako naprej* 'and so on', whereas *potrebno/treba* 'need to' expresses necessity.

Adjectives are not very common on this key word list; those featuring express that something is *pomembno* 'important', that the speaker is convinced about something (*(sem)* *prepričan* 'I'm sure') etc. Numerals are also rare: we found only *tisoč* 'thousand' and *milijon* 'million', often used to express an amount of money or to indicate a year.

Typical pronouns are demonstrative (*tem/tega/teh* 'this'), possessive (*svoje* 'mine'), or indefinite (*vseh* 'all', *nekako* 'somehow' – the latter usually used as a marker of approximation: *je ta uporaba nekako dvajsetodstotna* 'is this usage somewhere around twenty percent').[4]

Many conjunctions and prepositions were detected as key words: conjunctions *in* 'and', *ki* 'that', *kot* 'as', *vendar* 'but' etc., and prepositions *v* 'in', *za* 'for', *o* 'about', *z* 'with' etc. Also, two particles were detected (*tudi* 'also' and *skratka* 'anyway'), as well as the interjection *hvala* 'thank you'. Last but not least, the filler *eee* 'um' was the first on the key word list of media-informative discourse.

3.3 Media-entertainment discourse

Many of the key words in the media-entertainment discourse are nouns. While some are topic-bound (e.g. *sezona* 'season', *mesto* 'city', *tekma* 'game' etc.), most are connected to the most common acts on the radio/TV program: announcing what will follow (*vreme* 'weather', *novice* 'news'), announcing music (*hiti* 'hits'), time (*ura* 'hour', *minut* 'minute'), telephone numbers for calls (*telefoni* 'telephones'), prize competitions (*(nagradna)* *igra* '(prize) competition), name of the show (e.g. *poslušate* *oddajo* 'you're

[4] The translation of the example phrase deviates from the direct translation of the word.

listening to the show'), name of the speakers (*(pred) mikrofonom* 'at the microphone') or radio station (*poslušate radio Siti* 'you're listening to radio City'), and asking for *aplavz* 'applause' on the TV. Particularly typical for media-entertainment discourse, especially on the radio, are greetings. Key nouns *jutro* 'morning', *dan* 'day', *večer* 'evening', *pozdrav* 'greeting' are mainly found in phrases *dobro jutro* 'good morning', *dober večer* 'good evening', *lep pozdrav* 'greetings' etc. To the same group belong interjections *čao* 'ciao' and *adijo* 'bye'. The adjective *dragi* 'dear' is usually used in the phrases *dragi poslušalci/gledalci* 'dear listeners/viewers'.

Jutro 'morning', as well as key adverbs *danes* 'today' and *zjutraj* 'in the morning', refer to the time. Adverbs are otherwise not very common among key words of this discourse type, e.g. *res* 'really' and *malo* 'a bit' were found on the list.

Verbs are not typical, with only a few featuring on the key word list. *Upamo* 'we hope' and *želimo* 'we wish' are among them, usually used in a positive context, e.g. *čudovit dan želimo* 'we wish you a wonderful day'. *Dajte/dajmo* 'let's give' is often used to encourage an applause (*dajte en aplavz* 'let's give an applause'), to form an imperative (colloquial usage, e.g.: *dejte se osredotočit* 'let's concentrate'), or for pragmatic uses, e.g. *ma dejte dejte Bruno* 'oh come on come on Bruno'. *Vidiš* 'you see' is usually a discourse marker (e.g. *to je nevarno vidiš* 'this is dangerous you see'). *Si* 'yourself' is either part of a verb phrase such as *vzeti si* 'to take yourself', or an auxiliary in singular, indicating the informal relationships between discourse participants (*si morda pogrešala* 'did you perhaps miss').

Several interjections also feature on the key word list; besides the aforementioned *čao* 'ciao' and *adijo* 'bye', we also found *bravo* 'bravo', *ooo, uuu,* and *ho*. These indicate that vocal expression of emotions is common; however, when used by professional speakers, emotions are most likely part of a performance. The interjection *hvala* 'thank you' is also on the key word list, as well as *no* 'well' and *evo* 'you see'; both usually used as discourse markers.

Key conjunctions are *toda* 'but', *kajti* 'for', *torej* 'so' and *in* 'and'. Key prepositions are *čez* 'over' and *pred* 'in front of' (often in the phrase *pred mikronofom* 'in front of the microphone' and to announce time: *pred eno uro* 'an hour ago'). There is only one pronoun on the key word list, namely *nami* 'us' (*kdo je z nami* 'who's joined us').

3.4 Official discourse

The key word list of the official discourse contains very few nouns, and those found are mostly topic-bound (e.g. *stopinj* 'degrees', *podjetje* 'company'). Only the noun (used in a phrase) *(v) bistvu* 'actually' is topic-free, and its use is rather pragmatic, as sort of filler: *ne to v bistvu jst urejam* 'no actually I arrange this'.

Some verbs feature on the key word list, but not many: *imate* 'you have', *razumem* 'I understand', *zdi* 'it appears' are among them; the verb (phrase) *(saj) pravim* '(as) I say', and the verb *mislim* 'I mean', which is often used as a discourse marker (*ne mislim ni ni zdej moj problem* 'no I mean this is not my problem').

The largest word group among key words on this list is adverbs. Common are standard and colloquial forms of 'then' (*potem* and *pol*), in usages such as: *jah pol pa na-*

jboljš tko a ne 'well then this is the best right?'. Adverb *tako* 'so' (or 'more or less') is also on the list, which, aside from its standard usages, can be used as: (1) a sort of backchannel, (2) a marker of vague language (e.g. *mene zanima tko mal na splošno* 'I'm interested in this more or less in general'), or (3) part of the phrase *tako da* 'so that', often for the speaker to indicate continuity of the utterance (e.g. *letno poročilo pa še čakamo en delček tko da* 'the year report we're still waiting so that'). Adverb *tu* 'here' is not necessarily used to indicate a place, as deictic, but can be also used in situations such as this: *tk da tu bm reku* 'so at this point I'll say'; similarly to the adverb *tule* 'here' (pronounced as *tle*). *Zdaj* 'now' and *okej* 'okay' (and the corresponding *(v) redu* 'all right') are also on the key word list and are usually used as discourse markers.

There are many particles and interjections among the key words, often functioning as discourse markers; for example *ja* 'yeah/yes', *(a) ne* 'y'know', and *eem* 'um'. Other particles are *pač* 'indeed', *mogoče* 'maybe', *recimo* 'let's say'. The greeting interjection *na svidenje* 'good bye' is also on the list. Conjunctions are *ker* 'because', *če* 'if', *saj* 'as' (in the phrase *saj pravim* 'as I say') and *pa* (which, besides its standard functions as 'but', is also a colloquial substitution for *in* 'and'; e.g. *vlomijo pa kej odnesejo* 'they break in and take something').

Key pronoun *vam/vi* 'you' reveals that speakers often use more formal second person plural than less formal singular when addressing each other. However, *vi* 'you' is also often explicated, which is not acceptable in standard Slovene, e.g. *kolko rabite vi kapacitete* 'how much capacity do you need' (standard Slovene would be *koliko rabite kapacitete*).

3.5 Private discourse

There are almost no nouns among the key words of private discourse. Those found are marked by their colloquial origin: *fora* 'joke', *folk* 'folk' and *cajt* 'time', or form a phrase typical of the discourse: *(ni) problema* '(no) problem', *(ni) panike* 'no panic', *(v) redu* '(all) right'. The same is true for adjectives: on the list are *fajn* 'fine', *ful* 'full' (phrases *ful dobro* 'very well', *ful fajn* 'very fine'), *kul* 'cool', *(v) glavnem* 'anyway'.

Verbs are more common; one large group comprises different forms of the verbs 'go' and 'come': *šla/šel/šli, iti, greš/grem, prišel, hodi*. In addition, more than one form of some other verbs feature among the key words: *imela/imel/imaš* 'to have'; *rekel/rekla* 'said' (often used when telling a story, describing an event, or something that happened in the past); *videl/videla* 'seen', *glej* 'look' (usually a discourse marker: *lej kričat ti ni treba* 'look you don't have to scream'); *veš/vem* 'know' (forming phrases such as: *a veš* 'do you know', *ne vem* 'I don't know', *vem ja* 'yes I know', *veš da* 'no way', *veš kaj* 'you know what'). *Mogel/mogla* 'could' are often used instead of the standard *moral* 'have to' (*tako da si mogo čakat* 'so that you had to wait' – standard would be *tako da si moral čakat*), and *moreš* 'have to' is also on the list. *Daj* 'give' and *čakaj* 'wait' are often employed for pragmatic usages such as: *dej nehaj* 'come on stop' and *a čaki samo na eni strani je ne* 'oh wait it's only on one side'. Many forms of auxiliary *biti* 'be' are among the key word verbs, prevailingly in the singular form, indicating informal relationships between speakers.

Adverbs are quite common among key words in private speech. Many are usually used to refer to a place, as deictics (*tam/tja* 'there', *dol* 'down', *ven* 'out', *notri/noter* 'in'), or time (*zmeraj* 'always'). Some are considered colloquial words: *pol* 'then', *glih* 'just', *kao* 'as' and *ziher* 'sure', or are used in colloquial speech in a way that would be deemed inappropriate in more formal language: *gor* 'up' (*al ti pa lisice gor dene* 'or he puts you handcuffs on'), *čisto* 'totally', *skoz* 'all the time' (*pa kaj je skoz gor na Fejsbuku* 'is he on Facebook all the time?'), *drugače* 'otherwise' (*ma ne drugače je bil včeraj zelo lep dan* 'well no otherwise it was a very nice day yesterday'), *res* 'really' (phrases *saj res* 'of course', *a res* 'really?'), *itak* 'sure' (e.g. *ja itak* 'well sure'). *Menda* 'I guess' also features on the list, usually expressing doubt.

Many personal pronouns figure among typical key words in private discourse: *jaz* 'I', *ti* 'you', *mene, meni* and *mi* '(to) me', *mu* and *ga* '(to) him', *oni* 'they', *ona* 'she', *on* 'he', and *ono, one,* and *onega* 'it' etc. This may be because speakers often talk personally about themselves or others. Furthermore, personal pronouns are often explicated (e.g. speaker says *jz sn rekla* 'I said'); this usage is perceived less appropriate in standard Slovene. Third person personal pronouns in this discourse type are also used instead of the standard *tisti* 'that', e.g. *hodil po uni poti* 'he walked on that road'. In addition, question pronouns *kaj* 'what' (used in phrases such as *veš kaj* 'you know what', *kaj praviš* 'what you say', *ali kaj* 'or what') and *koliko* 'how much' are among the key words; as well as demonstrative pronoun *tisto* 'that' and indefinite *vse* 'all'. *Nič* 'nothing' and *ene* 'about' also feature on the list, the latter predominantly as a marker of approximation, e.g. *zdej se mi zdi da so ene štiri gor* 'I think there are about four up there'.

Another very important group of key words in private discourse is interjections – *aja* 'oh', *ma* 'well', *ej* 'ei', *he* 'he', *eh* 'ah', *joj* 'ou', *fak* 'fuck', *marija* 'dear me', *pizda* 'fuck', *kurba* 'whore' are on the list, mostly used for pragmatic functions (*ma ti puhlej* 'well you look') or in expressive speech (*o fak hudo carsko* 'oh fuck totally cool'). Conjunctions are *pa* 'but/and', *saj* 'but' and *ko* 'when'.

3.6 Discussion

When inspecting the concordances of each key word on our lists, we identified various reasons for why a particular word appears. Many words, especially nouns, appear on the key word lists because each of the five discourse types has its own specific and recurring setting and actions, e.g. classes are marked by teacher/lecturer vs. pupils/audience setting. Similarly, several words, mostly topic-bound nouns and verbs, feature on the lists because certain discourse types represent specific topics, discussed at length or repetitively (e.g. in classes), or deal with typical and recurring topics (e.g. in media-informative discourse).

Some words feature because of differences in the level of formality between different discourse types. The majority of such words (e.g. colloquial words or expressions) appear in private discourse. We also noticed that there may be differences between the five discourse types in terms of how much text is content-bound or content-free (metadiscourse). In non-formal types, there may be much more content-free text, therefore implying content-free use of words, such as discourse markers and other pragmatic expressions.

Several words appear on the key word lists as a result of being part of a commonly used phrase; though particularly common in private discourse, such words feature to some extent in all discourse types.

4 SPEECH DISCOURSES: DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

It is evident that the presence or absence of a particular key word group can be a good indicator of a type of discourse, or discourses (see Table 2). For example, nouns feature almost exclusively as key words in media discourses and classes discourse, with the usage of topic-free nouns being particularly typical of both media discourses. Personal pronouns are typical key words only in official and private discourses, whereas adjectives are typical key words only in media-informative and private discourses. As top key words, prepositions are limited to media discourses, and fillers to classes and media-informative discourses. Key word groups found as typical of only one discourse are particles and numerals.

Typical key words of three different discourses are pronouns, interjections, and conjunctions; although it is worth noting that the three discourses differ for each word group. With regards to interjections and conjunctions, and also prepositions, it is interesting that they are used to the same degree (i.e. the word groups contain a similar number of key words) across the discourses in which they occur.

The most widely typical word groups, found as key in all five discourses, are verbs and adverbs. It is interesting that key verbs are particularly typical of classes and private discourses, two quite different discourses in terms of the level of formality. The typicality of key adverbs is slightly more varied, but increases in less informal discourses.

	Classes	Media - informative	Media - entertainment	Official	Private
Topic-related key nouns	++	+++	+	+	
Topic-free key nouns		++	+++		
Key verbs	+++	+	+	+	+++
Key adjectives		+			+
Key adverbs	+	++	+	+++	++
Key numerals	+				
Key pronouns (without personal pronouns)	++	+		+	
Key personal pronouns				+	++
Key interjections			++	++	++
Key particles				++	
Key conjunctions		+	+		+
Key prepositions		+	+		
Key fillers	+	+			

Table 2: Keyword-based characteristics of the five spoken discourses.

+++ very typical
++ typical
+ found, but not very typical

The overall comparison of key words of the five spoken discourses, shown in Table 2, also reveals some similarities between discourses. Media-informative and media-entertainment discourses are similar in key word distribution of nouns, verbs, conjunctions and prepositions. This may be expected, given that both discourses use the same channels of communication (TV and radio). A certain level of similarity is found between official discourse and private discourse, especially in key word representation of adverbs, personal pronouns and interjections. Official discourse also shows similarities with media discourses, especially media-entertainment, in terms of key word presence of nouns (topic-related) and verbs. Similarly, private discourse, albeit quite different from many other discourses, shares some characteristics with media-entertainment discourse. Classes discourse displays characteristics of media discourses on one hand (e.g. key word representation of nouns, adverbs, pronouns and fillers), and of private discourse on the other (key word representation of verbs).

5 CONCLUSION

We employed the key word extraction method to identify statistically significant lexical items. We found that the presence or absence of a particular word class in the key word list can be a good indicator of a type of spoken discourse, or discourses. When the key word analysis is combined with manual analysis of concordances, it also provides valuable information about the characteristics of a particular type of discourse. This method of identifying discourses by word class of key words has several applications, for example, for corpus-building where texts could be automatically classified into a particular discourse on the basis of their lexical characteristics. To obtain clearer criteria for distinguishing between discourses, we plan to conduct a comprehensive study of all key words, as well as investigating key word phrases (i.e. multiword key words) and key key words (i.e. key words occurring in many different texts rather than in only one or a few).

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Abstract

KEY WORD ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSES IN SLOVENE SPEECH: DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

One of the aspects of speech that remains under-researched is the internal variety of speech, i.e. the differences and similarities between different types of speech. The paper aims to contribute to filling this gap in research by making a comparison between different discourses of Slovene spontaneous speech, focusing on the use of vocabulary. The key word analysis (Scott 1997), conducted on a million-word corpus of spoken Slovene, was used to identify lexical items and groups of lexical items typical of a particular spoken discourse, or common to different types of spoken discourse. The results indicate that the presence or absence of a particular word class in the key word list can be a good indicator of a type of spoken discourse, or discourses.

Key words: corpus analysis, media discourse, private discourse, official discourse, spoken language.

Povzetek

ANALIZA KLJUČNIH BESED V DISKURZIH SLOVENSKEGA GOVORA: RAZLIKE IN PODOBNOSTI

Ena od značilnosti govorjenega jezika, ki ostaja še dokaj neraziskana, je njegova notranja raznolikost, torej razlike in podobnosti med različnimi vrstami govora. V tem prispevku se lotevamo te problematike s primerjavo različnih diskurzov spontanega slovenskega govora, pri čemer se osredotočamo na uporabo besedišča. Leksikalne enote, tipične za določen diskurz ali skupne različnim diskurzom, smo identificirali z analizo ključnih besed (Scott 1997), opravljeno na milijonskem korpusu govorjene slovenščine. Rezultati kažejo, da je prisotnost ali odsotnost besed določene besedne vrste na seznamu ključnih besed lahko dober kriterij za določanje vrste govorjenega diskurza.

Ključne besede: korpusna analiza, medijski diskurz, zasebni diskurz, nezasebni diskurz, govorjeni jezik.

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COHERENCE RELATIONS IN ACADEMIC SPOKEN DISCOURSE

INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of the studies about language, spoken language has been treated in three different ways according to Chafe (1994). First, in the Classical Grammatical Tradition started by the Greeks and disseminated by the Romans, oral language was not granted the same prestige as was written language. With the outbreak of Linguistics, especially American Structural Linguistics, the importance given to the description of languages without written tradition raised spoken language to the status of linguists' real study object. Over the last decades, however, a more balanced view of oral and written language has become common. According to this view, both spoken and written language are distinct realizations of language, but with different functions. Corroborating this view, Neves (1996) remarks that spoken language and written language share the same grammar system, but are different regarding production, transmission and reception methods, let alone organizational structures.

A mistake constantly made when comparing spoken and written language is to conceive them as completely opposed. Ochs (1979) supports the idea that spoken and written language may be considered a *continuum* depending on the level of planning. This author suggests four levels of planning: non-planned spoken discourse, planned spoken discourse, non-planned written discourse and planned written discourse. Thus, a note written on the rush may have much more similarities with an informal storytelling (oral) than with the editorial of a newspaper (written). On the other hand, the newspaper editorial might share much more characteristics with a formal speech to an audience than with the on-the-rush written note. Marcuschi (2000) also criticizes the dichotomic view towards spoken/written language distinction. According to this Brazilian linguist, this view usually conceives written discourse as more elaborate and complex than spoken discourse.

Another mistake is to analyze texts of different genres or types and assign the differences to spoken and written language. The researcher chooses spoken texts of one genre or type and written texts of different types or genres. According to Tannen

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(1982), most of the differences which arise in this case are triggered by differences regarding text types or genres and not spoken/written language.

In this paper,[1] we claim that some intrinsic spoken discourse phenomena like paraphrasing, correction, repetition and parenthetical insertion hold coherence relations with other portions of discourse and, thus, may be considered strategies for the construction of coherence in spoken language. According to Rhetorical Structure Theory (henceforth RST), implicit propositions emerge from the combination of pieces of text which hang together. Various authors have labeled implicit propositions as coherence relations, discourse relations, rhetorical relations or relational propositions. When two portions of a text hold a relation, the addressee of the text may recognize the connection even without the presence of a formal sign as a conjunction or a discourse marker. Thus, this paper also aims at investigating how these relations are established linguistically.

Theoretical background

RST

RST is a descriptive theory whose object of study is the organization of texts, characterizing the relations established among parts of texts (Mann and Thompson 1988). According to RST, besides explicit propositional content conveyed by the clauses of a text, there are implicit propositions (called relational propositions) which arise from the relations held between text spans (Mann and Thompson 1983). Matthiessen and Thompson (1988) state that relational propositions permeate the whole text, from relations established between text spans to relations established between two clauses. RST assumes that these relations are essential to the coherence of the text (Mann and Thompson 1988), as they confer unity to the text and enable the producer of the text to reach the aims that the text was intended to.

Relational propositions receive other labels such as “discourse relations”, “coherence relations” or “rhetorical relations” (Taboada 2009: 127). Regarding organization, relations can be of two types:

· nucleus-satellite (hypotactical), in which satellite is ancillary to the nucleus. This type of organization is represented in figure 1: an arch goes from satellite to nucleus.
· multinuclear (paratactical), in which a text span is not ancillary to the other. Each span is a distinct nucleus, as in figure 2.

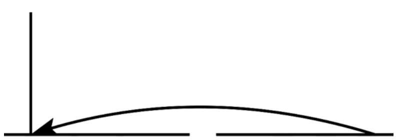

Figure 1: Nucleus-satellite schema.

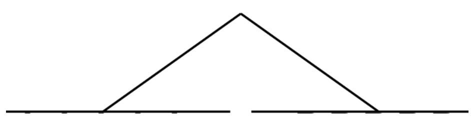

Figure 2: Multinuclear schema.

[1] The research was supported by Fundação Araucária (Contract 939/2012 - UEM - Fundação Araucária).

Rhetorical relations are defined by RST based on four criteria: a) constraints on the nucleus; b) constraints on the satellite; c) constraints on the nucleus-satellite combination; d) effect. According to Gómez-González and Taboada (2005), RST has a bias towards the text producer. Thus, the most important characteristic in relation definition is the effect that the discourse producer wants to achieve in his/her addressee.

Let us take as examples the definitions of elaboration, preparation (nucleus-satellite relations) and contrast and sequence (multinuclear relations) in tables 1 and 2.

Relation name	**Constraints on either S (satellite) or N (nucleus) individually**	**Constraints on N + S**	**Intention of Speaker/Writer**
Elaboration	None	S presents additional detail about the situation or some element of subject matter which is presented in N or inferentially accessible in N in one or more of the ways listed below. In the list, if N presents the first member of any pair, then S includes the second: set :: member abstraction :: instance whole :: part process :: step object :: attribute generalization :: specific	Addressee recognizes S as providing additional detail for N. Addressee identifies the element of subject matter for which detail is provided.
Preparation	None	S precedes N in the text; S tends to make the addressee more ready, interested or oriented for reading N	Addressee is more ready, interested or oriented for reading/hearing N

Table 1: Definition of elaboration and preparation nucleus-satellite relations (Mann and Taboada, 2010).

Relation name	**Constraints on each pair of N**	**Intention of Speaker/Writer**
Contrast	No more than two nuclei; the situations in these two nuclei are (a) comprehended as the same in many respects (b) comprehended as differing in a few respects and (c) compared with respect to one or more of these differences.	Addressee recognizes the comparability and the difference(s) yielded by the comparison is being made.
Sequence	There is a succession relationship between the situations in the nuclei.	Addressee recognizes the succession relationships among the nuclei.

Table 2: Definition of contrast and sequence multinuclear relations (Mann and Taboada, 2010).

A list of 25 relations was initially suggested by Mann and Thompson (1988) after the analysis of hundreds of texts with RST. Afterwards an extended version of this list has been provided at RST website (http://www.sfu.ca/rst/01intro/definitions.html). However, this list is not a closed one, and other relations can be defined according to the investigated type or genre of text.

Rhetorical relations can also be classified whether they are subject matter or presentational. The intended effect of subject matter relations is that the addressee recognizes the relation in question, as in elaboration relation, while the intended effect of presentational relations is to increase some inclination in the addressee, such as the desire to act or the degree of positive regard for, belief in, or acceptance of the nucleus, as in preparation relation.

The identification of the relations by the analyst is based on functional and semantic judgments, seeking to identify the function of each text span and to investigate how text produces the desired effect on its possible addressee. These judgments are of plausibility, since the analyst has access to the text, is aware of the context in which the text was produced and of the cultural conventions of the text producer and its possible addressees, but has no direct access to the text producer or to its possible addressees. Hence, the analyst cannot say with certainty whether this or that analysis is correct, but may suggest a plausible analysis (Mann and Thompson 1988).

Two mistakes must be avoided by analysts. One of them is relying only on the form of the text. According to Mann and Thompson (1988), RST structures are structures of function, and not structures of form. In example (1), connective *e* (and), a typical additive conjunction, is used to establish a purpose relation. The example is from a psychology class, and the professor is telling the students to teach their subject (a lab mouse) to emit a response with the purpose of being rewarded with a drop of water. Thus, the plausible analysis for this example is that a purpose relation, and not an additive relation, is established between the clauses.

(1) Nós vamos ensinar o nosso sujeito a emitir a resposta de pressão à barra,
e receber uma gota de água.

We're going to teach our subject to emit a pressure response to the bar,
and receive a water drop.

Another problem is conceiving that only discourse markers can signal relations. After investigating conversations and newspaper articles, Taboada (2006) concluded that a high number of rhetorical relations are not signalled. This author (2009) also presents some other mechanisms which can signal relations, like verb tense, sentence mood, embedding, verb meaning and implicatures. Reasearching contrast relation in interaction, Ford (2000) remarked that the meaning of the text spans can also be useful in identifying the relation.

METHODOLOGY

The research *corpus* of this paper consists of five university lectures in Brazilian Portuguese of about 80 minutes long each. Subjects are university professors and the lectures present a formal register.

Other features that can be noticed on the lectures are speakers' roles and conversational turns previously determined (Koch and Souza e Silva 1996). Thus, there are few interaction signals, as the professor keeps the conversational turn most of the time. There are few interruptions from the audience for querying. These lectures also have a well-marked beginning with the presentation of the aims of the class, as well as a closure in which the topics of the next class are anticipated, as in examples (2) and (3).

(2) **Então hoje eu vou estar passando para vocês o relatório que vai ter que ser feito,**
é o trabalho que vocês vão ter que fazer agora com os dados que foram coletados, tá?

So today I will be assigning to you the report that will have to be done,
It's the paper that you will have go write now with the data that was collected, ok?

(3) E pra isso é primordial nós estudarmos o comportamento biológico da suspensão, a reologia da suspensão.
O que é isso?
Nós vamos deixar pro próximo capítulo, **pra próxima aula, tá?**
Ah, gente, eu tava esquecendo,
Ó, presta atenção só um pouquinho:
As suspensões eu mandei pra vocês por e-mail os slides.
Aqui tem o roteiro da aula, o programa da aula, e tem xerox: são quatro, cinco capítulos de livros modernos sobre suspensões.

And for this it is very important that we study the biological behaviour of suspensions, the rheology of suspensions.
What's this?
We'll leave for the next chapter, **for the next class, ok?**
Oh, people, I was forgetting.
Look, pay attention a little.
The suspensions I sent to you via e-mail the slides.
Here is the guide of the class, the class programme, and there are photocopies: they are four, five chapters of modern books about suspensions.

The lectures were transcribed alphabetically and segmented into intonation units, defined by Chafe (1988: 1–2) as "brief spurts of vocalization" characterized by a single coherent intonation contour with a clause or sentence final intonation, usually separated by pauses and generally with a clause-like structure.

ANALYSIS

Correction and paraphrasing

Correction and paraphrasing may be mixed up, as both phenomena have the feature of discourse reformulation. However, according to Fávero, Andrade and Aquino

(2006a), in correction one of the text spans is considered wrong and must be replaced, as in figure 3 below.

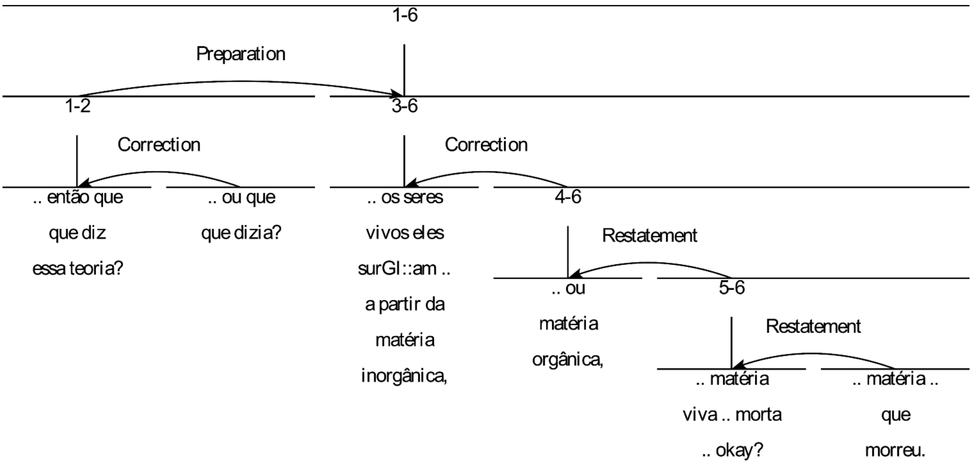

Figure 3: Rhetorical structure of text spans holding correction and restatement relations.

1 .. so what does this theory say?
2 .. or what did it use to say?
3 .. the living beings they appeared from inorganic matter,
4 .. or organic matter,
5 .. dead .. living matter, ok?
6 .. matter .. that died.

The example in figure 3 was taken from a Biology lecture in which the professor was talking about a theory which is not accepted by scientists any longer. In units 1 and 2, when he notices that he had used the verb “dizer” (to say) in the present tense (“diz” – say), he sees the need to correct himself and reformulates his question with the verb in the past tense (“dizia” – used to say). In unit 3, he says that life had come into being from inorganic matter, when he actually means organic matter. In unit 4 he corrects himself. In both cases, the speaker uses the connective “ou” (or) to introduce the correction.

There is not correction relation in RST. However, such a relation is necessary when analyzing non-planned spoken discourse. As spoken language is not editable (Chafe, 1985), speakers need to point it out when they made a mistake and state correctly what they meant. Thus, correction should be a presentational relation, as the intended effect is to have the addressee replacing the information previously mentioned by the last information.

On the other hand, in paraphrasing, the speaker uses previous discourse as the matrix for the new utterance. According to Fávero, Andrade and Aquino (2006a), there must be semantic equivalence between the matrix utterance and the paraphrase.

In diagram 1, the professor paraphrases the expression "matéria orgânica" (organic matter, unit 4) twice (units 5 and 6) in order to explain to the students what organic matter is. In RST, restatement relation is used by speakers with the intention of having the addressee recognize S as a restatement of N. According to Hilgert (2006), paraphrasing helps the speaker find the most appropriate word or expression for what they mean, and this may be very useful in lectures and classes.

Repetition

Repetition is another important strategy used by speakers in order to organize their discourse and grant coherence. According to Marcuschi (2006), although it might seem that repetition might harm topic progression, it actually builds cohesion and topic continuity.

In figure 4, taken from a Geography lecture, repetition is expressed by means of syntactic parallelism. The lecturer talks about migrations in Brazil motivated by economic development. He states that if the economy was developing in the Northeast ("nordeste") of the country, people would move to that region. And the same question-answer structure is repeated for the other regions: North ("norte"), Center ("centro"), South ("sul"), Southeast ("sudeste").

