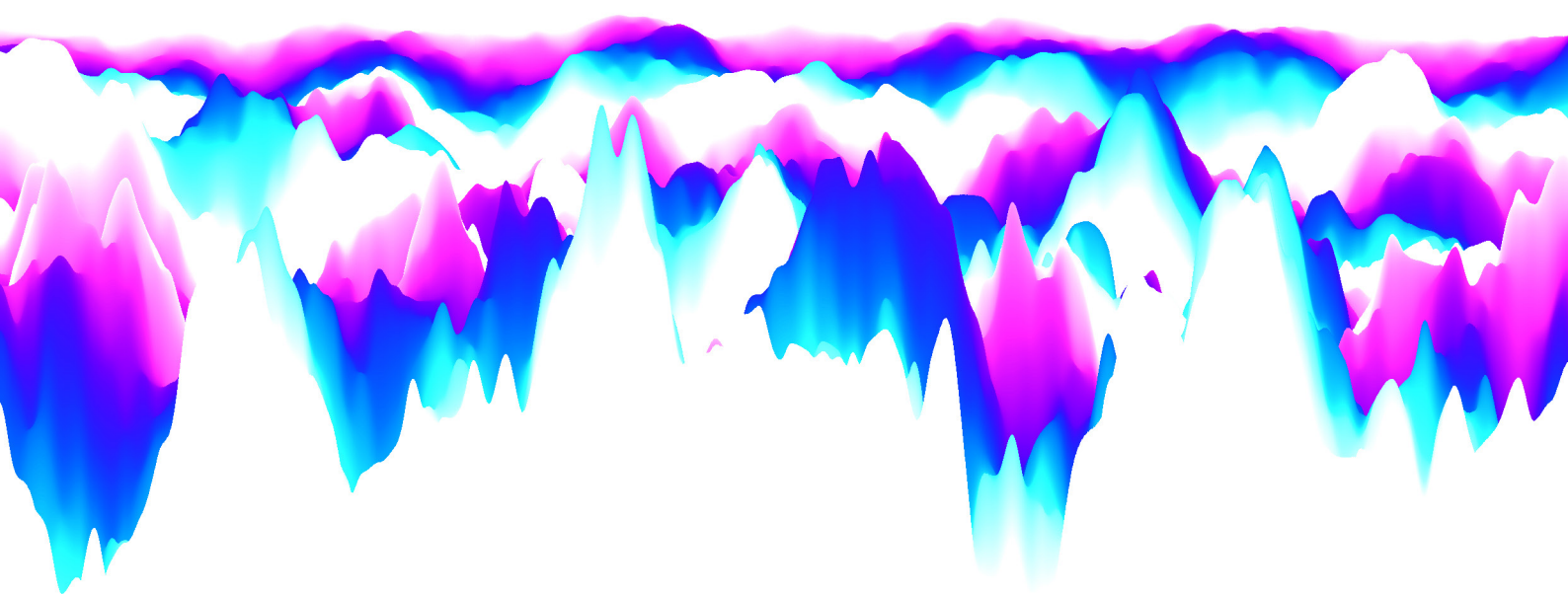


colloquium: **new** philologies



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Introduction

The Editors*

The word *colloquium* is interpreted as “discussion, interview, meeting, parley, conversation”, and these terms already contain the essence of what this journal is about: We would like to provide a multilingual (virtual) space for academic voices from different backgrounds to encounter each other, exchange ideas and experiences, negotiate theories and critical approaches in a process of communication and transformation that extends beyond the immediate participants, and that reverberates in the groups and societies that form its context. As an Open Access journal, Colloquium: New Philologies is freely available to everyone, and this is also to be understood as a statement inviting and supporting a concept of open, participatory, and free science transcending the limits of disciplines, cultures, and languages.

Founded in the Alps-Adriatic region, gifted and haunted alike by its very special historical and sociocultural situation as the point of intersection between Germanic, Romance, and Slavic cultures, this mission is rooted in the experiences of generations of the local population that had to navigate between various linguistic, cultural, and political systems as part of their everyday lives. Meeting, conversation and fair exchange have been crucial to overcoming existing boundaries, and this is why Colloquium: New Philologies aims at promoting these experiences academically. The conversation facilitated by the journal takes place on three levels, that also serve as a structural principle: *Perspectives*, where essays and opinion pieces open up new points of view and approaches following the spirit of rethinking the traditional into new philologies; *Discourses*, which present and clarify positions in academic debate; and *Results*, a forum for professional, academic papers that are published in a double blind, peer-reviewed process.

All of this contributes to the endeavor of establishing Colloquium: New Philologies on the critical and scientific radar, bringing together the traditional disciplines of linguistics, literary studies, and cultural studies in a polymorphous and polyphonous school of thinking, acting, and doing as well as communicating research.

* Cristina Beretta, Nikola Dobrić, Angela Fabris, Doris Moser, René Reinhold Schalleger, Jürgen Struger, Peter Svetina, Giorgio Ziffer

Within the traditional discipline of linguistics, contributions focusing mainly on sociolinguistics and critical analysis are invited. In particular, we encourage empirical research such as corpus-based studies, historical linguistics, and field linguistics contributions. In terms of the more applied branches of this traditional discipline, we welcome papers concentrating on language testing and teaching and innovative methodology in applied linguistics.

The traditional disciplines of literary studies, and cultural studies on a thematic level invite contributions that thematise and critically discuss border experiences and in-between states, including reflections on the nature and functions of frontiers and boundaries, third spaces, hybridity, the other, the self, and the opportunities they offer for the construction of identities as well as queer and transgender, trans- and posthumanist, inter- and transcultural discourses. Another focus of the journal seen through these two disciplines is on processes of disintegration and reconstitution, of emancipation and transformation. The dia- and plurilogical idea of the colloquium is understood by us to be a constructive and creative alternative to Empire and its destructive and restrictive hegemonial monologues. It is about speaking with each other, not at each other. It is about responsible, multilateral participation, not im- or explicitly violent, unilateral victimisation. This opens up the fields of Post-Colonial discourses, or even Post-Imperial ones, but also reaches beyond that towards new concepts of language, signification, and meaning-making in general.

Finally, as environments are linguistically classified in different ways, both culturally and cognitively, understanding the various experiences that influence these classifications is crucial for us to be able to account for the different modes of the human condition expressed by language that socially constructs us. The focus on different voices we speak in, different discourses formed by our cultural environments, and expanding into all possible experiences we are privileged to live through, will give us a unique insight into the language properties defining each of the codes we possess and use. As an online Open Access journal, we take our mission from the conceptual and thematic even into the formal dimension of media. We invite contributions not only as texts, but also audio, video, or multimedial artefacts to open up new spaces of experience on an intellectual as well as sensual level. While language is an essential tool for conversation, cultural and technological changes have affected the ways we connect to each other and how we develop and transform ideas, as new channels have been added to the creation and exchange of meaning.

Das Wort *Kolloquium* wird als „Diskussion, Gespräch, Zusammenkunft, Unterredung, Konversation“ interpretiert, und diese Begriffe enthalten bereits die Essenz dessen, womit sich diese Zeitschrift befasst, und zwar: Wir möchten einen mehrsprachigen (virtuellen) Raum für wissenschaftliche Stimmen mit verschiedenen Hintergründen bieten, einen Anlaufpunkt für den Austausch von Ideen und Erfahrungen, wo Theorien und kritische Ansätze diskutiert werden können, in einem Prozess der Kommunikation und Transformation, die über die unmittelbaren Teilnehmer hinaus-

wachsen, und durch die kontextbildenden Gruppen und Gesellschaften nachhallen. Als Open-Access-Zeitschrift ist Colloquium: New Philologies für alle frei zugänglich, und dies sollte auch als Einladung verstanden werden, das Konzept der offenen, partizipativen und freien Wissenschaft zu unterstützen, die Grenzen von Disziplinen, Kulturen und Sprachen überschreitet.

Gegründet in der Alpen-Adria-Region, unter dem Segen und Fluch einer ganz besonderen historischen und soziokulturellen Situation, ist diese Mission als Schnittpunkt zwischen germanischen, romanischen und slawischen Kulturen, in den Erfahrungen von Generationen der lokalen Bevölkerung verwurzelt, und nimmt sich vor, zwischen den verschiedenen sprachlichen, kulturellen und politischen Systemen als Teil ihres täglichen Lebens zu navigieren. Treffen, Gespräche und fairer Austausch waren entscheidend für die Überwindung der bestehenden Grenzen, und deshalb zielt Colloquium darauf, diese Erfahrungen akademisch zu fördern. Das Gespräch im Rahmen der Fachzeitschrift erfolgt auf drei Ebenen, die auch als Strukturprinzip dienen: *Perspektiven*, in denen Aufsätze und Stellungnahmen neue Sichtweisen eröffnen und Ansätze im Geist des Überdenkens der traditionellen in Richtung neuer Philologien ihren Platz finden; *Diskurse*, die Positionen in der akademischen Debatte präsentieren sowie klären; und *Ergebnisse*, ein Forum für professionelle, wissenschaftliche Arbeiten, die in einem doppelblinden, Peer-Review-Verfahren veröffentlicht werden.

All dies trägt dem Bestreben bei, die Neuen Philologien unter den kritischen und wissenschaftlichen Radar zu bringen, die traditionellen Disziplinen der Sprach-, Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaften in einer polymorphen und polyphonen Schule des Denkens, Handelns und Tuns zusammen zu führen sowie eine kommunizierende Forschung zu ermöglichen.

Innerhalb der traditionellen Disziplin der Sprachwissenschaft sind Beiträge mit Schwerpunkt auf Soziolinguistik und kritischer Analyse willkommen. Insbesondere ermutigen wir empirische Forschung wie korpusbasierte Studien, sprachgeschichtliche und sprachwissenschaftliche Feldforschungsbeiträge. Im Hinblick auf die eher angewandten Zweige dieser traditionellen Disziplin, laden wir Arbeiten, die sich auf Sprachprüfungen und -unterricht sowie innovative Methoden in der angewandten Linguistik fokussieren ein.

Die traditionellen Disziplinen der Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaften heißen über eine thematische Ebene Beiträge willkommen, die Grenzerfahrungen und Zwischenzustände thematisieren und kritisch diskutieren, einschließlich der Reflexionen über die Natur und die Funktionen der Grenzen, Schwellenphänomene, dritten Räume, Hybridität, des Anderen, des Selbst, und die Möglichkeiten, die sie für die Konstruktion von Identitäten, sowie queer und transgener, trans- und posthumanistische, inter- und transkulturelle Diskurse bieten. Ein weiterer Schwerpunkt der Zeitschrift durch diese beiden Disziplinen betrachtet, liegt auf Prozessen der Desintegration und Rekonstitution, der Emanzipation und Transformation. Unter der Idee des dia- und pluralistischen Kolloquiums verstehen wir eine konstruktive und kreative Alternative zum Imperialismus und seiner zerstörerischen und restriktiven hegemonialen Monologe. Es geht um das

miteinander sprechen, nicht gegen einander. Es geht um eine verantwortliche, multilaterale Beteiligung, nicht um implizit oder explizit gewalttätige, einseitige Viktimisierung. Dies eröffnet die Bereiche der Postkolonialen Diskurse oder sogar der Postimperialistischen, erstreckt sich jedoch darüber hinaus auf neue Konzepte der Sprache, Bedeutung und Bedeutungskonstruktion im Allgemeinen.

Schließlich ist von entscheidender Bedeutung, wie Umgebungen sprachlich auf unterschiedliche Weise klassifiziert werden, sowohl kulturell als auch kognitiv; weiters ist für uns das Verständnis der verschiedenen Erfahrungen, die diese Klassifikationen beeinflussen, essenziell, um in der Lage zu sein, die verschiedenen Arten des menschlichen Daseins in der Sprache, die uns sozial konstruiert, wiedergegeben, zu erfassen. Der Fokus auf die verschiedenen Stimmen in denen wir sprechen, die von unseren kulturellen Umgebungen geformten unterschiedlichen Diskurse, und ihre Ausbreitung in allen möglichen Erfahrungen, die wir das Privileg haben, zu durchleben, wird uns einen einzigartigen Einblick in die Spracheigenschaften geben, die alle Codes, die wir besitzen und verwenden, definieren.

Als eine Online-Open-Access-Zeitschrift, nehmen wir unsere Mission von der konzeptionellen und thematischen und bringen sie auch in die formelle Dimension der Medien hinüber.

Wir laden nicht nur Beiträge in Textform ein, sondern auch Audio-, Video- oder multimediale Artefakte, um neue Erfahrungsräume auf einer intellektuellen sowie sinnlichen Ebene zu eröffnen. Während die Sprache ein wesentliches Instrument für Gespräche ist, haben kulturelle und technologische Veränderungen, die Möglichkeiten, wie wir uns miteinander verbinden, beeinflusst und dementsprechend auch wie wir Ideen entwickeln und transformieren, da neue Kanäle für die Schaffung und den Austausch von Bedeutung aufgenommen worden sind.

La parola *Colloquium* può essere compresa come „discussione, colloquio, appuntamento, trattativa, conversazione“ e questi termini contengono già l'essenza di questa rivista: vorremmo consentire uno spazio multilingue (virtuale) per le voci accademiche di diverse origini in cui potrebbero incontrarsi, scambiare idee e esperienze, in cui si discute sulle teorie e sugli approcci critici nel processo di comunicazione e di trasformazione che si estende al di là dei suoi attuali partecipanti, avente l'eco nei gruppi e nelle società che creano il contesto. Come una rivista aperta, *Colloquium: New Philologies* è gratuita e a disposizione di tutti, invitando e sostenendo così la scienza aperta e gratuita, che dà appoggio alle partecipazioni e supera i limiti delle discipline, culture e lingue.

Fondata nell'area alpino-adriatica, altrettanto benedetta e maledetta con la sua situazione specifica storica e socio-culturale, all'incrocio delle culture germaniche, romanze e slave, questa missione trova le proprie radici nelle esperienze delle generazioni della popolazione locale, che hanno dovuto cercare la propria strada tra vari sistemi linguistici, culturali e politici, che facevano parte della loro quotidianità. Appuntamenti, conversazioni e uno scambio fair erano di importanza essenziale per superare i limiti esistenti

e perciò lo scopo di Colloquium è la promozione accademica di tali esperienze. Il colloquio suscitato da questa rivista si svolge a tre livelli, che hanno funzione di principi strutturali: *Prospettive*, in cui i saggi e le colonne aprono i nuovi punti di vista e di approcci, seguendo lo spirito di riconcezione delle filologie tradizionali in quelle nuove; *Discorsi*, che rappresentano e spiegano le posizioni nel dibattito accademico e *Risultati*, un forum per le opere professionali ed accademiche, che sono pubblicate tramite un processo doppio-cieco della recensione dei colleghi dallo stesso settore.

Tutto ciò contribuisce allo sforzo dell'istituzione di nuove filologie come un radar critico e scientifico, che unisce le discipline tradizionali della linguistica, letteratura e studi culturali in una scuola polifonica e polimorfica di riflessioni, azioni e ricerche che vengono trasmesse ad altri. All'interno della linguistica tradizionale sono benvenuti i contributi che si concentrano di solito sull'analisi sociolinguistica e critica. Vengono particolarmente incoraggiate le ricerche empiriche come gli studi dei corpora, linguistica storica e linguistica sul campo. Per quanto concerne i rami applicati di questa disciplina tradizionale, allora si tratta delle opere che si concentrano sulla verifica e sull'insegnamento delle lingue e sui metodi innovativi nella linguistica applicata.