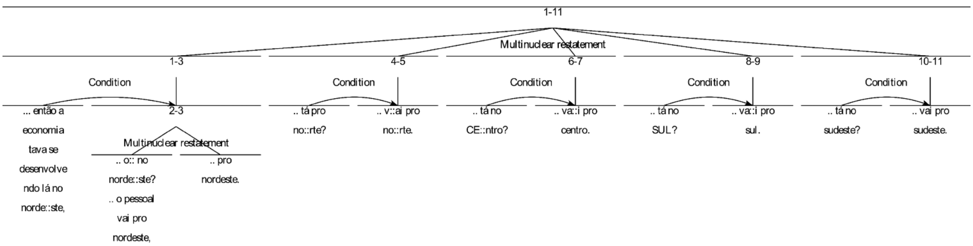

Figure 4: Rhetorical structure of text spans holding multinuclear-restatement relation.

1 .. so the economy was developing in the Northeast?
2 .. oh:: in the Northeast? .. people go to the Northeast,
3 .. to the Northeast.
4 .. developing in the North?
5 .. go North.
6 .. developing in the Center?
7 .. go to the Center.
8 .. developing in the South?
9 .. go South.
10 .. developing in the Southeast?
11. go Southeast.

In RST, the difference between nucleus-satellite restatement and multinuclear restatement is that in the last one there is no focus on any of the repeated spans, all the nuclei have the same status (Mann and Taboada, 2010). On the other hand, in figure 3, it is clear that one of the nuclei is more central to the purposes of the speaker, and he explains the content of the nucleus in other words by means of paraphrasing.

The example of repetition in figure 5 is slightly different. While in figure 4 a discourse structure (question-answer pattern) is repeated with the change of a lexical item, in figure 5 the same verb form “manipular” (manipulate) is restated in units 2 to 5. There seems to be an iconic motivation for the repetition of the verb form, as its reiteration suggests that the manipulation of the soy seed had some duration. Sequence relation is held on the higher level of the rhetorical structure of the span in figure 5 as there is a chronological succession among the actions in the nuclei.

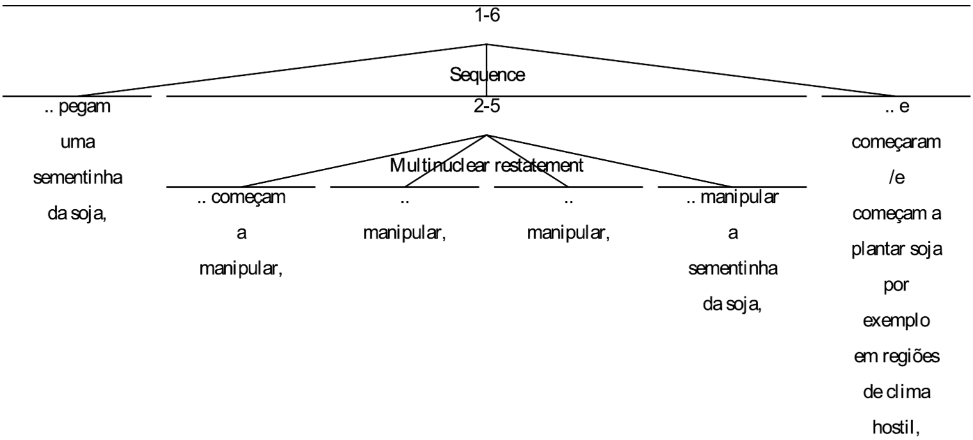

Figure 5: Rhetorical structure of text spans holding multinuclear-restatement relation.

1 .. they take a small seed of soy,
2 .. they start to manipulate,
3 .. manipulate,
4 .. manipulate,
5 .. manipulate the small soy seed,
6 .. and started / and started to plant seed for example in hostile climate regions,

Parenthetical insertion

According to Jubran (2006), parenthetical insertions are a detour of the discourse topic. They bring parallel information about the content of the discourse topic, about the linguistic expression of the discourse topic or about the communicative context. Although parenthetical insertions might seem diversionary regarding the discourse topic, they are actually bound to the topic as they bring information which is considered by the speaker essential to the understanding of the subject matter.

In figure 6, the lecturer is talking about the first organisms on Earth. He asks the audience whether they were autotrophic or heterotrophic (units 1 and 2). As the lecturer might not be sure whether the audience knows the meaning of these words, this discussion is paused while he explains what autotrophic and heterotrophic organisms are. The span in which this explanation is given is a parenthetical satellite in relation to the nucleus. Parenthetical relation is not among the relations initially defined by Mann and Thompson (1988), but it was defined later. Pardo (2005) states that the effect of the relation is that the addressee recognizes that S presents extra information regarding N, complementing N. In figure 6, the speaker announces the parenthetical relation by explicitly saying “parentêses” (parentheses).

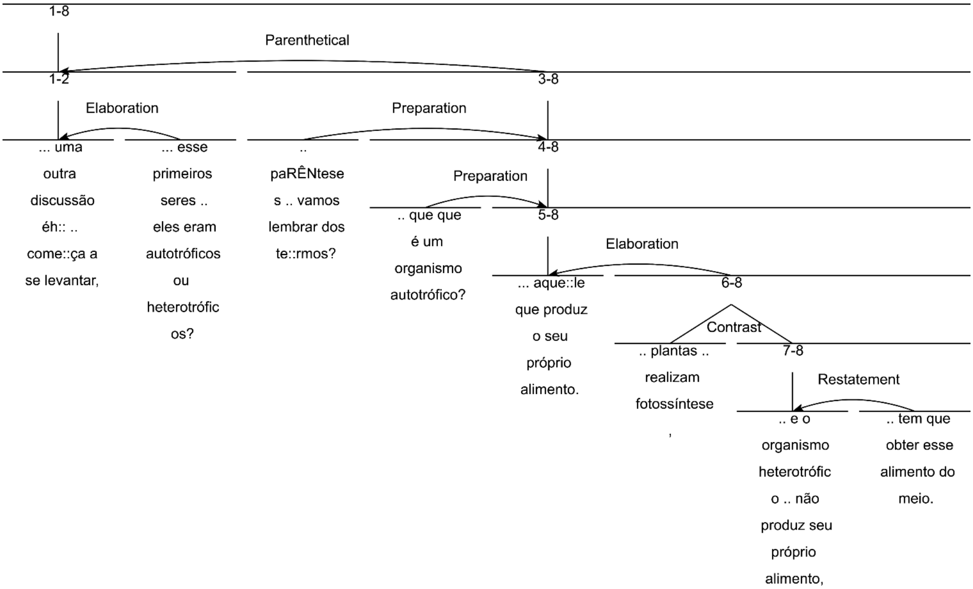

Figure 6: Rhetorical structure of text spans holding parenthetical relation.

1 .. another discussion éh:: .. starts to raise,
2 .. these first beings .. were they autotrophic or heterotrophic?
3 .. parentheses .. let’s remember the terms?
4 .. what is an autotrophic organism?
5 .. the one that produces its own food.
6 .. plants make photosynthesis,
7 .. and the heterotrophic organism does not produce its own food,
8 .. it must obtain this food from the environment.

In figure 6 other relations are also used by the lecturer, as the preparation and the elaboration relations. The preparation relation is used by the speaker in order to make the addressee more interested, more ready or more interested in reading/hearing N (Mann and Taboada 2010), as in units 3 and 4 in figure 6. It is usually expressed by means of rhetorical questions. According to Fávero, Andrade and Aquino (2006b), the speaker does not expect an answer from the addressee. Actually, the answer is given by the speaker him/herself, but he/she uses the rhetorical question in order to introduce a new discourse topic or a new referent in discourse. The elaboration relation is used in order to present additional information about the subject matter of the nucleus. Unit 2 is an elaboration satellite which presents the discussion mentioned in unit 1, and the span formed by units 6–8 presents information about how heterotrophic organisms produce their own food.

In figure 7, the lecturer is explaining an experiment conducted by Italian biologist Francesco Redi. A purpose initial clause (unit 1) is used by the professor in order to state that Francesco Redi needed to prove his experiment. According to Thompson (1985), initial purpose clauses have a discourse function: they anticipate a problem and the solution to the problem is presented in the nuclear clause. In the example of figure 7, the problem is proving the experiment and the solution is the nucleus of the relation (units 4–6), a series of actions which happen in succession: he went there, put another plate with the same meat and covered it with a very thin piece of gauze. The parenthetical relation is held between units 2–3 and 1–3 by means of an explanation construction introduced by conjunction "que" (which would be short for because). Although unit 2 is introduced by "quando" (when), a condition relation is held inside the explanation construction. According to Neves (2000), this may happen when states-of-affairs of the time adverbial clause and of the main clause are simultaneous, aspect is non-perfective, implying iteration (when = every time), besides a habitual state-of-affairs that can be fulfilled by the conditions of the adverbial clause.

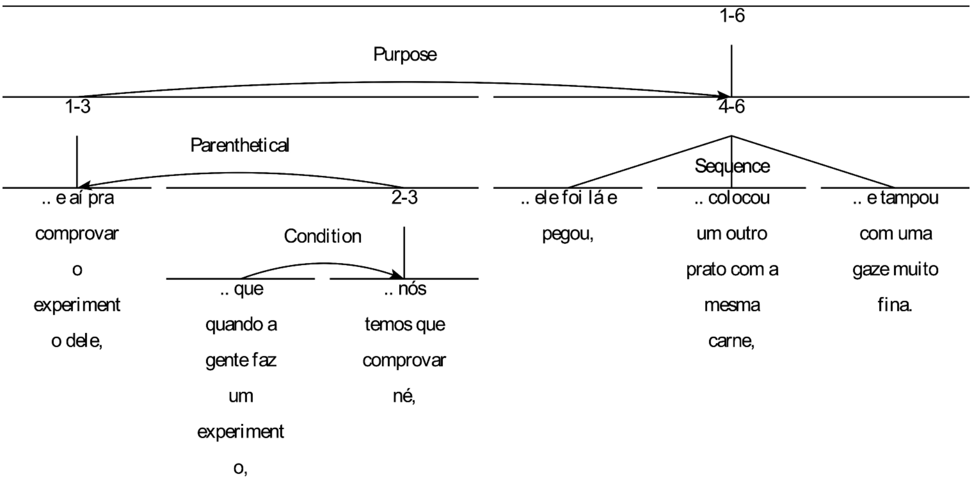

Figure 7: Rhetorical structure of text spans holding parenthetical relation.

1 .. and then to prove his experiment,
2 .. cause when we make an experiment,
3 .. we have to prove it, right?
4 .. he went there,
5 .. put another plate with the same meat,
6 .. and covered it with a very thin piece of gauze.

In figure 8, the lecturer is talking about the appearance of the first organic molecules on Earth by means of peptidic links. He considers that the audience might not remember what peptidic links are and defines peptidic links before continuing his explanation. A parenthetical relation is held between the satellite in which the definition is given (units 2–5) and the nucleus (unit 1). The parenthetical relation is marked by conjunction “mas” (but) and a speech act purpose clause. In the example, “mas” does not have opposition of contrast meaning. It is used as a discourse marker to signal the parenthetical insertion. And a speech act purpose clause has, according to Thompson (1985), an illocutionary force that modifies the assertion made by the following material, and not the material itself. In other words, the lecturer uses the parenthetic insertion in order to bring to the memory of the audience what peptidic links are. The insertion is finished by a conclusion relation (unit 6) before the lecture resumes the topic that was being developed.

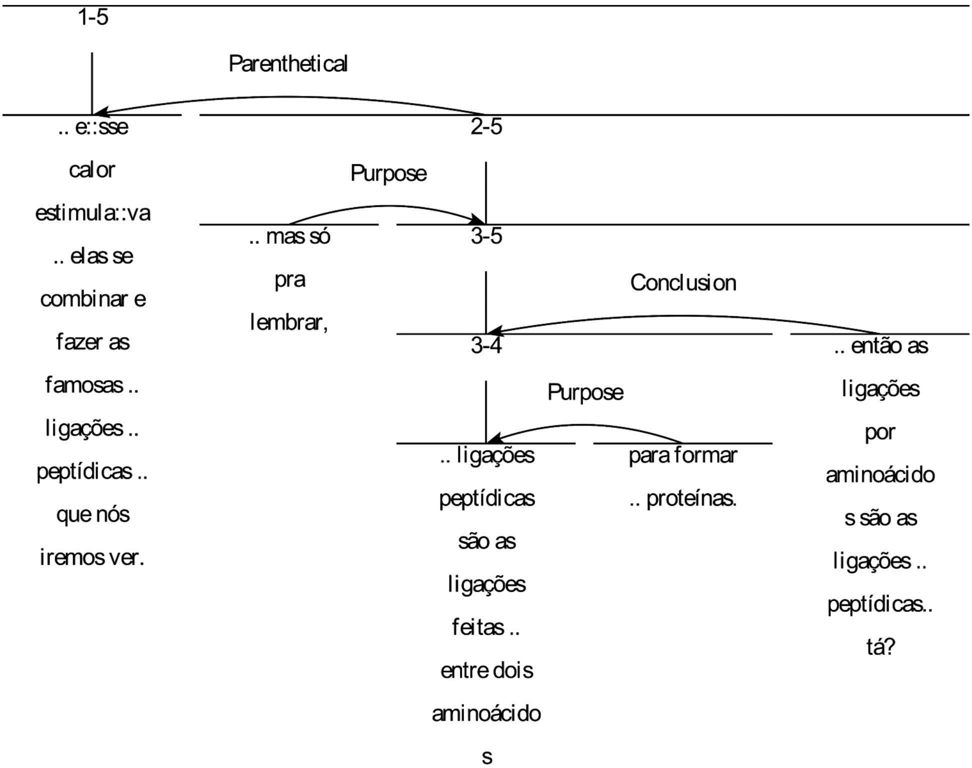

Figure 8: Rhetorical structure of text spans holding parenthetical relation.

1 .. this heat stimulated .. them to combine and make the famous .. peptidic .. links .. that we will see.
2 .. but just to remember,
3 .. peptidic links are the links made .. between two amino acids
4 .. to make proteins.
5 .. then links by amino acids are the peptidic links, ok?

Conclusion

In this paper we attempted to show that some intrinsic spoken discourse phenomena like paraphrasing, repetition, correction and parenthetical insertion hold coherence relations with other portions of discourse and, thus, may be considered strategies for the construction of coherence. The framework used for the analysis was RST, a descriptive theory whose object of study is the organization of texts, characterizing the relations established among parts of texts. Examples were taken from academic spoken discourse (five university lectures in Brazilian Portuguese). The investigated phenomena are recurring in the *corpus* and, thus, are relevant for the study of spoken discourse.

Correction and paraphrasing are reformulation strategies. As spoken discourse is not editable, speakers need to correct something they may have failed to say appropriately or they may need to say something in other words in order to be understood by addressees. It was suggested that a correction relation should be created for RST list of relations. On the other hand, nucleus-satellite restatement relation was used to signal paraphrasing.

Repetition is important for topic continuity as it is possible for the speakers to show similarities between states-of-affairs by using syntactic parallelism. Repetition may also signal reiteration of a state-of-affairs. Multinuclear-restatement relation was used to signal repetition.

Finally, parenthetical insertions are essential for the coherence of spoken discourse. Speakers do not have the possibility of going back in time to provide information that should have been given as background before stating something. Thus, parenthetical insertions are used to 'pause' the development of the discourse topic and provide the information before the flow of information of the discourse topic is resumed. Although parenthetical relation did not exist in RST original list of relations, it was defined posteriorly.

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Abstract

COHERENCE RELATIONS IN ACADEMIC SPOKEN DISCOURSE

According to Rhetorical Structure Theory, implicit propositions emerge from the combination of pieces of text which hang together. Implicit propositions have received various labels as coherence relations, discourse relations, rhetorical relations or relational propositions. When two portions of a text hold a relation, the addressee of the text may recognize the connection even without the presence of a formal sign as a conjunction or a discourse marker. In this paper we claim that some intrinsic spoken discourse phenomena like paraphrasing, repetition, correction and parenthetical insertion hold coherence relations with other portions of discourse and, thus, may be considered strategies for the construction of coherence. The analysis, based on academic spoken discourse (five university lectures in Brazilian Portuguese), shows that these phenomena are recurring and relevant for the study of spoken discourse.

Keywords: spoken discourse, paraphrasing, repetition, correction, parenthetical insertion.

Povzetek

KOHERENČNI ODNOSI V AKADEMSKEM GOVORJENEM DISKURZU

Teorija retorične strukture zagovarja tezo, da iz določenih kombinacij sopostavljenih besedilnih enot vznikajo implicitne propozicije. Implicitne propozicije so dobile različna poimenovanja, kot so koherenčni odnosi, diskurzivni odnosi, retorični odnosi in relacionalne propozicije. Ko je med dvema deloma besedila vzpostavljen odnos, naslovnik besedila prepozna povezavo med njima tudi brez formalnega znaka, kot je na primer veznik ali diskurzni označevalec. V prispevku pokažemo, da lahko nekatere govorne prvine, kot so parafraziranje, ponavljanje, popravljanje in vrinjeni stavek, vzpostavijo koherenčni odnos med besedilimi enotami, zato jih lahko obravnavamo kot strateška sredstva pri ustvarjanju besedilne koherence. Rezultati analize, osnovane na akademskem govorjenem diskurzu (pet predavanj v brazilski portugalščini), potrjujejo pogostost tovrstnih pojavov in utemeljujejo relevantnost tovrstnih raziskav za poznavanje govorjenega jezika.

Ključne besede: govorjeni diskurz, parafraziranje, ponavljanje, popravljanje, vrinjeni stavek.

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UDK 811.163.6:808.5

CODIFICATION OF THE SPOKEN LANGUAGE: AN EXAMPLE OF CONTEMPORARY SLOVENE

1 INTRODUCTION

Since its inception, the first books by Slovene Protestants in the 16th century (Primož Trubar, Jurij Dalmatin and others), the Standard Slovene language has played an important role in the forming of the Slovene nation.[1] Thus the Bible by Dalmatin (1584) was actually also a supra-regional Bible, used by Protestants and Catholics alike. A return to the standard language of the Slovene Protestants was seen also in the 19th century, when the Slovene language began to be used more extensively in public. Since the second half of the 19th century, beginning with the so-called "Spring of the Nations" in 1848, the language and its public use and manifestation became a very important factor in the creation of the Slovene nation. An important function of the literary language was its ability to unify and reach every Slovene, with only the origin of its speakers regionally defined. This supra-regional element, retained today as the Standard language used by the media and elsewhere, demonstrates a continued degree of linguistic unity throughout Slovenia.

2 THE FORMING OF SLOVENE ORTHOEPY

Orthoepy is a "linguistic branch that searches for, and establishes, the best regular way to pronounce phonemes and their prosodic properties, which is the pronunciation (= reading) of both" (Toporišič 1992: 205).[2] Orthoepy had already begun to be established with the first written records and codification, a "literary" transformation of languages, which brought about discussion on the appropriateness of these first records, or the pronunciation of an individual written language. The origin of these discussions reaches back to Panini, in the 4th century B.C. In truth, the relationship between the written and the spoken word began with the first written records in the

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[1] In local linguistic terminology, the term Slovenski knjižni jezik commonly refers to the written language, and is sometimes translated as "Slovene literary language." The concept of a literary language is often joined with the term govorjeni knjižni jezik, meaning a "spoken literary Slovene," since its structural properties are seen as being based on the written language. In this paper, Standard Slovene language is used to refer to the so-called written Standard Slovene language, while Standard Spoken Slovene, or govorjeni knjižni jezik, stands for the spoken standard Slovene language.

[2] Orthoepy may also be defined as a book of written rules that, along with orthoepic norms, warn against certain pronunciations and other orthoepic problems (Toporišič 1992: 205).

Middle East (circa 1500 B.C.), also “the old faith in India... even demanded phonetic precision in written prayers, or else they will not be answered” (Čar 1995: 45).

Codification, and thus orthoepy, began to develop along with the printed word, and the appearance of printed books that were readily available to a wider public. At first, these records had a predominantly religious, liturgical character (even Evangelical), therefore they had to be comprehensible to a wide circle of addressees. Because of this, the use of the Standard Slovene language as a unifying element for the Slovene nation and the Protestant church (that Primož Trubar attempted to establish with his *Cerkovna ordninga* of 1564),[3] was entirely topical. However, at the time, in the middle of the 16th century, we can hardly speak of a well-formed Standard Slovene language, much less of a well-formed Spoken Standard language.[4] Furthermore, Ljubljana was still trying to assert itself as an economic, political, and cultural centre, whilst the large Slovene centres of Trieste and Celovec (Klagenfurt) had great influence. The Slovene language was mostly confined to a private, and chiefly unofficial, use. Therefore, we can position the true beginnings of the Slovene orthoepy and the formation of the Spoken Standard language to the period after 1848, when the Slovene language was acknowledged as one of the equal provincial languages within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. During that period, through the introduction of new forms, the written standard was established (Jesenšek 2010). These new-Carinthian-Styrian forms were to be the bridge that “ties us to Illyrians and other Slavic people, to whom our audience was leaning at the time” (Breznik 1982: 87).[5]

These unifying new forms were introduced in a Pan-Slavic and, consequently, in a Pan-Slovene sense.

In the second half of the 19th century, the Slovene language asserted itself in schools, in publications (for example, in the journal *Novice*), and in literature, among other spheres of public life. The unformed spoken norm of the written language, and

[3] Cerkovna ordninga (1564) is a Slovene book about the Protestant doctrine and the church order, which was the first religious text of Protestants in the Austrian provinces.

[4] “Kadar ta Slovenski Jezik se povsod glihinu veni viži ne govori, drigazhi govore zdostimi besedami Krajnci, drigači Korošci, drigači Štajerji inu Dolenci tar Bezjaki, drigači Krašovci inu Istriani, drigači Crouati” (Trubar 1555 in: Gjurin/Toporišič 1993: 422). (“The Slovene language is not spoken in the same way around the land, different words and expressions are used by Carniolans, Carinthians, Styrians, Lower Carniolans, “Bezjakis,” “Krašovcis” and Istrians, and are different again with Croats,” translated by L. Ličar.) Trubar was already aware of the variety present in the Slovene language and, as is written in the continuation of this preface on the written and spoken word, took as a basis for the written language the “Carniolan” language, which could be considered a central language, easily understood by everyone.

[5] Supporters of the new forms and supporters of Svetec included Navratil, Levstik, Miklošič, Cegnar and Cigale, who in 1860 prepared the Slovene State Code and already introduced into it the new forms – the new forms were thus formally introduced into the official Slovene language, which then became the basis for upcoming school books and, consequently, also ensured the predominance of the new forms, despite opposition from Bleiweis and his periodical, Novice (Breznik 1982: 88). On this page, Breznik also systematically and clearly states the new forms by Svetec, who introduced them in his articles published in 1849.

various dilemmas of the Spoken Standard, as well as discussions about the suitability of the base for the Standard Slovene language, are a consequence of the fact that the Spoken Standard language did not have a pressing need to be codified, as it was not present in every official and public position. From Trubar onwards, and later Schönleben, the regional deviations were permitted within the context of Spoken Standard, speaking according to the "customs of the region." Ljubljana linguistically remained torn between literature and regionalism (Tivadar 2010b). Spoken Standard language began to be established as the preferred means of public discourse as late as in the 19th century, featured as a parliamentary language, which was, at the time, defined as a spoken version of the written language (Cegnar in Novice 1861: 199, 396). This was contrary to the Vuk principle, "write as you speak," which held true for Serbian writings. For the Spoken Standard in Slovenia, a principle in opposition to the Vuk principle was accepted at the end of the 19th century.

3 WRITTEN LANGUAGE AS THE BASIS FOR THE SPOKEN STANDARD SLOVENE

Cegnar offered a solution to the aforementioned conundrum: "Let us pronounce our language the way we write it." According to his opinion, there is a need to distinctly articulate voices, not like the Carinthians and Carniolans who, "together with other mistakes, eat half of the sounds" (Novice 1861: 199). With this principle, he argued, we would come closer to other Slavic nations.[6] This was the age of Pan-Slavism and a linguistic union of the Slavic nations and "dialects," therefore M. P. wrote in *Novice,* that "all of us, with all our might, must pull together on this, so that we might join in with other Slavic nations as quickly as possible." These writers supported the viewpoint that a common "singular dialect for all Slovenia" must be found, and that everyone had to step back from their own dialect, and speak in a literary style acceptable even to the simple farmers of Carinthia and Styria.[7] This would produce, effectively, a political unification of Slovenes, as well as other and Slavs (Novice 1861: 251), with the unifying element being the Standard Slovene language. Certain problems for the unified literary accent, and the Cegnar principle, were presented by the accentuation and pronunciation of vowels: "Pronounce each vowel audibly with only the compressed syllables gaining an accent" (Novice 1861: 252).[8]

Unclear articulation (or reduction) of vowels, and a large difference between the written and spoken forms of Central Slovene, meant that Central Slovene (Carniolan)

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[6] Here he gives a perfunctory statement that we must align with Russians not only "in words but also a little bit in the accent" (Novice 1861: 198).

[7] "It may be claimed that the current literary language in Carinthia and Styria is, for a simple farmer as well as for the more polite, not only understandable but also pleasant, which can be seen from the fact that wherever in these two lands you arrive and to whomever you speak in the current literary language, they answer with special delight and a certain inborn ability" (Novice 1861: 251).

[8] A more articulated pronunciation was to be closer to most dialects. The compressed syllables are syllables or vowels that were made from several vowels, for example "pojó," instead of "pójejo".

speech did not assert itself as the Spoken Standard. In the 16th century, Ljubljana was not yet a unifying linguistic centre but, due to its interferential central position, where two dialects mixed, it began to function as a unifying locale. The contemporary vocal reduction, typical also for the contemporary speech of residents of Ljubljana, became widespread only in the 17th and 18th century and was, therefore, never included as part of the literary linguistic norm (Orožen 1996: 35, 105, 108; Tivadar 2011: 84–86). That is why attempts by Pohlin and, later, Vodušek and Toporišič, to assert contemporary Ljubljana speech as the Spoken Standard were unsuccessful. Also Škrabec, the so-called father of Slovene phonetics, especially stressed the unreduced pronunciation of vowels within the Slovene spoken standard (Škrabec 1994: 8).

4 THE UNITY WITHIN DIVERSITY AS A CHARACTERISTIC OF THE SLOVENE SPOKEN STANDARD

Unification and unity, according to the theory of the Standard language established by the Prague Linguistic Circle, are two of the characteristics of any Standard language. Havránek, in 1969, had this to say on the Standard language: "/S/tandard language is a common way of expressing national community" (Nebeská 1996: 22). Thus, the national component is what is typical of a Standard language and, through this, the Standard language is doomed to various manipulations. Skubic (2003: 59) quotes Brozović, who claims that the only two positive attributes of the Standard language are long tradition and a general acceptance.

However, one of the basic functions of a Standard language is that, through general acceptance and permanency (the makings of tradition), uninterrupted public and official functionality is enabled. In the Slovene language, which is regionally/linguistically quite diverse, a general acceptance is all the more important and tradition is, as already mentioned, multi-centennial. Concerning written language, we can speak of a centennial uniformity. As for the spoken language, the Schönleben principle of "regional speech" was, unfortunately, at odds with the unified written language, even in the 20th century. The spoken language is already ontologically subjected to diversity, and to a higher degree of changeability, than the written linguistic code.

Sizeable geographic division is an immanent property of the Slovene language. We divide the Slovene language into seven or eight different dialectal groups, and more than 50 different spoken variants, all with considerable differences, especially in phonetic expression (Logar 1993; Logar et al. 2001). This is reflected also in media speech, where we have approximately 50 TV and 100 radio stations, which is quite a lot for the 2 million speakers of the Slovene language (Tivadar 2006; 2008b). Geographical, linguistic stratification is thus also present in the media. This demands a particular tolerance from linguists, when defining phoneme variants and accent in Spoken Standard (e. g. pronouncing numerals from 12 to 19 as "dvánajst" and "dvanájst", "trínajst" and "trinájst" etc. in SP 2001 and SSKJ; Tivadar/Jurgec 2003).

4.1 The Unifying Slovene Written Language

Writing has been interlaced with public speech for a good century now and has, in a way, established the Spoken Standard. The biggest problem in Slovene linguistics is the non-acceptance of the different roles of these two linguistic codes (written and spoken). The Slovene space has always been quite diverse, when it comes to speech. But, at the same time, the tendency towards the national unification of the language is typical for Slovenia (Tivadar 2012). Spoken Standard language is, thus, conditioned by the written language and, due to the aforementioned geographic stratification, and the differences in the spoken and written languages, certain deviations appear which are, however, quite common in a spoken language. The Spoken Standard language is necessarily tied to the written language, to which it must not be subordinate, at least in the Slovene example. Besides this, contemporary media texts are very much connected to the written code – the most-watched television shows on all Slovene TV stations include the news, which is read, and round table discussions on important informative themes, both of which use the Spoken Standard. Also, politicians in press conferences use, as a rule, the Spoken Standard (Tivadar 2006; 2008b).

Also in the Slovene example, statements by Czech linguists hold true, in the sense that, in speech, it often comes to "mixing" of individual speech types, as with the "obecná čeština" variant of the Czech language, inter-dialect and Standard language, typical of the city speech (Čechová 2000: 25–26). The Czech (phonetically-phonological) normativistism does argue in favour of the basic Czech Spoken Standard language that is spoken in the central Czech Republic, with the exception of Prague and its surroundings. For Moravia, a certain variants are accepted (Palková 1997: 321). Other tendencies are also present in the Czech Republic, tendencies that expose the "obecná čeština" language, or the general conversational language, based on the central-Czech dialect: its use in literature, for example, and with some speakers in public positions, who are in favour of the otherwise Standard language. The "obecná čeština" is, in fact, a symbol of genuine speech, in contrast to the taught Standard, which is the standardised, artificial Czech language that most Czech people would not know how to speak (Čermák 1996: 14–18; on the development and beginnings of the literary Czech and the historical role of "obecná čeština," see cf. Stich 1991).

But the big question is whether, in the third millennium, the regional speech (for example, in the Czech capital of Prague, or in the Slovene capital of Ljubljana) can be the actual basis for the Standard language.