Se si tratta delle discipline tradizionali di letteratura e di studi culturali, sul livello tematico sono benvenuti i contributi che tematizzano le esperienze limite e stati intermedi, includendoci le riflessioni sulla natura e sulla funzione dei limiti e limitazioni, terzi spazi, ibridità ed alterità, sé stessi ed opportunità offerte per la costruzione dell'identità ed anche i discorsi queer, transessuali, transumanistici e postumanistici, interculturali e transculturali, discutendo criticamente di tutti. Un altro focus del giornale visto attraverso queste due discipline riguarda i processi di disintegrazione e ricostruzione, emancipazione e trasformazione. L'idea dialogica e plurilogica di Colloquium la comprendiamo come un'alternativa costruttiva e creativa all'Impero e ai suoi monologhi egemonici, distruttivi e restrittivi. Vuol dire che stiamo veramente conversando invece di parlare gli uni agli altri senza ascoltare. Si tratta di una partecipazione responsabile e multilaterale e non di una vittimizzazione violenta ed unilaterale, sia implicita che esplicita. Ciò apre il campo del discorso post-coloniale e perfino quello post-imperiale, ma estendendosi anche al di fuori verso i nuovi concetti della lingua, dell'importanza e del raggiungimento del significato in genere.

Alla fine, siccome gli ambienti sono stati classificati linguisticamente in diversi modi, sia culturalmente che cognitivamente, la comprensione di diverse esperienze che influenzano tali classificazioni sono di cruciale importanza affinché possiamo tenere conto di diverse forme dello stato umano espresse con una lingua che ci costituisce dal punto di vista sociale. La concentrazione sulle voci diverse con cui parliamo, sui discorsi diversi creati dal nostro ambiente culturale e la diffusione in tutte le esperienze possibili che abbiamo l'opportunità di sperimentare, ci daranno una visione unica alle caratteristiche della lingua che definiscono ciascuno dei codici che abbiamo in possesso e che usiamo.

Essendo una rivista aperta, la nostra missione passa dalla dimensione concettuale ed anche tematica alla dimensione formale dei media. Incoraggiamo i contributi non solo

in forma testuale ma anche le registrazioni audio, video o multimediali ai fini di aprire i nuovi spazi dell'esperienza al livello intellettuale nonché a livello dei sensi.

La lingua è ancora uno strumento essenziale per il colloquio, però i cambiamenti culturali e tecnologici hanno influenzato il modo in cui ci relazioniamo e in cui sviluppiamo e scambiamo le idee, essendo stati aggiunti i nuovi canali per la creazione e lo scambio dei significati.

СЛОВО КОЛЛОКВИУМ можно понять как «обсуждение, разговор, собрание, переговоры, конверсация», и в данных терминах уже содержится суть этого журнала: нам хотелось бы предоставить возможность пользования многоязычным (виртуальным) пространством, в котором могли бы встречаться академические голоса различного происхождения, ради обсуждения теорий и критических подходов в процессе коммуникации и трансформации, распространяющихся дальше их временных участников, а также имеющих отклика в группах и в обществах, создающих контекст. Поскольку этот журнал открытого типа, он доступен всем, и тем самым является приглашением и поддержкой бесплатной науке, поддерживающей участие и преодолевающей ограничения дисциплин, культур и языков.

Концепция этой миссии сформировалась в альпийско-адриатической области, в то же время и благословенной и проклятой своей особенной исторической и социально-культурной ситуацией, на распутье германских, романских и славянских культур. Корни миссии находим в опытах генераций местной популяции, которым надо было найти свой путь среди разных лингвистических, культурных и политических систем, являющихся частью их повседневности. Собрания, разговоры и равноправный обмен имели важнейшее значение для преодоления существующих границ, и поэтому целью Коллоквиума является именно промоция этого опыта. Разговор, инициированный данным журналом, осуществляется на трех уровнях, также имеющих роль структурных принципов: *Перспективы*, где эссе и колонки раскрывают новые точки зрения и подходы, следуя за новым осмыслением традиционных филологий; *Дискурсы*, представляющие и объясняющие позиции в академической дискуссии, и *Результаты*, форум для профессиональных, академических работ, опубликованных путем двойного слепого процесса рецензии коллег из одной и той же области.

Все это вносит свой вклад в попытки создать новые филологии в роли критического и научного радара, связывающего традиционные дисциплины лингвистики, литературы и культурологии в полиморфную и полифоническую школу размышления, действия и исследования, в дальнейшем передающихся другим. В рамках традиционной лингвистики приветствуются вложения, в основном фокусирующиеся на социолингвистический и критический анализы. Особенно поощряются эмпирические исследования, такие как корпусные студии, историческая лингвистика и полевая лингвистика. Если речь идет о прикладных

уровнях этой традиционной дисциплины, то можно говорить о работах, направленных на проверку и обучение языку и на инновационные методы в прикладной лингвистике.

Если речь идет о традиционных дисциплинах литературы и культурологии, на тематическом уровне важным считаются вклады, направленные на граничные опыты и межсостояния, включая также и размышления о природе и функции границ и ограничений, о третьих пространствах, гибридности и возможности, которые они предоставляют для конструкции идентитета, а так же и квир, трансгендерных, транс- и постгуманистических, интер- и транскультуральных дискурсов и критически обсуждают все вышеупомянутое. Еще один фокус журнала, рассматриваемый этими двумя дисциплинами, относится к процессам разложения и восстановления, эманципации и трансформации. Диалогическую и полилогическую идею коллоквиума понимаем как конструктивную и креативную альтернативу Империи и ее деструктивным и рестриктивным гегемонистским монологам. Суть в том, чтобы действительно разговаривать, а не только говорить, не слушая друг друга. В виду имеется ответственное, многостороннее участие в коммуникации, в отличие от жестокой, односторонней виктимизации. Это раскрывает поле постколониального дискурса, или даже постимпериального, одновременно выходя за рамки к новым концепциям языка, значительности и достижения значения вообще.

В конце, имея в виду, что среда разными способами лингвистически классифицирована, оба и культурно и когнитивно, понимание разных опытов, влияющих на эти классификации, является важнейшим фактором для понимания различных форм человеческого состояния, выражающегося языком, который дальше формирует нас в социальном смысле.

Сосредоточение на разные голоса как средства нашей речи, разные дискурсы, созданные нашей культурной средой, и распространение в виду всего опыта, пережитого нами, даст нам единственный взгляд на характеристики языка, определяющие каждый из кодов, которые у нас есть и которыми пользуемся.

Поскольку этот журнал открытого типа, наша задача переходит из концептуальной, даже тематической, в формальный аспект СМИ. Мы поддерживаем вклады не только в текстовой форме, но и в форме аудио/видео/мультимедийной записи, с целью получения новых опытов на интеллектуальном и чувственном уровне. Язык является основным средством для разговора, однако культурные и технические изменения повлияли на способ, которым мы связываемся друг с другом, а также и на способ, которым мы разрабатываем идеи и обмениваемся ими, поскольку добавлены новые каналы для создания и обмена значений.

La palabra *coloquio* puede interpretarse como “discusión, entrevista, reunión, negociación, conversación”, y todos esos términos contienen ya la esencia de lo a que aspira esta revista: Quisiéramos formar un espacio (virtual) multilingüe para que las voces académicas de diversos orígenes puedan encontrarse, intercambiar ideas y experiencias, discutir teorías y acercamientos críticos en un proceso de comunicación y transformación que se extienda más allá de los mismos participantes, y que resuene en los grupos y sociedades que forman su contexto. Como una revista de acceso abierto, Coloquio está disponible a todos, lo que también se puede interpretar como una invitación y apoyo al concepto de una ciencia abierta, participativa y libre, que sobrepasa los límites de disciplinas, culturas e idiomas.

Fundada en la región de los Alpes y el Adriático, igualmente dotada y maldita por su muy especial situación histórica y socio-cultural, a mitad del camino entre las culturas germánicas, románicas y eslavas, esta misión se basa en la experiencia de generaciones de la población local que, en su vida cotidiana, tenían que navegar entre varios sistemas lingüísticos, culturales y políticos. El Encuentro, el diálogo y el intercambio justo tuvieron una importancia crucial en sobrepasar los límites existentes, y es justamente por eso que Coloquio pretende promover académicamente esas experiencias. Lo que facilita el diálogo es el hecho de que la revista funcione en tres niveles que también sirven como principio estructural: *Perspectivas*, en la que ensayos y piezas de opinión propia abran nuevos puntos de vista y nuevas perspectivas, siguiendo el espíritu de proponer nuevas ideas sobre lo tradicional en las Nuevas filologías; *Discursos*, sección que representa y clarifica posiciones en debates académicos, y *Resultados*, un fórum para los trabajos académicos y profesionales, publicados en un proceso de doble-ciego, revisado por pares.

Todo eso contribuye al empeño de establecer Nuevas Filologías en el plano crítico y científico, uniendo las tradicionales disciplinas de lingüística, literatura y estudios de cultura, en una polimorfa y polífona escuela de pensar y actuar, así como de comunicar las investigaciones.

Dentro de la disciplina tradicional de la lingüística, las aportaciones fundadas principalmente en sociolingüística y análisis crítico son bienvenidas. Fomentamos especialmente investigaciones empíricas, como estudios en el campo de la lingüística corpus, histórica, y de campo. Cuando se trata de ramas más aplicadas de esta disciplina tradicional, nos interesan trabajos centrados en la evaluación y enseñanza de lenguas, así como metodologías innovadoras en la lingüística aplicada.

Las disciplinas tradicionales de los estudios de cultura y literatura piden, en un nivel temático, contribuciones que tematizan y discuten críticamente experiencias límites y estados intermedios, incluso las reflexiones sobre la naturaleza y función de límites y fronteras, terceros espacios, hibridad, el otro, el yo, y las oportunidades que ellos ofrecen para la construcción de identidades, así como los discursos queer, transgéneros, trans- y post-humanistas inter- y transculturales.

Otro foco de la revista, visto desde el punto de vista de estas dos disciplinas, es el proceso de desintegración y reconstrucción, emancipación y transformación. El concepto

dialogico y plurilógico del coloquio aquí se entiende como una alternativa constructiva y creativa al Imperio y sus monólogos hegemónicos, destructivos y restrictivos. Se trata de dialogar y entenderse, y no solo hablar sin escuchar a los otros. Se trata de participación responsable multilateral, y no la implícitamente o explícitamente violenta victimización unilateral. Así se abre camino a discursos post-coloniales, o incluso hasta post-imperiales, pero también más allá, hacia los nuevos conceptos del idioma y su significación, y creación de significado en general.

Últimamente, puesto que los ambientes se clasifican lingüísticamente de diferentes modos, cultural y cognitivamente, comprender diferentes experiencias que influyen en esas clasificaciones es un elemento clave para entender varios modos de la condición humana expresados por el lenguaje que nos edifica socialmente. Centrándonos en varias voces en las que hablamos, varios discursos formados por nuestros propios ambientes culturales, y también expandiéndonos en todas las experiencias posibles que somos privilegiados de vivir, obtendremos una percepción especial de las propiedades lingüísticas que definen cada código que tenemos y usamos.

Como revista de acceso abierto, tomamos nuestra misión de la dimensión conceptual y temática, y hasta la dimensión formal de los medios. Buscamos contribuciones no solo en forma de textos, sino también en forma de audio, video o multimedia, para abrir camino a nuevas experiencias en niveles intelectuales y sensoriales. Aunque el idioma sea una herramienta clave en la conversación, cambios culturales y tecnológicos han influido en las maneras en que comunicamos, desenvolvemos y transformamos ideas, puesto que nuevos medios han sido añadidos a la creación e intercambio de significados.

Le mot *colloque* peut être interprété comme « discussion, entretien, réunion, négociation, conversation », et tous ces termes contiennent l'essence de ce journal : nous voudrions donner un espace multilingue (virtuel) à des voix académiques de différents origines pour qu'elles puissent se rencontrer, s'échanger des idées et des expériences, négocier des théories et des approches critiques dans le processus de communication et de transformation qui dépasse ses participants immédiats, et qui fait écho dans les groupes et sociétés qui créent le contexte. Etant un journal à libre accès, Colloque est à la disposition gratuite de tous, et cela peut être compris comme le manifeste invitant et soutenant le concept d'une science ouverte et libre qui dépasse les limites qu'imposent les disciplines, les cultures et les langues.

Fondée dans la région Alpes-Adriatique, à la fois bénie et maudite par son extraordinaire situation historique et socio-culturelle étant le point de croisement des cultures germanique, romane et slave, cette mission trouve son origine dans l'expérience des générations de la population locale qui ont dû naviguer entre les différents systèmes linguistiques, culturels et politiques ce qui était leur vie quotidienne. Des réunions, des discussions et des échanges honnêtes étaient cruciales pour surmonter des limites, et c'est pourquoi Colloque a pour l'objectif la promotion de ces expériences. La conversation, encouragée par ce Journal, se fait sur trois niveaux, qui servent aussi du principe structurel : *Perspectives*, où les essais et les articles ouvrent de nouveaux points de vues

et d'approches suivant l'esprit de réinventer les philologies traditionnelles en nouvelles philologies; *Discours*, qui présentent et expliquent des positions dans le débat académique, et *Résultats*, le forum pour des articles académiques qui sont publiés selon le processus de révision à double insu.

Tout cela contribue à l'effort d'instaurer les nouvelles philologies sur le radar critique et scientifique, qui noue les disciplines traditionnelles de la linguistique, de la littérature et des études culturelles dans une polymorphe et polyphone école de pensée, d'action et de recherche.

Quant à la linguistique traditionnelle, les bienvenues sont les contributions qui se concentrent principalement sur l'analyse sociolinguistique et critique. Nous encourageons en particulier des recherches empiriques telles les études de corpus, la linguistique historique ou la linguistique de terrain. En ce qui concerne les branches appliquées de cette discipline traditionnelle, alors il s'agit des articles qui se concentrent sur l'évaluation et l'enseignement des langues et sur la méthodologie innovatrice de la linguistique appliquée.

Les disciplines traditionnelles de la littérature et des études culturelles invitent au niveau thématique les contributions qui thématisent des expériences frontières et des états intermédiaires y compris des réflexions sur la nature et sur la fonction des frontières et limites, des tiers espaces, de la hybridité, de l'autre, de soi et des opportunités qu'ils offrent de construire l'identité, aussi bien que les discours transgenres et transsexuels, les discours transhumanistes et post-humanistes, et les discours inter- et transculturels. L'autre objectif de ce journal vu par ces deux disciplines sont les processus de désintégration, de reconstruction, d'émancipation et de transformation. Nous comprenons l'idée dialogique et plurilogique du colloque comme une alternative constructive et créative à l'Empire et à ses monologues hégémoniques qui sont destructifs et restrictifs. Il s'agit de parler l'un avec l'autre et non de parler l'un à l'autre sans écouter. Il s'agit d'une participation responsable et multilatérale et non d'une victimisation unilatérale qui soit implicitement ou explicitement violente. Cela ouvre les discours postcoloniaux ou même les discours post-impériaux et mène vers de nouveaux concepts du langage, de la signification et du sens en général.

Enfin, comme les environnements sont classifiés du point de vue linguistique de manière très différente, aussi bien culturellement que cognitivement, la compréhension de différentes expériences qui influencent ces classifications est cruciale pour pouvoir saisir toutes les formes de l'état humain exprimées par le langage qui nous construit socialement. La concentration sur les différentes voix que nous utilisons, et sur les différents discours formés par nos environnements culturels, ainsi que l'expansion dans toutes les expériences possibles que nous avons le privilège de vivre, vont nous donner un aperçu unique des caractéristiques du langage qui définissent chaque code que nous possédons et utilisons.