In the Slovene example, we find tendencies (more extensively explained in Tivadar 2010b), such as the centralistic principle of standardisation, which uses both written and centralised views when explaining the definition of Standard Slovene language – towards the written and the centralised speech principle:

1. Toporišič, in the only complete Slovene grammar book (first published in 1976), claims that the speaker of Standard Slovene is a "linguistically-trained person (at least to middle school level)." He adds that Standard Slovene " in Slovenia is, first and foremost, the written language" (Toporišič 2000: 15).[9]

2. Along with this written description of Standard Slovene, to which Toporišič also attributes a unifying and representative function, he exposes a *"trans-Slovenian colloquial"* (slov. "splošnopogovorni") language that "more than the Standard Slovene, leans on the regular, everyday, discourse language of non-dialect speaking people all over Slovenia and, especially, in its centre – Ljubljana, and its more or less urbanised wider surroundings" (Toporišič 2000: 18, underlined by H. T.). Toporišič admits that the Spoken Standard language is not generally accepted all across Slovenia: "That which should become truly general (as Standard Slovene is generally accepted and also defended), actually exists in quite a well-formed manner in the central Upper-Lower Carniola area, with a centre in Ljubljana and its surrounding, and, in part, even more-distanced urban settlements" (Toporišič 2000: 17). With the *"trans-Slovenian colloquial"* language, according to Toporišič, certain social classes ("the educated, especially urban") are already being born, but this is not Slovene language reality. Here, we must put forth the questions regarding the current linguistic situation. Does Ljubljana have a unified linguistic norm? Is it possible that it is an entirely special metropolis, different from Prague, for instance, despite the influences of different dialects, languages, and generations of speakers (Tivadar 2010b: 41–42)?

Why have we exposed these claims by Toporišič? Toporišič and his claims still hold the leading position in Slovenia.[10] He wishes to create a Spoken Standard, which is distinctively oriented toward centralisation, has no basis in tradition, and has no general acceptance, all of which he freely admits. That is why he wishes to adapt this primary, "inborn" Spoken Standard language for general use since, according to his opinion, it must be the basis of a Standard language:

> [Trans-Slovene colloquial language] becomes even more general if, with a conscious intervention, we undercut the properties that make it more closely provincial.[...] Trans-Slovenian colloquial languages for the Standard Slovene are sort of a preparation, which lead the linguistic assets of geographical dialects and provincial colloquial languages somehow toward the roles of Standard Slovene (Toporišič 2000: 17).

We argued, in several places, (Tivadar/Jurgec 2003; Tivadar 2010a; Tivadar 2010c) against these sorts of violent tensions towards a "natural" base for the Standard language, which is conditioned by region and centrality, seeing as these sort of idealizations in several public discussions,[11] and in some articles (Toporišič 2003), have turned into an unconstrained search for a perfect speaker from a linguistically very diverse area, such as the Slovene capital. Such attempts can also lead to various forms of societal intolerance. For example, a few years ago, the still-presiding mayor of Ljubljana, who only spent a part of his childhood in Serbia, was accused of being an unnatural

[9] He defines literary language from the viewpoint of the creator, a serial addressee, and official status. Besides this he emphasises the educational, social and dialectal inequality, which conditions the use of Standard Slovene (Toporišič 2000: 15).

[10] The Concept of Central Slovene speakers as a foundation of the literary form is defended also by some other linguists (Jurgec 2005; 2011).

[11] RTV SLO 1, Studio ob sedemnajstih, 20. 5. 2002.

citizen of Ljubljana, for not having been born there, and therefore unable to understand his own city.[12]

Many speakers can feel excluded, especially Slovenes in the neighbouring countries:

Even our language, our Slovene language, is losing its footing in central Slovenia. The language, the only thing that unified us, and that we here, in the times of greatest pressure, have nurtured with love and persistence, seems to be becoming useless to some ... Here we are besieged by the Italian language, on the streets, in offices, and especially on television. How do we feel when we realise how the linguistically-refined speech on Italian television fights with a loose and constantly-enforcing Ljubljana dialect on the central Slovene television? It seems as if we do not need a language to unify us all but, rather, to accentuate the differences that divide us. According to such criteria, everyone will nurture only their own dialect, while we will communicate only in Italian, whereas in central Slovenia, we will communicate only in English (by prof. Nada Pertot from Trieste; Dolgan 1996: 70–71).

Two teachers of rhetoric also contemplate public speaking in Slovenia, when they consider how a Slovene teacher should speak "in a language elevated solely by consistency, understood by every Slovene of the same age. There is no Slovene ethnic uniform. It does not exist. Just as there is no Pan-Slovene spoken language. Television is not Slovene. It is a television using the Ljubljana dialect" (Zupančič/Zupančič 2003: 505).

The Standard Slovene language is unified, while the spoken language is diverse, depending on the spoken discourse. Therefore, we cannot equate the regionally-coloured Spoken language with the Standard language.

Standard Slovene language is tied to the written linguistic code, as shown by the state of contemporary media in Slovenia (cf. Tivadar 2008b; 2011), where it is still predominant in the more content-heavy and demanding RTV shows.

5 TOPICAL MEDIA SPEECH AND ITS DESCRIPTION, AS PROOF OF A UNIFIED SPOKEN STANDARD

Contemporary research, based on researching real contemporary Slovene material (Tivadar 2004b), proves that the Standard Slovene language, including its spoken representation, is suitably unified, and phonetically recognisable, among the speakers of the Slovene language, regardless of their regional origin. Such perceptive tests of minimal pairs prove a large degree of recognisability (between 88 and 100 %) of phonologically distinctive Slovene vowels – also among the narrow and wide <e> ‘pe:t (five) – ‘pɛ:t (G Pl heel) and <o> ‘go:st (dense) – ‘gɔ:st (guest) (Tivadar 2004b).[13]

We must also emphasise that the vowels of central Slovene, and also non-central Slovene speakers, are entirely comparable when pronounced. We can thus speak of a unified Standard Slovene language (Tivadar 2010a).

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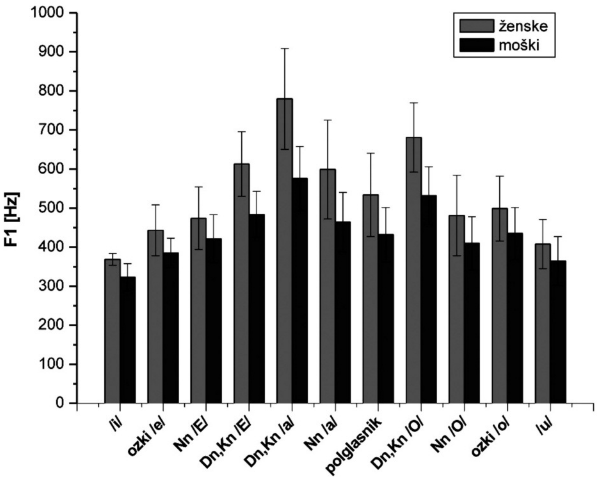
[12] MMC RTV SLO 2009

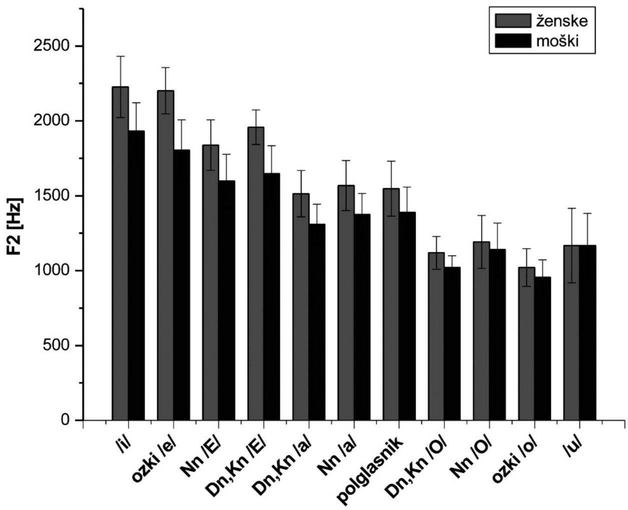
[13] In this research (Tivadar 2004b), the typical content distinctive pairs of Slovene vowels were prepared in a neutral sentence position. They were read and spoken by professional radio speakers of Slovene language.

With regard to comparing Slovene vowels, based on the additional analysis of media speakers (Tivadar 2008a), we discover that, according to gender, the values of individual phonemes, when accounting for the natural deviations, are comparable (see graphs 1 and 2). Therefore, we can claim that, in the field of vowels, the Standard Slovene language is unified, regardless of the origin of the speaker. Dialectal origin does not have a significant influence on the articulation or perception of Standard Slovene vowels.



Graph 1: Average values and deviations of the formant F1.

Dn ¬ long stressed, Kn – short stressed, Nn – unstressed; ženske – female, moški – male, ozki – closed. Polglasnik – semivowel, /E/ – /ɛ/, /O/ – /ɔ/.



Graph 2: Average values and deviations of the formant F2.

Dn ¬ long stressed, Kn – short stressed, Nn – unstressed; ženske – female, moški – male, ozki – closed. Polglasnik – semivowel, /E/ – /ɛ/, /O/ – /ɔ/.

With such a concrete analysis, we can confirm the unified image of the phonetically and dialectally diverse Slovene language. Precisely due to its dialectal diversity, constant adaptation, and the multilingualism of the Slovene territory, its Standard image is, necessarily, speech-tolerant, but tied to the written language.

The pronunciation of vowels in the Slovene language was, in Slovene grammar, often dealt with only in the sense of how one makes a mistake (breaking the rules) or copes with non-central Slovene dialects (e.g., Škofja Loka residents employ short phonemes, Styrian narrow /e/ and /o/ etc.; Toporišič 2000: 50–53, 60). Unfortunately, the regional origin of the speaker as a weakness of the speaker is also exposed in other places (cf. Toporišič 2003: 135).

6 CONCLUSION

Creating a new spoken standard on a regional basis, even if based on the speech of the Slovene economic-political-cultural centre (Ljubljana region), would be a step backwards, a walk down the well-trodden path of creating regionally-conditioned standards, which have proved false, and not good for the evolution of Slovene language. Lack of a clearly-articulated contemporary Central Slovene speech, especially regarding vowel sounds, means that Ljubljana regional speech has not asserted itself as the Spoken Standard. Finally, Spoken Standard in the media (and in the public) is in general unified, and is very different from Ljubljana regional speech (cf. Tivadar 2004b; 2006; 2010a).

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Abstract

CODIFICATION OF THE SPOKEN LANGUAGE:
EXAMPLE OF CONTEMPORARY SLOVENE

The Slovene language is often presented as a national element. Even in the 19th century, which saw the Spring of Nations and the United Slovenia project, the Slovene language was a constitutive element of the Slovene nation. In the meantime, the Slovene language was positioning itself as an all-Slovene language, trying to be supra-regional.

By the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Slovene written language had stabilized, while at the same time the spoken language had only begun to assert itself. During this time, the prevailing principle was to “speak the way the language is written.” In the mid-20th century, the theoretical idea of a literary language that is based on the central Slovene-speech (i.e. the speech of Ljubljana) came to dominate. In the third millennium, the question is whether a regionally-defined speech can be used as the basis for a Standard language. Another central question is what this "suitable" regionally-conditioned speech would be like. The principle of how important, decision-wise, the centre of a nation is, when it comes to questions of linguistic norms, may seem very attractive and, to a certain extent, logical. However, even examples of historically and linguistically comparable languages do not support the theory of creating the norm for the Standard Slovene language, based on the contemporary speech of Ljubljana, as claimed by Toporišič in *Slovenska slovnica* and, later, in *Slovenski pravopis*. Within Slovenia, the Standard Slovene language is tied to written language, which has proven, in the past, to be a suitable way of setting the norm. Regressing back to the principles of standardising a language, based on regional variants, would be unproductive, would introduce needless discord, and would cause problems with everyday, public communication. Contemporary research of actual speech, a portion of which is also presented within this article, confirms the all-Slovene and regionally-independent character of the Slovene Standard language.

Keywords: standard language, standard spoken Slovene, phonetics, Slovene language history, codification, modern language.

Povzetek

KODIFIKACIJA GOVORJENEGA JEZIKA: PRIMER SODOBNE SLOVENŠČINE

Slovenski knjižni jezik je pogosto omenjan kot narodotvorna prvina. Tudi v 19. stoletju (pomlad narodov in program Zedinjena Slovenija) je bila slovenščina konstitutivni element slovenskega naroda. V tem času se je slovenščina uveljavljala kot vseslovenski jezik, ki je hotel preseči regionalne okvire. Konec 19. in v začetku 20. stoletja se je pisna podoba slovenskega jezika ustalila, medtem ko se je kodifikacija govorjenega jezika v tem času šele začela razvijati. Od načela "govori, kot je zapisano" je sredi 20. stoletja prevladala teoretična misel o jezikovnem standardu, ki sloni na osrednjeslovenskem govoru, tj. govoru Ljubljane. V tretjem tisočletju pa se postavlja vprašanje, ali je regionalno utemeljen govor lahko dejanska podlaga knjižnemu jeziku. Poleg tega ni povsem jasno, kakšne lastnosti naj bi ta "ustrezni" regionalno pogojen govor imel. Načelo odločevalnosti nacionalnega centra je pri vprašanjih jezikovne norme sicer dovolj privlačno in do neke mere logično. Toda primeri slovenščini kulturnozgodovinsko in jezikovno podobnih jezikov ne podpirajo teorije normiranja govorjene slovenščine na osnovi centralnega govora, ki jo zagovarja Toporišič v Slovenski slovnici in nadaljuje v Slovenskem pravopisu. Govorni standard je namreč v slovenskem kulturnem prostoru izrazito vezan tudi na pisni jezikovni izraz, kar se je v preteklosti izkazalo za ustrezen način normiranja in poenotenja slovenščine.

Članek predstavi raziskavo sodobnega govora, ki potrjuje vseslovenski in regionalno neodvisni značaj slovenskega standardnega jezika. Zato se zdi, da bi bilo vračanje k principom normiranja jezika na osnovi regionalnih različic neproduktivno, saj bi vnašalo nepotrebno neenotnost in povzročalo težave tudi pri vsakdanjem (javnem) sporazumevanju.

Ključne besede: knjižni jezik, govorni standard, fonetika, zgodovina slovenskega jezika, kodifikacija, sodobni jezik.

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USE OF DUAL IN STANDARD SLOVENE, COLLOQUIAL SLOVENE AND SLOVENE DIALECTS

INTRODUCTION

The dual is an integral element of Contemporary Standard Slovene, the language used in literature and in official writings and speech. It also appears in the majority of Slovene dialects, but to varying degrees. As we shall see, some dialects are witnessing a gradual disappearance of the dual and its replacement by plural forms. Colloquial Slovene is following the tendencies of surrounding dialects, influenced by Standard Slovene.

1 CONTEMPORARY STANDARD SLOVENE, COLLOQUIAL SLOVENE AND DIALECTS

Although the Slovene language is a single entity with rules that can be learned for the purposes of general communication, there are in reality several "Slovene languages", with often quite significant grammatical differences between them. Contemporary Standard Slovene (CSS, Sln. *knjižni jezik*) is the written and spoken form of the language used in formal and official settings, i.e. books, news media, etc. In less formal speech settings, such as shows on television, radio and the stage, when people are speaking spontaneously, the colloquial standard is used (Sln. *splošnopogovorni* or *knjižnopogovorni jezik*), which is less strict in terms of its grammatical rules.

CSS is to some extent a "constructed" language whose specific morphological, lexical and phonological features are not specific to the spoken language of any one region of Slovene, although it is mainly based on the language spoken in Ljubljana in the 16th century (the Slovene capital is situated just within the borders of the Upper and Lower Carniola dialect areas).[1] From that time on, the language of the central Slovene region (i.e. the language of Lower and Upper Carniola) came to dominate. The 19th century saw the introduction of new word forms more similar to Old Church Slavonic and other (contemporary) Slavic languages. The phonology of CSS is therefore Carniolan, but the morphology and lexica are the result of historical reconstruction – they do not come from a single dialect base (cf. Jakopin 1966: 100–101; Lenček 1982: 186).

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[1] The Protestant writers of that time were important to the initial development of the standard language: Primož Trubar's first book to be printed in Slovene (1550) and Jurij Dalmatin's first complete Slovene translation of the Bible (1584).

CSS is based on three dialects: Upper Carniolan, Lower Carniolan and Styrian. For any native speaker of Slovene, CSS is their second language, if we take the dialect of their home town or village as their first language. We can illustrate this with a brief example. A speaker from Prekmurje will have three varieties of Slovene at their disposal, each used for different speech situations: dialect, colloquial and CSS. This speaker is obliged to switch codes according to the context in which he is speaking, e.g. to family, local friends, friends from other parts of the country, official business. By contrast, a speaker from the Ljubljana region has merely to choose between colloquial and CSS according to the *speech* situation (formal vs. informal); this is because their dialect is much closer to the former (Škofic 1994: 577–578).

COLLOQUIAL SLOVENE

Slovene colloquial languages have formed between CSS on the one hand and local dialects on the other. So-called regional colloquial languages are all affected by local speech habits and are, by and large, used only in spoken form; their phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary differ from written CSS. The colloquial language of Ljubljana (Sln. *osrednjeslovenski pogovorni jezik*) differs from the colloquial languages of other towns in other dialect regions, e.g. Maribor in northern Styria (Sln. *severnoštajerski pogovorni jezik*) or Celje in southern Styria (Sln. *južnoštajerski pogovorni jezik*) (cf. 4.2).

SLOVENE DIALECTS

Slovene dialects are divided into seven dialect groups, following Logar and Rigler's 1983 *Karta slovenskih narečij* (Linguistic Map of Slovene Dialects). This paper uses the established English translations for these dialect groups, as follows: 1. Carinthia (*Koroška*), 2. Littoral (*Primorska*), 3. Rovte, 4. Upper Carniola (*Gorenjska*), 5. Lower Carniola (*Dolenjska*), 6. Styria (*Štajerska*), 7. Pannonian (*Panonska*). The dialect groups are further divided into 36 dialects and 12 subdialects.

The dialects and subdialects, and their respective dialect groups, are given below:

1. Carinthia	Zilja (Gailtal), Rož (Rosental), Obir (Hochobir), Podjuna (Jauntal),[2] Mežica and Northern Pohorje dialects
2. Littoral	Rezija (Resia), Ter (Torre), Soča, Nadiža (Natisone),[3] Brda, Karst (with Banjšice subdialect), Istria (consisting of Rižana and Šavrini subdialects), Notranjska and Čičarija dialects
3. Rovte	Tolmin (with Bača subdialect), Cerkno, Črni Vrh, Horjul, Poljanska Sora and Škofja Loka dialects
4. Upper Carniola[4]	Gorenjska dialect, Eastern Gorenjska subdialect and Selška Sora dialect

[2] The brackets contain the German names of those dialect areas located in Austria.

[3] The brackets contain the Italian names of those dialect areas located in Italy.

5. Lower Carniola	Dolenjska dialect and Eastern Dolenjska subdialect, Northern Bela Krajina, Southern Bela Krajina and Kostel dialects (with Babno Polje subdialect)
6. Styria	Posavje dialect (consisting of Zagorje-Trbovlje, Laško and Sevnica-Krško subdialects), Upper Savinja dialect (with Solčava subdialect), Central Savinja, Central Štajerska, Kozjansko-Bizeljsko and Southern Pohorje dialects (with Kozjak subdialect)
7. Pannonian	Slovenske Gorice, Prlekija, Haloze and Prekmurje dialects

Table 1: Slovene dialects and subdialects

2 THE DUAL IN CONTEMPORARY STANDARD SLOVENE, COLLOQUIAL SLOVENE AND DIALECTS

The dual is one of the most interesting areas of difference (and similarity) between the different codes of Slovene. In CSS, use of the dual demands an agreement between pronoun and verb, noun and verb, or noun and adjective. Masculine dual forms all end in *-a*: *dva nova avtomobila sta parkirana* "two new cars are parked"; *midva greva na morje* "we [two male persons/one male + one female persons] are going to the seaside". Phonetic agreement in the feminine dual is much weaker, and the use of *-i*, *-e* and *-a* endings consequently gives it less stability: *dve lepi deklici hodita po cesti* "two pretty girls are walking down the street", *midve pečeva kruh* "we [two female persons] are baking bread". Dual forms of feminine nouns have been mixed with plural forms since the 16th century. In Proto-Slavic, hard and soft feminine declension in the dual differed only in the nominative, accusative and vocative (e.g. **ribě* : **duši*). In Slovene, the ending *-i* from soft declension has become prevalent in feminine nouns in the dual: either *-i* from the soft declension was generalised or, possibly, *-ě* in the unstressed position changed into *-i* (Logar 1996: 319).

The dual is integral to CSS, required by Slovene grammar and used for all inflected word types (nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs), in all cases (the genitive and locative plural and dual forms have the same endings) and in all grammatical persons.[5] In the colloquial language of central Slovenia (i.e. Ljubljana, Celje), the dual is still used for masculine nouns, while dual forms for feminine nouns have been replaced by the plural: *dva brata* "two brothers" (m. du.), *dve sestre* "two sisters" (f. du./pl.).

4 Although the English name has been adopted for the Dolenjska and Gorenjska dialect groups (Lower and Upper Carniola respectively), there are single dialects within these groups that bear these names. Therefore, where Dolenjska and Gorenjska appear, the reference is to the dialects and not the dialect groups.

5 As far as natural pairs are concerned, these had already been pluralised by the 16th century and now function as collective nouns. The dual is used in such cases only when an emphasis needs to be drawn using the quantifiers dva/dve "two" or oba/obe "both".

In the central Slovene dialects, the situation with the nominal dual is very much the same as in colloquial Slovene, while dialects in the north-west and north-east still preserve the feminine dual, e.g. *dve sestri* "two sisters" (f. du.). Masculine and feminine verbal dual forms exist in the majority of Slovene dialects; in fact, in some of them, a distinction between masculine and feminine verb forms appears exclusively in the dual; that distinction does not exist in CSS.

3 LINGUISTIC MATERIALS ON THE DUAL

The presentation of the types of dual in Slovene dialects is based on the most extensive dialect material relating to dialects from the whole of the Slovene ethnic territory [6] and systematically gathered for the *Slovene Linguistic Atlas* (*Slovenski lingvistični atlas* – SLA),[7] as well as material taken from existing literature on dialectology, supplemented with data from the author's own fieldwork (2003–2011). The comparison is made with the dual in the Standard Slovene and with descriptions in older linguistic literature and old Slovene texts. Material for dual forms in colloquial Slovene was gathered by means of a special survey the author drew up for this research.

Previous researchers, e.g. Lucien Tesnière (1925) and Aleksandar Belić (1932), emphasised the weakening of the dual as a grammatical category of number; they were interested in the sequence in which it was disappearing in individual word categories and the forms within them. Our research will proceed from an analysis of the situation regarding dual endings in flexible word categories in modern Standard Slovene, colloquial Slovene and Slovene dialects, according to the state of preservation of the dual number.

4 TYPES OF DUAL IN SLOVENE

4.1 Dual in dialects

The distribution of the dual is important because it allows us to look for the driving forces of change; these can be external (contact with other languages; cf. 4.1.5) or internal (influences from other dialects).

In the conclusion of *Les formes du duel en slovène* (Tesnière 1925a: 425), Tesnière noted that the use of the dual was prescribed to a greater extent in the standard language than was the case in certain dialects, and Belić stated that the dual was being lost in Slovene dialects to a greater extent than in the standard language (Belić 1932: 63). For Tesnière (1925a: 424), the dual was disappearing in the following sequence: in cases, first in the locative, then in the genitive, dative and instrumental, and finally in the nominative/accusative; by gender, first in the feminine, then in the neuter and finally in the masculine. With some exceptions, these tendencies are confirmed by the dialect material in the *Slovene Linguistic Atlas*.

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[6] Slovene linguistic territory is the territory in which Slovene is spoken. It therefore encompasses Slovenia as well as those areas in neighbouring countries in which Slovene-speaking minorities reside (northern Italy, southern Austria, south-western Hungary and northern areas of Croatia).

[7] The first volume of the Slovene Linguistic Atlas was published in 2011.

4.1.1 Dual nouns in Slovene dialects

In Slovene dialects, dual forms have been most consistently preserved in masculine nouns (Jakop 2008). They are slightly less well-preserved in neuter nouns, mainly in the far east but also in the far west of the country. The central dialects have the dual ending *-a* as a result of masculinisation (e.g. *dva okna*, m. nom. du.) instead of the neuter dual ending *-i* (*dve okni*). Feminine nouns tend most towards pluralisation (*dve hčere* instead of *dve hčeri*); the same applies to feminised neuter nouns (*dve okne* instead of *dve okni*). Feminine nouns exist in the dual only in Carinthia, Lower Carniola (most of the subdialects in the Dolenjska dialect area), north-eastern Styria and in the north-east of the Pannonian dialect group (as well as in CSS of course). Some Carinthian and Littoral dialects have retained the dual in the nominative/accusative while the dative/instrumental has been pluralised. The pluralisation of feminine nouns has occurred in central dialects (most of Upper and Lower Carniola, and south-western Styria).

Dialects in the far north-west and far east of the country have preserved the dual to the same level as in CSS. A considerable number of dialects use dual forms in the nominative/accusative only, with the plural having replaced the dual in all other cases. Genitive and locative dual forms have been pluralised in CSS and all dialects; the exceptions here are a handful of subdialects in the Pannonian dialect group, where masculine locative noun endings preserve the dual form *-oma* (*bratoma*), like the instrumental. Although the dative/instrumental has a separate dual form in CSS, there is a tendency in the majority of western and central dialects for dual forms in the dative/instrumental to be abandoned and replaced by plural forms.

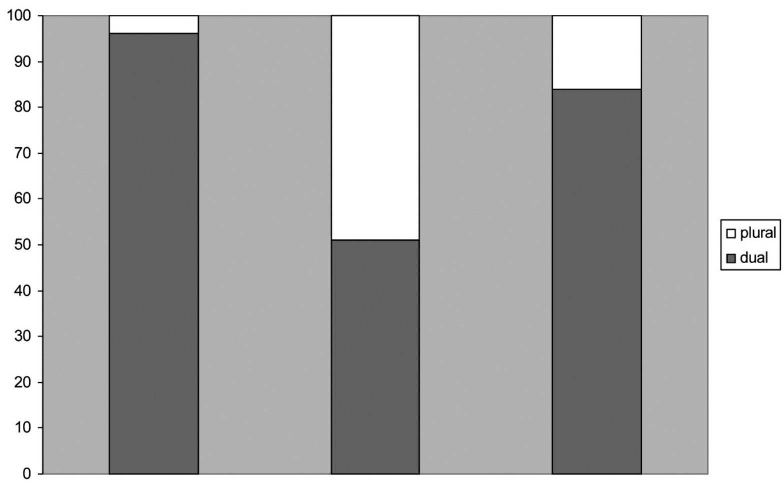

Chart 1a: Dual use of nouns.

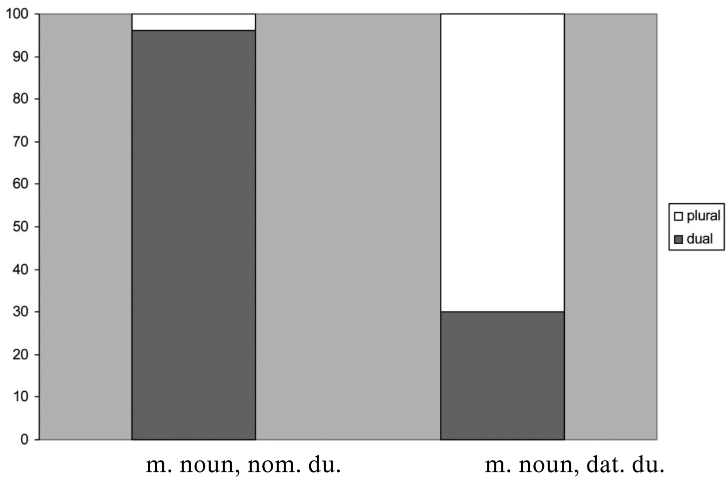

Chart 1b: Dual use of nouns.

4.1.2 Dual adjectives in Slovene dialects

As with nouns, the adjectival dual is better preserved in the masculine, while feminine adjectives are more inclined to be pluralised. Because of the congruence between nouns and adjectives (as in CSS), the dual forms of adjectives have the same (dual) endings as nouns, ending in *-a* in the masculine dual in the nominative/accusative (*dobra*) and in *-i* in the feminine (*dobri*). The pluralisation of feminine adjectives has occurred in the same dialects that have witnessed the pluralisation of feminine nouns, i.e. most of Upper and Lower Carniola, and in south-western Styria.

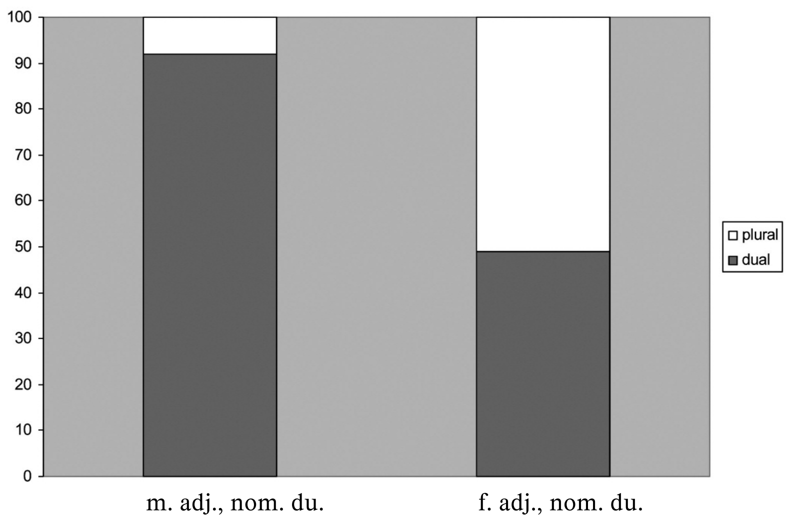

Chart 2: Dual use of adjectives.

4.1.3 Dual personal pronouns in Slovene dialects

Personal pronouns for the 1st and 2nd person nominative dual (*midva*, *midve* (also *medve*) "the two of us" and *vidva*, *vidve* (also *vedve*) "the two of you"), formed as a combination of the etymologically plural pronouns *mi/me* and *vi/ve* and the numeral *dva/dve*, are characteristic of the majority of Slovene dialects. After the numerals *dva* and *dve*, dual personal pronouns are the word types most resistant to pluralisation in Slovene dialects, with most retaining dual forms in the nominative. The plural forms *mi* and *vi* (*me* and *ve*) are only found in the far south-west and far south-east of the country. Generally speaking, all dialects have preserved the dual in pronominal declension.

As with the noun, the pronominal dual is less well-preserved in oblique cases (genitive and dative). The genitive dual forms *naju* and *nama* cover most of Slovene linguistic territory; the pluralised genitive form *nas* and pluralised dative form *nam* appear in the Littoral dialect group and in south-eastern Lower Carniola.

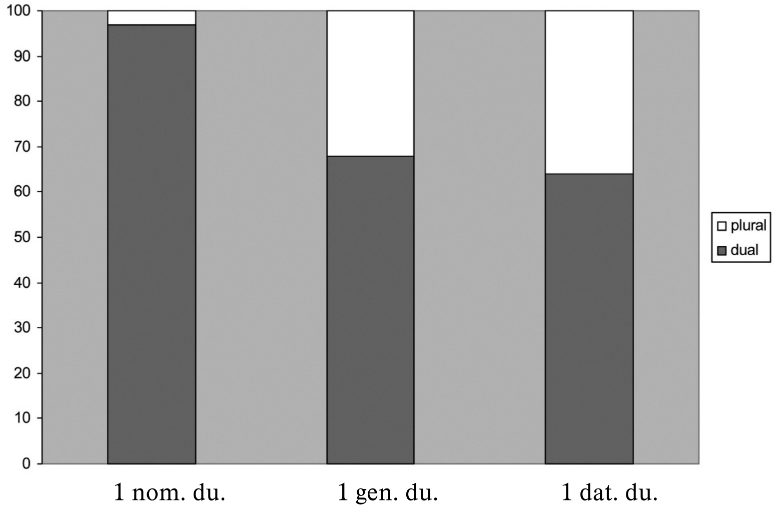

Chart 3: Dual use of personal pronouns.

4.3.4 Numeral dva "two" in Slovene dialects

Every Slovene dialect uses the dual forms *dva* and *dve* in the nominative/accusative;[8] this is in fact the only instance in which dual use is uniform throughout the country. In CSS and in the majority of the dialects, the numeral follows pronominal declension (*dva/dve*, *dveh*, *dvema*, etc.). The dual has been best preserved in the nominative/accusative numeral, less well in the dative/instrumental, and least of all in the genitive/locative. In the genitive/locative, in addition to the widespread plural form *dveh* (the CSS form), one also encounters *dvejih*, which arose from a combination

[8] The same applies to the pronoun oba "both".

of the dual form *dvěju* (< **dъvoju*) and the plural ending *-h*; the form *dvejih* encompasses most of the Lower Carniola dialect group, and has even spread westwards into eastern Notranjska and, separately from this area, into eastern Carinthia. Some dialects have seen pluralisation in the dative as well (*dvem* instead of *dvema*) and, more rarely, in the instrumental (*z dvemi* instead of *z dvema*).

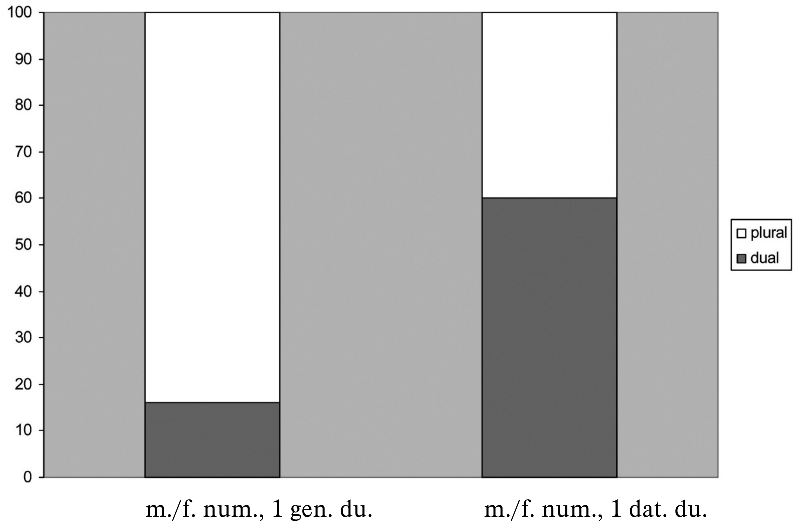

Chart 4: Dual use of numerals.

4.1.5 Dual verbs in Slovene dialects

An overview of Slovene dialects shows that certain peripheral dialects are gradually losing their verbal dual. While the verbal dual in some dialects is indeed weakening under the influence of Italian, Friulian and Croatian, it remains intact in those dialects in direct contact with the German and Hungarian languages. Pluralisation resulting from contact with foreign languages is therefore occurring in the south-west of Slovene linguistic territory (Littoral dialects), where the influence of Čakavian and Italian has been felt, and in the far south-east of the country (Lower Carniolan dialects), under the influence of Čakavian and Kajkavian.

The standard language prescribes no distinction between masculine and feminine in dual verbs in the first person, and the CSS form *-va* for both masculine and feminine is the pattern followed by the north-western dialects of Carinthia, north-western Littoral, parts of the Rovte dialect group and most of Upper Carniola. In contrast, some dialects use dual endings that indicate the gender of the participants. The distinction between verb endings *-va* (m.) and *-ve*/*-vi* (f., n.) probably arose because the verb forms for the 1st person dual **-va* and **-vě* (> *-vi*) were originally different (cf. Šivic-Dular 2006: 13), and later perhaps because they were required to match personal pronouns (e.g. *midva delava*, *midve delave*), or by analogy with nouns and adjectives (e.g. *delava* after *dva vesela človeka*, *delavi* after *dve lepi ženski*). This distinction is attested in the central dialects (some Littoral, Rovte and Lower Carniolan dialects), along with Pannonian Prekmurje and north-eastern Prlekija dialects in the east.

The dual ending -*va* has been replaced in some dialects by the ending -*ma* (*delama*), which is a combination of -*va* and the plural ending -*mo* and/or the singular ending -*m*; as with -*va*, no gender distinction is made. This is a particular feature of the Styrian dialect group, but is also found in most of Carinthia, some Littoral dialects and in the western part of the Pannonian dialect group. Pluralisation affects feminine word forms much more than masculine, especially in parts of Littoral, Lower Carniola and southern Styria, where the masculine still retains the dual (*delava*/*delama* : *delamo*). The dual has been completely pluralised in verbs in the 1st person in south-western Littoral and in the far south-east of Lower Carniola.

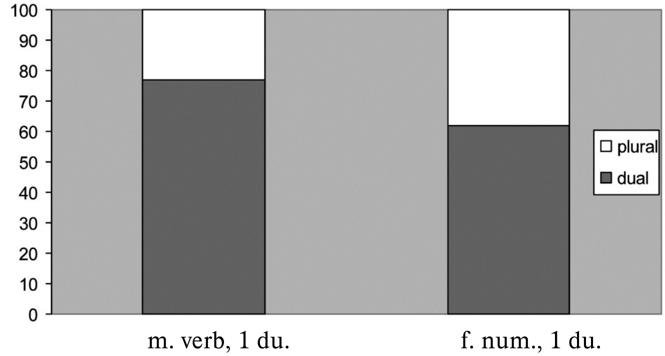

Chart 5: Dual use of verbs.

4.2 DUAL FORMS IN COLLOQUIAL SLOVENE

In addition to the colloquial language of Ljubljana (Toporišič 2000: 13), some other colloquial languages or urban dialects are in use in larger Slovene towns such as Maribor or Celje (both Styrian dialect group). The colloquial language of Ljubljana functions somewhat as the “national” colloquial language, while the colloquial languages of Maribor or Celje might best be described as “regional” colloquial languages.

4.2.1 Dual nouns (and adjectives) in colloquial Slovene

In the colloquial language of Ljubljana and Celje, the dual is used for masculine nouns (and adjectives), while dual forms for feminine nouns (and adjectives) have been replaced by the plural: *dva* (*lesena*) *stola* “two (wooden) chairs” but *dve* (*lesene*) *mize* “two (wooden) tables” (f. du. = pl.). In the colloquial language of Maribor, the dual is used for masculine and feminine nouns: *dva* (*visoka*) *brata* “two (tall) brothers” and *dve* (*debeli*) *kravi* “two (fat) cows” (f. du.).

4.2.2 Dual verbs in colloquial Slovene

In the colloquial language of Ljubljana, the dual ending *-va* in 1 du. is preserved (*bo**va***, *dela**va***, *gre**va***, *sedi**va***). In the colloquial languages of Maribor and Celje, instead of the CSS dual ending *-va* in 1 du., the ending *-ma* is used (*bo**ma***, *dela**ma***, *gre**ma***, *sed**ima***), which is a combination of *-va* and the plural ending *-mo* and/or the singular ending *-m*. In the colloquial language of Maribor and Celje, the present tense athematic ending *-sta* (2nd person dual) is replaced by the thematic *-ta* ending (i.e. *bota*, *data*, *greta*, *veta* [2 du.]).[9]

In the last ten years or so in Ljubljana, a gender distinction in dual verb forms in the present tense has (re)appeared (i.e. *dela-va* [m., 1 du.]: *dela-ve* [f., 1 du.]), mostly in the spoken language but also in informal written language. Two examples of dual endings that make a distinction between genders are the dual forms *midve delave* and *midve greve* [f., 1 du.], meaning "we are doing" and "we are going" for two women, where formerly the masculine forms *midva delava* and *midva greva* would have been used for both, two men or two women. This use of the dual form is favoured primarily by young people (many examples of the use of feminine dual forms can be found on the internet, particularly in blogs written by young people and in online forums; examples include *midve sve*, *bove, delave*, *počneve*) and also among those working in the service professions, such as hairdressers, saleswomen, etc. (i.e. *Kaj bove pa midve danes?* "What shall we [1 f. du] do/have today?"). To the dialectologist it is further evidence that the dual continues to be a living category in the non-standard language, and one that moves and changes in response to the pressures of modern written and spoken communication.[10]

In the colloquial language of Ljubljana, dual forms for feminine participles *-l* have been replaced by the plural (*midve sva **šle***), while masculine participles *-l* have preserved the dual (*midva sva **šla***); the same applies to the colloquial language of Maribor (*midve/mijadve sma **ble***, *sma **šle*** vs. *midva/mijadva sma **bla***, *sma **šla***).[11]

4.3 Dual in CSS

Although Slovene has six cases, only four different forms are used in dual noun paradigms, since the nominative has the same ending as the accusative (in the case of the animate, masculine objects take the same ending as the genitive in the singular), and the instrumental takes the same ending as the dative. In CSS, because of the congruence between dual forms of adjectives and nouns, dual forms of adjectives, like nouns, end in *-a* in the masculine nominative/accusative dual, while feminine and neuter forms end in *-i*. There is greater variation in endings in Slovene dialects (cf. 4.1).

[9] Generalisation of the ending -ta (i.e. veta for standard vesta) is characteristic of the north-eastern dialects (Styrian, Pannonian and eastern Carinthian).

[10] See Jakop (2007: 601–613) for more detailed research on this phenomena.

[11] The second form (mijadve/mijadve) is less common; it is a compound form of the personal pronoun and numeral dva (mídvadva, mídvedve) and is also found in some eastern dialects, e.g. Northern Pohorje, Southern Pohorje, Slovenske Gorice, Prlekija, Haloze and Prekmurje.

Dual noun and adjective forms in the genitive and locative are identical to the plural forms; separate dual forms have been preserved only in personal pronouns in the genitive and locative, i.e. *naju*, *vaju*, *njiju* (1, 2, 3 gen.); *pri naju*, *pri vaju*, *pri njiju* (1, 2, 3 loc.). In CSS, as well as in most of the dialects, personal pronouns are congruent with verbs: *midva*, *midve* (also *medve*) *delava* (1 du. m., f.); *vidva*, *vidve* (also *vedve*) *delata* (2 du. m., f.); *onadva*, *onidve delata* (3 du. m., f.).

In CSS, the cardinal numeral "two" only makes a gender distinction in the nominative/accusative, distinguishing masculine on the one hand from feminine and neuter on the other, e.g. *dva brata* (m. "two brothers") vs. *dve ženi* (f. "two wives"), *dve okni* (n. "two windows"); all the other cases have unique forms for all three genders (GEN *dveh*, DAT *dvema*, LOC *pri dveh*, INSTR *z dvema*). If in Proto-Slavic the numeral *dva* was declined like the pronoun (**dъvoju*, **dъvěma*, etc.), today, in CSS and in most of the dialects, it is declined like the noun (*dveh*, *dvema*, etc.), as in the pronoun *oba* "both" (cf. Toporišič 2000: 329–330).

In the dual, masculine verbs end, in all three persons, in *-a* (*-va*, *-ta*, *-ta*). Feminine verb endings in *-e* (*-ve*, *-te*, *-te*) have proved to be unstable and are found today only in the colloquial language of Ljubljana and certain dialects (cf. 4.2.2 and 4.1.5), while in CSS, as well as in the majority of dialects, only *-a* forms are retained, for all genders: in the 1st person *-va* (*delava*, *greva*, *sva*), 2nd person *-ta* (*delata*, *gresta*, *sta*) and 3rd person *-ta* (which has supplanted the **-te* formerly in use). Second person plural endings (*delate*, *greste*) developed later from **-te*. In CSS verb forms, only the participles distinguish gender: *midva sva delala* "we two [m.] were working", *midve sva delali* "we two [f.] were working".

A number of grammarians since the 16th century have standardised different verbal dual endings for masculine and feminine: from Adam Bohorič (1584: 102, 123) *Mi va ve* [1 m., f.],[12] Valentin Vodnik (1811: 71): *ʃva* [1 m.] : *ʃvi* [1 f.], to Josip Premru (1900: 53, 55): *sva*, *sve* [1 m., f.] and Anton Breznik (1916: 118): *delava* [1 m.] : *delave* [1 f.]. Mirko Rupel (1965: 14) noted that, in addition to the more common feminine (verb) forms using *-a* (*Micka in Ančka pišeta* "Micka and Ančka are writing"), the older form ending in *-e* was also permitted (*Micka in Ančka pišete*), while forms ending in *-i* were, according to him, no longer used. Jakopin (1966: 101) found that the forms for masculine and feminine had become the same, as in the present tense singular and plural, which do not distinguish between genders in their endings. Some grammars have noted that the dual endings *-ve, -te, -te* (*delave*, *delate*, *delate*) are spoken in some parts and occasionally also written.[13]

[12] ʃ stands for the modern s. From the second half of the 16th century on, Slovene Protestant authors used the so-called bohoričica (Bohorič alphabet). Its name derives from Adam Bohorič, who codified the alphabet in his book Articae Horulae Succisivae, published in 1584.

[13] Even the Slovene Grammar from 1947 gives, in addition to the regular all-gender verb endings -va, -ta and -ta, occasional feminine or neuter verb endings -ve, -te, -te (Nartnik 1988: 375).

5 CONCLUSION

The dual is a prescribed element of CSS, but has tended towards much stronger and consistent congruence with the plural in Slovene colloquial languages and dialects, particularly in oblique cases and in all feminine forms. We have focused on investigating the differences in the stage of preservation of the dual in individual flexible word categories (in verbs, pronouns, nouns, adjectives and the numeral *dva/dve* "two"). Owing to the development dynamics of Slovene dialects, the features and use of the dual vary widely, influencing also colloquial languages.

The results are comparable with a similar work from 1925, the *Linguistic Atlas of the Dual* (*Atlas linguistique pour servir à l'étude du duel en slovène*) by French linguist Lucien Tesnière. For Tesnière (1925a: 424), the dual was disappearing in the following sequence: in cases, first in the locative, then in the genitive, dative and instrumental, and finally in the nominative/accusative; by gender, first in the feminine, then in the neuter and finally in the masculine. With some exceptions, these tendencies are confirmed by modern Slovene dialects.

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Abstract

USE OF DUAL IN STANDARD SLOVENE, COLLOQUIAL SLOVENE AND SLOVENE DIALECTS

The dual is a grammatical expression of number in some languages (e.g. Slovene, Sorbian or Modern Standard Arabic) that denotes two persons or objects. In modern Indo-European languages, the dual is an archaism and one that has been preserved only in a small number of Slavonic languages: in Slovene, Upper and Lower Sorbian and Cassubian; in other Indo-European languages the dual has been replaced by the plural. This paper will present this specific grammatical category as preserved to the present day in Standard Slovene, Colloquial Slovene and various Slovene dialects, and enable more precise comparisons and contrasts to be drawn with the dual in all three forms of the Slovene language.

Keywords: dual number, morphology, Slovene dialects, Colloquial Slovene, Standard Slovene.

Povzetek

UPORABA DVOJINE V KNJIŽNI IN POGOVORNI SLOVENŠČINI TER V SLOVENSKIH NAREČJIH

Dvojina je slovnična kategorija za izražanje količine vrednosti (npr. v slovenščini, lužiški srbčini ali sodobni standardni arabščini), ki se spreminja glede na število udeležencev. V sodobnih indoevropskih jezikih je dvojina arhaična slovnična kategorija, ohranjena le še v nekaterih slovanskih jezikih: poleg slovenščine še v gornji in dolnji lužiški srbščini ter kašubščini; v ostalih indoevropskih jezikih je dvojino nadomestila množina. Članek bo predstavil to tipično slovensko posebnost, kot se je do danes ohranila v knjižni slovenščini, pogovorni slovenščini in različnih slovenskih narečjih ter tako omogočil natančnejšo primerjavo med rabo dvojine v vseh treh različicah slovenščine.

Ključne besede: dvojina, oblikoslovje, slovenska narečja, pogovorna slovenščina, knjižna slovenščina.

Sabina Zorčič
Medvode*

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WORDS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

1 IN LIEU OF AN INTRODUCTION

The following article presents research work conducted in the framework of my undergraduate thesis (Zorčič 2011), the aim of which was to provide a description of the use of words of foreign origin in the Slovenian political space. The theoretical points of departure, primarily Bourdieu's theory of practice and Searle's speech act theory,[1] dictated a hypothesis which contains a positive assessment of the use of words of foreign origin in the public sphere and interprets this use as part of an extended vocabulary and which also views this use as a form of symbolic cultural capital, a concept introduced by Bourdieu. Instead of classical sociological variables such as gender and age, the use of words of foreign origin will be defined in correlation to variables which express the speakers' social position. Education and number of terms in Parliament are two factors which could correlate with an increased use of words of foreign origin, as they provide the speaker access to the linguistic capital of the political sphere and consequently with opportunities to hone his or her speaking and rhetorical skills

The way in which a proposition is made or the speaker's choice of speech act is additionally dependent on the speaker's position in society – in the framework of the research topic, this implies the speaker's position in the government. Since members of parliament (hereinafter MPs) in the ruling coalition assertively defend their decisions as the only correct and legitimate ones, they make greater use of the illocution of assertion than MPs in the opposition, who must rely on various rhetorical mechanisms of contradiction and questioning, that is, on the illocution of direction, in line with the fact that the opposition always defines itself as the executor of oversight over the functioning of the ruling coalition. In describing speech acts, I make use of Searle's (1975) taxonomy of speech acts: **ASSERTIVE** – the illocution of ASSERTION: this illocution pertains to questions of the truthfulness or falseness of that which has been said (report, statement); **DIRECTIVE** – the illocution of DIRECTION: this illocution tends towards the realisation of the act of which the proposition speaks; illocutionary purpose is work completed in the future; the act must be done by the addressee (question, command, demand, invitation); **COMMISSIVE** – the illocution of COMMITMENT: this illocution commits the speaker himself or herself to performing the act of which the proposition speaks in the future; the illocutionary purpose is work to be completed in the future; the act must be performed by the speaker

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[1] A more extensive overview of the theoretical portion of the research is presented in Zorčič (2011).

(promise; threat); **EXPRESSIVE** – the illocution of EXPRESSION: this illocution speaks of the psychological state of the speaker, of his or her feelings, stances, convictions and beliefs, etc. as he or she expresses a proposition which can be presumed to be true (apology, congratulations, condolences); **DECLARATION** – the illocution of DECLARATION: this illocution fulfils a proposition through its being spoken by the speaker; through it, extralinguistic reality is altered (christening, appointment).

In the framework of his *theory of practice*, Bourdieu (1984) has shed new light on a number of subjects that touch upon language and its use. He presents everyday linguistic exchanges as positional struggles between representatives equipped with socially structured means and competences; every linguistic interaction, no matter how personal and unimportant it may seem, bears traces of a social structure, which is both expressed and maintained through it.

One of the central ideas of Bourdieu's work, and that for which he is best known, is the idea of the existence of different kinds of capital (1983): ECONOMIC CAPITAL, which is directly convertible into money and institutionalised in the form of ownership rights; CULTURAL CAPITAL in its embodied form (knowledge, education, etc.), its objectivised form (books, paintings, etc.), its institutional form (academic titles); SOCIAL CAPITAL made up of networks of mutual acquaintances; this type of capital is not measured through one's function in power structures, but rather implies the real possibility every individual has to engage the cooperation of others at a given moment.

The combination of these three kinds of capital, together with the chronological axis unique to each, constitutes an individual's habitus. Bourdieu's important innovation was the realisation that each of these three capitals also appears in the form of SYMBOLIC CAPITAL, which is understood symbolically, in relation to recognition or misrecognition. Symbolic economic capital takes the form of status symbols; symbolic cultural capital is revealed through the ritual expression of one's education, attendance at the right events, the selection of suitable methods of conversation, etc. symbolic social capital is an individual's reputation, his or her "good name", his or her place in a given group or community. Every kind of symbolic capital always functions as credit: credibility, integrity, recognition, "credit worthiness", the ability to "call in" favours (Bourdieu 1994: 174–175; summarised from Skubic 2005).

2 METHODOLOGY, THE CORPUS OF TEXTS, AND THE SPEAKERS

The corpus contains spoken texts from meetings of the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia; it encompasses all meetings of the Assembly held between 15 October 2008 and 22 May 2009.[2] Sub-corpora were formed for individual Members of Parliament (hereinafter MPs) which contain roughly between 5,000 and 12,000 words each. In total approximately 300,500 words were spoken, and of these 20,000 words were words of foreign origin included in the study. It is important to note that the corpus encompasses all consecutive utterances by MPs,

[2] Transcripts of meetings of the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia are available on the internet (in Slovene): http://www.dz-rs.si/index.php?id=97.

regardless of whether these were in the form of prepared (written) speeches, as in the case of individual groups of MPs presenting their stance, or off hand, unprepared replies in which speech is less monitored and more spontaneous than in the case of reading from a prepared written template.

The EVA software tool, a multipurpose text editor, was used to view the texts and create lists. Lemmatization was done using tagging software available on the website of the Fran Ramovš Institute of the Slovenian Language of the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts.[3]

The sample was designed so as to be balanced in terms of gender, age, education, number of terms, position and party.[4] 16 male MPs and 14 female MPs were included in the sample. In terms of age, the sample could be broken down as follows: 7 MPs were born in the decade from 1970 to 1979, 8 in the decade from 1960 to 1969, 8 in the decade from 1950 to 1959, 6 in the decade from 1940 to 1949 and one in the decade from 1930 to 1939. The education structure of the sample reveals a predominance of MPs (17) with a level VII qualification (Republic of Slovenia; equivalent to a bachelors degree); 8 had a lower level of education, 4 MPs with a level IV qualification (Republic of Slovenia; equivalent to a vocational school diploma) and 4 had a level V qualification (Republic of Slovenia; equivalent to a high school diploma), and 5 had postgraduate qualifications (3 held an MSc and 2 a PhD). 7 MPs were involved in the education system at the time of the research (as attendants or lecturers). The number of terms in Parliament of the MPs included in the sample also reveals a wide distribution: 3 MPs were already serving a fifth term, 3 a fourth term, 4 a third term, and 8 a second term; 12 MPs had been elected to Parliament for the first time. In terms of position within the political situation at the time, 16 MPs represented the ruling coalition, 11 represented the opposition, and 3 were representatives of the government (ministers). Representatives from all political parties in Parliament were included in the sample: 11 MPs from the SD party (*Socialni demokrati*, Social Democrats), 5 from the SDS party (*Slovenska demokratska stranka*, Slovenian Democratic Party), 4 MPs from the ZARES party (despite appearances, ZARES is not an acronym, but a phrase, "*za res*", "for real", "seriously"), 3 MPs from the LDS party (*Liberalna demokracija Slovenije*, Liberal Democracy of Slovenia), 3 MPs from the SLS party (*Slovenska ljudska Stranka*, Slovenian People's Party), 3 MPs from the SNS party (*Slovenska Nacionalna Strank*a, Slovenian National Party) and 1 MP from the DESUS party (*Demokratična stranka upokojencev Slovenije*, Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia). The unequal distribution of MPs by party in the sample was the result of the author's attempts to achieve a balanced sample in terms of the other, sociological criteria.

[3] http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/dol_lem1.html

[4] Data is accessible to the public on the websites of the respective political parties (in Slovene).

3 WORDS INCLUDED IN THE STUDY

Using etymological criteria (Snoj 2000), I define as words of foreign origin all words which did not emerge in the continuous development of the language, but were taken from foreign languages.

The first issue that occurred in the analysis pertained to the classification of the use of the words of foreign origin which constitute the subject of the research. Namely, a wide range of different motivations underlies the use of non-Slovene words: lexical gaps, stylistic functions, a terminological need, the desire to psychologically influence the listener, to name a few., Efforts were made to take account of this fact in the approach adopted. The words analysed in the dissertation were divided into six subgroups, intended to highlight correlations with the factors listed above. The first group contains all words of foreign origin, the second only words of foreign origin that form a part of the relevant terminology, the third only words of foreign origin in everyday vocabulary, the fourth only words of foreign origin that could be substituted with Slovene equivalents, and the fifth only figurative words of foreign origin.[5] The sixth and final subgroup contains colloquialisms, the use of which in political discourse is at least as interesting as the use of words of foreign origin.

Although it seems that the grouping of words is based on very subjective interpretations, it was done taking into account actual usage in the context of individual utterances.

Example for word "*banka*":

> *Saj veste kako to gre. Če v* ***banki*** *vzamete za dve, tri milijarde evrov kredita te rade volje sponzorirajo, da si najboljši finančnik.* ["You know how it is. If you take out two, three billion euros of credit at a bank, they'll gladly endorse you, saying you're the best finance manager."]
> *Slovenska izvozna in razvojna* ***banka*** *je bila ustanovljena s sprejetjem zakona maja lanskega leta.* ["The Slovene Export and Development Bank was founded through the adoption of a law in May of last year."]

The word "*banka*" in the first sentence represents a word of foreign origin which first appeared within a terminology and later entered into everyday use; it was therefore classified as a word of foreign origin used in everyday speech. The word "*banka*" in the second instance is used terminologically, that is, as part of a proper noun.

5 For a more detailed definition of the individual subgroups, see below.

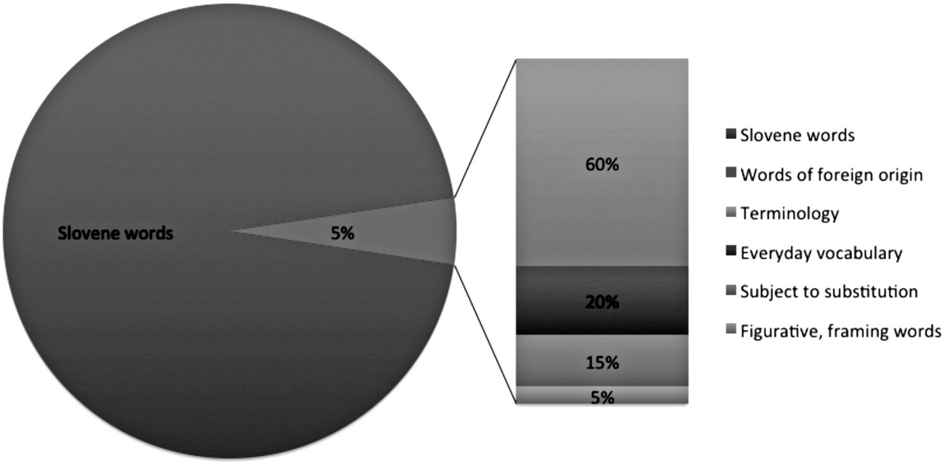

Chart 1: Average shares of different groups of words of foreign origin.

3.1 Total share and the share of different words of foreign origin

The entire corpus was divided into sub-corpora by individual speakers; it was from these sub-corpora that words were taken for further processing. The *share of words of foreign origin* represents the share of these words as a percentage of the total number of words in a given subcorpus, that is, of the total number of words spoken by an individual speaker. I further divided the total number of words into *different words* and *all words*, with the latter also containing repeat occurrences of the same word. This was intended to reveal differences in vocabulary between individual speakers. All words analysed in my study, that is, all words of foreign origin, were included under this heading; in the later stages of the research, they were then divided into the subgroups listed above: terminology, everyday vocabulary, subject to substitution and figurative.

The share of all words of foreign origin among all spoken words varied from 4.2% to 9.21%, and the share of different words of foreign origin among different words from 5.94% to 10.04%.[6] As expected, the shares of different words of foreign origin were larger, as this figure does not include repeat occurrences of the same word; values obtained in this way give a more relevant depiction of the vocabulary of the speakers.

3.2 Total share and the share of different terminological words of foreign origin

This value represents the share of foreign terminological expressions as a percentage of the total words of foreign origin spoken by an individual speaker. Here (and in all other subgroups) a distinction was drawn between all occurrences of the terminological words and occurrences of different terminological words. The shares thus obtained vary between 51.09% and 74.75% for all terminological words and between

[6] For a table of all collected data see below.

34.87% and 55.26% for different terminological words. Words included in this category represent, for the most part, political, legal and economic terminology, and occasionally terminology from narrower fields of interest discussed in Parliament. Typical words in this group (frequency > 100) include: *amandma* (amendment), *demokracija* (democracy), *evro* (Euro), *evropski* (European), *finance* (finances), *finančen* (financial), *investicija* (investment), *interpelacija* (interpolation), *koalicija* (coalition), *kolega* (colleague, m.), *kolegica* (colleague, f.), *komisija* (commission), *mandat* (term [in office]), *minister* (minister, m.), *ministrica* (minister, f.), *ministrstvo* (ministry), *nacionalen* (national), *NATO* (NATO), *opozicija* (opposition), *organ* (body [i.e. of state]), *organizacija* (organisation), *parlament* (parliament), *policija* (police), *politika* (politics or policy), *proračun* (budget), *rebalans* (rebalancing, revision [i.e. of the budget], *referendum* (referendum), *republika* (republic), *socialen* (social), *status* (status), *tarifa* (tariff), *unija* (union [not used in the sense "trade union"]). Over 598 different terminological words and 12,555 total terminological words were analysed (the latter figure also takes account of repeat occurrences; see above).[7]

3.3 Total share and the share of different words of foreign origin of everyday vocabulary

This value represents the share of foreign expressions that are part of everyday vocabulary as a percentage of the total words of foreign origin spoken by an individual speaker. Shares vary from 13.76% and 32.52% for all occurrences and from 18.22% and 30.05% for occurrences of different foreign expressions that are part of everyday vocabulary. This subgroup contains all words of foreign origin that are commonly used in the Slovene language. These can be terminological expressions that have become part of the general spoken language (mainly through the media) or newer cultural loan words.[8] These words are not particularly interesting from the standpoint of the research topic, as their high frequency of use has caused them to lose any added value they may have once had as linguistic capital: It has long been known that *the familiarity of a word* – be it because of the frequency with which it is produced or the age at which it is learned – impacts how quickly and casually the word is uttered.[9] Typical words in this subgroup (frequency > 30) include: *direktor* (director, managing director, manager), *dokument* (document), *funkcija* (function), *generacija* (generation), *humanitaren* (humanitarian), *ideja* (idea), *informacija* (information), *interes* (interest), *kandidat* (candidate), *kredit* (credit), *kriterij* (criterion), *kriza* (crisis), *medij* ([the]media), *minimalen* (minimal), *normalen* (normal), *pozitiven* (positive), *praksa* (practice), *praktično* (practically), *problem* (problem), *problematika* (problematic [noun], problems), *proces* (process), *program* (programme),

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7 Complete lists of words can be found in Zorčič (2011: 75–95).