Comme Colloquium est un journal à libre accès, notre mission dépasse les dimensions conceptuelles et même thématiques et évolue vers les dimensions formelles des médias.

Pour ouvrir de nouveaux espaces d'expérience au niveau intellectuel et sensuel, nous encourageons non seulement des contributions en forme textuelle, mais aussi des documents audios, vidéos ou multimédias. Le langage reste l'instrument essentiel par lequel nous communiquons avec autrui, mais les changements culturels et technologiques ont affecté la manière dont nous nous connectons les uns avec les autres et dont nous développons et échangeons des idées étant donné que de nouveaux canaux ont été ajoutés à la création et à l'échange du sens.

Riječ *kolokvij* može se razumjeti kao „diskusija, razgovor, sastanak, pregovor, konverzacija“, i ti termini već sadrže suštinu ovog časopisa: željeli bismo omogućiti višejezični (virtualni) prostor za akademske glasove različitog porijekla gdje bi mogli da se susreću, razmjenjuju ideje i iskustva, da se raspravlja o teorijama i kritičkim pristupima u procesu komunikacije i transformacije koja se proteže dalje od trenutnih učesnika u njoj, i koja ima odjeka u grupama i društvima koja stvaraju kontekst. Kao časopis otvorenog tipa, Kolokvij je besplatno dostupan svima, što je također poziv i podrška za otvorenu i besplatnu nauku koja podržava učestvovanje i prevazilazi ograničenja disciplina, kultura i jezika.

Osnovana u alpsko-jadranskom području, podjednako blagoslovenom i prokletom svojom posebnom historijskom i društveno-kulturnom situacijom na raskršću german-skih, romanskih i slavenskih kultura, ova misija svoje korijene nalazi u iskustvima generacija lokalne populacije koje su morale da traže svoj put između raznolikih lingvističkih, kulturnih i političkih sistema koji su činili njihovu svakodnevicu. Sastanci, razgovori i međusobno uvažavanje iskustava bili su od ključne važnosti za prevazilaženje postojećih granica, i zato je cilj Kolokvija akademska promocija tih iskustava. Razgovor podstaknut ovim časopisom događa se na tri nivoa, koji služe i kao strukturni principi: *Perspektive*, gdje eseji i kolumne otvaraju nove tačke gledišta i pristupa prateći duh ponovnog osmišljavanja tradicionalnih filologija u nove filologije; *Diskursi*, koji predstavljaju i pojašnjavaju pozicije u akademskoj debati, i *Rezultati*, forum za stručne, akademske radove koji su objavljeni putem dvostruko slijepog procesa recenzije kolega iz istog područja.

Sve ovo doprinosi naporu uspostavljanja novih filologija kao kritičkog i naučnog radara, koji spaja tradicionalne discipline lingvistike, književnosti i kulturoloških studija u polimorfnu i polifonu školu promišljanja, djelovanja i istraživanja koja se prenose drugima.

Unutar tradicionalne lingvistike, dobrodošli su doprinosi koji se uglavnom fokusiraju na sociolingvističku i kritičku analizu. Naročito se ohrabruju empirijska istraživanja kao što su korpusne studije, historijska lingvistika i terenska lingvistika. Kada su u pitanju primjenjenije grane ove tradicionalne discipline, onda su to radovi koji se koncentriraju na provjeru i podučavanje jezika i inovativne metode u primjenjenoj lingvistici.

Kada je riječ o tradicionalnim disciplinama književnosti i kulturoloških studija, na tematskom nivou dobrodošli su doprinosi koji tematizuju granična iskustva i međustanja, uključujući promišljanja o prirodi i funkciji granica i ograničenja, trećih prostora,

hibridnosti, drugosti, sebe i prilika koje one nude za konstrukciju identiteta kao i homoseksualnih, transrodnih, trans- i posthumanističkih, inter- i transkulturalnih diskursa i kritički raspravljaju o svemu tome. Još jedan fokus žurnala viđen kroz ove dvije discipline odnosi se na procese dezintegracije i rekonstitucije, emancipacije i transformacije. Dijalošku i plurilošku ideju kolokvija shvatamo kao konstruktivnu i kreativnu alternativu Carstvu i njegovim destruktivnim i restriktivnim hegemonijskim monolozima. Riječ je o tome da zaista razgovaramo, a ne da samo pričamo jedni drugima bez slušanja. U pitanju je odgovorno, višestrano učešće, a ne implicitno ili eksplicitno nasilna jednostrana viktimizacija. Ovo otvara polje post-kolonijalnog diskursa ili čak post-imperijalnog, ali i seže iza toga ka novim konceptima jezika, značajnosti i postizanja značenja uopće.

Na kraju, budući da su okruženja lingvistički klasificirana na različite načine, i kulturološki i kognitivno, shvatanje različitih iskustava koja utiču na te klasifikacije od ključne su važnosti da bismo mogli da imamo u vidu različite oblike ljudskog stanja izražene jezikom koji nas formira u društvenom pogledu. Fokusiranje na različite glasove kojima govorimo, različite diskurse koje stvara naša kulturološka okolina, i širenje u sva moguća iskustva koja imamo priliku da proživimo, dat će nam jedinstven uvid u karakteristike jezika koje definiraju svaki od kodova koji posjedujemo i koristimo.

Budući da smo časopis otvorenog tipa, naša misija prelazi iz konceptualne i čak tematske u formalnu dimenziju medija. Ohrabrujemo doprinose ne samo u tekstualnom obliku već i kao audio, video ili multimedijalne zapise radi otvaranja novih prostora iskustva na intelektualnom nivou, kao i nivou čula. Jezik je i dalje suštinski alat za razgovor, ali kulturološke i tehnološke promjene uticale su na način na koji se povezujemo jedni s drugima i na to kako razvijamo i razmjenjujemo ideje, budući da su dodani novi kanali za stvaranje i razmjenu značenja.

Riječ kolokvij može se razumjeti kao: diskusija, razgovor, sastanak, pregovor, konverzacija. Ovi termini već sadrže bit ovog časopisa; željeli bismo omogućiti višjezični (virtualni) prostor za akademske glasove različitog podrijetla gdje bi se susretali, razmjenjivali ideje i iskustva, raspravljali o teorijama i kritičkim pristupima u procesu komunikacije i transformacije, koji se proteže dalje od neposrednih sudionika i koji imaju odjeka u grupama i društvima koja stvaraju kontekst. Kao časopis otvorenog tipa Kolokvij je besplatno dostupan svima, što je također poziv i podrška za otvorenu i besplatnu znanost koja podržava sudjelovanje i nadmašuje ograničenja disciplina, kultura i jezika.

Osnovana u alpsko-jadranskoj regiji, podjednako blagoslovljenoj i proketoj jedinstvenom poviješću i sociokulturnom situacijom točke spajanja germanskih, romanskih i slovenskih kultura, ova misija vuče svoje korijene u iskustvima generacija lokalne populacije koje su morale tražiti svoj put među raznolikim lingvističkim, kulturnim i političkim sustavima utkanim u njihovu svakodnevicu. Sastanci, razgovori i razmijene bili su ključni za premošćivanje postojećih granica i zato je cilj Kolokvija akademska promocija tih iskustava. Razgovor potaknut ovim časopisom odvija se na tri razine koje također

služe kao strukturni principi: *Perspektive* u kojima eseji i kolumne otvaraju nove točke gledišta i pristupa u duhu ponovnog osmišljavanja tradicionalnih u nove filologije, *Diskursi* koji predstavljaju i razjašnjavaju položaje u akademskoj debati i *Rezultati*; forum za stručne, akademske radove koji su objavljeni slijedom dvostruko slijepe recenzije kolega iz istog područja.

Sve ovo doprinosi namjeri uspostavljanja novih filologija na kritičkom i znanstvenom radaru, spajajući tradicionalne discipline lingvistike, književnosti i kulturoloških studija u polimorfnu i polifonu školu promišljanja, ponašanja i djelovanja kao i komuniciranja istraživanja.

Unutar tradicionalne discipline lingvistike, dobrodošli su doprinosi koji se fokusiraju na sociolingvističku i kritičku analizu. Osobito ohrabrujemo empirijska istraživanja kao što su korpusne studije, povijesna lingvistika i terenska lingvistika. U smislu primjenjivih grana ove tradicionalne discipline, radovi se fokusiraju na testiranje, podučavanje jezika i inovativnu metodologiju u primijenjenoj lingvistici.

Tradicionalne književne discipline i kulturološke studije na tematskoj razini pozivaju doprinose koji tematiziraju i kritički raspravljaju o graničnim iskustvima i međustanjima, uključujući razmatranje prirode i funkcija granica i ograničenja, trećih prostora, hibridnosti, drugih, sebe i prilika koje navedeni nude u izgradnji identiteta kao i queer identiteta, transrodnih, transhumanističkih i posthumanističkih, unutarkulturalnih i transkulturalnih razgovora. Još jedan fokus časopisa gledan kroz ove dvije discipline odnosi se na procese dezintegracije i rekonstitucije, emancipacije i transformacije. Dija-lošku i pluralošku ideju kolokvija shvaćamo kao konstruktivnu i kreativnu alternativu Carstvu i njegovim destruktivnim i restriktivnim hegemonijalnim monolozima. Radi se o tome da međusobno razgovaramo, nasuprot govorenju. Radi se o odgovornosti, višestranom sudjelovanju, nasuprot implicitnoj ili eksplicitnoj jednostranoj viktimizaciji. Ovo otvara polje postkolonijalne diskusije ili čak postimperijalne, ali također seže ka novim konceptima jezika, značenja i stvaranja značenja općenito.

Naposljetku, budući da su okruženja lingvistički klasificirana na različite načine, i kulturološki i spoznajno, razumijevanje različitih iskustava koja utječu na ove klasifikacije ključni su kako bismo imali u vidu različite oblike ljudskog stanja izražene jezikom koji nas formira u društvenom pogledu. Fokusiranje na različite glasove kojima govorimo, različite razgovore koje oblikuje naša kulturološka okolina i širenje u sva moguća iskustva koja smo povlašteni proživjeti, dat će nam jedinstven uvid u jezične karakteristike definirajući svaki od kodova koji posjedujemo i koristimo. Budući da smo časopis otvorenog tipa, naša misija prelazi iz konceptualne i tematske i u formalnu dimenziju medija. Pozivamo doprinose, ne samo u tekstualnom obliku nego i u audio, video ili multimedijalnim zapisima kako bismo otvorili novi prostor iskustava na intelektualnoj i osjetilnoj razini. Unatoč tome što je jezik i dalje esencijalan alat za razgovor, kulturološke i tehnološke promjene utjecale su na način kako se povezujemo i kako razvijamo i transformiramo ideje, budući da su dodani novi kanali stvaranja i razmjene značenja.

Reč *kolokvijum* može se razumeti kao „diskusija, razgovor, sastanak, pregovor, konverzacija“, i ti termini već sadrže suštinu ovog časopisa: želeli bismo da omogućimo višjezički (virtualni) prostor za akademske glasove različitog porekla gde bi mogli da se susreću, razmenjuju ideje i iskustva, da se raspravlja o teorijama i kritičkim pristupima u procesu komunikacije i transformacije koji se protežu dalje od trenutnih učesnika u njoj, i koja ima odjeka u grupama i društvima koja stvaraju kontekst. Kao časopis otvorenog tipa, Kolokvijum je besplatno dostupan svima, što je takođe poziv i podrška za otvorenu i besplatnu nauku koja podržava učestvovanje i prevazilazi ograničenja disciplina, kultura i jezika.

Osnovana u alpsko-jadranskom području, podjednako blagoslovenom i prokletom svojom posebnom istorijskom i društveno-kulturnom situacijom na raskršću german-skih, romanskih i slovenskih kultura, ova misija svoje korene nalazi u iskustvima generacija lokalne populacije koje su morale da traže svoj put između raznolikih lingvističkih, kulturnih i političkih sistema koji su činili njihovu svakodnevicu. Sastanci, razgovori i ravnopravna razmena bili su od ključne važnosti za prevazilaženje postojećih granica, i zato je cilj Kolokvijuma akademska promocija tih iskustava. Razgovor podstaknut ovim časopisom događa se na tri nivoa, koji služe i kao strukturni principi: *Perspektive*, gde eseji i kolumne otvaraju nove tačke gledišta i pristupa prateći duh ponovnog osmišljavanja tradicionalnih filologija u nove filologije; *Diskursi*, koji predstavljaju i pojašnjavaju pozicije u akademskoj debati, i *Rezultati*, forum za stručne, akademske radove koji su objavljeni putem dvostruko slepog procesa recenzije kolega iz istog područja.

Sve ovo doprinosi naporu uspostavljanja novih filologija kao kritičkog i naučnog radara, koji spaja tradicionalne discipline lingvistike, književnosti i kulturoloških studija u polimorfnu i polifonu školu promišljanja, delovanja i istraživanja koja se prenose drugima.

Unutar tradicionalne lingvistike, dobrodošli su doprinosi koji se uglavnom fokusiraju na sociolingvističku i kritičku analizu. Naročito se ohrabruju empirijska istraživanja kao što su korpusne studije, istorijska lingvistika i terenska lingvistika. Kada su u pitanju primenjenije grane ove tradicionalne discipline, onda su to radovi koji se koncentrišu na proveru i podučavanje jezika i inovativne metode u primenjenoj lingvistici.

Kada je reč o tradicionalnim disciplinama književnosti i kulturoloških studija, na tematskom nivou dobrodošli su doprinosi koji tematizuju granična iskustva i međustanja, uključujući promišljanja o prirodi i funkciji granica i ograničenja, trećih prostora, hibridnosti, drugosti, sebe i prilika koje one nude za konstrukciju identiteta kao i kvir, transrodnih, trans- i posthumanističkih, inter- i transkulturalnih diskursa i kritički raspravljaju o svemu tome. Još jedan fokus žurnala viđen kroz ove dve discipline odnosi se na procese dezintegracije i rekonstrukcije, emancipacije i transformacije. Dijalošku i plurilošku ideju kolokvijuma shvatamo kao konstruktivnu i kreativnu alternativu Monarhiji i njenim destruktivnim i restriktivnim hegemonijskim monolozima. Reč je o tome da zaista razgovaramo, a ne da samo pričamo jedni drugima bez slušanja. U pitanju je odgovorno, višestrano učešće, a ne implicitno ili eksplicitno nasilna jednostrana

viktimizacija. Ovo otvara polje post-kolonijalnog diskursa ili čak post-imperijalnog, ali i seže iza toga ka novim konceptima jezika, značajnosti i postizanja značenja uopšte.

Na kraju, budući da su okruženja lingvistički klasifikovana na različite načine, i kulturološki i kognitivno, shvatanje različitih iskustava koja utiču na te klasifikacije od ključne su važnosti da bismo mogli da imamo u vidu različite oblike ljudskog stanja izražene jezikom koji nas formira u društvenom pogledu. Fokusiranje na različite glasove kojima govorimo, različite diskurse koje stvara naša kulturološka okolina, i širenje u sva moguća iskustva koja imamo priliku da proživimo, daće nam jedinstven uvid u karakteristike jezika koje definišu svaki od kodova koji posedujemo i koristimo. Budući da smo časopis otvorenog tipa, naša misija prelazi iz konceptualne i čak tematske u formalnu dimenziju medija. Ohrabrujemo doprinose ne samo u tekstualnom obliku već i kao audio, video ili multimedijalne zapise radi otvaranja novih prostora iskustva na intelektualnom nivou, kao i nivou čula. Jezik je i dalje suštinski alat za razgovor, ali kulturološke i tehnološke promene uticale su na način na koji se povezujemo jedni s drugima i na to kako razvijamo i razmenjujemo ideje, budući da su dodati novi kanali za stvaranje i razmenu značenja.

Besedo *kolokvij* lahko tolmačimo kot »razpravo, razgovor, sestanek, pogajanje, pogovor«, vsi ti pomeni pa že vključujejo bistvo revije: z njo želimo zagotoviti večjezični (virtualni) prostor akademskim glasovom z različnimi ozadji, kjer bi se lahko srečevali, si izmenjevali ideje in izkušnje, kjer bi potekale razprave o teorijah in kritičnih pristopih v procesu komunikacije in preobrazbe, ki se nadaljuje onkraj trenutno sodelujočih v razpravi, prav to pa se odraža v skupinah in društvih, ki oblikujejo njeno miselno zvezo. Kolokvij je revija odprtega tipa in je tako brezplačno dostopna vsem, kar pa se prav tako lahko razume kot sporočilo, ki vabi k odprti, sodelovalni in brezplačni znanosti, ki presega disciplinarne, kulturne in jezikovne omejitve.

Revija je bila ustanovljena na alpsko-jadranskem področju, v enaki meri obdarjenim in preganjanim zaradi svojih posebnih zgodovinskih in družbeno-kulturnih razmer kot stičišča germanske, romanske in slovanske kulture. Zato ima njeno poslanstvo korenine v izkušnjah generacij lokalnega prebivalstva, ki so bile primorane vsakodnevno krmariti med različnimi jezikovnimi, kulturnimi in političnimi sistemi. Srečanja, pogovori in poštena izmenjava so bili ključnega pomena za preseganje obstoječih meja, in prav zato je cilj revije Kolokvij promocija teh izkušenj na akademski način. Pogovori, ki jih je spodbudila ta revija, potekajo na treh ravneh, ki obenem služijo kot strukturni principi: *Perspektive*, kjer eseji in kolumne odpirajo nova stališča in pristope, obenem pa sledijo duhu premisleka tradicionalnih filologij v nove filologije; *Diskurzi*, ki predstavljajo in pojasnjujejo stališča znotraj akademske razprave; ter *Rezultati*, forum za strokovne, akademske članke, ki so objavljeni na način dvojnega slepega postopka medsebojnega pregleda.

Vse to prispeva k prizadevanjem za vključitev novih filologij na kritični in znanstveni zemljevid z združitvijo tradicionalnih disciplin jezikoslovnih, literarnih in kulturolo-

ških študij v polimorfno in polifono šolo mišljenja, ukrepanja in delovanja, kot tudi sporočilnega raziskovanja.

Znotraj tradicionalnih jezikoslovnih disciplin so prispevki, ki se v glavnem osredotočajo na sociolingvistično in kritično analizo še posebej dobrodošli. Spodbujajo se zlasti empirična raziskovanja, kot so študije na podlagi korpusov, zgodovinsko jezikoslovje ter terensko jezikoslovje. Kar pa zadeva bolj uporabne veje te tradicionalne discipline, so na voljo dela, ki se osredotočajo na preverjanje in poučevanje jezika ter inovativne metode v uporabnem jezikoslovju.

Na področju tradicionalnih disciplin književnosti in kulturoloških študij so na tematski ravni dobrodošli prispevki, ki obravnavajo in kritično razpravljajo o mejnih izkušnjah in vmesnih stanjih, vključno z razmišljanji o naravi in funkcijah meja in omejitev, tretjih prostorih, hibridnosti, o drugem in o jazu ter o priložnostih, ki jih ti ponujajo za oblikovanje identitet, kakor tudi za razprave o istospolnosti, transseksualnosti, trans- in posthumanizmu ter inter- in transkulturnosti. Poleg tega se revija skozi prizmo teh dveh disciplin osredotoča tudi na procese dezintegracije in rekonstitucije, emancipacije in transformacije. Dialoško in večdialoško idejo kolokvija dojemamo kot konstruktivno in kreativno alternativo Imperija in njenim uničevalnim in omejujočim hegemonskim monologom. Gre za pogovarjanje drug z drugim in ne govorjenje eden drugemu. Gre tudi za odgovorno, večstransko sodelovanje in ne za implicitno ali eksplisitno nasilno enostransko viktimizacijo. To odpira področje post-kolonialnega, ali celo post-imperialnega diskurza, poleg tega pa sega tudi proti novim konceptom jezika, pomena in – na splošno – oblikovanja smisla.

Če zaključimo, glede na to, da so okolja jezikovno klasificirana na različne načine, tako kulturološko kot kognitivno, je dojemanje različnih izkušenj, ki vplivajo na te klasifikacije, ključnega pomena pri upoštevanju različnih oblik človeškega stanja, izražene z jezikom, ki nas oblikuje v socialnem smislu. Osredotočenost na različne glasove, s katerimi se sporazumevamo, različne diskurze, ki jih oblikuje naše kulturno okolje, ter širitev v vse mogoče izkušnje, ki jih imamo priložnost izkusiti, nam daje edinstven vpogled v jezikovne lastnosti, ki pa določajo vsakega izmed kodov, ki si jih lastimo in uporabljamo.

Glede na to, da smo revija odprtega tipa, črpamo naše poslanstvo iz konceptualne in tematske ravni v formalno dimenzijo medija. Zbiramo prispevke, ne le v tekstovni obliki, temveč tudi v obliki avdio, video ali večpredstavnostnih izdelkov, s katerimi želimo odpreti nove prostore za izkušnje, tako na intelektualni kot na čutni ravni. Čeprav je jezik bistveno orodje za pogovor, so kulturološke in tehnološke spremembe vplivale na način s katerim se povezujemo drug z drugim, ter na to, kako razvijamo in preoblikujemo ideje, saj so se izoblikovali novi kanali za ustvarjanje in izmenjavo pomenov.

Exclusion Labels in Slavic Monolingual Dictionaries

Lexicographic construal of non-standardness

Danko Šipka*

Abstract

The present paper analyzed the practices of excluding vocabulary items from the standard language in four major Slavic monolingual dictionaries (Polish, Russian, Serbian, and Slovenian). The analysis has revealed that there exist a range of primary (overt) and secondary (implicit) exclusion labels and that their effect is negotiated in the sociocognitive context of the dictionary, in a communication between the dictionary and its users.

Key words: standard language, usage labels, linguistic norms, cognitive sociolinguistics, metalexicography

1 Theoretical Background and Conceptual Map

The term exclusion labels, as used here, is a subset of usage labels. We will hence commence with defining usage labels. In its broader sense, *usage* refers to any kind of relationship of words or their features (their meanings or their forms) and their language production/reception context. This ranges from the required morphosyntactic form of that particular context to semantic links the word may have, and the effects the word creates in that context. In its narrower sense, *usage* excludes any phonetic, phonological, prosodic, morphosyntactic, and core semantic parameters. In that sense, this term refers

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to a higher, lower, or absolute valence of the word or its feature toward certain contexts (e.g., toward one period in time or region but not toward another) or a certain contextual effect (e.g., offensiveness, facetiousness, etc.). We will employ *usage* in this narrower sense and the concrete scope of the phenomena covered with it will be outlined in the second section of this paper based on the review of the practice in lexicography and metalexicography. *Label* is any succinct, customary and, as a rule, repeatedly deployed reference to the usage parameters. In a typical case, such customary and repeated references are either listed in the front matter, e.g., *obs.(olete)*, *Am.(erican)*, *off.(ensive)*, or established in linguistic and/or lexicographic practice of the language in question (e.g., grammatical labels showing the inflection of the word, such as *gave*, *given* under *give*). Not every reference to usage is a label – there are also glosses, which refer to usage, such as *used only in Shakespeare's works* for the word *honorificabilitudinitatibus*. *Usage labels*, given that the narrower meaning of usage is employed here, refer to succinct customary references to the valence of the words or their features toward certain contexts or contextual effects. This precise usage of the term can be found in Béjoint (2010, 12): “A usage label is a noun or adjective indicating the kind of context in which the word is normally used: *slang*, *literary*, *American*, *Medicine*, etc. Usage labels are usually abbreviated (*sl*, *lit*, *US*, *med*, etc.). They are of different kinds, social, geographical, stylistic, etc. corresponding to different varieties of language”.

Under exclusion labels we understand a kind of usage labels which have the potential of expressing the attitude of exclusion of a labeled item from contemporary standard language or at least its core. The idea of standard and non-standardness will be discussed in the second section of this paper and the labels themselves will be addressed in its third section.

The present research is informed by cognitive sociolinguistics and communicative metalexicography. The following two statements are relevant in this regard.

As natural as it is for Cognitive Linguistics to study the variation of meaning, is it just as natural to study the meaning of variation, i.e. the way in which language users make sense of linguistic variation, the way in which linguistic variation is meaningful to them. In a usage-based conception of language, we assume that language users have a cognitive representation of the communicative interactions in which they participate: that – rather than some genetic endowment – is their ‘knowledge of the language’. But as their interactive horizon includes linguistic variation, they also have a representation of that diversity. They categorize social reality as reflected in language use and differences of language use, and such a categorization process is typically one of the phenomena that Cognitive Linguistics is interested in: ‘meaning as categorization’ is a kind of catchphrase in Cognitive Linguistics. The questions that arise here are of the following kind.

- How do language users perceive lectal differences, and how do they evaluate them attitudinally?
- What models do they use to categorize linguistic diversity?
- How does linguistic stereotyping work: how do language users categorize other groups of speakers?
- What is the role of subjective and objective linguistic distances: is there a correlation between objective linguistic distances, perceived distances, and language attitudes?
- Are there any cultural models of language diversity: what models of lectal variation, standardization, and language change do people work with?
- To what extent do attitudinal and perceptual factors have an influence on language change?
- How do language users acquire lectal competence, how is it stored mentally, and how does it work in language production?

(Geeraerts et al. 2010, 9–10)

The present study attempts to establish a triangular communicative model of lexicography and views the bilingual dictionary as a system of intercultural communication between the compiler and the user. (Yong and Peng 2007, 15)

If we apply the two aforementioned approaches to the study the dictionary labels as exclusion tools of standardization, we first need to address the idea of non-standardness (expounded in section two) followed by the role of dictionary labels in the context of declaring a lexical item, its form or meaning as substandard (discussed in section three).

2 The Idea of Non-standardness

The idea of non-standardness assumes the existence of a standard language variety. In defining what that standard language variety is, we will start with the social dynamic field of a standard variety (Ammon 1995, 80, summarized in English in Takahashi 2004, 177–178). This field, as defined by Ammon, includes five key elements: majority population (i.e., the members of the community of speakers), norm authorities, in charge of language corrections, codifiers, who create language codex (such as orthographic dictionaries), linguistic experts, who issue their expert opinions, and model speakers/and writers, whose linguistic performance serves as the basis for norm codification. Majority population creates primary rules, which are uncoded, while four other aforementioned factors of the process create secondary norms, which are coded.

Ammon (2004) elaborates on this process and goes on to note that “[...] the categorization (delimitation) of standard from non-standard forms is not always a simple

yes-no decision, though there are unquestionable standard forms and unquestionable non-standard forms, namely those for which all the abovementioned forces agree” (Ammon 2004, 278, reference is made to majority population, codifiers, linguistic experts, norm authorities, and model speakers/writers).

Monolingual dictionaries of standard Slavic languages typically involve all four factors identified by Ammon: they attract considerable interest in majority population, lexicographers are seen as codifiers, linguist experts are present and so are norm authorities, and finally dictionary examples typically involve model writers. Despite the fact that dictionary compilers may state that their dictionary is descriptive rather than normative, dictionary users (Ammon’s majority population) perceive such dictionaries as a source of authority. As Milroy and Milroy (2012, 4) aptly state: “The attitudes of linguists (professional scholars of language) have little or no effect on the general public, who continue to look to dictionaries, grammars and handbooks as authorities on ‘correct’ usage. If, for example, lexicographers (dictionary-makers) attempt to remove all traces of value-judgment from their work and refuse to label particular usages (such as ain’t) as ‘colloquial’ and others as slang, there is likely to be a public outcry.” A similar thought can be found in Ammon (2004, 276–7) in his discussion of “social forces establishing and controlling standard varieties”.

Needless to say, the ideas of what constitutes the standard language vary quite considerably, as demonstrated by Smakman (2012) who surveyed over one thousand non-linguists from England, Flanders, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland and the United States and concluded that although the ideas about the standard language have very little in common, one can recognize a socially distinctive (exclusive) notion of the standard language and a socially cohesive (integrative) one.

The role of monolingual dictionaries in standardization can be seen in (mostly political) attempts to form new Slavic standard languages. Thus, Dževad Jahić, a standardizer of Bosnian, states the following in a TV interview: “In order for a language to be normed, it has to have an international language code [...] as well as a grammar, a dictionary, and a manual of orthography, in that order” (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LXV9cRTMvjU>, 29:00–29:17, accessed on June 29, 2015). Similarly, a recent manual of Montenegrin orthography features the following passage: “[...] the secretary of education and science [...] asked the Council [on Montenegrin language] to [...] form a task force charged with preparing a final version of a proposal for a manual of orthography, grammar, and dictionary of the Montenegrin language” (<http://www.gov.me/files/1248442673.pdf>, accessed on June 30, 2015)

Dittmar (2004) discusses the idea of nonstandard in German, English, and French speaking cultures. German tradition is definitely closest to the Slavic language traditions in particular in its establishment of colloquial language (Umgangssprache), which serves somewhat like a buffer zone between standard and substandard. Ammon (2004, 278) notes: “[...] *colloquial* (or German *umgangssprachlich*) [...] can be taken to mean



(1) ‘colloquial standard’, i.e., a stylistic level within the standard norm or (2) ‘non-standard’”

The idea of standardness and hence non-standardness is rather problematic. Ammon (2004) offers an elaborate account of the level of ambiguity and category overlapping in this sphere. For our purposes here, we will understand standard language in its narrower sense, as those language varieties subject to standardizing efforts by codifiers, linguistic experts, and norm authorities. We are thus following Smakman’s (2012) socially distinctive (exclusive) notion of the standard language, as this variety needs to be edited (using dictionaries as reference). This would include administrative, legal, scholarly language, news, etc. and exclude informal colloquial and literary language (which are typically not the target of normative interventions). This understanding of standard language is the best platform for the study of the role of exclusion labels as it is uncontroversial that a kind of lexical norm can be enforced in such varieties by excluding certain words from the norm. Needless to say, an operational definition of standard deployed here does not attempt to establish a new understanding of standard language – it is merely striving to simplify matters and make them analyzable.

In that view, non-standard vocabulary would include the items that are inappropriate in standard language varieties. Thus, for example excretion or sex-related obscenity would be non-standard given that it cannot be freely used in standard language varieties (unlike in colloquial and literary genres). Dictionaries would hence typically mark such word accordingly.

3 Exclusion Attitude Labels in the Context of non-standardness

What we named exclusion labels represents a subset of lexicographic usage labels. Svensén (2009, 316) provides a very comprehensive account of usage labels types as shown in Table 1.