8 Cultural loan words represent objects and notions for which a single-word equivalent does not exist in Slovene; I treat as newer only those words which entered the Slovene language from the twentieth century to the present (ascertained using the chronological criterion of first mention of a word as listed in the Slovene Etymological Dictionary [Slovenskem etimološkem slovarju] (Snoj 2000).

9 High-frequency words are recalled faster than low-frequency words (with an estimated decrease in production of approximately 30 msec per log10 unit with a frequency of a million printed words) (Oldfield et al. 1965; from Bock et al. 2006: 106).

projekt (project)*, rezultat* (result)*, sistem* (system)*, struktura* (structure)*, tema* (subject, topic). 387 different words of foreign origin that are part of everyday vocabulary and 4,250 total words of foreign origin that are part of everyday vocabulary were discussed.

3.4 Total share and the share of different words of foreign origin that could be substituted with Slovene equivalents

This value represents (in terms of the total words of foreign origin of an individual speaker) a percentage share of words of foreign origin which could easily be substituted with single-word[10] Slovene equivalents without changing, truncating, simplifying or in any other way altering the proposition. Shares vary from 6.24% and 23.28% for all occurrences and from 11.69% and 32.08% for occurrences of different words of foreign origin that could be substituted with Slovene equivalents. The use of these words is not motivated by need or established (frequent) use, but by other factors. One could say that these words are "marked", in particular with qualifiers like +foreign, +new, +fashionable etc., and occasionally with the qualifier +expressive (this mostly applies to adverbial words of foreign origin such as *absolutno* (absolutely)*, definitivno* (definitely)).[11] Typical words of this subgroup include *apelirati* (to appeal to, to call on)*, asistenca* (assistance)*, bazičen* (basic)*, biro* (bureau, office)*, bypass* (bypass)*, delikaten* (delicate)*, demantirati* (to [vehemently] deny)*, efekt* (effect), etc. 521 different words of foreign origin were analysed out of a total of 2,458 occurrences. Due to the nature of the use of the words in this subgroup, it was logical that the speech act (in line with Searle) in which each occurrence of a foreign word that could have been substituted with a Slovene equivalent appeared be determined. The values thus obtained express the shares of individual speech acts as percentages of the total occurrences of words of foreign origin that could be substituted with Slovene equivalents. The share of assertives varies from 44.29% and 88.24%, the share of directives from 4.84% to 33.33%, the share of expressives from 0% to 29.03%, the share of commissives from 0% to 4.65% and the share of declarations from 0% to 2.17%. It must be stressed that all statements in the research that describe the results in terms of speech acts only describe the aspect of the use of words borrowed from foreign languages. In order to posit that the greater use of assertives, declaratives, commissives, expressives or declarations by one

[10] Thereby fulfilling one of Grice's Maxims of Manner: "Be brief – avoid unnecessary prolixity" (Grice 1989: 27).

[11] The value attribute in the definitions in this article and also in those listed by Skubic (2005: 158) in various normative guides for the Slovene language are of course valid from the standpoint of the dominant culture and serve the function of "introducing a new discourse" which certain practices legitimate and others attempt to deny legitimacy. Slovenski pravopis 2001 [Slovene orthography 2001] actually assigns even the most traditionally "unacceptable" words of foreign origin the label of the sociolect to which they belong; (even though, as Skubic stresses, the qualifiers for labelling a sociolect provide little information). Slovenski pravopis 2001 only prohibits the use of those words of foreign origin which are not part of any sociolect, but which came into use as a result of interference from Croatian.

group is statistically significant, it would also be necessary to examine the use of various illocutions with Slovene words, and not just those with words of foreign origin.

Example of tagging a speech act:

> *Izražamo prepričanje, da takšna rešitev ne bo predstavljala* ***bypassov*** *v izvršilnih postopkih.* ["We are expressing the belief that such a solution will not represent bypasses in executive procedures."]

The word "bypass" is clearly a foreign word borrowed from English terminology; it could easily be substituted with the Slovene word "*obvod*". In terms of speech acts, the utterance is tagged as an expressive.

Total share and the share of different "framing" words of foreign origin

This value represents the share of foreign figurative expressions as a percentage of the total words of foreign origin spoken by an individual speaker. In delineating this subgroup, Ivas' theory (1988: 197), which states that jargon comprises technical and affective or figurative expressions, whereby the latter operate *completely outside the mind, and exclusively on emotions*, served as a point of reference. In line with Searle's theory, most of these words would fall into the category of expressives. On the other hand, more recent theories of language based on the findings of cognitive science speak of the framing of reality. The cognitive scientist and linguist Lakoff (2009) explains the use of battlefield metaphors through the physiognomy and functioning of the brain: dramaturgic structures (for example, acts of shame, battle, victory) are neurologically linked to emotional structures (anger, fear, relief). In his view, metaphors are learned structures and as such are used by the brain without any resistance, that is, automatically or subconsciouly, which accounts for 98% of the functioning of the brain. He uses the phrase "War on Terror" to explain neural binding, claiming that this metaphorical idea has become physically anchored in the minds of most Americans. This change occurs in the synapses; so called long-term potentiation can occur as the result of trauma (especially strong neuron firing) or repetition (frequent neural firing). Thus, the use of the phrase is no longer reflective, but reflexive – and in Lakoff's view this is true of both the aspects of speaking and hearing (Lakoff 2009: 10, 93, 128–129).

The value of the share of figurative-framing words varies from 0% to 12.01% for all occurrences and between 0% in 21.84% for occurrences of different words. Typical words in this subgroup (frequency > 10) include: *afera* (affair), *agresor* (aggressor), *demagogija* (demagogy), *diskriminacija* (discrimination), *drastičen* (drastic), *ignorirati* (to ignore), *katastrofalen* (catastrophic), *korupcija* (corruption), *manipulacija* (manipulation), *privilegij* (privilege), *špekulirati* (to speculate), *tajkun* (tycoon), *travma* (trauma). 306 different words were analysed out of a total of 973 occurrences.

3.5 Share of colloquial expressions

This value, which for the speakers included in the research varies from 0% to 0.26%, represents the share of colloquial expressions as a percentage of the total number of spoken words. This subgroup includes words that are not characteristic of the high norm of public discourse and that have also been assigned qualifiers that confirm this assessment in *The Dictionary of Standard Slovene* [Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika]. The purpose behind this deliberate violation of the norm is to achieve convergence with simpler modes of expression and divergence from the governing structure. 60 different words were analysed out of a total of 123 words.

	Words of foreign origin total	% for individual speaker	Different words of foreign origin	% for individual speaker
Terminology	12,555	51.09–74.75	598	34.87–55.26
Everyday vocabulary	4250	13.76–32.52	387	18.22–30.05
Subject to substitution	2458	6.24–23.28	521	11.69–32.08
	Assertives	44.29–88.24		
	Directives	4.84–33.33		
	Expressives	0–29.03		
	Commissives	0–4.65		
	Declaratives	0–2.17		
Figurative, framing words		0–12.01		0–21.84

Table 1: All collected data.

4 STATISTICAL DATA ANALYSIS

Statistical data analysis was conducted using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences; version SPSS 17.0 for Windows). This program was one of the first systems for statistical data analysis, and is still one of the most widely used (Rovan/Turk 2001). To obtain data relevant to the research, the following tests were performed:

- A T-test wherein the arithmetic centres of independent variables with only two values (gender, for example) were compared and any statistically significant differences were determined.

- The One-Way ANOVA procedure, which revealed statistically significant differences in comparisons of independent variables with multiple values (political party of the speaker, for example).

In the results, the value of statistic significance p or Sig was important; this value was 2-tailed in the case of the T-test. The following parameters were used:

- **$p \leq 0.05$**: differences between variables are statistically significant. The hypothesis that there are no differences between variables is rejected and with a 5% margin of error of difference we can expect that the differences exist among the entire population.

- **p ≤ 0.05**: differences between variables are not statistically significant, the variances are roughly the same or are not correlated.

5 RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

Statistical Results
Statistically significant links
EDUCATION: use of commissives (p=0.012): lowest among MPs with doctorate and highest among MPs with a high school education
EDUCATION: use of declaratives (p=0.001): highest among MPs with a high school education
INVOLVMENT IN THE FORMAL SCHOOLING PROCESS: use of different terminological expressions (p=0.001): more common among MPs involved in the educational system
TERMS: share of a speaker's total use of words of foreign origin (p=0.023): declines in inverse proportion to the number of terms in parliament
POLITICAL PARTY: use of different words of foreign origin that could be replaced with Slovene equivalents (p=0.028)
POLITICAL POSITION: use of directives (p=0.042): lowest among MPs in the government
POLITICAL POSITION: use of commissives (p=0.045): lowest in the opposition, much higher among MPs in the ruling coalition, and highest in the government
Statistically indicated links
GENDER: different figurative/framing words of foreign origin (p=0.053): men use less, women more
GENDER: colloquial expressions (p=0.064): men use more, women less
AGE: different figurative/framing words of foreign origin (p=0.066): most use youngest and oldest speakers
INVOLVMENT IN THE FORMAL SCHOOLING PROCESS: use of commissives (p=0.075): MPs involved in the formal education process use less
INVOLVMENT IN THE FORMAL SCHOOLING PROCESS: use of declaratives (p=0.068): MPs involved in the formal education process use less
TERMS: colloquial expressions (p=0.058): use increases in direct proportion to the length of the speaker's number of terms
POLITICAL POSITION: share of colloquial expressions (p=0.060): highest in the opposition
POLITICAL POSITION: use of asserives (p=0.065): highest in the government

Table 2: Statistically significant and indicated links.

5.1 Size of the corpus and the factors included

Compared to other corpora in the Slovene language, the size of the corpus of the research is exceptionally small; it is conceivable that additional statistically significant correlations would appear, or that correlations which the dissertation can only indicate would be confirmed or rejected, if the corpus were expanded to include a larger number of speakers. In the framework of the interpretation of the results of the research, **statistically significant links ($p \leq 0.05$) are listed in bold**, *and links that are only statistically indicated ($0.09 > p > 0.05$) are listed in italics*.

At first glance, it would seem that certain factors covered by the statistical analysis should be classified as sociological and others as psychological factors; yet because the line separating these two categories is not always clear, I opted against the use of such a classification. Within such a framework, multi-layer factors – education, number of terms and position – which merit an independent treatment and which were dealt with in the research – would be not be adequately expressed. As the theoretical portion of the dissertation shows (Zorčič 2011: 8–40), the stratification of society is undoubtedly a powerful factor of identity, as (according to Bourdieu) it facilitates the formation of the habitus in the framework of which the individual operates. Due to historical and political circumstances, Slovenia probably exhibits a less noticeable degree of social stratification than is the case, say, in Western Europe. At the same time, tendencies towards stratification can be clearly noted.

5.2 Gender

The impact of the variable of gender on the use of words of foreign origin was revealed by the results of a T-test. Although the latter do indicate differences between genders in certain cases, these are statistically insignificant. I can therefore confirm the hypothesis that gender does not influence the use of words of foreign origin. Past research projects provide additional confirmation: Cafuta (2008: 59) explains findings of this kind through the greater (educational) equality of the genders, which he confirms with data from the 1991 and 2002 censuses which proves that while the level of education has increased for both sexes, in the case of women, increases have taken the form of larger structural shares in higher and university education. This also supports Bourdieu's definition of habitus, which reflects these social conditions, that is, a tendency towards equality of the sexes.

Differences are indicated in the use of different framing or figurative words of foreign origin ($p=0.053$) and in the use of colloquial expressions ($p=0.064$). *Men generally use fewer figurative foreign expressions and more colloquial expressions, while women resort to figurative expressions more frequently than men, and to colloquial expressions less frequently than men.* The results could be interpreted through the fact that female speakers are more careful about what they say. On the one hand, the use of these expressions by male speakers could stem from a kind of awareness about their own (higher) position, for which they compensate through the use of expressions belonging to a more marginal sociolect. On the other hand, their divergence towards a marginal sociolect could be an expression of defeminisation, that is, the expression of manliness and a "rough" image, which is characteristic of marginal urban sociolects (Skubic 2005: 209). Data on the background or place of residence of the speakers was not included, from which it follows that the above statement would be difficult to confirm in the framework of this research.

One characteristic of framing or figurative words of foreign origin is that the use of most of these words could be included in the illocution of expression, that is, among expressives. These words also constitute so-called empty political speech. To conclude, it is far from certain that men present their ideas in a more rational or more substantial way. It would seem that it is women who are more clever or who have a larger vocabulary in this field (since we are dealing with different words, and not total framing or figurative words of foreign origin; see above). In both cases, a larger sample would be required to confirm statistical significance.

5.3 Age

The ANOVA test was used to check whether age impacts the use of words of foreign origin. The results did not reveal statistically significant differences between age groups.

Statistically significant differences were indicated in the use of *different framing or figurative words of foreign origin (p=0.066); these words were used most by speakers in the youngest and oldest age groups, and less by speakers in the intermediate age groups*. This data could be explained through young MPs' initial enthusiasm and "go-getter" attitude towards "learning flowery political phrases" and in the case of older generations (age 60 and over) through the use of ideological speech patterns. However, the results for the category of number of terms are completely different, which is why it may be assumed that a larger sample would reveal that this difference is statistically insignificant.

5.4 Education and involvement in the formal schooling process

The impact of education, that is, of different levels of education on the use of words of foreign origin, was assessed using the ANOVA command. A statistically significant difference was revealed in the use of commissives (p=0.012) and declarations (p=0.001). **The share of commissives was lowest among MPs with a doctorate and highest among MPs with a high school education; the share of declaratives was highest among MPs with a high school education**.

The use of the illocution of commitment could be noted among MPs with a lower level of education; it enables them to compensate for the lack of cultural capital revealed by their formal education titles. The opposite is true of speakers who have received a doctorate; they enter into speech situations with much greater authority and have a higher position in society as a result of all the types of capital they possess. These speakers resort not to the illocution of commitment, but to the illocution of assertion, as the use of the latter was shown to be highest for this group.[12] This is also confirmed by data that indicates statistical significance (p=0.075): *MPs involved in the formal education process use fewer commissives than those not involved in the formal education process*.

[12] As noted above, in order to confirm this statement, the use of various illocutions would also have to be checked for Slovene expressions; as it is, only differences in the use of words of foreign origin can be confirmed.

The results for the illocution of declaration could be interpreted the same way: MPs with a lower level of education use this illocution to enhance the importance of their statements. This is also confirmed by data that indicates statistical significance (p=0.068): *MPs involved in the formal education process use fewer declaratives.*

The correlation between involvement in the educational system and the use of words of foreign origin was checked using a T-test; the results revealed statistical significance (p=0.001), and the statement can be generalised to include the entire population with a 1% margin of error. **The use of different terminological expressions is more common among those involved in the educational system**, which confirms the hypothesis. Cafuta (2008: 67) arrived at similar results.

This situation represents a typical struggle, as Bourdieu would perhaps say, within a particular field. Through a greater frequency of words of foreign origin, MPs who are in the process of acquiring new formal titles (cultural capital) hint at the coming change in the configuration of their capitals and at the concomitant change in their position in society.

5.5 Number of terms in parliament

The ANOVA command was used to check the correlation between number of terms and the use of words of foreign origin, and statistically significant differences were ascertained (p=0.023). **The share of a speaker's total use of words of foreign origin declines in inverse proportion to the number of his or her terms in parliament** (and concomitantly to the length of his or her involvement in politics or in this field of activity). The initial hypothesis can be rejected on the basis of these results, which were interpreted as showing that MPs in the initial phases of their careers resort to the use of this kind of symbolic capital, and that over time they become less concerned with this kind of capital and/or substitute it with a different kind, for example, with symbolic capital in the form of reputation and authority.

A statistically significant difference was also indicated for the correlation between number of terms and the use of colloquial expressions (p=0.058). In this case, *the use of colloquial expressions increases in direct proportion to the length of the speaker's number of terms in Parliament*. This can be explained in a similar way: their symbolic social capital obviously permits speakers with a greater number of terms to use these kinds of expressions. The somewhat higher percentage of the use of colloquial expressions among the youngest MPs also stands out in the data; this can be explained through divergence towards the excessive sociolects of young people or as the expression of one's habitus, identity and position in society.

5.6 Political party

The ANOVA command was also used to check the correlation between the use of different words of foreign origin that could be replaced with Slovene equivalents and membership in a particular political party. A statistically significant difference (p=0.028) was revealed for the following results: **The SD party (for full party names in**

English, see above) used the fewest words of foreign origin that could be replaced with their Slovene equivalents, followed by ZARES and SLS; these words were used to a somewhat greater extent by SDS, LDS and SNS, and DESUS used them the most. These results are difficult to interpret from the perspective of position of power, as members of the party with the most power in Parliament were revealed to express themselves most clearly, which was not expected. The most simple explanation involves convergence with a party's voter base; however, this explanation does not take into account the DESUS party, which does not address its own base from its position of power (it is a coalition member, but its base consists primarily of pensioners, which would lead one to expect clarity).[13] The use of words of foreign origin by the SLS party can also be explained through position of power; through the less frequent use of words of foreign origin that could be substituted with Slovene equivalents, this party tends towards clarity and addresses its voter base from the position of opposition. The same holds for the LDS party, which uses more words of foreign origin that could be replaced with Slovene equivalents, as this party is a coalition member and as such is in a position of power; at the same time, this use can also be explained on the basis of convergence with the party's voter base, to which (if in fact it is made up of economic and academic elites) the cultural sociolect is most near.

As noted above, these results are unclear and a larger sample would perhaps paint a different picture. The results are especially divided for the SNS party, which besides a greater use of words of foreign origin that could be replaced with Slovene equivalents also displays a greater use of colloquial expressions. The same command, ANOVA, was used to determine the correlation between the use of colloquial expressions and membership in a political party, and the correlation was found to be statistically significant (p=0.024). Speakers of the SNS party used colloquial expressions the most. This is the only party that has been in the opposition throughout the entire history of the Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia; accordingly, it has sought its voter base through the marginal, the excessive and the marked. This also describes the speech of its members, which converges towards lower (underprivileged) sociolects and diverges from the public (high) norm and with it from those in a position of power.

5.7 Current political position

The ANOVA command was also used to determine the correlation between occurrences of words of foreign origin and current political position. A statistically significant difference was revealed in the way propositions are made, that is, in illocutionary acts, in the case of **directives** (p=0.042) and **commissives** (p=0.045). **The share of the first type of speech act, the illocution of direction, was lowest among MPs in the government**, which is to be expected, as overseeing the functioning of the ruling coalition and the government and pointing out mistakes and errors is the job of the opposition.

[13] It should be pointed out that only one MP from this party was included in the study. This could have resulted in a deviation.

In line with this, another expected result is the statistically significant difference in the **share of the illocution of commitment, which is lowest in the opposition, much higher among MPs in the ruling coalition, and highest in the government**.

Statistically significant differences were also indicted in the *share of colloquial expressions (p=0.06), which was highest in the opposition*, for the most part due to the divergence from the ruling structure mentioned above and the SNS party. A statistically significant difference was also indicated in the use of *assertives (p=0.065), the share of which was highest in the government*, which is in line with its position of power, as those in the ruling majority have less of a need to resort to the illocution of direction and express the illocution of assertion more frequently.

6 CONCLUSION

In my research, I succeeded in showing that the use of words of foreign origin is impacted by an individual's identity, habitus and position in society (in terms of distribution of the different types of capital) to a greater degree than by classical sociological factors such as gender and age. This was confirmed by the statistically significant differences ascertained between the variables. I can therefore generalise with a minimum margin of error that the following is true of the entire population: (1) involvement in the formal education process increases one's use of terminological expressions and (2) the share of the use of all words of foreign origin declines in inverse proportion to the length of time one has been in Parliament (while the share of colloquial expressions increases); I interpreted the latter observation as an expression of the substitution of symbolically used cultural capital (words of foreign origin) with symbolic social capital (reputation and authority). I can also state with a minimum margin of error that (3) the share of directives is lowest among representatives of the government and the share of commissives is lowest in the opposition, which is in line with their respective positions of power, and that (4) colloquial phrases were most used by the SNS party, which is an expression of this party's convergence towards its voter base and divergence from those in power.

The results for the use of words of foreign origin by political party were inconclusive and difficult to interpret; any conclusions in this regard would require a larger corpus. A broader treatment would also be required to confirm or reject findings which were only statistically indicated in my research. Due to the time required and demanding nature of such an analysis, exhaustive research of this kind would be suitable for broader continued research.

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Abstract

WORDS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

The paper discusses the use of words of foreign origin in Slovenian political discourse. At the outset, this usage is broken down into four groups: the first contains specific phrases and terminology inherent to the political domain; the second contains words of foreign origin generally present in the Slovene language (because of their high frequency of nonexclusivistic use, these words are not of interest to the scope of this investigation); the third contains various words of foreign origin used as affectional packaging for messages with the aim of stimulating the desired interpretation (framing reality); the fourth group, which is the most interesting for our research, is made up of words of foreign origin which could have a marker: + marked, + not necessary, + unwanted, but only if we accept the logic of purism. All the words in this group could be replaced – without any loss of meaning – with their Slovene equivalents. The speaker's motivation for using the foreign word is crucial to our discussion. In the framework of Pierre Bourdieu's poststructural theory as well as Austin's and Searle's speech act theory, statistical data is analysed to observe how usage frequency varies in correlation with selected factors which manifest the speaker's habitus. We argue that words of foreign origin represent symbolic cultural capital, a kind of added value which functions as credit and as such is an important form of the accumulation of capital.

Keywords: words of foreign origin, political discourse, Bourdieu, Speech Acts, symbolic cultural capital.

Povzetek

BESEDE TUJEGA IZVORA V POLITIČNEM DISKURZU

Članek obravnava rabo besedja tujega izvora v okviru slovenskega političnega diskurza. Zaradi specifične rabe lahko besede razdelimo v štiri skupine: v prvo spadajo posebne fraze in terminologija, ki je lastna političnem področju; v drugo skupino uvrščamo besede tujega izvora, ki so splošno prisotne v slovenskem jeziku (in so zaradi pogostosti pojavljanja ter njihove "neekskluzivističnosti" popolnoma nezanimive za raziskovanje); tretjo skupino sestavljajo različne besede tujega izvora, s pomočjo katerih govorci spodbujajo željene interpretacije povedanega (ang. *framing reality*); četrta skupina je najbolj zanimiva za raziskovanje in je sestavljena iz besed tujega izvora, ki bi lahko imele oznako: +zaznamovano, +nepotrebno, +nezaželeno, vendar le, če podležemo puristični logiki. Vse besede te skupine je mogoče enostavno in brez spremembe v pomenu zamenjati z enobesednimi slovenskimi ustreznicami. Motivacija rabe teh besed je ključnega pomena za našo obravnavo. V okviru poststrukturalistične teorije Pierra Bourdieuja ter Austinove in Searlove teorije govornih dejanj je podana tudi interpretacija statistične analize pogostnosti rabe v korelaciji z izbranimi dejavniki, ki izražajo govorčev habitus. Zagovarjam tezo, da tujke predstavljajo simbolni kulturni kapital, dodano vrednost, ki učinkuje kot kredit je in je kot taka lahko pomembna oblika akumulacije kapitala.

Ključne besede: besede tujega izvora, politični diskurz, Bourdieu, teorija govornih dejanj, simbolni kulturni kapital.

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CRITERIA FOR PUBLIC SPEECH PLANNING – CHARACTERISTICS OF LANGUAGE LEARNING

1 INTRODUCTION

Public speaking can be defined as the production of monological spoken discourse designed for a wider or narrower public. Public speaking is embedded in the process of communication: this, in general, refers to the exchange of words between people. At least two people participate in this process: a producer or a transmitter (i.e. the one who speaks or writes) and a recipient (i.e. the one who listens or reads). Thus, communication comprises transmission/communication (i.e. production and sending of texts) and reception and understanding/comprehension of various spoken and written texts (Križaj Ortar/Kržišnik/Bešter 1994, cf. Križaj Ortar et al. 2008: 29).

Toporišič (2000: 714) considers public speaking to be the transmission component that relates to public speaking and rhetoric. This involves the producer of a text verbally addressing the recipient. In such communication, intense concentration is required such that the concreteness and requirements of verbal expression in a specific text type are expressed; moreover, mass recipients are also emphasised. Križaj Ortar et al. (1999, cf. 2008: 42–46) define public speaking within the overall preparation specific to successful communication. If the transmitter wishes to be wholly successful, he/she must effect careful planning and execution in certain stages. These are as follows: conceptualisation, arrangement of material, expression in words, correction of the first draft of the text, copying of the corrected text and source detailing, text memorisation, correction of clarifications for public speaking and – in conclusion – public speech delivery. In contrast to oral communication, written communication is subject to specific preparation and careful planning.

Public speaking is defined in various scholarly works as a dynamic process in which the speaker and listener are in constant interaction (e.g. Gregory 1990: 12). This process helps develop high-quality speaking and listening skills. It is composed of seven elements: speaker, listener, message, channel, feedback information, interruptions and conditions (*in situ*). In public speaking, we can discuss the situation, which includes listeners and a public. In the process of communication, the speaker plays a more important role than does the public (Barker/Gaut 1996: 225). This refers to official and public communication, in which great attention is paid to the verbal message/communication. Morreale and Pearson discuss communication carried out in

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public, which can be equated with public speaking. They define it as a process which plays a key role in personal development and in the promotion of relationships; it enables the development of better communication skills and also constitutes a basis for successful participation in educational environments. It enables the development of skills and sensitivity to social life. This is also the basis for career development (Morreale/Pearson 2008: 225). In the present paper, we share the viewpoint of the aforementioned authors, who assert that "professional competence for public speaking is a pre-condition for personal, professional and academic success – the skill of efficient and adequate public speaking must be learnt" (Morreale/Pearson 2008: 225).

From a methodological point of view, the article is divided into two parts. The first part is designed as a theoretical debate; the analytical-descriptive and the analytical-interpretative methods of educational research (Sagadin 1993; Mužić 1994a and 1994b) are applied. Criteria for preparation, delivery and estimation of public speaking were defined and divided into four main sections, i.e. construction of public speech, integral mode of oral presentation, verbal language, non-verbal language. In the empirical part of the article, the quantitative paradigm of pedagogical research was pursued (statistical procedure: arithmetic mean calculation), the method is descriptive (Sagadin 1993). Theoretical findings were tested in practice. The immediate possibility of students of the Faculty of Education at the University in Ljubljana (prospective teachers) engaging in public speaking was evaluated. A five-stage descriptive-numerical scale[1] was adopted for the assessment of these criteria, within which the execution of public speaking was defined in terms of points on a scale of one to five. The public speaking skills of 211 students were assessed.

2 PUBLIC SPEECH CRITERIA

For the preparation, delivery and evaluation of public speeches, 19 independent criteria or parameters were defined and ranked among the four main aforementioned categories.

2.1 Construction of public speech

When preparing and delivering a public speech, the typical structure of the selected text type must be taken into consideration. Often, this text type happens to be a summary in which the transmitter does not describe an event/procedure or characteristics of an animal, plant or object, etc., but in which he/she summarises, in his/her own words, the content of the text which was read, listened to or viewed (Kapko et al. 2005: 82). While preparing for the public speech, we must also decide what is to be communicated and presented. The topic can be chosen by us, or someone else may choose it for us. Then, we must decide what we will say about the chosen topic, which sub-topics will help us develop the topic and, thus, build the content. The topic is what is talked about in the speech. The content is what we learn about the topic. We must assess

[1] The scale is available, upon request, from the author of this article.

which aspect(s) of the topic should be communicated to the recipient and/or in how much detail the topic should be presented. Since the transmitter prepares the topic thoroughly, he/she knows a great deal about it. However, it is also good practice to assess what the recipient may have known about this topic prior to hearing the speech or what he/she does not know, what could be interesting for him/her, what he/she understands and what he/she does not, which data are adequate according to the communication circumstances, etc. In fact, the text is adequate if we take into consideration the recipient, time and place of communication as well as the occasion specific to which the text is produced (cf. Križaj Ortar et al. 2008; Vogel et al. 2007). In texts, topics are often not developed in only one way; we try to present them more integrally and from multiple points of view. Although, in general, only one or two methods of topic development, which create the so-called thread, prevail, the inter-twining of different methods is also typical for some texts. Vogel and others (2007: 63–74) distinguish five independent modes of topic development, i.e. informing, description, narration, explanation and clarification. Modes of topic development are defined similarly, but in a different order (description, narration, explanation, clarification, informing) by Zajc Berzelak and Velikonja (2007: 63–68). On the basis of the prevailing type of semantic relationship among the sentences in the text, Križaj Ortar et al. (2010: 49) distinguish four modes of topic development or style procedures, i.e.: description (in which an enumeration relationship prevails), narration (in which a temporal relationship prevails), explanation (in which a relationship of cause, of cause and effect, or purpose or condition, prevails) and clarification (in which an explanatory or conclusive relationship prevails). Besides these four modes, they – independently – discuss informing, all basic data about the topic being represented within a single sentence. This does not mean that every text message is a text. Text is understood as a meaningful, comprehensible text message and forms an integrated whole (Vogel et al. 2007: 55). The definition by Križaj Ortar (2008: 74) and Zajc Berzelak and Velikonja (2007: 62) is very similar; they define texts as those verbal messages which are meaningful (the purpose of the transmitter, and the topic – why the message was created and what it talks about – are recognisable), mutually dependent (individual parts of the text are logically and grammatically connected with one another; sentences are logically inter-linked) and which form an integrated whole (in terms of content and form – no data essential for understanding are absent).