One should note that Table 1 represents a handy English-language version of the categories found in Hausmann (1989, 651) with another version found in Hartmann and James (2001, 151). In this approach, subject-matter labels are called diatechnical, they are restricted to a specific technical language and contrasted to general language. One should say that this classification remains strongly Eurocentric. For example, it does not contain gender (words used exclusively by males or females, i.e., in texts marked as such), age (items used by younger or older people, etc.) and other similar categories, as these are not so frequent in European languages and rather rare in European dictionaries. (On a side note, one should state that even European dictionaries use labels such as “youth language”.) The very idea of something being technical presumes a kind of society we know from European countries. In contrast, the idea of subject matter would

Criterion	Type of marking	Unmarked centre	Marked periphery	Examples of labels
Time	diachronic	contemporary language	archaism – neologism	arch, dated, old use
Place	diatopic	standard language	regionalism, dialect word	AmE, Scott, dial.
Nationality	diainTEGRATIVE	native word	foreign word	Lat., Fr.
Medium	diamedial	neutral	spoken – written	colloq., spoken
Socio-cultural	diastRATIC	neutral	sociolects	pop., slang, vulgar
Formality	diaphasic	neutral	formal – informal	fml, infml
Text type	diatextual	neutral	poetic, literary	journalese, poet, lit.
Technicality	diatechnical	general language	technical language	Geogr., Mil., Biol., Mus.
Frequency	diafrequential	common	rare	rare, occas.
Attitude	diaevaluative	neutral	connoted	derog., iron., euphem.
Normativity	dianormative	correct	incorrect	non-standard

Table 1: Types of usage labels (Svensén 2009, 316)

be much more appropriate for other cultural settings, given that it does not presume any kind of advanced technology.

A majority of established types of labels may serve as exclusion labels. The most direct labels of this kind are dianormative ones. Exclusion can also, rather straightforwardly, be achieved by diachronic, diatopic, and diastRATIC labels. All those labels exclude the word from contemporary standard language. A number of diaphasic labels (e.g., informal) as well as diaevaluative labels certainly have an indirect exclusion potential. In other words, while their primary role is to mark the attitude, they carry a certain potential of being understood by the users as exclusion labels (see section 2 on the discrepancy between the compilers' intentions and users' understanding of the text). Other labels are just marking an area or a feature within standard language.

4 Non-standardness Labels in Slavic Lexicographic Traditions

Monolingual Slavic general dictionaries have a two-way communication with the society. On the one hand they are at the receiving end of normative authorities (i.e., they are expected to follow general delimitations of the standard and substandard sphere). On the other hand, lexicographic strategies, in particular the use of exclusion labels, are an agent of normative enforcement.

Slavic languages have a tradition of considering literary languages as standard. Most often, references to standard language already include the realm of literature. *Literaturnyj jazyk* in Russian, *język literacki* in Polish, *knjižni jezik* in Slovene, and *književni jezik* in Serbian all mean 'literary language'. Attitudes toward standard language are

perhaps best reflected in Ščerba (1957), where he states that the most basic function of literary language is to be generally accepted and generally understandable: “[...] основную функцию, которую должен выполнять литературный язык и которая в сущности только и делает его литературным, т.е. **общепринятым**, а потому и **общепонятным**” (Ščerba 1957, 114). It is of particular importance that Ščerba offers linguistic arguments for a campaign initiated by Maxim Gorky to protect Russian literary language from being dirtied by dialectisms and vulgarisms: “беречь русский литературный язык от засорения его диалектизмами и вульгаризмами” (Ščerba 1957, 128). We can clearly see the idea of non-standardness, and the need to exclude certain lexical items from the standard.

Practically all Slavic lexicographic traditions follow this literary language agenda and have the need to define it by excluding certain items, which belong to the forms of language that are not generally accepted and/or generally understandable. We will now look into such lexical strata and their corresponding usage labels.

In practically all contemporary monolingual Slavic dictionaries (and four of them will be analyzed in the next section) one can find the following two ideal types of exclusion labels:

- a) Primary exclusion labels, i.e., such labels as *slang*, where the dictionary compiler's intention was to clearly exclude the word, its meaning, or form from the standard language,
- b) Secondary exclusion labels, e.g., *vulgar*, where the label was used to signal something else (in this case the attitude), but its effect in users can be that of exclusion.

In real-life application these ideal types blend into one another and there, in fact, exists a continuum of exclusiveness from strong and clear exclusion from the standard language to a weak and borderline exclusion effect.

To test the effect of exclusion, a list of labels was presented to the users of Serbian dictionaries (the labels were taken from Vujanić et al. (2011), a Serbian monolingual dictionary). Those labels that were considered potentially excluding from the standard language were included in this list. The participants were asked to determine if the word marked by such label would be appropriate for the use in standard language (e.g., in evening news on national TV). Most participants were recruited from the Facebook list “Naš jezik”, which includes persons interested in the Serbian language, most of them users of Serbian monolingual dictionaries. The first nine labels were primary exclusion labels as they mark the word as belonging to a lexical subfield which is predominantly non-standard, or at least it does not belong to the core standard-language lexicon. The remaining six labels refer to the attitude associated with the word or its feature, so their primary role is not exclusion. The results were obtained as shown in Table 2.

As can be seen, all labels listed in this survey have a potential of excluding a lexeme or its feature from standard Serbian. While the effect of exclusion is indeed somewhat lower in attitude labels, there is a solid number of users (on average well over one third for

Choose if this label means that the word marked by it is non-standard

	yes	no
slang (шатровачки)	78.26% (54)	21.74% (15)
jargon (жаргонски)	68.12% (47)	31.88% (22)
regional (регионално)	57.97% (40)	42.03% (29)
vulgar (вулгарно)	56.52% (39)	43.48% (30)
old literary style (старокњижевно)	56.52% (39)	43.48% (30)
archaic (архаично)	55.88% (38)	44.12% (30)
folksy (народски)	54.41% (37)	45.59% (31)
school student speech (ђачки)	51.47% (35)	48.53% (33)
colloquial (разговорно)	49.28% (34)	50.72% (35)
familial/homely (фамилијарно)	47.06% (32)	52.94% (36)
pejorative (пејоративно)	45.59% (31)	54.41% (37)
derisive (подругљиво)	34.78% (24)	65.22% (45)
contemptuous (презриво)	30.43% (21)	69.57% (48)
ironic (иронично)	27.54% (19)	72.46% (50)
facetious (шаљиво)	27.94% (19)	72.06% (49)

Table 2: User's judgements about acceptability of labels in the standard language

these labels) who perceive them as excluding. There are also such users whose definition of the standard language is so broad to include in it all spheres of the lexicon.

To eliminate the factor of different definitions of the standard language and give the decision about non-standardness a concrete touch and feel, another survey was conducted, asking if concrete words, labeled in Vujanić et al. (2011) with one of the aforementioned labels, would be acceptable in the speech of an evening news anchor. The following results were obtained:

Word (label in Vujanić et al. 2011)	yes	no
говнарија (vulgar)	0.00% (0)	100.00% (40)
окинути на годину (school students speech)	0.00% (0)	100.00% (40)
жаца (ironic)	0.00% (0)	100.00% (40)
аратосиљати се (folksy)	2.50% (1)	97.50% (39)
бос по глави (facetious)	2.50% (1)	97.50% (39)
цвикераш (derisive)	2.50% (1)	97.50% (39)
гологуз (pejorative)	2.50% (1)	97.50% (39)
ачити се (colloquial)	5.00% (2)	95.00% (38)
брајкан (folksy and familial/homely)	5.00% (2)	95.00% (38)
гладибрк (facetious)	5.00% (2)	95.00% (38)
безец (jargon)	7.50% (3)	92.50% (37)
лацман (folksy)	10.00% (4)	90.00% (36)
наровашен (regional)	12.50% (5)	87.50% (35)
дажд (archaic)	20.51% (8)	79.49% (31)

Table 3: User's judgements about acceptability of labeled words in the standard language

As can be seen very clearly, concrete words in a concrete setting are seen as generally unacceptable in standard language. It is also worth noting that there is no difference between primary and secondary exclusion labels. We will now analyze four dictionary case studies.

5 Case Studies

The following four case studies of contemporary Slavic monolingual dictionaries will be discussed: Russian (Ožegov and Švedova 1992), Polish (Żmigroński et al. 2012), Serbian (Vujanović et al. 2011), and Slovenian (Bajec et al. 2000).

These four dictionaries share their general approach to standardness and non-standardness but they differ substantially in their lexicographic deployment of primary and secondary exclusion labels. These differences are seen even in the front matter, where there exists considerable variation in the space devoted to explaining the set labels (from the extremely elaborate Polish case to laconic Serbian). Then, each dictionary deploys a slightly different set of labels and labels its entries differently.

Each of the four dictionaries examined here will be analyzed first, which will be followed by a comparison of their particular approaches. For each of the four dictionaries we will first discuss the set of relevant labels and their description and then turn to their count.

5.1 Russian Monolingual Dictionary

Ožegov and Švedova (1992) provide a 612-word-long text about usage characteristics of the words and their marking in the front matter of their dictionary. The authors divide usage labels (they call them notes, “пометы”) into three categories: a. stylistic, i.e., labels expressing style characteristics of the word (“пометы, указывающие на стилистическую характеристику слова”), b. specialized, i.e., technical use (“специальное”), and c. temporal labels, i.e., those that point to the historical context of the word’s usage (“пометы, указывающие на историческую перспективу слова”). This approach is quite interesting in that most primary and secondary exclusion labels belong to the same category, i.e., to stylistic labels.

The following repertoire of relevant exclusion labels is deployed in this dictionary:

- (a) Stylistic labels: non-literary colloquial (“просторечное”), regional (“областное”), contemptuous (“презрительное”), disapprobatory (“неодобрительное”), disparaging (“пренебрежительное”), facetious (“шутливое”), ironic (“ироническое”), vituperative (“бранное”), rude (“грубое”)
- (b) Temporal labels: old (“старое”) and obsolete (“устаревшее”)

It is interesting to note that there is also the category of colloquial (“разговорное”), which is defined as being a part of the standard language, just more informal (“оно не выходит из норм литературного словоупотребления, но сообщает речи непринуждённость”). Also, although primary and secondary exclusion labels are featured in the same category of stylistic labels, secondary labels are still characterized as signaling that the word contains emotional, expressive characterization (“в слове содержится соответствующая эмоциональная, выразительная оценка обозначаемого явления”). One should also note that the vast majority of the labels used in this dictionary are potentially excluding. Those that are not excluding are the following: literary (“книжное”), high register (“высокое”), official/formal (“официальное”), and specialized/technical (“специальное”). In addition, there is the aforementioned colloquial category, which is declaratively non-excluding. The distribution of the relevant labels in this dictionary is presented in Table 4.

Primary exclusion labels		
<i>English</i>	<i>Russian</i>	Number
regional	обл. – областное	222
non-standard colloquial	прост. – просторечие, просторечное	3230
old	стар. – старое	225
obsolete	устар. – устаревшее	2604
Total		6281
Secondary exclusion labels		
<i>English</i>	<i>Russian</i>	Number
vituperative	бран. – бранное	51
rude	груб. – грубое	12
ironic	ирон. – ироническое	412
disapprobatory	неодобр. – неодобрительное	784
contemptuous	презр. – презрительное	128
disparaging	пренебр. – пренебрежительное	114
facetious	шутл. – шутливое	652
Total		2154
Non-exclusion labels		
<i>English</i>	<i>Russian</i>	Number
high register	высок. – высокое	766
literary	книжн. – книжное	1961
official/formal	офиц. – официальное	267
colloquial	разг. – разговорное	960
specialized/technical	спец. – специальное	3636
Total		7590

Table 4: Exclusion and non-exclusion labels in Ožegov and Švedova (1992)

This dictionary contains 40,229 entries. The total number of labels used is 16,025 (40% of the number of entries), with exclusion labels comprising 21% (primary exclusion 16%, secondary exclusion 5%) while non-exclusion labels account for 19% of all instances of labelling. Given that some entries contain more than one label, the number of labeled entries is somewhat smaller than 40%. These numbers are more interesting in that they show the relationship between exclusion and non-exclusive labels (their distribution is approximately the same) as well as between primary and secondary exclusion labels (the former are used four times more frequently than the latter).

5.2 Polish Monolingual Dictionary

Żmigródzki et al. (2012) an impressive whopping 1520 words to discussing usage labels (which they call qualifiers, “kwalifikatory”). They also provide a very elaborate classification of these labels. The following types are distinguished:

- chronological “chronologiczne”
- frequency “frekwencyjne”
- stylistic “stylistyczne”
- related to geographical scope “dotyczące zasięgu geograficznego”
- related to societal scope “dotyczące zasięgu środowiskowego”
- specialized “specjalistyczne”
- expressive “ekspresywne”

Only the category of frequency labels does not contain any exclusion labels. The category “specialized” contains mostly non-excluded items but it also contains excluded professional colloquial usage. The labels used in this dictionary and their frequency is presented in Table 5.

Here again we can see that primary exclusion labels are used much more frequently than their secondary counterparts (nearly five times more). Given that this dictionary deploys an array of specialized labels, it would be difficult to count all non-exclusion labels. However, the fact that the label “literary” (książkowe) has the count of 2111 and “administrative” (urzędowe) has the count of 206, may indicate that this dictionary uses exclusion and non-exclusion labels, just like we found in the Russian dictionary. One can also say that this Polish monolingual dictionary is still a work in progress (it currently contains around 12,000 entries), which may change the ratio of the labels once the project is completed. One noticeable difference in relation to the Russian dictionary is the fact that there is no division between standard colloquial and non-standard colloquial. The label “colloquial” is defined here as units used in informal situations, impossible to use in formal situations (“jednostki używane w sytuacjach nieoficjalnych, niemożliwe do użycia w sytuacji oficjalnej”).

Primary exclusion labels			
<i>English</i>	<i>Polish</i>	<i>Category</i>	Number
former	dawne	temporal	98
colloquial	potoczne	stylistic	2698
Varsovian	warszawskie	geographical	2
Cracovian	krakowskie	geographical	15
Posnanian	poznańskie	geographical	1
Silesian	śląskie	geographical	1
Lvovian	lwowski	geographical	0
Vilniusian	wileńskie	geographical	1
youth	młodzieżowe	societal	23
criminal	przestępcze	societal	8
social environment	środowiskowe	societal	49
Total			2896

Secondary exclusion labels			
<i>English</i>	<i>Polish</i>	<i>Category</i>	Number
pejorative	pejoratywne	expressive	300
scornful	pogardliwe	expressive	63
vulgar	wulgarne	expressive	99
facetious	żartobliwe	expressive	223
Total			685

Table 5: Exclusion labels in Żmigrodzki et al. (2012)

5.3 Serbian Monolingual Dictionary

Vujanović et al. (2011), a Serbian monolingual dictionary with approximately 80,000 entries, devotes a brief 43-word note stating that some words contain etymological, sphere-of-usage, and subjective-evaluation labels. We can thus see which labels are used from their concrete use and the list of abbreviations. It is obvious that the authors are aware of the different nature of primary exclusion labels (they are called sphere-of-usage labels, which also includes non-exclusion labels) and secondary exclusion labels (called subjective-evaluation labels, which can also contain some non-exclusion labels). Relevant labels are presented in Table 6 along with their frequency.

It is interesting to note here that the ratio between primary and secondary exclusion labels is quite different than in the two dictionaries analyzed previously. Primary exclusion labels are used here just somewhat over twice as much as secondary exclusion labels. Just like in the case of the Polish dictionary, it would be close to impossible to count all non-exclusion labels, but the fact that the label “administrative” (административно) has only 38 uses and literary (књижевно) just 120, most of which are actually literary criticism terms, points to the fact that this dictionary uses non-exclusion labels much less than the previous two dictionaries.

Primary exclusion labels		
<i>English</i>	<i>Serbian</i>	Number
archaic	архаично	199
old literary style	старокњижевно	11
colloquial	разговорно	961
regional	регионално	181
folksy	народски	708
slang	шатровачки	23
jargon	жаргонски	218
school student speech	ђачки	24
Total		2325

Secondary exclusion labels		
<i>English</i>	<i>Serbian</i>	Number
vulgar	вулгарно	70
expressive	експресивно	83
familial/homely	фамилијарно	51
pejorative	пејоративно	518
derisive	подругљиво	22
contemptuous	презриво	12
ironic	иронично	240
facetious	шаљиво	62
Total		1058

Table 6: Exclusion labels in Vujanić et al. (2011)

5.4 Slovenian Monolingual Dictionary

Bajec et al. (2000), a Slovenian monolingual dictionary of 97,669 entries, devotes 774 words in the front matter to discussing relevant types of labels. The authors divide the labels into the following categories a. terminological, b. stylistic-stratal, c. expressive, d. temporal-frequency, and e. special normative. The latter four types of labels are relevant in the process of excluding words and their features from standard Slovenian.

Stylistic-stratal labels comprise some non-exclusion labels (biblical, literary, poetic, administrative journalistic, elevated) but also exclusion labels (dialectal, child-language, colloquial, lower colloquial, slang). The authors divide those into two clear groups, listing the first group of labels under a. and the second under b.

Expressive labels include the following: expressive, euphemistic, ironic, hypocoristic, low, contemptuous, facetious, and vulgar. Although all of them can potentially be excluding, that role is reserved primarily for negatively connotated labels.

Temporal-frequency labels encompass the following items: increasing use, diminishing use, rare, old, and obsolete. The latter two are primary exclusion labels, while the former three remain non-excluding.

Primary exclusion labels		
<i>English</i>	<i>Slovenian</i>	Number
Incorrect	nepravilno	24
Unestablished	neustaljeno	92
Lower colloquial	nižje pogovorno	503
Colloquial	pogovorno	2133
Dialectal	narečno	1958
Slang	žargonsko	512
Child-language	otroško	111
Old	starinsko	4793
Obsolete	zastarelo	3893
Total		14019
Secondary exclusion labels		
<i>English</i>	<i>Slovenian</i>	Number
Expressive	ekspresivno	12355
Low	nizko	217
Contemptive	slabšalno	1447
Facetious	šaljivo	254
Ironic	ironično	178
Vulgar	vulgarno	123
Total		14574

Table 7: Exclusion labels in Bajec et al. (2000)

Finally, a remarkable characteristic of this dictionary, when we compare it with three other Slavic monolingual dictionaries, is the fact that it contains prescriptive labels, i.e., the most direct form of exclusion from standard Slovene. There are two items of this kind: incorrect, and non-established.

Exclusion labels, along with their frequency, are presented in Table 7. As can be seen, owing to the profuse use of the label “expressive”, the number of primary and secondary labels is approximately the same.

Again, given that there is no unified “specialized/technical” label, it would be difficult to point out how many non-exclusion labels are used but the fact that “literary” (knjižno) has 9809 uses and journalistic (publicistično) 2356, one could conclude that non-exclusion labels are used in similar magnitude as their exclusion counterparts.

6 Conclusions

For our purposes here, we defined the standard language in its narrower sense (see section 2), as those language varieties subject to standardizing efforts by codifiers, linguistic experts, and norm authorities. This would include administrative, legal, scholarly language, news, etc. and exclude informal colloquial and literary language (which are typically not the target of normative interventions). The question ensuing from the review of four Slavic monolingual dictionaries is what strategies the authors of these dictionaries deploy in excluding lexical items or their features from the standard language in its narrower sense. In other words, the question is how these dictionaries serve their users (e.g., language editors) who need to verify if the word or its feature is acceptable in an edited standard language text.

What follows from the review in section 5 is that there is a variety of means by which the exclusion from the standard language can be achieved. The range of strategies goes from a very rare direct prohibition (The Slovene label “incorrect” and the Russian “non-standard colloquial”), pointing to the fields traditionally considered non-standard (e.g., dialect and slang), to pointing to the features incompatible with the standard language as defined here (for example, “vulgar”). We saw that all analyzed dictionaries use primary exclusion labels, pointing to non-standard fields of usage, and secondary exclusion labels, pointing to their non-standard features. Primary exclusion labels are generally more frequent but the number of secondary exclusion labels is substantial. Both categories of labels, primary and secondary, have fuzzy edges. With the exception of the Russian dictionary, where the category of non-standard colloquial is clearly established, in all other dictionaries colloquial actually means informal and the judgements of the acceptability in the standard language (as defined here) may vary. To a lesser degree this is true for old and archaic too. In secondary exclusion labels the categories like familial or facetious bring about the same kind of uncertainty about acceptability. We also saw (demonstrated in the case of the Russian dictionary and confirmed in the other three dictionaries) that the authors are equally concerned with marking certain fields within the standard language (e.g., technical use) as they are with excluding items from the standard. The use of exclusion and non-exclusion labels is equally substantive.

A part of the problem with fuzzy edges of primary and secondary inclusion labels is that, through a historic association of the standard with literary language (in spirit and often in name too), Slavic cultures maintain mostly the broader (cohesive) notion of the standard language. While the distinctive idea remains to be enforced in publications such as manuals of orthography, grammatical and stylistic reference works, dictionaries seem to largely neglect the narrower (distinctive) notion of the standard language. In order to eliminate or at least reduce user’s uncertainty as to the acceptability of some items in the standard language, one would need to define the range of the standard language in its narrower sense and deploy the labels accordingly by determining the cohort of primary and secondary labels not compatible with standard language texts.

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“Trust, but Verify” – The Framing of the Nuclear Conflict between Iran and the West in UK and US media

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Abstract

Historicity is an important concept in people’s self-conceptualization as well as in their conceptualization of the world around them. By knowing what was, we can interpret some of what is as a consequence of past actions and events and thus understand how it came to be and how to react appropriately. For our interpretation of current events in the world, we therefore frequently rely on history “as a source of meaning” (Leudar and Nekvapil 2011, 68). Since we relate to events in the world through mediation, i.e. the media, we accordingly understand world history through the historical context that is provided for us by journalists. In many cases, however, such contextualizations of events appear to foreground proximal – or synchronous (Blommaert 2005, 130) – factors over distal ones, thus restricting interpretation to immediate factors rather than describing them as a consequence of other actions or events in history. Due to global reach of today’s corporate media, such synchronous framing of the news can lead to a certain bias of attitudes (Philo 2004, 201–202), e.g., regarding the nature of conflicts between ‘us’ and ‘them’ to the effect that ‘we’ always appear as acting on logical, justifiable and altruistic grounds, while ‘their’ actions are irrational, unwarranted and self-serving. In this paper, I analyze the framing of the political conflict between Western countries and Iran regarding its nuclear program. I investigate opinion columns from various British and U.S. newspapers in order to explore the nature of the news framing of the issue and whether any distal factors such as Western interventions in Iran and Middle Eastern

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affairs are taken into account. The analysis will be conducted following the *Thematic Analysis* approach developed by the Glasgow University Media Group (Philo and Berry 2004/2011), but including also other conceptual categories such as Blommaert's (2005) notion of *synchronicity*.

Key words: media analysis, thematic analysis, historicity and synchronicity, Iran nuclear deal, media discourse

1 Introduction

On July 14, 2015, after years of political struggle, the nuclear deal between Iran and a number of Western powers was sealed. In exchange for disassembling its uranium enrichment facilities, Western powers promised to lift the crippling economic sanctions against the country. The deal was praised by politicians from all sides, but U.S. politicians – Republicans in particular – were cautious to outright opposed to the deal, and a discussion was led on the dangers of Iran possessing nuclear weapons as well as potentially selling them to terrorist groups. This suspicion was based on the idea that it was a dangerous and anti-American regime and had clandestinely worked on acquiring all the necessary components to assembling a nuclear bomb.

The discussion felt very familiar, for after the attacks of 9/11, a similar debate had been led – about weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in possession of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, and about the danger of him handing these over to his supposed Al-Qaeda allies. None of this, it turned out, had been the case: there were no WMDs, and Al-Qaeda's grip on Iraq only developed after Hussein's downfall. The media, at that time, were largely echoing the official narratives put forth in press briefings by the Bush and Blair administrations. After the war, many journalists came out admitting that “if journalists had done [their] job ‘there is a very, very good chance we would have not gone to war in Iraq’” (Pilger 2014, online). Considering that Iran, along with Iraq and North Korea, was part of former President Bush's ‘Axis of Evil’, it seems reasonable to ask whether in portraying the conflict between Iran and the US, the media this time tried to question the official narratives or whether these remained dominant in news discourse.

This paper, therefore, is an attempt to analyze media discourse on the nuclear deal for interpretative dominance and perspective bias. It closely dissects 16 opinion articles/editorials from various UK and US news sources according to the Glasgow University Media Group's method of *Thematic Analysis* (Philo and Berry 2004/2011) and, in doing so, hopes to shed some light on the question of whose views are represented, underrepresented or not represented at all, and what effect this might have on the readers' understanding and interpretation of the issue.

2 Theoretical Framework

The analysis this paper is mainly based on an approach known as *Thematic Analysis*, which was developed by Greg Philo and colleagues of the Glasgow University's Media Group, but also attempts to incorporate Blommaert's notion of Synchronicity (2005). The purpose is to give a stronger theoretical foundation to Thematic Analysis by enriching it with more concepts that cover important aspects of the analysis, such as synchronous or historical background. Both approaches emphasize the importance of including or excluding historical background information in understanding the nature and meaning of (news) events in the world.

2.1 Historical Context and Meaning

According to Blommaert (2005, 126), "people speak *from* a particular point in history, and they always speak *on* history". By this, he means that whenever people engage in discourse, they do so from a particular viewpoint, and from a certain historical grounding. Such discourse always entails a statement on history, through reference and pointers of historical frameworks (ibid, 136). Depending on people's own place in the world, therefore, history would have a different meaning, as they would be contemplating and perceiving it from within a different historical and ideological context encoded in discourse. Since discourses within Critical Discourse Studies are seen as "ways of representing aspects of the world" (Fairclough 2003, 124), it follows that each discourse realizes a different view on the world (ibid). This is very closely connected to the notion of interpretative dominance, i.e. the power to interpret and give meaning to events, actions and states by contextualizing them in a way that gives credibility and reliability to one's own vantage point. Discourse, therefore, serves as a medium for transmitting ideas and – subsequently – ideologies that are used by competing groups within society in an attempt to "explain the world in ways which justify their own positions" (Philo and Berry 2011, 174), drawing on different historical contexts that affect how people will perceive and interpret information about the world.

Based on the idea that every discourse is historical, Blommaert proposes that "meanings [are] simultaneously produced, but not all of them consciously nor similarly accessible to agency" (2005, 126), a phenomenon he terms 'layered simultaneity'. Thus, when people assess information about the world, they do so by applying their own present world view onto it, and thus synchronize it to – and make sense of it within the context of – the contemporary present. In fact, however, the event, action, or state might be – and most probably will be – a product of a variety of different factors, some historical, some contemporary, which, through complex cause/effect relations, have all contributed to the current state of affairs. Yet in their common interpretation, these different factors are all collapsed into a contemporary and synchronous exegesis that does not take into consideration layers of historical complexity.

Blommaert illustrates the concept of layered simultaneity through the works of the social scientist Fernand Braudel who distinguished between three different time-scales that affect our understanding of the world, which he termed structural time, conjunctural time, and event time (Braudel 1981, cited in Blommaert 2005, 127–128). Structural time refers to “the slow, invisible transformation of systems and societies” (ibid, 127), largely equal to, if not exceeding, the human life span, and thus beyond the capability of individuals to consciously perceive. Conjunctural time, on the other hand, refers to a time-span of longer, cyclical patterns such as the lifetime of political regimes, while event time is defined as “short time, measured on individuals, everyday life” (Braudel 1969, 45–46, cited in Blommaert 2005, 128) and hence relates to individual events that evolve in real time, but that require both conjectural and structural time in order to be comprehensible in their entirety.

In the interpretation of the world surrounding them, people have thus a limited view regarding cause and effect, because they only have a very restricted understanding for long-term developments that have led to the occurrence of events or to the manifestation of states. The current status-quo is therefore interpreted as pre-existing, as common sense, while changes to the status-quo are those that require interpretation based on people’s historical position within the established state of affairs. For Blommaert, this shows that

[w]e have a tendency to perceive only what manifests itself synchronically, but this synchronicity hides the fact that features operate on different levels and scales, have different origins, offer different opportunities, and generate different effects. Synchronicity, in other words, combines elements that are of a different order, but tends to obscure these fundamental differences (Blommaert 2005, 128–129)

It follows that, when people make statements about a state of affairs in this world, they will tend to synchronize the different factors, developments and histories that have eventuated in it into an explanation that is coherent with the here and now, i.e. an explanation that fits into their way of seeing the world at the moment of speaking (Blommaert 2005, 134). For example, within the current and dominant ‘War on Terror’ frame, any attack that is labeled by government spokespersons or by media as an ‘act of terror’ will immediately become interpreted through the familiar schema of the ‘War on Terror’ and be interpreted as a clash of cultures phenomenon, despite the fact that each might have their own particular histories and causal developments. Blommaert calls this act of collapsing different explanatory layers into one ‘synchronization’.

Through synchronization texts are embedded meaningfully into dominant contemporary discourses and are ‘saved’ from a level of complexity that might require a questioning of the status quo of our world views by challenging them through alternative accounts and long-term developments that elope the casual glance. Blommaert suggests that any profound analysis of discourse needs to take these different time-scales

into account, because if discourse is analyzed merely with reference to its synchronous meaning in event time, “we run the risk of squeezing the analytically crucial differences between the layers of historicity in a homogenised and synchronised event” (Blommaert 2005, 131).

3 Thematic Analysis

3.1 The Nature of *Thematic Analysis*

Thematic Analysis (TA) is an approach to news analysis developed by the Glasgow University Media Group (GUMG) under Greg Philo. It positions itself as an alternative to (critical) discourse analysis, which it views as limited in its ability to account for extra-textual factors such as competing narratives and power conflicts, and their implications for text meaning as well as audience understanding (Philo 2007), something which TA attempts to take into account.

An in-depth analysis of historical, social or political background is an important aspect in TA. The purpose of this endeavor is to highlight the various arguments from different sides that journalists have at their disposal in their reporting, in order to be able to identify which of the arguments used in the news belongs to which of the interested parties involved (ibid). A particular focus of TA lies on extracting consistent patterns of explanations, of cause-effect relations that underlie texts. It therefore starts from the premise that

in any contentious area there will be competing ways of describing events and their history. Ideas are linked to interests and these competing interests will seek to explain the world in ways which justify their own position. So ideology (by which we mean an interest-linked perspective) and the struggle for legitimacy go hand in hand. (Philo and Berry 2011, 174)

In this ‘struggle for legitimacy’, all parties involved attempt to achieve interpretive dominance in order to succeed in the struggle for public opinion. Once this is achieved, the successful party’s view can be assumed to structure the nature of news coverage in the majority of events concerned, i.e. they become not merely reported, but endorsed by journalists, to the effect that it becomes the ‘natural view’ of the actions/events concerned (Philo 2007, 193).

This naturalization of perspectives eventually pervades into the macro-news coverage as such, underpinning its structure and pattern without relying on an explicit mention. Such structuring and largely implicit themes were termed *explanatory themes* by Philo and colleagues (Philo 2007, 181). An explanatory theme is thus an “assumed explanation” (ibid), which structures news content in such a way that news items will be created revolving around it. In one of their earlier studies from the 1970s, the GUMG

identified the explanatory theme of ‘strikes are to blame’ as patterning the coverage of economic problems in the UK. This theme was not only visible in explicit statements, but also in the overall focus of the coverage, including “going to a factory, interviewing workers, asking them about the strikes and crucially not asking the management about investment policies or their own mistakes and then perhaps listing in the bulletin other strikes which had occurred that week” (ibid). Such explanatory themes, therefore, imply histories, causes or responsibilities rather than naming them and thus suggest – through frequent and repeated exposure – to the audience that a certain aspect is at the core of a particular issue, rather than another.