2.2 Integral mode of oral presentation

An integral mode of oral presentation refers to especially fluent, natural, free speaking and clear diction. Since a public speech is usually prepared beforehand, oral presentation is expected from the speaker. Fluent speaking is to be understood as speech unmarked by faltering, e.g. speech in which the speaker does not repeat words or phrases, does not express the repeated data with a recurring word and does not use expletives. If the speaker is well prepared for the speech, he/she sounds more natural, pronouncing non-compound prepositions in a connected manner and experiencing less stage fright. Artificial or unnatural speaking caused by stage fright, unprepared speech, a lack of mastery of the social genre of language, etc., should be avoided. Because free speaking is typical for public speaking, the speech should be delivered freely, ideally without a written outline. Clear diction or clear articulation is understood as voice modulation, manipulating the speech organs or pronunciation (SSKJ). This refers to clear articulation of the voice and voice parts. Podbevšek (1997: 29) defines the bases of clear diction, which are as follows: sufficiently stretched mouth muscles, sufficient mouth opening, adequate speech speed and calm, but not monotonous, speech rhythm, correct pronunciation effected by an individual voice and by multiple voices together.

2.3 Verbal language

The fundamental means of communication is verbal language, which represents a pre-arranged composition of word signs and rules for the creation of texts. In social terms, one can differentiate between literary language (standard language and literary-colloquial language) and non-literary social genres (relating to area: dialect, city language, provincial colloquial language; relating to interests: slang, jargon, argot) (cf. Toporišič 2000, Vogel et al. 2007 and Križaj Ortar et al. 2008). Standard literary language is especially important for this debate. It is the language used in public speeches, i.e. when addressing a large group of people, for example when addressing a class using a prepared public speech. In these texts, language rules and the so-called good style principle should be consistently taken into account. The problematic use of standard literary language in Slovenia can be summed up by the description provided by Šeruga Prek and Antončič, who assert that there is no place in Slovenia where a planned practical lesson on the use of standard literary language exists. The only institutions which offer this are the Academy for Theatre, Radio, Film and Television and Radio Slovenia, the latter offering a year-long internal programme of language and speaking training for its journalists and announcers (Šeruga Prek/Antončič 2004: 7–15).

The selection of words and the use thereof in a public speech must be carefully planned, taking into consideration the speaking situation, i.e. with regard to topic, text type, subjectivity/objectivity, etc. Every word means something. Most words have not only one meaning, but several meanings. The same word can be used to denote different things, but on the other hand, the same thing can be denoted by different words (Vogel et al. 2007: 92, 95; Vogel et al. 2008: 30; Križaj Ortar et al. 2008: 8; Vogel et al. 2010: 95).

2.4 Non-verbal language

Every spoken language has its accompanying non-verbal component. There are auditory non-verbal speech cues (intonation, stress, speed, breaks, register, pitch) and visual non-verbal speech cues (facial expressions and eye contact; hand gestures and movement) (Križaj Ortar et al. 2008). Although speech is apparently the most important form of human communication, non-verbal communication forms the greater part of communication (Kovačič 1990) and is very important for the creation of the social environment. In teaching, it determines credibility, competence, capability, persuasiveness, clarity, activity, etc. and is very important for the development of motivational, evaluatory and management skills.

Auditory features of the message are voice and accent. Words indicate the subject matter. Every sentence also has its own intonation; we apply longer or shorter breaks between words or sentences and put more or less stress on certain words, articulate them slowly or swiftly. In this way, we transmit to the listener, for example, our own purpose of speaking as well as the importance of specific data (for example, we will stress it in the speech or articulate it a little more slowly). Moreover, the voice can also give us some information about the transmitter and his/her attitude to the interlocutor or the listener. The voice can tell us if the speaker is a man or a woman, a child or an adult, etc.; articulation can tell us from which province the speaker comes, and whether Slovenian is his/her first language or the language of his/her environment. Auditory features of the message thus comprise the voice, which gives the words different meanings, and word stress, which usually indicates if there are one or two words. If the voice were to be consistently articulated with the same rhythm, pitch and voice, it would be difficult to follow such a text. Our speech can be seen as being composed of many smaller units, since auditory features of every text comprise not only voices and accents, but also other elements, such as the use of tone or intonation in the sentence; stress on selected words; varying speeds for the articulation of less or more important parts of the sentence; short or long breaks between parts of the sentence or sentences; varying vocal/timbre pitches or registers (Toporišič 2000: 539, 542–551, 553–554; Križaj Ortar et al. 2008: 97–101; Vogel 2010: 157–158).

In public speaking, listeners usually also see us (exceptions are, for example, listening to the radio, and telephone conversations); thus, they also receive the non-verbal part of our message. According to K. Podbevšek (2006), besides voice, movement is a compulsory component of speech. This means that appropriate facial expressions and gestures are indispensable components of a good speech. They can help the teacher to emphasise syntactic stress, enhance the emotional attitude to the narrative, dramatise a less interesting subject and supplement the elliptical message. Facial expressions and gestures can, of course, also carry an independent message. While we are usually well aware of verbal messages, non-verbal communication usually takes place unconsciously. If the listener accepts only the verbal component and does not take into consideration the non-verbal component, a misunderstanding can arise (Petek 2006: 76–77).

Facial expressions are always visible when one speaks; they constantly create numerous signs and provide information. The human face has immense communicative potential. It participates in the transmission of messages regarding the emotional state, the expression of intra-personal relationships, non-verbal reactions to the comments of others, etc. It also has an influence upon the adjustment of the communication. Different facial parts are used to open and close communication channels, to supplement, emphasise or mitigate (evaluate) verbal or non-verbal reactions and to substitute speaking (Knapp/Hall 2002: 305–308). Facial expressions can be controlled to a great extent so that the listener can sometimes hardly distinguish between those that are spontaneous and those that are intentional. Positive facial expressions which are appropriate for public speaking comprise not only smiling, but also the comprehensive activity of the facial musculature by means of which we show our attitude and feelings towards something, especially with specificity to the expressed content of the message.

In this way, we show how we wish the listener to understand what we want to express; e.g. if something is funny, serious or very important. Ekman found that the speaker often reinforces vowel stress on a specific part of a sentence or word by raising the eyebrows. This action (besides rising vocal intonation) indicates that a sentence is a question, in spite of the fact that it may not be a question in grammatical terms. The wrinkling of the eyebrows can indicate the search for a word or thought that cannot be recalled by the transmitter's memory at a specific moment (Bavelas/Gerwing 2007: 297–298).

Besides facial expressions, eye contact is also very important in public speaking. The speaker must try to speak in such a way that every listener is made to feel that the message is directed at him/her. This can be done if the speaker makes eye contact with individual listeners regardless of their number. Thus, the audience is forced to listen to him/her and prepares itself for active and purposeful listening. The bigger the group, the harder is the task of the speaker. We must be aware that staring at the floor or ceiling, through the window or door, or vacantly into space is inappropriate. Even if some parallel mental processes take place in our minds (if we think about what we have already said, what we are going to say, whether we are successful speakers or if listeners understand us. etc.), we must make and keep eye contact at all times while speaking.

Gesticulation denotes gestures and hand movements. Ekman and Friesen (Guerrero/De Vito in Hecht 1999: 46–47) define five types of hand gestures, i.e.: symbolic, illustrative, emotional and regulatory gestures. By contrast, Knapp and Hall (2002: 9, 230–250) divide hand gestures into two categories, i.e. gestures which are speech-independent (verbal clarification not being required for the understanding of such gestures) and gestures connected to speech (indicating what is expressed). Spatial movement agitates and simultaneously variegates speech; however, we must be careful not to use it to excess.

3 EMPIRICAL ORIENTATION

In the empirical part of the article, the quantitative paradigm of pedagogical research was pursued (statistical procedure: arithmetic mean calculation), the method is descriptive (Sagadin 1993). A total of 19 criteria for the direct evaluation of public speaking abilities specific to students at the Faculty of Education, University of Ljubljana, were defined and then divided into four main categories, which were discussed in the theoretical part of this article. For the evaluation of these criteria, a five-stage descriptive-numerical scale was adopted. The public speaking skills of 104 students out of 109 students enrolled in the second year were evaluated, i.e. 95% of all students (academic year 2010/11), and 107 students out of 118 students enrolled in the third year, i.e. 91% of all students (academic year 2011/12). Evaluation was carried out specific to all students who took part in compulsory practice lessons, so that the realisation rate was 100%. Table 1 below displays information about the model used in the research.

Year	Number of enrolled students	Average age (l)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Secondary school –general upper secondary school (%)
2nd	109	19.97	2.86	96.08	98.04
3rd	118	21.12	3.92	97.14	97.14

Table 1: Basic information on the model of students included in the research.

In the following paragraphs of this article, the results of public speaking evaluation are presented for each criterion. The realisation of criteria was evaluated in practice within the parameters of the public speech made by each second and third year student on the basis of the above-mentioned evaluatory scale. Overall, all average marks of third year students were better than the average marks of second year students (see Tables 2–5), which means that the progress of students (prospective teachers) is evident and can be seen on the basis of the average marks calculated. The criteria which were not met by the second year students will be commented upon and suggestions for their improved performance will be made. Finally, a conclusion and an explanation of criteria met in the public speaking of second and third year students will be provided.

1.	**PUBLIC SPEECH CONSTRUCTION**	2nd year/3rd year
1.1	Consideration of text type characteristics	3.97/4.96
1.2	Appropriate topic and selected content	4.25/4.96
1.3	Appropriate mode of topic development	3.59/4.02
1.4	Formation of a meaningful, comprehensible and integrated text	3.74/4.91

Table 2: Findings on the realisation of public speech construction.

The public speech construction of second year students shows that students did not meet the criterion of appropriate topic development. In order to fulfil this criterion more successfully, the following is suggested: in laboratory exercises, students (i.e. prospective teachers) should carry out exercises on style procedures recognition (read and study different texts in which they look for typical style procedures and eliminate possible errors). They should independently construct sentences in which they develop topics according to a precisely defined style procedure in order to obtain a feel for each mode of topic development. In fact, within the parameters of work obligations, prospective teachers will have to, among other things, write different reports, for example on parent-teacher meetings, office consultation hours, daily activities (sports, cultural, technical), educational and evaluatory sessions, students with special needs, students subject to so-called disciplinary proceedings, etc. They should be familiar with typical modes of topic development for each text that will be formulated, and should recognise which style procedures are pertinent to the so-called thread within the specific type of text.

2.	**INTEGRAL MODE OF PUBLIC SPEECH**	2nd year/3rd year
2.1	Fluent, natural and free speaking	3.28/4.42
2.2	Clear diction	3.88/4.90

Table 3: Findings on the realisation of the integral mode of oral presentation.

In the integral mode of public speech, the most problems encountered by second year students were specific to fluent, natural and free speaking. In order to meet this criterion, the following is suggested: students should be well-versed in the topic of the speech in a broader sense. They should also study the background of the topic, link characteristics, establish connections between subjects, be familiar with the different views on the topic and compare the various topics in different ways. This will permit them to talk fluently and freely. It is very important that they do not learn the oral speech by heart according to a written outline, but rather form a monological text in meaningful, comprehensible and integral units simultaneous to the development of thoughts and reactions. Even if they falter while speaking, they can substitute the content of the speech with other data that they do not, initially, wish to include in the speech, since they know the text better and, in the interim, can recall the thread of the speech. Thus, they can speak smoothly and continue fluently. If the speaker is experienced, listeners do not notice this difficulty.

Thus, fluent and natural speech is strengthened (e.g. non-compound prepositions are articulated in a connected manner; natural speech is the opposite of unnatural and artificial speech; what the speaker wants to express must be done in a persuasive and interesting manner). If students are well prepared for a speech, stage fright is diminished, and they are relaxed and self-confident. It is also suggested that students (prospective teachers) do not follow a written outline while making a public speech, but that they confine themselves to a few points of reference in the form of a mind map, simply in order to provide emotive orientation.

3.	**VERBAL LANGUAGE**	2nd year/3rd year
3.1	Social genre	3.93/4.88
3.2	Selection of words consistent with speech	4.08/4.80
3.3	Grammatical correctness	3.57/4.10
3.4	Correct pronunciation	
3.4.1	Formal constructions	3.30/3.97
3.4.2	Formal (dynamic) accent	3.66/4.49

Table 4: Findings on the realisation of verbal language in public speaking.

In terms of the realisation of verbal language in public speaking, second year students had most problems with standard Slovene pronunciation. This was also evinced by third year students. This was the criterion specific to which third year students scored the lowest average marks. It is recommended that during practice lessons the teacher should first explain to all students the theoretical basics and then provide concrete, actual examples, i.e. those taken from the oral texts formulated by students. It is further suggested that systematic exercises be carried out specific to pronunciation and the practising of short speeches, the teacher discussing each student's pronunciation mistakes and exploring ways of eliminating them. Thus, each student discovers his/her own model of mistakes and tries to eliminate them as soon as possible, at the same time becoming aware of all pronunciation mistakes of his/her fellow students. Because a student perceives them in this manner, there is the possibility that he/she, positively motivated, will not include them in his/her oral speeches. Consistent use of language manuals – *Slovenski pravopis* ("Slovenian Orthography") (2001 or 2003) and *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* ("Dictionary of Standard Slovenian") is also recommended. Applying all the exercises detailed, the selection of words as well as the pronunciation capacity will increase. The Web version of *Slovenski pravopis*, accessible at http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/sp2001.html, is also recommended. Searching is easy and available to all who can use the Internet. A phonetics laboratory, in which pronunciation can be exercised in a high-quality and practical manner, is highly recommendable for pronunciation exercises.

4.	**NON-VERBAL LANGUAGE**	2nd year/3rd year
4.1	Auditory non-verbal speech cues	3.52/4.51
4.2	Visual non-verbal speech cues	3.53/4.01

Table 5: Findings on the realisation of non-verbal language in public speaking.

Regarding the use of non-verbal language, second year students had greater problems with non-verbal auditory speech cues than with visual ones. Thus, the speaker must consciously fulfil the requisite criteria and be aware of the fact that the presence of these cues makes the speech clearer and more comprehensible and interesting so that he/she exerts a more positive influence upon the listeners and holds their attention.

To conclude, the criteria which were most successfully fulfilled by all second and third year students are delineated. Among the second year students, these were the criteria specific to the appropriateness of the topic and selection of content (4.25), while third year students most successfully fulfilled criteria pertinent to the consideration of text type characteristics (4.96), appropriateness of the topic and selection of content (4.96).

4 CONCLUSION

On the basis of the criteria defined and presented for public speaking (preparation, execution, evaluation), the realisation of these was verified in practice: it was established that in order to deliver a high-quality and effective speech, thorough preparation, comprising the consideration of criteria for the preparation, execution and evaluation of speech, is necessary. The defined, presented and tested criteria which we discussed could be used by teachers for a modern and efficient educational process at all educational levels and for their own pedagogical speech in class; these criteria could be used by teachers to teach students and pupils public speaking as well as for the assessment and evaluation of their speeches, public speaking being rendered compulsory within the curriculum of the Slovenian language as a subject both within primary school and secondary school. In short, the criteria presented in this article could constitute a helpful tool for anyone preparing for public speaking.

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Abstract

CRITERIA FOR PUBLIC SPEECH PLANNING
– CHARACTERISTICS OF LANGUAGE LEARNING

Public speaking is understood as monological discourse production, directed at a wider or narrower public or group of people. The theoretical part of this article introduces the characteristics of effective public speaking; criteria were designed for the preparation of a public speech, and four main sections defined, i.e. a) construction of public speech (consideration of text type characteristics, appropriateness of the topic and selection of content, appropriateness of the mode of topic development, formation of a meaningful, comprehensible and integrated text); b) integral mode of public speech (fluent, natural and free speaking, clear diction); c) verbal language (social genre, selection of words consistent with the speech, grammatical correctness, correct pronunciation, formal constructions, formal [dynamic] accent), non-verbal language (auditory non-verbal speech cues, visual non-verbal speech cues). The fulfilment of these criteria was tested in practice, namely on second and third year undergraduate students (prospective teachers) (N = 211). On the whole, all the average marks of third year students were better than those of the second year students. The most common difficulty facing the students was fluent, natural and free speaking as well as appropriate topic development, whereas the most successfully fulfilled criteria were those of appropriate topic selection and consideration of text type characteristics.

Keywords: language learning, monological speech, public speech, speaking, criteria for public speaking.

Povzetek

MERILA ZA PRIPRAVO NA JAVNI GOVORNI NASTOP
– ZAKONITOSTI USVAJANJA JEZIKA

Javno govorno nastopanje razumemo kot tvorjenje enogovornih govorjenih besedil, namenjenih širši ali ožji javnosti oz. skupini. Prispevek v teoretičnem delu predstavlja zakonitosti učinkovitega javnega govornega nastopanja; oblikovali smo merila za pripravo na javni govorni nastop in opredelili štiri glavna področja, tj.: a) zgradba govornega nastopa (upoštevanje značilnosti besedilne vrste, ustreznost teme in izbire vsebine, ustreznost načina razvijanja teme, oblikovanje smiselnega, razumljivega in zaokroženega besedila); b) celostni način govorne predstavitve (tekoče, naravno, prosto in razločno govorjenje); c) besedni jezik (socialna zvrst jezika, izbira besed glede na govorni položaj, slovnična pravilnost, pravorečni izgovor); č) nebesedni jezik (slušni nebesedni spremljevalci govorjenja, vidni nebesedni spremljevalci govorjenja). Uresničevanje meril smo preverili v praksi, in sicer pri študentih (prihodnjih učiteljih) v 2. in 3. letniku dodiplomskega izobraževanja (N = 211). Gledano celostno, so vse povprečne ocene študentov v 3. letniku boljše od povprečnih ocen študentov v 2. letniku. Pri javnem govornem nastopanju so imeli študentje največ težav s tekočim, z naravnim in s prostim govorjenjem ter z ustreznostjo načina razvijanja teme, najbolje uresničevani merili pa sta bili ustreznost teme in izbire vsebine ter upoštevanje značilnosti besedilne vrste.

Ključne besede: usvajanje jezika, enogovorno govorjeno besedilo, javni govor, govorno nastopanje, merila za javni govorni nastop.

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LE PARADOXE DU LINGUISTE

> Si chacun détient la connaissance de la structure de la langue, si celle-ci est bien un « système grammatical existant virtuellement dans chaque cerveau », on devrait pouvoir s'appuyer sur le témoignage du premier venu, soi-même y compris. Mais, d'autre part, les faits de parole ne peuvent s'observer qu'en examinant le comportement des individus au moment où ils emploient la langue. D'où le *paradoxe saussurien* : l'aspect social de la langue s'étudie sur n'importe quel individu, mais l'aspect individuel ne s'observe que dans le contexte social.
>
> (Labov 1972 : 185–186, trad. Alain Kihm)

Dans ce passage souvent repris, Labov entame plusieurs questions concernant le statut épistémologique de la linguistique, ses sujets et ses méthodologies. Il met naturellement en valeur le mérite général du *Cours de linguistique générale* (CLG), mais se prononce suspicieux quant à l'utilisation du terme *social* chez Saussure. La fonction sociale de la langue, conclut Labov, dans la terminologie saussurienne ne traduit rien qui rende compte des implications sociologiques de l'activité langagière ; elle signifie tout simplement que la langue, outre son rôle dans la formation de l'individu parlant, est aussi un fait pluri-individuel.

Cette interprétation a certainement raison de relever le problème, surtout quand elle est proférée par un sociologue, mais pour un linguiste, la chose a une portée presque énigmatique. Le *paradoxe*[1] *saussurien* nous donne accès à une vérité qui n'est pas seulement révélatrice de la réalité scientifique de la linguistique en tant que domaine de connaissance, mais permet en même temps d'entrevoir la nature même du rapport entre le locuteur et sa capacité de se servir d'une langue. En d'autres termes : la formation de l'individu se fait à travers son utilisation de la langue, mais la langue elle-même est sujette aux altérations, provoquées par la pratique langagière qu'exercent les individus. Ou encore : l'homme se transforme par la langue, la langue est transformée par l'homme. Il en va de même pour le rapport entre la langue et la société.

L'intérêt sinon le plaisir de faire de la linguistique réside dans l'idée de cet incontournable « cercle vicieux », rejoignant un serpent qui se mord la queue, à savoir le

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[1] On rappellera ici le sens présumé du terme paradoxe : c'est ce qui est contraire à l'opinion générale, mais, dans une extension critique, ce qui se situe à côté de la doxe (ou même derrière elle), la notion de doxe étant peu ou prou adéquate à celle de la doctrine. On pourrait conclure que le paradoxe est nécessairement le produit collatéral d'une volonté doctrinaire quand elle se met à expliquer une réalité.

fait que la langue ne dispose que d'un seul instrument qui puisse la décrire : la langue elle-même.[2] C'est de là que, dans le progrès historique des analyses linguistiques, on a tiré le concept de métalangue, la langue qui vise sa propre existence, se réfléchit et se raconte. La langue n'ayant que soi-même pour s'analyser, les individus n'ont que la langue pour se poser des questions sur son fonctionnement. Cela ne définit pas seulement la réflexion du linguiste qui – dans des textes métalinguistiques, tels que grammaires, dictionnaires, articles scientifiques, manuels méthodiques d'apprentissage etc. – se sert de la langue pour en parler ; la fonction métalinguistique est au même titre appliquée par n'importe quel locuteur, par n'importe quel utilisateur quotidien de la langue qui, sans réfléchir consciemment ses actions communicatives, mais examinant sans cesse l'acceptabilité de ce qui est dit, se pose du jour au jour des questions sur la langue[3] et sur son propre exercice de la parole.

L'absence de solutions schématiques, l'enchevêtrement et simultanéité des fonctions que la langue exerce dans le processus communicatif, l'auto-référence par laquelle la langue fait constamment appel à soi-même, l'impossibilité, pour un locuteur, d'agir en dehors de la langue, tout cela nous amène à soupçonner qu'il doit en résulter une certaine complexité concernant la condition de ceux qui s'avisent d'observer la langue et ses pratiques, c'est-à-dire les professionnels de la langue et parmi eux, le linguiste. Si Labov, interprète perspicace des dichotomies du CLG, a pu en déduire une formulation aussi évocatrice que ce célèbre *paradoxe saussurien* ; si ce paradoxe engendre des conséquences statutaires pour la langue, pour la parole et pour le locuteur en général ; si le locuteur ne peut se réaliser que par la langue, et si la langue n'a de sens qu'à travers ses locuteurs ; si, enfin, le linguiste est, sans nul doute, à compter dans l'ensemble des locuteurs d'une langue, on peut constater que l'enceinte impénétrable du cercle vicieux empêche le linguiste (comme tout autre usager d'une langue) de s'y soustraire. Dans son ouvrage sur le rapport entre le langage et la connaissance, Schaff (1969 : 39) essaie d'expliquer comment la réalité est (trans)formée par la langue, mais finit par dire la même chose : que le locuteur, en tant que sujet parlant et responsable d'une connaissance, habite dans l'univers linguistique que sa communauté avait construit à long terme.

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[2] D'ailleurs, l'engagement linguistique détermine tous les domaines de connaissance : celle-ci ne saurait se formuler ni se transférer autrement que par la langue. C'est par le recours exclusif à la langue que se transmettent les traditions et les doctrines, les idées et les idéologies.

[3] Cf. Saussure (1949 : 21) « Quelle est enfin l'utilité de la linguistique ? Bien peu de gens ont là-dessus des idées claires ; ce n'est pas le lieu de les fixer. Mais il est évident, par exemple, que les questions linguistiques intéressent tous ceux, historiens, philologues, etc., qui ont à manier des textes. Plus évidente encore est son importance pour la culture générale : dans la vie des individus et des sociétés, le langage est un facteur plus important qu'aucun autre. Il serait inadmissible que son étude restât l'affaire de quelques spécialistes ; en fait, tout le monde s'en occupe peu ou prou ; mais – conséquence paradoxale de l'intérêt qui s'y attache – il n'y a pas de domaine où aient germé plus d'idées absurdes, de préjugés, de mirages, de fictions. Au point de vue psychologique, ces erreurs ne sont pas négligeables ; mais la tâche du linguiste est avant tout de les dénoncer, et de les dissiper aussi complètement que possible. »

> La conception de la « transformation du monde par la langue » peut être interprétée de deux manières : 1. Le facteur subjectif a son rôle à jouer dans la connaissance ; le système défini d'une langue influence le processus de la connaissance et assume dans celui-ci une fonction spécifique ; 2. Le système défini d'une langue crée une image du monde (hors de laquelle rien ne peut cependant être donné dans la connaissance).

Le linguiste, dans sa volonté explicite de s'imposer comme sujet scientifique et de décrire objectivement la langue comme un objet qui lui est extérieur, est paradoxal, parce que, du fait même qu'il est habité de sa langue, il se trouve nécessairement dans l'impossibilité de remplir la tâche qu'il se propose. Le *paradoxe du linguiste* consiste donc en cela que, si on se permet de paraphraser l'observation de Labov, « les faits de la langue s'étudient selon la vision de tel ou tel linguiste individuel, alors que le linguiste n'existe que par son expérience personnelle des faits linguistiques ». Cela veut dire que le linguiste, en tant que descripteur d'une langue, n'est opératif qu'à l'intérieur de son objet d'analyse. Autrement dit : quand l'analyste, incapable d'en sortir, prétend décrire sa langue, il y laisse nécessairement, ne serait-ce que par l'interprétation des paroles d'autrui, la trace de sa propre individualité linguistique, c'est-à-dire d'une sensibilité intime qu'il ne saurait esquiver – et il ne lui reste que l'effort de la dissimuler. Quand on parle de sa langue, on parle de soi-même.

Quelles en sont les conséquences pour le travail du linguiste ? Empreint irrévocablement d'une susceptibilité linguistique qu'il a développée tout au long de son activité communicative, le linguiste se donne néanmoins la tâche de raisonner sur la langue en tant qu'objet de son analyse. Or, en observant la langue, le linguiste essaie de synthétiser ses observations, de formuler des conclusions, bref, il finit par avancer un certain *jugement* sur ce qu'il a observé. Il n'est pas difficile d'en dégager le problème métalinguistique : cette métalangue, qui se destine à porter un jugement sur la langue, peut bien être réalisée dans l'intention d'objectiviser la formulation scientifique ; mais elle n'en est pas moins le fruit d'une stylisation personnelle du linguiste. Car le linguiste est *l'auteur* de ses propos sur la langue, lui[4] et pas un autre. Il exploite, souvent à son insu, mais d'une façon déterminante, son individualité linguistique afin d'en faire un jugement d'auteur. Dans le cadre d'une ambition objectivisante du linguiste, cette stylisation est valorisée, parce qu'elle peut représenter une certaine efficacité persuasive de son discours. Mais il existe une autre implication de cette inévitable intimité linguistique, qui s'impose plus fatalement dans le travail du linguiste : c'est celle de *concevoir* personnellement un sujet qu'il exposera à l'analyse. Là aussi, le linguiste est sans aucun doute l'auteur de son travail : il peut très bien adopter une méthodologie existante (ce qui, faute de mieux, se fait souvent), mail il lui reste de délimiter et de *choisir* le fragment de la réalité linguistique qui l'intéresse. Choisir selon son intérêt, voilà qui s'appelle une œuvre d'auteur.

Car enfin, quelle est la nature de cet intérêt ? C'est un mot foncièrement polysémique, mais on retiendra ici deux significations qui témoigneront assez de sa com-

[4] Le masculin ici, bien entendu, est générique.

plexité. Premièrement, il y a le sens d'engagement personnel pour un certain sujet, une certaine affection (intellectuelle et/ou émotive) qu'on lui porte et qui résulte de l'expérience professionnelle et personnelle du linguiste en tant qu'analyste et locuteur d'une langue. Le deuxième sens est, en principe, moins subjectif, et concerne la validité du choix dans un contexte plus général : là, la notion d'intérêt se réfère à la pertinence pour l'ensemble des expériences individuelles qui forment un champ de connaissance, linguistique dans notre cas.

Comptant sur la deuxième, l'intérêt de notre texte suggère de nous intéresser plutôt à la première acception du terme.

L'intérêt « d'affinité » que porte le linguiste à son sujet provient probablement de son expérience intellectuelle, c'est-à-dire qu'il est enfanté par une raison analytique et souvent accompagné de ce que l'on pourrait désigner comme enthousiasme synthétisant. Mais il existe pour le linguiste un autre motif d'agir, fréquent surtout chez ceux qui visent à normativiser l'usage – c'est une éventuelle révolte contre une pratique langagière, et cela pour deux raisons principalement : ou bien le linguiste juge cette pratique en désaccord avec ses convictions professionnelles et/ou personnelles, ou bien son action s'oppose à un usage repéré qui, selon son jugement, s'exerce contre l'intérêt présumé de la communauté linguistique.[5] Dans les deux cas, celui de l'affinité et celui de la contrariété, le linguiste éprouve un certain intérêt vis-à-vis de la réalité linguistique. Dire qu'une chose nous intéresse, c'est dire qu'on se promet d'y avoir une part. L'intérêt pour un fait linguistique, disons un texte ou un type de discours, résulte en tel ou tel type de lecture – et qui dit lecture dit *interprétation*.

Reprenons le début du fragment (Labov 1972 : 185) qui sert d'ouverture à notre réflexion sur « l'épistémologie du linguiste ».

> (...) si [la langue] est bien un « système grammatical existant virtuellement dans chaque cerveau », on devrait pouvoir s'appuyer sur le témoignage du premier venu, soi-même y compris.

Voici justement l'empreinte de l'embarras qui se fait ressentir derrière la condition paradoxale du linguiste voyant dans la langue l'instrument méthodologique et le sujet de son effort descriptif. Labov ironise sur le fait que le linguiste pourrait très bien s'analyser soi-même[6] en qualité de locuteur représentatif, comme il pourrait le faire avec n'importe quel autre locuteur. Du point de vue de l'ambition empiriste, proférée et pratiquée par la plupart des linguistes de la parole, l'ironie est justifiable, parce que le linguiste est censé décrire la langue telle qu'elle *est* et non pas telle qu'elle *devrait*

[5] On négligera le cas impensable où le linguiste critiquerait une pratique langagière tout simplement parce que c'est une pratique à laquelle il ne s'identifie pas.