3.2 TA and the News Production Processes

Media as an institution is infused by the notion of ‘balance’, i.e. that various views should be given representation, not necessarily in the sense that they should be equally present, but that at least they should be given a voice. In addition, media institutions are “intensely reluctant to be seen as simply the mouthpiece of the state or other major interests” (Philo 2007, 181) and hence put a certain emphasis on their position as ‘mediators’ rather than ‘propagators’.

Research by Philo and his colleagues, however, suggests that in cases where, for example, the state is very sensitive (as in the coverage of Northern Ireland, for the UK, or after 9/11), the perspectives given prominence were almost exclusively official ones, while alternative narratives are barely presented, and where they are, their representation is rather incoherent (ibid)¹. The effect of the incoherent or fragmented employment of such alternative narratives is that – due to the lack of profound explanation and analysis of these – when they are mentioned, the audience cannot comprehend their intricacies and their macro-meanings, simply because they lack the necessary knowledge to do so. In their two large-scale studies on the Israel-Palestine conflict (2004; 2011), Philo and Berry were able to show that audiences in fact associate little to nothing with key terms such as ‘occupation’, ‘siege’, ‘curfew’, or ‘settlements’ due to the fact that they are hardly ever explained in any meaningful depth in the media, but their meanings are rather presupposed, which is problematic because “meaning cannot always simply be assumed using the cultural knowledge of the investigator” (Philo 2007, 184). However, in areas in which there is a lacking consensus among powerful groups, a greater variety of perspectives is represented (Cook 2005, 105).

It is thus in such areas with a general consensus among the ruling elites where an in-depth analysis of alternative narratives may be most revealing as these narratives may

¹ An example for this was *The Guardian*’s explanations in the immediate aftermath of the Paris shootings in November 2015, which blended out any mention of it being in part a reaction to Western interventionist policies in Islamic countries. In a follow-up column to their coverage of the event, Chris Elliott admits that such explanations were left out on purpose because “[t]he idea that these horrific attacks have causes and that one of those causes may be the west’s policies is something that in the immediate aftermath might inspire anger” (Elliott Nov 23 2015, online).

be backgrounded or even absent in both official as well as media representation. Here, TA can provide valuable insights into the process and outcomes of news making by juxtaposing media narratives with the major narratives in existence in order to analyze which of these narratives eventually becomes dominant and/or endorsed, and to what effect.

4 Methodology and Research Questions

This paper will apply Philo et al.'s (2004/2011) *Thematic Analysis* to editorials and opinion columns from British and American news outlets on the topic of the Iranian nuclear deal. For the purpose of the analysis, the paper will first outline the various narratives regarding the strained history of Iranian-Western relations before exploring which of the narratives are expressed and/or endorsed in the articles in question. There will also be an analysis of intertextual and interdiscursive (Reisigl and Wodak 2009) elements in the texts.

4.1 Corpus Data

The corpus used for this analysis consists of 16 editorials and opinion columns taken from 8 different news outlets (4 from the UK, 4 from the US) and from across the political spectrum. This genre was selected because of its inherent quality of providing a (subjective) gist of the event in question and therefore of summarizing those aspects of an issue that are seen as salient as well as relevant for giving a meaningful account. All articles were published in temporal vicinity to the signing of the nuclear deal (immediately after/up to 3 months before it). Two articles were taken from each source, one from before the deal and one from after the deal, with the exception of the *Daily Mail* whose online version included no opinion articles before the deal was sealed. The news outlets and articles are shown in Table 1.

Country	News outlet	Date	Headline
UK	<i>The Guardian</i>	03 Apr 2015	“Diplomacy shows its worth”
	<i>The Guardian</i>	14 Jul 2015	“A triumph of democracy”
	<i>The Independent</i>	13 Jul 2015	“Forget Isis, it’s Iran’s push for nuclear weapons that could herald the end of the world”
	<i>The Independent</i>	15 Jul 2015	“Nuclear thaw: The deal between Iran and the big powers is of historic importance, but its risks must be carefully managed”
	<i>The Telegraph</i>	03 Apr 2015	“Iran is leading the West by the nose”
	<i>The Telegraph</i>	17 Jul 2015	“The Iran nuclear deal is worse than we could have imagined”
US	<i>The Daily Mail</i>	14 Jul 2015	“Why Iran’s nuclear disarmament deal might NOT be the great foreign policy victory that Barack Obama craves”
	<i>The Daily Mail</i>	14 Jul 2015	“The Iran nuclear deal was a gamble, but one the West had to take”
	<i>New York Times</i>	01 Jul 2015	“A Good Bad Deal?”
	<i>New York Times</i>	18 Jul 2015	“The Morning After the Iran Deal”
	<i>CNN</i>	27 Feb 2015	“Don’t ignore Iran dangers”
	<i>CNN</i>	14 Jul 2015	“Iran deal misses the point”
	<i>Washington Post</i>	02 Jul 2015	“The worst agreement in U.S. diplomatic history”
	<i>Washington Post</i>	14 Jul 2015	“Mr Obama’s complex and costly deal with Iran”
	<i>Fox News</i>	02 Apr 2015	“Iran nuclear deal dangerous step in wrong direction”
	<i>Fox News</i>	15 Jul 2015	“How global terror network will get a boost from Iran nuclear deal”

Table 1: News outlets and articles selected

4.2 Research Questions

In conducting a TA of these texts, this paper intends to tackle the following questions by applying the following criteria:

1. How is the Nuclear Deal with Iran conceptualized in US and UK media?

This question aims at how events and actors in the texts are represented and whether there is a black/white dichotomy that attempts to render these complex issues in simpler terms than is warranted. For this purpose what will be analyzed are:

- a) the right to speak: who is privileged by getting their perspective on the issue represented. This is important because these voices have the power to impose a particular frame on the story (e.g. the official narrative). (Chomsky and Hermann 2002; Fairclough 1995)
- b) the text population: This is a term from critical language studies (Talbot 1992; Goatly 2000) and refers to entities and events which ‘inhabit’ a text and which are the main forces in its narrative. In order to do this, the text will be dissected for references to the text population as well as to any kind of modifiers applied to them.

- c) explanatory themes (chapter 3)
 - d) synchronicity and historicity: as Philo et al. (2004; 2011) have amply shown, in conflict situations it makes a vital difference at which point in time the narrative starts as this is essential for the point of origin of cause-effect relations and thus for the question of who is ultimately to blame for the state of affairs. Generally, it can be expected that each side selects its dates in a way that their interests and their point of view will be supported by historical evidence, while blending out dates that would weaken their stance (Lippmann 1922, 123). Following Blommaert (2005), it could be expected that synchronous – or proximal – factors prevail, in that they coincide with people's everyday experience, i.e. they connect to narratives that people are familiar with from daily discourse and thus do not create dissonance.
 - e) interdiscursivity (large-scale discourses the news articles draw from in discussing the issue) and intertextuality (connections drawn to other events in the past)
2. Which aspects from U.S.-Iran relations are drawn on in explaining the causes for the crisis? Which aspects are backgrounded?
- For this question, the results of question 1 will be compared to the official and alternative narratives outlined in chapter 5 in order to obtain an overview regarding which narratives are favored and foregrounded and which ones are backgrounded.
3. What is the effect of this?
- In answering this, the results of both question 1 and 2 will be drawn from to suggest an effect that the identified discourse might have on an audience without any additional background knowledge, i.e. for whom news information is the only information available on the issue.

5 Historical Background

The history of US-Iranian relations dates back to 1856, but the genesis of their current troublesome nature lies in 1953. After the democratic election of the social-democratic National Front party to government in 1951, Prime Minister Mossadegh set out to nationalize the country's oil industry which had so far been under British control. Angered and humiliated by this move, Britain encouraged and supported a CIA-orchestrated overthrow of Mossadegh, planned in the US embassy in Tehran. Together they successfully deposed the Prime Minister and reinstalled the Shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, in the following assisting him in the creation of SAVAK, Iran's much feared and brutal intelligence agency (Shoamanesh, online). Official US sources only admit that

the coup was “supported by the United States and the United Kingdom” (U.S. Department of State 2015, online).

In 1979, the Iranian Revolution – a reaction against the Shah’s long and brutal regime and against Western interference in Iran – swept through the country, leading to the ousting of the much hated Shah, who was forced to flee the country and eventually found refuge in the United States for medical treatment. Even though the revolutionary movement is frequently associated with radical Islamists, it actually “commenced as a popular revolution comprising many sects and factions [...] Iranians from all walks of life wanting to expand their political freedoms and improve their country” (Shoamanesh, online). Ayatollah Khomeini, the symbol of the revolution, returned from his exile in France to call for “the expulsion of all foreigners” (Del Viscio et al. 2014, online). In November of the same year, the US Embassy in Tehran was stormed by Iranian revolutionaries who took 52 American diplomats hostage for a period of 444 days (Shoamanesh, online). They vowed “to occupy the building and hold the employees hostage until the Shah [...] is returned to Iran to face trial” (Del Viscio 2014, online). This led to the breaking of diplomatic ties between the US and Iran (U.S. Department of State 2015, online). Although being undoubtedly a violation against international law, Shoamanesh (online) argues that “to the Iranian revolutionaries it made ‘rational’ sense to seize the Embassy given their fears that the same Embassy who had overthrown the country’s democracy years earlier might be used again to reinstall the Shah (a second time)”. The 1979 revolution still accounts for much of the distance between the two countries.

In the aftermath of the revolution, the US unilaterally raised economic sanctions against Iran, which were continuously tightened under Presidents Clinton, Bush and Obama (Del Viscio 2014, online), and which “have had little impact on the ruling establishment but have cost the Iranian people dearly, diminishing in turn support from the same base the US wants to empower” (Shoamanesh: online). From the beginning, the Iranians tried to negotiate an end to the sanctions, but their pleas were consistently ignored (Porter 2014).

The following year, 1980, saw the invasion of Iran by Iraqi military forces, with considerable support by the US. Iraq used chemical weapons against Iranians, killing not only military personnel, but also thousands of civilians. Besides supplying arms to Iraq, the US also engaged its own forces against Iran, such as in Operation Praying Mantis (1988), where US forces attacked Iranian Oil Platforms as well as naval vessels (Shoamanesh, online; Del Viscio 2014, online). In the same year, the US Navy shot down Iranian Airflight 655, an Iranian passenger plane, killing 290 civilians (Del Viscio 2014, online). Besides military standoffs, the US has also been encouraging separatist movements in Iran as well as attempting to destabilize the government in the decades since 1979 by supporting – sometimes extremist – opposition groups in addition to intensifying efforts to isolate Iran internationally, factors that have led to increased tensions and suspicions (Shoamanesh: online).

The issue that has shaped US-Iran relations most in the public eye, however, has been the crisis regarding Iran's nuclear program. After encouraging the construction of a nuclear power plant during the Shah's rule (Del Viscio 2014, online), US policy changed after the storming of their embassy in 1979, when the Reagan administration put increasing pressure on countries such as France not to provide nuclear fuel to Iran. This forced Iran to make a choice between either giving up its right to peaceful use of nuclear technology under the Non-Proliferation Treaty or to start its own uranium enrichment process, which was eventually initiated in the mid-1980s (Porter July 25, 2015, online; Porter 2014, 27). This program was discovered in 2002 through documents shared by "The People's Mujaheddin of Iran" (or MEK), an exile opposition group, which the "US State Department had listed [...] as a terrorist organization during the Clinton administration", but all of a sudden had become a trustworthy ally (Porter 2014, 64). Porter argues that "Iran did not inform the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Authority] [...] because of the continued US attempt to suppress the Iranian nuclear program" (July 15, 2015, online). Following an international outcry, Iran agreed to inspections by IAEA (Del Viscio 2014, online), but the US saw the clandestine nature of the enrichment program as proof that Iran was pursuing nuclear weapons (Porter January 10, 2015, online) and called for tougher and multilateral sanctions.

In 2006, after the election of Mahmoud Ahamdinejad as Iranian president, and when negotiations between Iran and Western powers came to a standstill, Iran resumed its uranium enrichment program, leading to a concerted effort by the US and Israel to sabotage Iran's enrichment facility in Natanz through a massive cyberattack in 2009 in an attempt to force Iran to abandon their nuclear program, followed by another cyberattack on Iran's oil and gas industry in 2012. (Porter July 15, 2015, online), while even further tightening the sanctions regime, which the US has always argued was "imposed on Iran because of its sponsorship of terrorism [i.e. its support of the Lebanese Hezbollah], its refusal to comply with international obligations on its nuclear program, and its human rights violations" (U.S. Department of State 2015, online).

The policy of coercion, i.e. of attempting to force Iran to concede to Western terms, suddenly changed in 2013, after it had become public that Iran had started to speed up its uranium enrichment process in order to enable an enrichment level of 20%, i.e. a level where the uranium can be used in nuclear weapons (ibid). It was after the disclosure of this information that negotiations started between the US and Iran. From the Western perspective, however, the reason for the start of negotiations was the sanctions regime. In a statement on the agreement's framework from April 2, 2015, President Obama stated,

I made clear that we were prepared to resolve this issue diplomatically, but only if Iran came to the table in a serious way. When that did not happen, we rallied the world to impose the toughest sanctions in history – sanctions which had a profound impact on the Iranian economy.

Now, sanctions alone could not stop Iran's nuclear program. But they did help bring Iran to the negotiating table. (Obama 2015)

In the same statement, Obama also maintained that the nuclear question was only one of many issues with Iran and that "our concerns will remain with respect to Iranian behavior so long as Iran continues its sponsorship of terrorism, its support for proxies who destabilize the Middle East, its threats against America's friends and allies – like Israel" (Obama 2015). Eventually, the Iran Nuclear Deal was successfully sealed in July 2015.

6 Analysis

The analysis will first present the major voices that get to comment on the deal before exploring the articles' respective text populations as well as identifying the dominant explanatory themes.

6.1 Who speaks?

A variety of voices is represented in the articles, but the negative voices show more variation. Simply put, those praising the deal are those who were involved in sealing it, while those opposing it appear as uninvolved and thus more 'neutral'.

Positive comments	Negative comments	General comments resulting in a negative framing of Iran
Barack Obama	NCRI (National Council of Resistance in Iran)'s Shahrin Gohadi	George W. Bush
Hassan Rouhani	Israel	Ronald Reagan
[Iran's] foreign minister	Top Senate Republican Mitch McConnell	The CIA
The West	Israel's prime minister	Then-Israeli Defense Minister Shaul Mofaz
John Kerry	A distinguished US general	Then-Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak
Iran	Karim Sadjadpour, an Iran expert at Carnegie Endowment	
The [US] administration	Foreign Policy specialist Michael Mandelbaum	
	Prince Bandar bin Sultan, who until 2005 was the Saudi Ambassador to Washington	
	London's Asharq Al-Awsat	
	Lt. General Michael Flynn	

Table 2: Who gets to speak?

6.2 Text Population

The discourse on the Iran nuclear deal reveals a fundamental dichotomy of ‘us’ vs ‘them’, with regard to the sides involved in the conflict, i.e. the West and Iran (and those countries/groups seen as affiliated with them). Tables 3 and 4 illustrate these references.