[6] Cf. Benveniste (1966 : 258) « Si le langage est, comme on dit, instrument de communication, à quoi doit-il cette propriété ? La question peut surprendre, comme tout ce qui a l'air de mettre en question l'évidence, mais il est parfois utile de demander à l'évidence de se justifier. Deux raisons viennent alors successivement à l'esprit. L'une serait que le langage se trouve en fait ainsi employé, sans doute parce que les hommes n'ont pas trouvé de moyen meilleur ni même d'aussi efficace pour communiquer. Cela revient à constater ce qu'on voudrait comprendre. »

être selon son intention éventuellement normativisante ou, parfois, selon son goût personnel. Mais d'un autre point de vue, celui de l'irréfutable individualité du linguiste en tant que locuteur avisé, la chose, par son évidence, se dérobe à tout traitement ironique. Non seulement le linguiste peut se porter témoin de ses propres investigations linguistiques, il se trouve dans l'impossibilité de ne pas le faire. Dès qu'il se met à observer un fait linguistique, à l'analyser, rassembler des faits contextuels et cotextuels, proposer des conclusions – c'est-à-dire qu'il essaie de *comprendre* son objet observé – il devient pour lui impossible de ne pas l'interpréter. Le processus de compréhension sous-entend un investissement individuel, un travail d'auteur, ce qui signifie généralement que deux personnes regardant le même objet peuvent très bien en avoir deux visions différentes ; qui plus est, ces deux prises de vue sont nécessairement dissemblables s'il existe des différences entre les observateurs. Du moment donc où il y a compréhension d'un fait observé, ou du moins une volonté de comprendre, il y a interprétation qui permet de présenter des observations, mais enlève à cette présentation la généralité[7] acceptive que l'analyste et son public sont souvent tentés de lui attribuer. Autrement dit : l'objectivité de l'observation interprétative en linguistique, comme dans tous les champs de connaissance, est exclue du processus analytique au moment où il y a intervention compréhensive de l'analyste. Si on pousse cette réflexion jusqu'au bout, on conclura que la linguistique a le droit à sa renommée de science objective, mais à condition que les linguistes décrivent des langues et des pratiques langagières qu'ils ne comprennent pas.

Une telle conclusion est satisfaisante dans le cadre de théorisation du problème, mais quelque peu contraire à la réalité où les professionnels de la langue pratiquent quotidiennement leurs activités communicatives afin d'expliquer des systèmes ainsi que les usages linguistiques. Si l'on veut véritablement prendre conscience du manque d'objectivité analytique, inhérent à la linguistique, ce manque doit être admis comme total. Mais il faut en même temps accepter une autre évidence : il y a toujours eu de la linguistique ; il y a toujours eu des linguistes qui exercent depuis des siècles leur activité professionnelle, quelquefois – il est vrai – sans savoir exactement quelles en sont les ressources et les conséquences. Voici un troisième serpent qui se mord la queue : le rapport insoluble entre la chose impossible et son impossibilité de s'annuler. Par principe, un système communicatif quelconque ne peut s'interpréter sans être touché ; un structuraliste, par exemple, qui propose une réinterprétation du système phonologique d'une langue donnée, propose non seulement des modifications quant à la structure de ce système, mais suggère par là une redéfinition des règles qui régissent son actualisation. Ce principe de participation analytique au fonctionnement d'une langue s'avère particulièrement sévère quand le linguiste, désireux d'émettre des observations factuelles, entreprend une analyse des *pratiques* communicatives.

[7] Cf. Chiss/Puech (1997 : 214) « La généralité est ici moins la caractéristique de premiers principes que le résultat d'une généralisation tendancielle dont on voit mal ce qui pourrait en constituer la limite. Son destin se confond sans doute avec celui d'une anthropologie générale en devenir et progrès perpétuel. »

Là, l'analyste est directement confronté aux usages qui peuvent très bien ne pas être les siens, mais il n'est pas difficile de comprendre que les usages observés se trouvent nécessairement *comparables* à ceux que le linguiste s'est approprié au cours de sa longue activité linguistique professionnelle et personnelle. L'entrave théorique à l'objectivisation de leurs analyses n'empêche pas pour autant les linguistes de se servir du discours scientifique pour parler de ce qui les intéresse.[8]

Mais le discours scientifique, bien entendu, n'est pas le seul moyen de formuler et de faire passer des connaissances (méta)linguistiques : les enseignants de langues (maternelles et étrangères) ne sont pas considérés automatiquement comme des linguistes, mais ils représentent un groupe important de locuteurs professionnels qui utilisent la métalangue pour instruire leurs élèves. Un professeur de langue doit posséder un certain savoir sur la pédagogie de cette instruction, mais il se doit aussi d'avoir une compétence linguistique qui lui permettra d'établir une relation didactique avec les apprenants. Le cas est particulièrement intéressant quand il concerne l'enseignement d'une langue étrangère ; il est très fréquent que la langue enseignée soit étrangère pour tous les participants à la communication pédagogique. Cela implique un fait important qui détermine le comportement linguistique des apprenants, mais aussi celui de l'enseignant : leur compétence en langue enseignée est nécessairement limitée. Il va sans dire que les apprenants sont plus ou moins débutants dans la construction de leur compétence ; mais même si l'enseignant a bien intériorisé le système et bien extériorisé l'usage, sa compétence est acquise en tant que connaissance d'une langue étrangère, par un processus d'apprentissage scolaire, donc intellectuel. Son propos professionnel, normalement, c'est de transférer aux élèves le code de la langue enseignée, de les instruire en grammaire, en lexique et, éventuellement, en pragmatique de l'usage. L'enseignant est donc nécessairement contraint par les spécificités de sa compétence ; s'il est capable de reconnaître ses limites, il est mieux placé de s'orienter dans son travail, c'est-à-dire de détecter les difficultés que les apprenants pourraient rencontrer à long terme dans l'acquisition de la langue étrangère. Si, après tant d'années d'expérience en cette langue apprise, il lui arrive toujours d'être incertain quant à la distribution, mettons, des articles définis et indéfinis en français (pour ne pas parler de la prononciation), il est probable que ses élèves seront susceptibles d'affronter le même obstacle grammatical. La subjectivité linguistique de l'enseignant peut se trouver ainsi au service de son travail pédagogique : en réfléchissant sa propre réalité linguistique, le pédagogue saura reconnaître les points dans l'enseignement qu'il faudrait élaborer avec une attention particulière pour apporter aux apprenants une efficacité optimale de leur effort acquisitif.

[8] On observe chez les meilleurs auteurs en sciences humaines et sociales une certaine tendance vers la littérarisation de leur énonciation scientifique. La volonté d'organiser leur écriture sur les principes narratifs, de rédiger leur raisonnement sous forme de récit, ce n'est pas seulement un trait de leur originalité discursive et de leur force argumentative ; c'est surtout une approche qui reflète l'individualité de ces auteurs : s'il est impossible de l'effacer, autant la mettre en valeur quand elle a du mérite discursif.

Ainsi, le linguiste qui a développé la capacité de reconnaître la spécificité de son propre usage linguistique, et de particulariser ses attitudes métalinguistiques, saura aussi définir les usages que personnellement il ne partage pas avec les autres locuteurs. La position analytique du linguiste est singulière : il se trouve constamment entouré par l'objet de ses observations scientifiques. Son intérêt pour la langue n'est donc pas une chose qu'il réserve uniquement pour les heures passées à faire des enquêtes ou à rédiger ses propos ; il est, qu'il le veuille ou pas, sans cesse aux aguets de la réalité linguistique avec laquelle il est perpétuellement en contact. Cette réalité linguistique constitue sa vraie tour d'ivoire – on reproche parfois aux gens de la science de s'enfermer dans des sphères inaccessibles – mais c'est une tour qui définit sa condition en effaçant pour lui la distinction, pour ainsi dire, entre vie et œuvre. Le fait d'être consommé par son objet, de ne pas pouvoir en sortir et de se trouver constamment à l'emprise avec ce qui l'intéresse, tout cela contribue à une certaine réputation du linguiste, à savoir celle d'être le possesseur privilégié de la connaissance linguistique : le linguiste est quelqu'un qui fait attention à ce qui, au quotidien, n'occupe pas les autres. Il investit sa conscience à réfléchir les activités linguistiques que les locuteurs, en général, se contentent d'exercer plus ou moins inconsciemment. En effet, c'est l'accumulation du savoir général sur la langue et les usages qui permet au linguiste de mieux discerner sa propre envergure linguistique[9] et de mieux délimiter – dans l'esprit de la maxime de Wittgenstein – la portée de son univers analytique. En même temps, le linguiste apprend, en construisant sa connaissance, à accepter parmi les usages linguistiques ceux qu'il ne pratique pas ; à accepter critiquement et non pas refuser d'une façon irréfléchie la valeur du comportement linguistique d'autrui. Il est censé devenir capable de ne pas considérer sa propre sensibilité linguistique comme une généralité, octroyable à l'ensemble des réalités observables.

Cela n'enlève rien, évidemment, à son statut d'auteur par rapport à ses énonciations métalinguistiques. Être auteur signifie non seulement s'exprimer selon ses convictions, son savoir et ses intentions, mais aussi se conformer à la finitude de sa création. Chaque texte, issu d'une réflexion linguistique, qu'il soit descriptif ou normatif, chaque manuel d'orthographe, chaque grammaire ou dictionnaire, n'importe quelle œuvre qui formule des observations ou des conclusions concernant la langue – tous ces travaux portent une signature. Ils ont tous en commun d'avoir en tête un nom d'auteur. Il en découle que les textes qui constatent des réalités linguistiques,

[9] Vaugelas, dans le paragraphe XIV de ses *Remarques sur la langue française* (1647), s'explique sur l'appui méthodologique de ses analyses : « Mais pour revenir aux Auteurs que ces Remarques reprennent, le Lecteur se souviendra, s'il lui plaît, de ce que je suis contraint de répéter plusieurs fois : 1. que ce n'est point de mon chef que je prends la liberté de reprendre ces excellents hommes, mais je rapporte simplement le bon Usage, où je ne contribue rien, si ce n'est de faire voir qu'un bon Auteur y a manqué, et qu'il ne le faut pas suivre. » Il introduit cette remarque par le constat « qu'il ne fait que rapporter la censure générale », c'est-à-dire qu'il se réfère à l'opinion publique ayant énoncé un jugement favorable sur les usages en question. Voici une décision bien personnelle d'un homme critique, celle de porter confiance à ceux que le grand public avait consacré pour leur acceptabilité linguistique, mais aussi, paraît-il, idéologique.

en les présentant comme des faits, se forgent la crédibilité par l'emploi d'une méthodologie élaborée ou d'un discours convaincant – et parfois même par la seule renommée de l'auteur. Mais ces formulations ne peuvent guère dissimuler un certain arbitraire qui provient du fait même qu'elles ont été rédigées par quelqu'un qui s'est mis en position d'interpréter – plus ou moins bien – la valeur des réalités décrites. De plus, il provient de cette « autorité de l'auteur » un pouvoir qui ne fonctionne pas seulement par l'établissement du linguiste en tant que diseur d'une vérité, mais aussi par le simple fait qu'il y ait écriture, inventée pour légitimer le scripteur et consacrer ce qu'il a conçu. La position de puissance,[10] aussi générale soit-elle, ne devrait surtout pas produire d'abus : l'autorité scientifique se destine à permettre la connaissance plutôt qu'à l'imposer.

Le linguiste ne peut donc surtout pas se *contenter* d'employer sa personnalité linguistique et d'y faire référence encryptée ou ouverte dans son travail analytique. L'effort scientifique, méthodologiquement parlant, ne doit pas *dépendre* de la seule intimité linguistique de l'analyste. Pourtant, comme nous l'avons déjà souligné à plusieurs reprises dans les contextes précédents, la personnalité du linguiste est formée selon son expérience individuelle.[11] Autrement dit, l'individualité spécifique du linguiste n'est pas seulement la base de ses capacités langagières en général ; elle fonde sa compétence en matière de la linguistique en tant que science. Le fondement de toute réflexion en linguistique qui se réclame d'une certaine valeur générale repose sur l'attitude que prend le linguiste, non pas seulement vis-à-vis de son objet, mais surtout vis-à-vis de sa propre condition linguistique et de son travail. S'il a pris conscience du fait que sa propre personnalité linguistique est constituante de sa réflexion scientifique et sous-jacente à toute son activité linguistique, il pourra en tirer profit afin de revendiquer pour sa science une part d'objectivité, tout simplement parce qu'il a appris par là à accepter le langage d'autrui. Ce geste de l'humanisme – car la linguistique est *aussi* une science humaine – ne saurait produire d'effet s'il n'est accompagné d'une autre disposition, orientée vers la vérité, vers le bien d'autrui et de la communauté : la disposition éthique. On considérera ici l'éthique comme l'ensemble de tendances mentales et comportementales qui régit les interactions dans une société. *« L'éthique procéderait ainsi de l'existence même du fait social »* (Changeux/Connes 1992 : 242). Selon la prise de conscience sur la complexité paradoxale de sa condition, le linguiste peut établir un bien-fondé de soi pour se légitimer dans l'analyse critique du langage d'autrui.

Si donc après tout, le linguiste ne peut pas ne pas se porter témoin de ses propres investigations linguistiques, cela constitue le dernier paradoxe concernant sa condition ontologique. Il puise la connaissance de son propre univers linguistique, mais se trouve, pour ainsi dire, sous l'interdiction de le dire. La prise de conscience sur soi linguistique,

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[10] Cf. Barthes (1978 : 12) « ... un idiome se définit moins par ce qu'il permet de dire, que par ce qu'il oblige à dire. »

[11] Cf. Parain (1966 : 56) « Je postule que mes paroles sont l'expression exacte de mes sensations, alors qu'il n'en est rien, peut-être. Et j'aurai tort de m'étonner ensuite que ce postulat se révèle finalement très dangereux, car il réduit la science à la sensation et détruit, par conséquent, ainsi que l'a montré Platon, tout espoir de vérité objective. »

justement, écarte pour lui la possibilité, dans le discours scientifique, de dire *je* quand il fait passer une interprétation dont il est pourtant l'auteur. Le sujet de l'énonciation, qui est censé prendre sa part de la responsabilité sociale, est obligé de passer par un biais grammatical qui exclut la déixis et à travers lequel le texte et son auteur construisent une illusion dépersonnalisée. La première personne du singulier est strictement bannie du discours métalinguistique interprétatif : on la remplace soit par *nous*, un pluriel dont on a parfois du mal à dire s'il est (consciencieusement) modeste ou (inconsciemment) majestueux, soit par *on*, une troisième personne qui se destine à généraliser les opinions et à les transformer, apparemment du moins, en constats. Certains linguistes, par prudence, optent pour la formule impersonnelle *il semble que*, ce qui est très intelligent, parce que ce préambule énonciatif relativise aux yeux du lecteur le constat tout en éliminant d'éventuels reproches concernant sa prétendue objectivité. Car enfin, il semble qu'*il semble que*, constatif flexible de surface, recèle sous sa signature un *il **me** semble que*, performatif de profondeur qui renvoie immanquablement à la première personne du singulier. La proscription du *je* ne garantit que son omniprésence.

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Résumé

LE PARADOXE DU LINGUISTE

Le linguiste, dans sa volonté explicite de s'imposer comme sujet scientifique et de décrire objectivement la langue comme un objet qui lui est extérieur, est paradoxal, parce que, du fait même qu'il est habité de sa langue, il se trouve nécessairement dans l'impossibilité de remplir la tâche qu'il se propose. Le *paradoxe du linguiste* consiste donc en cela que, si on se permet de paraphraser l'observation de Labov, « les faits de la langue s'étudient selon la vision de tel ou tel linguiste individuel, alors que le linguiste n'existe que par son expérience personnelle des faits linguistiques ». Cela signifie très simplement que le linguiste, en tant que descripteur d'une langue, n'est opératif qu'à l'intérieur de son objet d'analyse. La crédibilité de l'analyste dépend entièrement de la position éthique qu'il prendra vis-à-vis de sa recherche.

Mots clés : linguiste, épistémologie linguistique, objectivité, paradoxe saussurien, éthique de la science.

Povzetek

PARADOKS JEZIKOSLOVCA

V izrecni volji, da se vzpostavi kot znanstveni subjekt in skuša objektivno opisati jezik kot raziskovalni predmet, ki je zunaj njega samega, je jezikoslovec paradoksen, ker nujno prebiva znotraj (svojega) jezika, zato svoje znanstvene naloge nikakor ne more izpolniti tako, kot si jo je načeloma zadal. Paradoks jezikoslovca, če smemo parafrazirati opažanje Williama Labova, je naslednji: »jezikovna dejstva lahko jezikoslovec interpretira samo kot jezikovni posameznik, pri čemer jezikoslovec sam obstaja le, kolikor obstaja njegova osebna izkušnja jezikovnih dejstev«. To preprosteje rečeno pomeni, da jezikoslovec kot opazovalec in opisovalec jezika lahko deluje samo znotraj svojega predmeta analize. Njegova verodostojnost je v celoti odvisna od etične drže, ki jo bo zavzel v odnosu do svojega raziskovalnega dela.

Ključne besede: jezikoslovec, epistemologija jezikoslovja, objektivnost, saussurjanski paradoks, znanstvena etika.

José Manuel Blecua (ed): *Nueva gramática de la lengua española. Fonética y fonología.* Madrid: Espasa Libros, 2011. 532 pp. ISBN: 9788467033212

El libro titulado *Fonética y Fonología*, dirigido por José Manuel Blecua, director de la Real Academia Española, es el tercer volumen de la *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española,* realizada por las veintidós Academias de la Lengua Española y dirigida por Ignacio Bosque. El volumen *Fonética y Fonología* se compone de un libro de 532 páginas que complementa el DVD *Las voces del español. Tiempo y espacio* y fue realizado por investigadores de reconocido prestigio de diferentes universidades en el ámbito internacional. El volumen está destinado a estudiantes del segundo ciclo de la carrera de Letras o del doctorado y a profesores de educación media (según el propio director: »está a un nivel de un segundo ciclo de carrera, o doctorado. Puede servir para la Enseñanza Media«[1]). Sin duda alguna será de una gran utilidad también para los investigadores de la lengua española y los profesores en la enseñanza del español como lengua extranjera.

El volumen consta de 10 capítulos que abarcan diferentes aspectos de la fonética y la fonología precedidos de un *Prólogo* y una página de *Signos utilizados*. Los dos primeros capítulos son de carácter general. El primero, *Fonética y fonología. Cuestiones generales*, trata de los dominios de la fonología, la fonación, la geometría de rasgos, la sílaba, el acento y la entonación (con sus unidades y funciones). El segundo capítulo, *Los estudios de los sonidos del habla*, presenta las dos disciplinas, la fonética y la fonología, y trata temas como la definición, división y unidades fonéticas y fonológicas, la fonética articulatoria y la producción de los sonidos del habla, la fonética acústica y la estructura física de los sonidos del habla, la transcripción fonética (la transcripción fonética utilizada en esta obra es la del alfabeto fonético internacional, AFI, pero también se menciona y presenta brevemente la transcripción tradicional española de la RFE), los segmentos y los rasgos distintivos, los procesos fonológicos. Estos dos primeros capítulos presentan »la geometría general de rasgos distintivos que permite analizar fonológicamente los segmentos de la lengua española« (pág. 265). En los capítulos tres (*Las vocales*), cuatro (*Las consonantes obstruyentes oclusivas)*, cinco (*Las consonantes obstruyentes fricativas y africadas*) y seis (*Las consonantes sonantes*) se caracterizan fonológicamente estos segmentos de

[1] http://www.abc.es/20111216/cultura-libros/abci-blecua-nueva-gramatica-201112160432.html (Página consultada el 7/8/2012).

acuerdo con la geometría de rasgos y se presentan las vocales y las consonantes españolas en su clasificación tradicional. Estos cuatro capítulos se estructuran de una manera semejante: descripción desde el punto de vista fonológico, descripción desde el punto de vista de la fonética articulatoria, descripción desde el punto de vista de la fonética acústica y presentación de los principales procesos de variación en función de factores lingüísticos, contextuales y geográficos. El capítulo siete, *Conclusiones del sistema segmental*, resume la información sobre la fonología de los segmentos con un resumen de los rasgos distintivos de los segmentos del español y presenta los procesos de variación de la lengua española.

Los tres últimos capítulos se dedican a las unidades suprasegmentales: la sílaba, el acento y la entonación. El capítulo dedicado a la sílaba (*La sílaba*) abarca los temas sobre la sílaba como unidad estructural, los principios de ordenación de los segmentos en la sílaba, los constituyentes silábicos, los tipos de sílabas, etc. Asociado a la sílaba, el acento, como rasgo suprasegmental, se presenta detalladamente en el capítulo nueve (*El acento*). Además de tratar diferentes tipos de acentuación (palabras acentuadas e inacentuadas, acentuación del paradigma nominal, acentuación del paradigma verbal, acentuación de las palabras gramaticales y acentuación en el dominio superior de la palabra) el capítulo analiza también el acento en el verso. El último capítulo lleva como título *La entonación* y presenta diferentes aspectos relacionados con el tema: el ritmo, la entonación desde el punto de vista fonético y fonológico, las formas entonativas en español, diferentes tipos de entonación y la focalización. El volumen concluye con una serie de Apéndices: *Nómina de textos citados*, *Índice de materias* e *Índice de figuras*.

El DVD *Las voces del español. Tiempo y espacio* está concebido de una manera didáctica y consta de cinco grupos temáticos. En *El español hoy* se expone la situación actual del español (en qué países se habla, los dos nombres de la lengua: el español y el castellano; la coexistencia del español con otras lenguas); *El español ayer* presenta la evolución del español a través del espacio y el tiempo (el nacimiento de la lengua y los primeros textos, codificación y difusión de normas lingüísticas, la variación lingüística en su historia); *Lecciones de fonética* son un curso de (auto)aprendizaje de fonética: fonética articulatoria, fonética acústica, elementos segmentales y suprasegmentales, transcripción fonética; *Los sonidos del español* presentan los principales procesos de variación de los segmentos de la lengua española (vocales y consonantes); *Las voces del español* contienen muestras de las entonaciones y pronunciaciones de todo el ámbito hispánico. Este último nodo reúne muestras organizadas de la riqueza lingüística del español a las que se puede acceder a través de mapas interactivos. La muestra de entonaciones comprende seis tipos de entonaciones (enunciativa, enumerativa, interrogativa, imperativa, exclamativa, exhortativa) realizadas por un hablante culto de la capital de cada país hispanohablante. Además contiene muestras del habla formal (lectura de un fragmento de un texto de Rufino José Cuervo por informantes de cada país hispanohablante), muestras del habla espontánea en contextos comunicativos concretos (atender el teléfono y preguntar la hora) y del habla espontánea libre (con una muestra de cada país hispanohablante sobre un tema escogido por el informante). Para la obtención de los datos necesarios para el análisis espectrográfico y las muestras de habla se ha seleccionado de una manera rigurosa a los informantes, titulados universitarios de las capitales de los países hispánicos, es decir, se ha procedido a la selección de informantes, hombres y mujeres entre 20 y 40 años, representativos del habla culta de cada país. Las grabaciones se realizaron en el laboratorio de Fonética de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona y en el estudio ACG Audio de Madrid con la misma metodología y la misma persona encuestadora. El DVD complementa el texto escrito con un considerable número de gráficos, espectrogramas, oscilogramas, dibujos y otros apoyos audiovisuales y tiene un importante valor didáctico sin dejar de lado la profundidad científica.

Fonética y fonología es una obra de carácter panhispánico escrita y presentada de una manera clara y didáctica, de manejo fácil y comprensible pero siempre realizada con el mayor rigor científico, en la que han participado especialistas e informantes de América y de España y que ha sido consensuada por las veintidós Academias de la Lengua Española. Una gran cantidad de datos de todas las hablas hispánicas contribuye a la visión de la variación actual del español. El texto escrito, los dibujos, gráficos, resonancias magnéticas, diagramas, espectrogramas, oscilogramas del volumen interactúan con el material (fónico y gráfico) del DVD. Es una obra inédita hasta hoy en el ámbito de los estudios fonéticos y fonológicos del español que aprovecha los nuevos soportes tecnológicos y pretende abarcar el extenso dominio del español. Lo único que un profesor e investigador de esta especialidad podría echar de menos en esta obra es un estudio sobre la fonética perceptiva y una lista extensa de las referencias bibliográficas de las obras dedicadas a la fonética y fonología de la lengua española.

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Christian Fandrych, Maria Thurmair: *Textsorten im Deutschen. Linguistische Analysen aus sprachdidaktischer Sicht.* Tübingen: Stauffenburg. 2011. 379 S. ISBN 9783860571958.

Das vorliegende Buch ist eine didaktisch orientierte texgrammatische Untersuchung, die anhand eines nach unterschiedlichen Kriterien ausgewählten Korpus die spezifische Anwendung sprachlicher Mittel in zwanzig Textsorten der deutschen Gegenwartssprache analysiert. Dem Vorwort und dem einführenden theoretischen Kapitel mit Angaben zur Konzeption und zum Ansatz der Studie folgen zwanzig Kapitel zu je einer Textsorte. Im abschließenden Kapitel werden linguistische und didaktische Erträge und Perspektiven zusammengefasst. Am Schluss stehen ein repräsentatives Literaturverzeichnis und ein Stichwortregister, das in Kombination mit dem übersichtlich gegliederten Inhaltsverzeichnis die Suche nach einschlägigen Themen erleichtert.

Die einzelnen Kapitel weisen einen einheitlichen Aufbau auf. Ausgegangen wird von der Kommunikationssituation und der Textfunktion, um über die Analyse der jeweiligen Textsortenstruktur zu den textsortenspezifischen sprachlichen Merkmalen überzugehen. Angewandt wird eine Top-down-Perspektive, die die Verwendung von spezifischen sprachlichen Mitteln aus ihrer Einbettung in die übergeordneten Kategorien Tätigkeitsbereich und Kommunikationsintention ableitet. Die traditionelle Auffassung von Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit wird außerdem durch die Unterscheidung von medialer und konzeptioneller Mündlichkeit bzw. Schriftlichkeit differenziert („Nähesprache“ und „Distanzsprache“) (17), was in den Analysen als eines der entscheidenden Kriterien für die Beurteilung der Angemessenheit der Sprachverwendung berücksichtigt wird. Dabei wird auch den Kombinationsvarianten Rechnung getragen, die durch neue elektronische Medien entstehen. Eingangs wird bei jeder für die Analyse ausgewählten Textsorte auch angeführt, welche Textsorten als verwandt betrachtet werden können bzw. welche Abgrenzungskriterien dabei gelten (z.B. Arztfragebogen vs. Formular). Es wird auf die funktionale Bündelung von Textsorten aufgrund unterschiedlicher Merkmale hingewiesen. So stellen die ausgewählten zwanzig Textsorten keine geschlossene Textsortenreihe dar, sondern ein offenes System, das im Hinblick auf Übergangsphänomene, unter Anwendung der praktizierten Analysemethode, zu weiteren Forschungen anregt.

In einer derartigen Studie kann man nicht einige theoretische, vor allem auch terminologische Fragen umgehen. An erster Stelle steht hier wohl das Problem der Texttypologie. Berührt wird der Begriff der „Hierarchisierung innerhalb eines Textsortenmodells“ (13) (Textklasse, Texttyp, Textart, Textmuster). Sinnvoll scheint auch die Verwendung des Begriffs „Kommunikationsform“ (25), die im Schnittpunkt zwischen funktionaler und medialer Varietät angesiedelt scheint (Werbebrief, Beschwerdebrief; Arztfragebogen, Fragebogen als Klasse). Bemerkenswert ist auch die Einführung der Begriffe „globale Textsorte“ und „Textgesamtverbund“, etwa im Zusammenhang mit der Textsorte Anzeige (14). Das Anliegen des Autors und der Autorin besteht jedoch nicht in erster Linie darin, diesen theoretischen Fragestellungen nachzugehen, sondern vielmehr, als Reaktion auf ein Desiderat der textgrammatischen Forschung, die einzelnen Textsorten auf empirischer Basis und in funktionaler Hinsicht mit Bezug auf den Einsatz typischer sprachlicher Mittel zu didaktisieren.

Das Buch untersucht recht unterschiedliche Textsorten. Diese Vielfalt rührt von der Berücksichtigung verschiedener sprachsystematischer und pragmatischer Faktoren her, unter anderem der Kommunikationssituation und der Medialität, der Textfunktionen und der davon abhängigen sprachlichen Ausgestaltung, und nicht zuletzt der didaktischen Perspektive, welche die rezeptive und produktive Textsortenrelevanz sowie ihre kontrastive und kulturelle Dimension einschließt. In dieser Menge von Textsorten aufgrund einer breit angelegten Systematik kommen auch Textsorten vor, die als „modern“ (23) angesehen werden (z.B. Audioguide). Jede der zwanzig Textsortenanalysen stützt sich ihrerseits auf ein repräsentatives Korpus.

Die einzelnen Textsorten sollen im Folgenden, dem Buchkonzept folgend, zusammenfassend umrissen werden.

Im ersten Unterkapitel werden Vorstellungstexte behandelt. Es geht um eine Fülle von dazugehörigen Textsorten mit zentraler wissensbereitstellender Funktion, die aufgrund verschiedener Kriterien ausdifferenziert werden kann. Oft bilden diese, in größere Kommunikationszusammenhänge eingebetteten Texte komplexe Geflechte (Textverbünde, Diskurse). Es wird auf die große Bandbreite rhetorischer Strategien aufmerksam gemacht, deren sich eine Person zu bedienen hat, wenn sie die „schwierige kommunikative Aufgabe“ (41), sich selbst in gutem Licht darzustellen, bewältigen will. Diese Strategien, die im Dienste einer phatischen und appellativ-werbenden Nebenfunktion stehen und sich auf das gesamte Spektrum der im Sprachsystem angelegten Ausdrucksmittel beziehen, werden an konkreten Textauszügen demonstriert. Aufschlussreich ist auch die als Sonderfall angehängte diskursive Erarbeitung einer Vorstellung anlässlich einer Partner-Such-Sendung im Hörfunk. Einzelne Sprachhandlungen (z.B. Fragetypen) werden detailliert analysiert, auch im Hinblick auf die Mehrfachadressiertheit und der damit verbundenen Aufhebung der Anonymität.

Reiseführer werden als typische Großtexte präsentiert, die aus nicht autonomen Subtextsorten bestehen, weil sie erst zusammen ein Funktionsganzes bilden.

Diese Subtextsorten sind Orientierungstexte und Besichtigungstexte (mit dominant informierender Funktion) sowie Ratgebertexte und Hintergrundtexte (in denen die informative Textfunktion von der instruktiven überlagert ist). Den Grundfunktionen einzelner Subtextsorten entsprechen die verwendeten Sprachmittel. In Orientierungstexten, die hauptsächlich Attraktionen herauszuheben haben, und in Besichtigungstexten, die Weg- und Objektbeschreibungen nahekommen (Nähe zu Audioguides), überwiegen Attribute und deren Sonderform Appositionen. Es handelt sich nicht nur um (häufig superlativische) adjektivische Attribute, sondern auch um pränukleare und postnukleare Attributerweiterungen. Wertende Substantive und adjektivische Prädikativkonstruktionen gehören ebenfalls nicht selten zum Kern der Aussagen. Eine wichtige Rolle spielt auch die Orientierung und Perspektivierung im Raum, besonders mithilfe deiktischer Ausdrücke, die einen gemeinsamen Origo-Ausgangspunkt der Produzenten und Rezipienten voraussetzen und somit sprachliche

Ökonomisierung ermöglichen. Typisch für diese Textsorte sind auch die Auflockerung durch sprachliche Exkurse und in den Fließtext integrierte visuelle Mittel, die der Heterogenität der Zielgruppe gerecht zu werden suchen.

Als dritte Textsorte im Korpus werden Audioguides als Texte der Kunstkommunikation unter die Lupe genommen, die in Audioguide-Führungen einen lebenden Führer ersetzen sollen. Fachsprachlich geprägt, werden sie hauptsächlich als schriftkonstituierte Textsorten mündlich realisiert, womit besondere Spezifika verbunden sind. Neben der dominanten informativen Textfunktion haben sie auch noch eine didaktische Funktion, die sich in den Teilhandlungen (dem mit dem Erzählen verwobenen) Beschreiben, Deuten, Erläutern und Bewerten niederschlagen. Vor dem Hintergrund der Hörererwartung spielen vor allem die folgenden sprachlichen Ausdrucksmittel eine zentrale Rolle: Attribute, Tempusgebrauch, deiktische Elemente zur räumlichen Orientierung, Referenzmittel des direkten Adressatenbezuges, rhetorische Fragen und Negationen („Erwartungsstopp", 85).

Lexikonartikel sind zwar in Lexika als Textverbünde integriert. Diese werden jedoch nicht als Großtextsorte aufgefasst wie etwa der Reiseführer, sondern der Lexikonartikel wird als autonome Textsorte verstanden, weil er als abgeschlossene kommunikative Einheit punktuell rezipiert wird. Lexikonartikel sind nach Fandrych und Thurmair „Fachtextsorten, die auf kondensierte Art als gesichert angesehene Fach- bzw. Sachinformation zu einem Stichwort angeben" (89). Kulturspezifisch wird mit der romanischen Tradition (Dreiteilung) verglichen, die Unterschiede zur Wikipedia und zum „Aktuellen Lexikon" (104) werden herausgearbeitet. Mediale und konzeptionelle Schriftlichkeit in klassischen Lexikonartikeln bedingen auch die Textstruktur (obligatorische und fakultative Texteinheiten bzw. Mikrotexte) und die Verwendung von Ausdrucksmitteln. Hauptsächlich definitorisch angesetzte Lemmata (genus proximum und differentia specifica) zeichnen sich aus durch Vermeidung von Pronomina in Referenzketten, sprachliche Verdichtung (verschiedene Formen des Nominalstils), Kürzungen (Majuskel-Initiale des Stichworts) und hohe Frequenz des Passivs für die Präsentierung des als „überindividuell" und „unstrittig" geltenden „Wissenssubstrats" (113), außerdem durch Variation der Vorfeldbesetzung, durch wenig Konnektoren, jedoch häufige Parenthesen und Ellipsen.

Leserbriefe werden in Fandrych/Thurmair als reaktive Texte vorgestellt, die meist kritische Stellungnahme zu Zeitungstexten aller Art nehmen können und mehrfach adressiert sind. Sie bestehen grundsätzlich aus drei Textschritten: dem Themenbezug, der Entfaltung des eigenen Standpunktes und dem Fazit. In diesem kommt die Schlussfolgerung zum Ausdruck, in der mit Hilfe von Argumentationsstrategien die eigene Position zu einem Thema oder Problem entwickelt wird. Diese Strategien werden an einzelnen Belegen und an einer exemplarischen textlinguistischen Analyse demonstriert. Als Basis gilt die meist stark emotional gefärbte Präsentierung eigener Erfahrungen als Verallgemeinerungsmodell. Anschaulich werden sprachliche Ausdrucksmittel aufgeführt, die argumentativ verwendet werden: Konnektoren, wie z.B. mehrteilige konzessive Konjunktionen (*zwar – aber*), adversative Konjunktionen und Konjunktionaladverbien (*doch*), konsekutives *daher*, rhetorische Fragen, Überindividualität signalisierende Pronomina, *als*-Appositionen, Nominalphrasen, Passiv und Passiversatzformen, Modalpartikeln, Modalwörter, Modalverben und Konjunktiv.

Obwohl aus vielen Diskussionsbeiträgen als Teiltexten bestehend, werden Diskussionsforen in Fandrych/Thurmair logischerweise als eine Textsorte betrachtet, die durch den Auf- und Ausbau des Internets aufgekommen ist und zwischen (der konzeptuellen) Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit angesiedelt ist. Sie ist durch einen hohen Grad der Responsivität gekennzeichnet. Durch Pseudonyme (Nicknames) gesicherte Anonymität („maskenartiges Verstellen“, 138) begünstigt eine ungehemmte Ausdrucksweise. Im Dienste der bewertenden, argumentativen und phatischen Textfunktion der Diskussionsforen (letztere findet man auch in Chats), stehen auch die sprachlichen Handlungen und die diese realisierenden sprachlichen Ausdruckmittel. In der auf Präsuppositionen zurückgehenden, „stark rhematisch orientierte/n/ kommunikative/n/ Ausrichtung“ (145) findet man eine Bandbreite von distanzsprachlichen und nähesprachlichen Formen vor: Diskurspartikeln, Adjazenzellipsen, Personaldeixis, Varietätenwechsel, Adressieren, Zitieren und Abweichungen von der orthographischen Norm.

Studienbewertungen gehören nach Fandrych/Thurmair zu einer größeren Gruppe von Textsorten mit dominanter bewertender Funktion. Bei Studienbewertungen ist die Studiensituation – anders als bei vergleichbaren Rezensionen und Gutachten – noch nicht vollendet (Möglichkeit der Handlungsvorschläge). Zu den sog. Bewertungstexten werden aber auch noch andere Textsorten gezählt, solche, die Produkte des Kulturbetriebs und Kunstereignisse zum Gegenstand haben sowie Expertisen, Schadensgutachten u.a.m.

Bewertungstexte sind funktional gesehen gleichermaßen informativ und bewertend. An mehreren Formulierungen und Textauszügen werden im vorliegenden Buch typische sprachliche Mittel, die die oben genannten Funktionen der Studienbewertungen umsetzen, präsentiert: Lexik der Bewertung, De-Agentivierung in Passivkonstruktionen und der Konjunktiv für die Angabe der „bessere/n/ Alternative“ (161).

Wetterberichte werden als formal vielfach visuell unterstützte Textsorte mit dominant informativer, aber auch latent instruktiver kommunikativer Funktion dargestellt. Sie kommen in verschiedenen Medien vor. Auch mündlich realisierte Wetterberichte sind schriftkonstituiert, die einzige Spur des Nähesprachlichen ist in der z.T. mit phatischer Funktion verbundenen Emotionalisierung und Personalisierung zu finden. In der DaF-Perspektive sind Wetterberichte relevant, weil sie eine typische rezeptive Textsorte sind, die über die thematisch bestimmte Hörererwartung die Hörverstehenskompetenz der Rezipienten fördert. Typische sprachliche Mittel sind rhematische Zuordnungen zu thematischen Setzungen über elliptische oder kopulative Prädikationen, der Komparativ, wenige Kohäsionsmittel, viele Kollokationen und meteorologische Termini.

Horoskope sind nach Fandrych/Thurmair stark strukturierte Texte, in denen (meist) anonyme Autoren einem breit gefächerten Rezipientenspektrum Wissen über die Zukunft bereitstellen (konstatierend-assertive Textfunktion) und daran Handlungsangebote anschließen (instruktive Funktion). Voraussagen müssen demnach sehr allgemein formuliert sein und Unangenehmes nach Möglichkeit meiden. An einigen Textbelegen wird im vorliegenden Buch erläutert, welche sprachlichen Handlungen und Mittel diesen Textfunktionen gerecht werden: Phraseologismen schaffen einerseits Nähe zum Leser und erlauben es zugleich, vage zu referieren. Bei den Tempusformen fällt vor allem die Verwendung des Futur I ins Auge, das die in der Zukunft liegenden Ereignisse als mehr oder weniger gewiss markiert.

Bedienungsanleitungen sind fachliche, meist schriftliche Texte, deren asymmetrische Kommunikationskonstellation aus einem Wissensvorsprung des Autoren hervorgeht. Ihre primär instruktive Funktion schlägt sich in ihrer starken Strukturierung (ikonische Verbindung zwischen Textprogression und den zu vollziehenden Handlungsschritten) und der sprachlichen Ausgestaltung nieder: direkte Aufforderungen, Verdichtung durch Nominalisierungen, lokale Verweise in der Text-Bild-Beziehung.

Ordnungen mit einer (häufig vermittels Paragraphen) stark durchgegliederten Textstruktur haben bindenden Charakter (dominante reglementierend-direktive Textfunktion mit drohenden Konsequenzen) und „stehen ... zwischen den Polen der juristischen Fachsprache und der Gemeinsprache“ (195). Ein manifestes Autoritätsgefälle kann zu „negative-face-Bedrohung“ (202) führen, was „ein auch kontrastiv schwieriges Thema“ (205) darstellt. Deshalb kombinieren sich mit den die direktive Textfunktion realisierenden Sprachhandlungen andere, abmildernde Verfahren mit obligativem (kommissivem), instruktivem, begründendem, emfehlendem, rechtfertigendem, appellativ-persuasivem, versprechendem, permissivem, suggestivem Charakter, je nach dem jeweiligen Adressatenkreis (z.B. Studentenwohnheim, Zoo, Bibliothek). Dass dieser Vielfalt nur ein reiches Spektrum an sprachlichen Mitteln aus dem semantischen Feld der Handlungsverpflichtung entsprechen kann, wird an vielen Textbelegen illustrativ dargstellt.

Arztfragebogen als standardisierte und personenbezogene Textsorte haben eine appellative und reglementierend-kontrollierende Funktion und, nachdem sie von Adressaten ausgefüllt worden sind (inhaltliche Vollständigkeit), eine konstatierend-assertierende Funktion. Die prototypischen Fragehandlungen werden in der Regel ökonomisch formuliert (keine expliziten Fragen). Auch das wird in der vorliegenden Studie aufgrund eines umfangreichen Korpus von Arztfragebogen dokumentiert.

Beschwerden und Reklamationen (letztere mit einem höheren Verbindlichkeitsgrad) kommen hauptsächlich als schriftliche Texte vor und sind nach Fandrych/Thurmair immer noch ein Desiderat der textgrammatischen Forschung. Mit ihrer Hilfe wird versucht, appellativ die Wiedergutmachung eines Verstoßes gegen allgemein gültige Verhaltensnormen oder eine korrektive Handlung (Reklamationen) vom Adressaten einzufordern. Textstrukturell steht dem Beschwerdeschreiben als Gegenstück ein Antwortschreiben gegenüber, in dem die zuständige Institution obligativ-phatisch die Kompensationsleistung in Aussicht stellt oder verweigert. Narrative und argumentative Textschritte werden im Werk an gut ausgewählten Textexemplaren erläutert. Ähnlich wie in Ordnungen kommt es darauf an, dass der an sich prekäre konfliktäre Sprachkontakt zwischen Produzent und Adressat angemessen ausformuliert wird („gesichtsbedrohende Handlungen“, 235). Hierzu werden abschwächende Sprachmittel der Indirektheitsstrategie (z.B. Fragesätze) eingesetzt. Hingewiesen wird auch auf didaktisch relevante interkulturelle Aspekte (Deutschland, England, USA, Japan).

Die Textsorte Anzeige ist ein Begriff, der „recht unterschiedliche Textsorten“ (239) mit dominant wissensbezogener, informativer Funktion umfasst, mit denen in der öffentlichen bzw. halböffentlichen Kommunikation über Ereignisse (z.B. Familienanzeigen) und Objekte (z.B. Kaufangebot) informiert wird. Subsidiäre (latente) Textfunktionen sind daher mit der expressiven, phatischen, appellativen, werbenden sowie persuasiven Intention (Werbeanzeigen als Sonderart) verbunden. Anzeigen sind einerseits stark strukturiert und formelhaft, die einzelnen (personenbezogenen) Anzeigetypen (z.B. Familienanzeigen, Kontaktanzeigen) weisen hingegen Durchbrechungen der Prototypizität auf. Diese der Selbstdarstellung dienenden funktionalen Abweichungen eröffnen einen Spielraum für individuelle sprachliche Kreativität, die sich in vielfältigen Mustervariationen manifestiert. Der diskursive Charakter der Anzeigen spiegelt sich in erwarteten Zuschriften wider. An ausgewählten Immobilienanzeigen werden deren Textstruktur und die textspezifischen sprachlichen Merkmale analysiert. Abschließend wird auf medial bedingte Veränderungen der sprachlichen Form von Immobilienanzeigen eingegangen.

Kummerkasten und Gewissensfragen sind zweigeteilte beratende Texte, die auf Antworten einer Autorität ausgerichtet sind: auf einen Handlungsplan für eine spezifische persönliche Problemlösung bzw. auf eine moralisch-ethische Beurteilung der Handelns des Ratsuchenden (beratend-moralisierende Textfunktion). An verschiedenen Textexemplaren werden morphosyntaktische sprachliche Merkmale dieser Textsorten analysiert (z.B. textuelle Rolle der Tempusformen, thematische und rhematische Pronominalisierung). Auf die spezifische Rolle der Internetforen mit ähnlichen Funktionen wird aufmerksam gemacht.

Tagebücher bestehen aus Einträgen (als Teiltexten) einer Person, die sich auf verschiedene Themen beziehen können, hauptsächlich aber, als persönliches Tagebuch im Eigenbezug, der expressiven Sinnfindung und dem Reflektieren des eigenen Erlebten dienen. Sie weisen eine explizite (oder implizite) chronologische Textarchitektur auf, deren Kohärenz durch die Identität des Autors gesichert ist. Die Spontaneität dieser Textsorte findet ihren Niederschlag auch in typischen sprachlichen Handlungen und Merkmalen, die in der Regel stark emotional gefärbt sind. Im vorliegenden Buch wird ein elliptischer Tagebuchtext tabellarisch präsentiert und es wird kommentiert, wie das Aufrufen von Handlungsszenarien die syntaktische Raffung begünstigt und nur rhematische Informationen verbalisieren lässt. Didaktisch interessant ist die Analyse von Lernertagebüchern, in medialer Hinsicht sind die Rückmeldungsmöglichkeiten und die hypertextuellen Einbindungen in Weblogs zu erwähnen.

Chats befinden sich als Textsorte „im Kontinuum zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit“ (284). Die medial schriftliche Kommunikation ist konzeptuell schriftlich, jedoch auch von Merkmalen der Mündlichkeit begleitet. Aus dieser Charakteristik und aus der Unterscheidung von moderierten und unmoderierten Chats lassen sich mit Fandrych/Thurmair auch ihre textfunktionalen und textstrukturellen Besonderheiten ableiten. Die Aufsplitterung kommunikativer Beiträge und parallele Entwicklungen mehrerer Themen erfordern eine rasche Rezeptionsreaktion und selektives Lesen, damit die häufig zu inferierende Kohärenz eines thematischen Stranges aufrechterhalten wird. Es können sich Online-Gemeinschaften bilden. An einer konkreten Textanalyse wird deutlich gemacht, welche – auch interkulturell bedingten – Verkomplizierungen in einem vielstimmigen interaktiven Ereignis aufkommen können. Es werden Parameter aufgezeigt, die aus der Überlagerung der geschriebenen Sprache durch die konzeptuelle Mündlichkeit hervorgehen und die sprachliche Spezifik der Chatkommunikation prägen, u.a. Pseudonyme, Smileys und Akronyme, nähesprachliche Formen, von denen vor allem umgangssprachliche Lexik, Duzen, Verletzungen orthographischer und grammatischer Normen (Ellipsenanfälligkeit) sowie emotional geprägte metakommunikative Kommentare zum eigenen Handeln auffallen.

Kondolenztexte haben eine expressiv-phatische Funktion, indem der Autor bzw. die Autorin im privaten oder institutionellen Rahmen ihre Anteilnahme und Empathie für die Adressaten als Reaktion auf außergewöhnliche tragische Ereignisse zum Ausdruck bringen. Diese bevorzugt im schriftlichen Medium produzierte Textsorte unterliegt Konventionen und weist relativ starke Formelhaftigkeit auf (mit Ausnahme der digitalen Kondolenztexte). In einer exemplarischen Analyse zweier Kondolenzschreiben werden im Buch die vier prototypischen Textschritte kommentiert, in Zusammenhang damit werden die textsortespezifischen sprachlichen Merkmale hinterfragt (etwa der Konjunktiv I im Textschritt Wünsche oder das Futur im Textschritt Würdigung).

Mit den Kondolenztexten haben die in ihrer Entwicklung ebenfalls kulturhistorisch geprägten Glückwunschtexte gemeinsam, dass sie die Textproduzenten an Emotionen der Rezipienten anlässlich der für diese außergewöhnlichen Ereignisse, die allerdings positiv sind und deren Anlass nicht öffentlich kommuniziert werden muss, partizipieren lassen und somit sowohl die expressive als auch die phatische Funktion erfüllen. Sie sind außerdem genauso wie die Kondolenztexte stark konventionalisiert (obligatorische und fakultative Textschritte) und zur Sicherung der unzweifelhaften Performativität (bis auf den Textschritt Würdigung) streng formelhaft. Sie weisen jedoch auch die sog. „verschobene" (319) Textfunktion auf, bei der die primäre expressiv-phatische Funktion von einer sekundären wissensbereitstellenden (politischer Diskurs) oder werbenden (Promotionsabsichten) Funktion überlagert wird.

Als letztes werden sprachspielerische Kurzformen präsentiert, nach Fandrych/Thurmair ein Texttyp, dem Exemplare unterschiedlicher kleinerer Textsorten (z.B. Witz, poetische Gattungen, Sprüche) mit verschiedenen kommunikativen Funktionen wie unterhaltend-spielerischer, expressiver, poetisch-ästhetischer, kontaktiver, manchmal auch appellativer Funktion angehören. Das sind fiktional geprägte, „(sprach-)kreative" (320) Texte, die meist aufgrund verschiedener Ambiguitäten nicht selten einen komischen Effekt hervorrufen, durch Verletzungen der Normen zur Sprachreflexion anregen und somit eine große auch fremdsprachendidaktische Relevanz besitzen. Das spezifische, intendierte oder nicht-intendierte kommunikative Verfahren Sprachspiel, das diesen Texten zugrunde liegt, kann auf unterschiedlichen sprachlichen Ebenen (phonetisch, orthographisch, morphosyntaktisch, semantisch, stilistisch, pragmatisch) erzielt werden. Verwendete sprachliche Merkmale zeichnen sich durch eine nahezu unbegrenzte Variabilität aus und sind auch rezeptiv von Bedeutung (etwa auf die Pointe abzielende konventionell strukturierte Rezeptionssteuerung in Witzen; Diskursivität von Graffiti).

Das besprochene Buch ist exakt und konzis konzipiert und auch dank klarer Terminologie verständlich geschrieben. Überzeugend ist darin das Postulat, sowohl die morphosyntaktischen als auch die textgrammatischen Themen nicht in traditioneller Weise aufgrund ähnlicher Bedeutungen durch „ die üblichen kontext-, situations- und textsortenfreien Umformungsübungen“ einzuüben, die sich aus beliebig gewählten Texten als „Reservoirs“ (352) für verschiedene Strukturen speisen, sondern in ihrer funktionalen Textsortenabhängigkeit empirisch zu hinterfragen. Ansätze zu einer solchen Darstellung von kommunikativer und funktionaler Eingespanntheit von sprachlichen Mitteln finden sich auch schon in anderen Werken (z.B. Schmidt W. et al., Funktional-kommunikative Sprachbeschreibung, Leipzig 1981), im vorliegenden Buch ist diese Herangehensweise jedoch tiefer greifend und komplexer erarbeitet. Dadurch eröffnet es als eine Art Herausforderung das Forschungspotential, sich auf umgekehrtem Weg, in einer Bottom-up-Perspektive, an „eine Grammatik an Textsorten“ (23) zu wagen. Die linguistischen Analysen „Textsorten im Deutschen“ von Christian Fandrych und Maria Thurmair sind nützlich für jeden deutschen Muttersprachler und unentbehrlich für jeden, der seine nicht-muttersprachliche Kompetenz perfektionieren will.

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TO DUŠAN ČOP FOR HIS 90TH BIRTHDAY
Devetdeset let Dušana Čopa

Romanist, germanist in imenoslovec dr. Dušan Čop je lani praznoval visok življenjski jubilej. Rojen je bil v Spodnjih Gorjah pri Bledu 14. 9. 1921. Diplomiral je l. 1948 iz angleškega jezika in romanistike na Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani, kjer je od 1960 do 1986 predaval specialno metodiko pouka germanskih in romanskih jezikov. Pred tem je od 1945 do 1957 na gimnaziji Jesenice poučeval angleški, francoski in latinski jezik, od 1957 do 1971 pa na treh ljubljanskih gimnazijah angleški, francoski in nemški jezik.

Svoje raziskovalne moči je namenil slovenskemu imenoslovju. Predmet njegovega znanstvenega zanimanja so gorska, vodna, krajevna, ledinska in hišna imena, pa tudi priimki slovenskega alpskega območja na Gorenjskem in Koroškem. V svojem znanstvenem delu je aktivno uporabljal metodo terenskega dialektološkega dela ob opiranju na stare pisane vire in načela primerjalnega jezikoslovja. Leta 1983 je dokončal doktorsko disertacijo Imenoslovje zgornjesavskih dolin, ki jo je uspešno zagovarjal maja 1985 na Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani pri akad. Francetu Bezlaju.

V eni svojih prvih imenoslovnih objav, Quosque tandem? (Jezik in slovstvo 1965), je prof. Čop na primeru cele vrste zemljepisnih imen polemiziral z diletantskimi imenoslovci, ki ne upoštevajo jezikoslovnih zakonitosti in historičnih zapisov, pač pa na podlagi glasovnih podobnosti prihajajo do popolnoma nemogočih razlag. Tu je prišlo do izraza tudi Čopovo brezkompromisno nasprotovanje različnim avtohtonističnim (keltološkim, venetološkim in drugim) teorijam in razlagam, ki jih med Slovenci srečujemo že od 19. stol. dalje in so s slovensko osamosvojitvijo doživele nov, dotlej nesluten razmah in družbeni vpliv.

V treh številkah Onomastice Jugoslavice, glasila Medakademskega odbora za onomastiko SFRJ pri Jugoslovanski akademiji znanosti in umetnosti, in v Zborniku referatov s Četrte jugoslovanske onomastične konference (Portorož 1981) je v letih od 1975 do 1981 objavil pet svojih imenoslovnih razprav, v katerih je razkril poglavitne teme, predvsem pa metodo svojega imenoslovnega raziskovalnega dela. Najprej je na primeru slovenskih krajevnih imen in priimkov na Koroškem opozoril na posebnosti, ki se pojavljajo pri jezikih v stiku, potem pa je na podlagi terenskih narečnih raziskav in arhivskih listin, od urbarjev do matičnih knjig, katastrskih in geodetskih zemljevidov, sistematično raziskal zemljepisna in hišna imena na Zgornjem Gorenjskem. Na podlagi disertacije je v letih med 1987 in 2007 nastalo več znanstvenih objav v lokalnih zbornikih (v Bohinju, Radovljici, na Jesenicah, v Kropi, Žirovnici, na Bledu in v Begunjah), morda najodmevnejša pa je bila razprava o romansko-germanskih jezikovnih vplivih na Zgornjem Gorenjskem, ki je izšla v Zborniku predavanj XXIII. seminarja za slovenski jezik, literaturo in kulturo na Filozofski fakulteti l. 1987. V avstrijski reviji Österreichische Namenforschung je l. 1998 izšla njegova razprava o romanskem vplivu na imenoslovje severozahodne Slovenije. Za enciklopedijo Słowiańska onomastyka, ki je v dveh zvezkih izšla na Poljskem v letih 2002–2003, je prispeval izčrpen pregled spoznanj o slovenskih gorskih, ledinskih in vodnih imenih. Domači javnosti so vsi slovenski prispevki iz te pomembne publikacije postali dostopnejši l. 2002 s posebno številko Jezikoslovnih zapiskov pod skupnim naslovom Slovensko imenoslovje.

Dušan Čop je širši javnosti postal znan tudi kot avtor več poljudnoznanstvenih besedil o metodoloških vprašanjih imenoslovja, ki so izšle v revijah Jezik in slovstvo, Prostor in čas in Skaleras. Za jezikovni priročnik Slovenska krajevna imena (1985) je prispeval jezikovno obdelano gradivo (onaglašena imena, rodilniške in mestniške oblike, pridevniške in stanovniške izpeljanke, morebitne drugačne lokalne oblike) za vsa krajevna imena v nekdanjih občinah Jesenice in Radovljica. Primerjava s Krajevnim leksikonom Slovenije (1. knjiga, Ljubljana 1968) pokaže, kako pomembno je, da o imenskih oblikah na terenu sprašuje jezikoslovec-imenoslovec, kajti v nasprotnem primeru prihaja izpraševalec pogosto do pomanjkljivih ali celo napačnih podatkov.

Dr. Čop v svojih razpravah zagovarja mišljenje, da je treba pri zapisovanju zemljepisnih imen izhajati iz žive rabe in jih poknjiževati samo na glasoslovni ravni. Pri obravnavi zemljepisnih imen na avstrijskem Koroškem je večkrat pokazal, kako pomembno je pri etimologizaciji poznavanje narečnih posebnosti, in ovrgel kar nekaj razlag vidnega koroškega jezikoslovca E. Kranzmayerja. Podobno, le še z večjo natančnostjo in z izvrstnim poznavanjem gorenjskih narečnih pojavov, je prikazal tvorbo zemljepisnih imen na Gorenjskem. V uvodu k svoji žal neobjavljeni disertaciji pravi, da je vsako ime raziskoval do podrobnosti na kraju samem in vsakega od krajev na obravnavanem območju večkrat obiskal. Pri tem je zbiral tudi rastlinska imena, imena orodij, hišnih delov in občnoimensko leksiko nasploh. V članku O rastlinskih imenih na Gorenjskem je Čop izrazil mnenje, da je prav izjemna raznolikost ljudskih imen rastlin »dokaz, kako bogat je besedni zaklad naših narečij«, in pristavil, »da bi morali biti naši jezikoslovci v tesnejšem stiku z ljudmi« (Jezik in slovstvo, 1997). Obsežno jezikovno gradivo, ki ga je dr. Čop zbral med svojim terenskim delom in ga v disertaciji še ni pritegnil, bo z leti še bolj pridobilo na vrednosti, saj število dobrih poznavalcev lokalnih govorov naglo kopni.

V svoji disertaciji je Čop med drugim etimologiziral ime planote *Mežakla*, nar. *Məžâkwa*, iz apel. *məžə̏k* ‘mlad ali nedorasel medved’, prim. priimek *Mežek*. Na podlagi analize lokalnih govorov je ugotovil, da se je v imenu vsebovano priponsko obrazilo -*lja* na širšem območju okrog Mežakle pogosto razvilo v -*la*, kar je po gorenjskem švapanju dalo *Mežakwa* nam. pričakovanega *Mežakla*, podobno kot *žę̂mwa* (nem. Semmel) nam. *žemla* (prim. priimek *Žemva*). Zelo pogost pojav v gorenjskih govorih je metateza. Čop med drugim navaja apelativ *məstədrǫ̀nt* ‘ministrant’ (po disimilaciji *mədəstrǫ̀nt*), med toponimi pa *Kupljénik* z metateziranimi historičnimi zapisi *Puklenik*, *Poklenik* iz let 1431 in 1511. Ime izvaja iz trpnega deležnika *kupljen* in navaja krajevno izročilo, da je bil svet, na katerem stoji vas, kupljen od selške srenje (Selo pri Bledu). Narečno se kraj danes imenuje tudi *Kl̥pênk* (metateza -*pl*- > -*lp*-) in celo *Kl̥plênk*.

Ena od oblikoslovnih posebnosti obravnavanega območja je nevtralizacija spola v množini (izguba moškega in ženskega spola v korist srednjega), npr. »tíste skâla« (Moste), »ta n've hîša« (Rodine), gorsko ime *Jesenîške rǫ̂ta* (Jesenice), ledinsko ime *Mâle Dę̂wa* (Begunje), narečno *Garjûša* za toponim *Gorjuše* (Češnjica v Bohinju), ledinsko ime *Lę́pe kopíša* (Pokljuka).

Zanimivi arhaizmi so se ohranili v ledinskih imenih, npr. *na Sebę̂bŗje* v Poljšici pri Podnartu (iz antroponima *Sebebor), in v hišnih imenih, npr. *pŗ Svetógei̯* v Hlebcah (iz antroponima *Svetogoj).

Čop nam je sporočil tudi izjemno zanimiv leksikalni prežitek, ki se je na Gorenjskem ohranil vse do 1. svetovne vojne, ko je tam še bilo mogoče slišati v očenašu: »... in ne vpelji nas v *nápast*!« (Imenoslovje Bleda skozi zgodovino, Bled 1000 let: Blejski zbornik 2004). Besedo *napast* sicer najdemo v pomenu 'nesreča' že pri Trubarju, v pomenu 'skušnjava' pa jo poznata tako Gutsman kot Vodnik, toda njena uporaba v očenašu doslej v slovenskih virih menda še ni bila izpričana. Znano je tudi geslo *Bog obvari napasti* (*Wog owarj Napaſtj*) ljubljanskega viteza Viljema Praunspergerja, izpisano na upodobitvi dvoboja iz leta 1544 in objavljeno v Turnirski knjigi Gašperja Lambergerja (objava Dušana Kosa 1997), vendar v tem primeru ni povsem nedvoumno, v katerem pomenu je beseda uporabljena.

Aktivno znanje tujih jezikov je za prof. Čopa vrednota sama po sebi, zato je bil v življenju resnično poklican, da to znanje posreduje dijakom in študentom, pri dialektološko-onomastičnih raziskavah pa mu je še posebej koristilo. Sam prof. Čopa v času svojega študija še nisem poznal, pač pa sem ga imel priložnost nekajkrat poslušati kot predavatelja v Lingvističnem krožku Filozofske fakultete. Njegovi iskrivi predavateljski nastopi so bili presenetljivo dinamični in so minili kot v transu: stresal je jezikovne podatke iz rokava, z žarom in včasih z nekim hudomušnim pridihom razkrival skrivnosti narečnih glasovnih razvojev gorenjskih zemljepisnih imen in se posrečeno jezil nad diletantskimi razlagalci. Želimo mu, da ga bogastvo jezikov, ki jih obvlada, in morje lastnih imen, v katerem suvereno plava, še dolgo miselno zaposlujeta, vedrita in spodbujata.

Silvo Torkar
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