Tehran	Iran
its foreign minister	the Iranian president, Hassan Rouhani
Iran’s Shia militias	Hard-liners
Regime	Islamist regime
the medieval mullahs of Teheran	the chief Shia power
the supreme leader, Ali Khamenei	the Iranian theocracy
Iranian hardliners	the Iranian threat
the Iranians	the Middle East’s biggest power
the Shia mullahs of Iran	the Revolutionary Guards’ Quds Force
Shia Iran	the Iranian regime
Syria’s murderous dictator, Bashar al-Assad	one of the world’s most dangerous regimes
a very dangerous regime	the regime in Tehran
Shiite allies and other militants in the region	its puppet regimes in Syria and Iraq
Iran and its proxies	a pariah state
an expansionist state exporting terror across the globe	an aggressive state
a repressive regime with imperial ambitions	the Tehran regime
moderates in Iran	Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif
al-Qaeda	Iran’s leaders
anti-American Houthi	the Islamic republic
fanatical Islamist regime	the world’s foremost state sponsor of terrorism
a country that has been a determined American enemy for 35 years	a dangerous threshold nuclear state
a Persian Shiite power that can dominate its Sunni neighbors	an atomic Ayatollah
Hezbollah, Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad and other groups that have killed Americans, Europeans, Israelis and others	

Table 3: References to ‘them’

Washington	U.S./United States
its European allies	(President) Obama
Peaceful nation	World powers
Five great power partners	the tireless US secretary of state, John Kerry
America's partners	Capitol Hill
the Senate	our naïve Western politicians
the ineffable John Kerry and Co	Congress
the world's six largest powers, including the United States	the Western powers
the White House	Britain
United States, European Union and UN	Washington and most European governments
the fellowship of peaceful nations	the United States and its five great power partners
the United States, Russia, China, France, Germany and Britain	Israel, the region's lone democracy and America's closest ally
world leaders	the strongest military and economic power on earth
the United States and its partners	Israel and U.S. Arab allies
the chief Iranian opposition movement, the National Council of Resistance in Iran (NCRI)	

Table 4: References to 'us'

6.3 Explanatory Themes

There are several dominant themes and assumptions that structure the narrative about the Iranian nuclear deal and that were extracted from the articles analyzed. Table 5 below presents them in their entirety as derived from the articles analyzed, but only the most salient ones will be more closely discussed.

-
1. Iran wants the bomb
 2. Iran is ruthless and aggressive
 3. Iran is a sponsor of international terrorism
 4. Iran has imperialist/expansionist ambitions
 5. Iran plays a destabilizing role in the Middle East
 6. Iran is radically anti-American
 7. Iran is untrustworthy
 8. Sanctions forced Iran to negotiate
 9. Iran is mainly responsible for its bad relations to the West
-

Table 5: Major explanatory themes

6.3.1 Theme 1 – ‘Iran wants the bomb’

The idea that Iran aims to possess a nuclear bomb can be seen as the main premise underlying the discourse on the nuclear deal, for obvious reasons. It is the main rationale as well as the primary argument put forth by Western politicians for why the situation with Iran was considered dangerous.

“[The nuclear deal] **makes it almost impossible for Iran to go for a bomb** in the next decade” (Guardian)

“And then, when we are all distracted by the next Assad- or Putin-generated crisis, the Iranians will choose to quietly cross the point of no return in **their meandering advance towards nuclear armament**” (Independent)

“the West forlornly claims a ‘breakthrough’ in trying to talk the Iranian regime out of its **unshakeable resolve to build a nuclear bomb**” (Telegraph)

“Ever since it started its nuclear programme in the mid-1980s [...] it has lied about **its quest for nuclear weapons**” (Daily Mail)

“for the past year every time there is a sticking point – like whether Iran should have to [...] account for its **previous bomb-making activities** – it keeps feeling as if it’s always our side looking to accommodate Iran’s needs” (NY Times)

“does the Supreme Leader want ‘**a bomb**’? **Some bombs? An arsenal of bombs?** Or merely the capacity, like Japan, to have weapons at a time of its choosing?” (CNN)

“for the next 15 years, the Islamic republic will be **restrained from producing a nuclear weapon**” (Washington Post)

“To those people who see Iranian nuclear weapons as a threat and genuinely want to **prevent the medieval mullahs of Teheran from obtaining the means of mass slaughter**, it is a dangerous step in the wrong direction” (Fox)

Table 6: Text samples for explanatory theme ‘Iran wants the bomb’

6.3.2 Theme 2 – ‘Iran is untrustworthy’

Another major theme that structures news reporting is that Iran cannot be trusted. This can be seen as somehow complementary to Theme 1 in that the untrustworthiness of Iran is provided as one of the rationales for why the West cannot allow Iran to possess nuclear capacity.

“in 2002, with the genesis of the present crisis, when the Iranians were found to be **withholding the truth** about their nuclear programme” (Guardian) “Iran has a long **track record of cheating**” (Independent)

“Under the final agreement, Iran has the right to deny international inspectors access to any undeclared nuclear site. The denial is then adjudicated by a committee – on which Iran sits. It then goes through several other bodies, on all of which Iran sits. Even if the inspectors’ request prevails, the approval process can take 24 days. And what do you think will be left to be found, left unscrubbed, after 24 days?” (Telegraph)

“President Obama has taken a gamble by making an agreement with a government with a **long history of mendacity and double dealing**” (Daily Mail)

“Only the facts of the program are clear: secret fortified nuclear facilities, **undeclared** work on centrifuge advances, **concealment** of enrichment activities, plutonium and uranium experimentation, nuclear component casting documentation, a heavy water facility **unnecessary to any peaceful nuclear program**, high-power explosives testing facility, destruction of **suspect** sites, plans for a nuclear missile payload” (CNN)

“Nuclear inspectors will have to negotiate and receive Iranian approval for inspections. Which allows them denial and/or crucial delay for **concealing any clandestine activities**” (Washington Post)

“If the inspection regime is not rigorous and unrestricted, it will be nothing more than a cover **for Iranian cheating**. Even if it is perfect, it will not be able to look at facilities that it does not know about” (Fox)

Table 7: Text samples for the explanatory theme ‘Iran is untrustworthy’

6.3.3 Theme 3 – ‘Iran is a sponsor of international terrorism’

Iran’s financial and military support of so-called terrorist groups is frequently mentioned as another factor for the existing mistrust, to the extent that news reporting is structured around this theme, and as an explanatory theme, it ties in with the aforementioned notion that Iran is untrustworthy.

“It [Iran] deserves none [no sympathy], however, for the murderous policies of its rulers, and for its **persistent support of terrorism** abroad” (Daily Mail)

“see Iran as an **expansionist state exporting terror** across the globe through radical groups including Hezbollah and Boko Haram” (Daily Mail)

“that an Iran armed with new financial resources [...] will have the resources to **export further terrorism around the world**” (Daily Mail)

“Iran remains the world’s **most aggressive state sponsor of terrorism**, fueling the murderous efforts of Hezbollah, Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and other groups that have killed Americans, Europeans, Israelis and others.” (CNN)

“it has **worked with al Qaeda** since 2007 to target U.S. interests in Saudi Arabia and Dubai” (CNN)

“the **world’s foremost state sponsor of terrorism**” (Washington Post)

“Iran’s **sponsorship of terrorist groups and proxy armies** from Lebanon and Syria to the border of Saudi Arabia” (Fox)

“the Iranian threat network – a nefarious web of insurgent, criminal and **terrorist allies**” (Fox)

“the network now includes **proxies in Yemen and Iraq**, where the Iranian Revolutionary Guards Corps and its elite Quds Force are **training sectarian militias**” (Fox)

“Iranian **accomplices including Hamas in Gaza and Hezbollah in Lebanon**” (Fox)

“Iranian **sponsorship of terrorist organizations**” (Fox)

“the Iranian regime is still a **major sponsor of terrorist groups** opposed to the United States and its key allies throughout the Middle East, North Africa and the Persian Gulf region” (Fox)

“keep pressuring Tehran to cease its **support for terrorist and insurgent groups**” (Fox) “Iranian **funding of terrorist groups**” (Fox)

Table 8: Text samples for the explanatory theme ‘Iran is a sponsor of international terrorism’

6.3.4 Theme 4 – ‘Iran is fervently anti-American’

Another important and recurring explanatory theme in the overall discourse on Iran is their hostility towards the West, in particular towards the United States, which is occasionally used to justify the critical stance the US take with regards to Iran.

“the regime [...] will not want the enthusiasm over the American détente to get out of hand. Ever since 1979-80, the Iranian theocracy has rested on **hostility to the west**” (Guardian)

“**The strained relationship** between Washington and Tehran did not begin with the 1979 Iranian revolution. But...” (Guardian)

“a thaw in relations between the West and, arguably, the Middle East’s biggest power, **in the deep freeze since the Islamic revolution of 1979**” (Independent)

“The agreement between Tehran and the world’s six largest powers, including the United States, signals the end of **decades of hostility** dating back to the Iranian revolution which brought the Ayatollahs to power” (Daily Mail)

“the regime in Tehran has been [...], most fundamentally, **anti-American** in its approach. ‘Death to America’ has remained a popular chant at parliamentary sessions and government-orchestrate public rallies” (CNN)

“Iran continues to pull out all stops to protect Syria’s murderous dictator, Bashar al-Assad, by sending forces to help Syria’s army fight the U.S.-backed rebels. It’s also extending its reach in the region by backing the **anti-American** Houthi rebels who recently overran Yemen’s capital and **forced its U.S.-backed President to resign**” (CNN)

“the world’s most dangerous weapons will remain in the hands of a regime that’s driven by **fervent anti-Americanism**” (CNN)

“a fanatical Islamist regime whose foundational purpose is **to cleanse the Middle East of the poisonous corruption of American power** and influence” (Washington Post)

“a country that has been **a determined American enemy** for 35 years” (Washington Post)

Table 9: Text samples for the explanatory theme ‘Iran is radically anti-American’

6.3.5 Theme 5 – ‘Iran was forced into negotiations/negotiations were initiated by the West’

Another common narrative in official statements on the negotiations with Iran is that sanctions forced Iran to the negotiating table and that negotiations in general originated from Western political leaders, while their Iranian counterparts did not show any particular initiative. As Table 10 suggests, this narrative has become axiomatic in mainstream media reporting as well.

“a heartening success in the global quest to halt nuclear proliferation. **Credit goes to the tireless US secretary of state, John Kerry, but also to America’s partners:** Germany, France and Britain, including the former European high representative on foreign affairs, Baroness Ashton, and, in spite of tensions over Ukraine, **also to Russia, and,** to a lesser extent, **China. Credit, too, to the Iranian president Hassan Rouhani,** who has had to face down suspicious hardliners at home” (Guardian)

“For **politicians, ‘Iran fatigue’** set in long ago. They **have been trying to find a peaceful solution to the Iranian nuclear problem** ever since it was first discovered that Iran was in breach of the Non-Proliferation Treaty back in 2002. From the moment he was sworn into office, US president Barack **Obama has tried to make dismantling Iran’s vast nuclear infrastructure into his legacy issue**” (Independent)

“President **Obama has chosen to go down the diplomatic route**” (Daily Mail)

“**The US** has often in the past been accused of resorting too readily to force to impose its will. Now, it **is being seen to move heaven and earth to achieve some sort of diplomatic accommodation with Iran**” (Daily Mail)

“But the **United States** seems to deserve credit for **attempting the experiment of treating the state that has been for three decades one of its bitterest enemies as an honest negotiation partner.** It is inviting the Iranians to abandon international terrorism and to live, trade and work with us at peace” (Daily Mail)

“The deal **owes much to the perseverance of US Secretary of State John Kerry** who – having failed to deliver on an Israel-Palestinian peace deal – turned his attention to forging curbs on Iran’s nuclear capability” (Daily Mail)

“A combination of the oil **sanctions** and in recent years financial sanctions starved Iran of capital and credit, and **are seen as having forced the country to the bargaining table**” (Daily Mail)

“To his credit, President Barack Obama led global efforts to further tighten the screws on Iran, which threatened that nation with economic collapse and **coaxed Iranian leaders to the negotiating table**” (CNN)

“Iran stands to reap a potential windfall of billions of dollars that has been held up by international **sanctions designed to cripple the Iranian economy and bring Tehran to the negotiating table**” (Fox)

Table 10: Text samples for the explanatory theme ‘Iran was forced into negotiations’

6.4 Historical contextualization

A crucial element in the construction of the Iran-West nuclear confrontation is the element of history as it provides the context against which the issue is to be interpreted.

Broadly speaking, there are six different causes that are identified as having triggered the deterioration in relations between the Iran and the West, most of which take place in

 Mutual responsibility

“For the past 13 years, the standoff between Iran and the US, backed by its European allies, has threatened to escalate into war. In his 2002 state of the union address George W Bush lumped Iran in with North Korea and Iraq as part of the ‘axis of evil’, and he later heightened tensions further by increasing naval deployments to the Gulf. For more than a decade, Israel, with its own undeclared nuclear arsenal, has regularly warned that it was prepared to mount a pre-emptive air attack on Iranian nuclear facilities.” (Guardian)

(Concealment of) Nuclear program

“we did not want one of the world’s most dangerous regimes to possess (and potentially use or distribute) the world’s most dangerous weapon” (CNN)

Sponsoring of terrorism

“major sponsor of terrorist groups opposed to the United States and its key allies” (Fox)

Anti-Americanism

“Iran continues to pull out all stops to protect Syria’s murderous dictator Bashar al-Assad, by sending forces to help Syria’s army fight the U.S.-backed rebels. It’s also extending its reach in the region by backing the anti-American Houthi rebels who recently overran Yemen’s capital and forced its U.S.-backed President to resign” (CNN)

Threats to Israel

“Meanwhile, Iran’s leaders continue to threaten to eliminate Israel, the region’s lone democracy and America’s closest ally, and, under the emerging deal, Tehran has not promised to halt those threats.” (CNN)

Iranian Revolution (and aftermath)

“The strained relationship between Washington and Tehran did not begin with the 1979 revolution. But the storming of the US embassy and the taking of American hostages scarred US attitudes in the decades that followed. The prospect of conflict heightened in 1988 when the USS Vincennes shot down an Iranian passenger plane, killing 290. Tensions rose again in 2002, the genesis of the present crisis, when the Iranians were found to be withholding the truth about their nuclear programme, with the discovery of two previously undisclosed facilities at Natanz and Arak, giving rise to fears that Iran was hellbent on securing a nuclear weapon” (Guardian)

“Ever since 1979-80, the Iranian theocracy has rested on hostility to the west” (Guardian)

“Just possibly, the agreement [...] could signal the start of a thaw in relations between the West and, arguably, the Middle East’s biggest power, in the deep freeze since the Islamic revolution of 1979” (Independent)

“a country that has been a determined American enemy for 35 years” (Washington Post)

Table 11: Text samples for proximal and medium-term factors for the conflict between Iran and the West

a gray zone between event time and conjunctural time: the concealment of Iran's nuclear program, Iran's sponsoring of terrorist groups, Iran's anti-Americanism, Iran's threats to Israel, the Iranian Revolution, as well as – to some extent – mutual responsibility in terms of a tit for tat between Iran and the West and its allies.

As Table 11 demonstrates, *The Guardian* is the only one from among the media analyzed to mention that the escalation of the conflict was due to actions from both sides and also the only one to allot more space to a basic contextualization of the conflict, while in all the other media, Iran is almost exclusively the one to be blamed for the tensions.

Historically, most of the articles trace the conflict back to the Iranian revolution of 1979, with *The Guardian* being once more the only news outlet to include a more detailed historical account of events following the Islamic Revolution by mentioning the storming of the US embassy and the ensuing hostage crisis as well as the shooting down of an Iranian passenger plane by US forces and the Iranian concealment of its nuclear program.

The only mention of long-term causes occurs in the *Daily Mail*, which states that “Iran deserves some sympathy because it has suffered centuries of humiliation at the hands of Westerners, and it is determined to walk taller in the future”, but immediately neutralizes any sympathies by adding “[i]t deserves none [no sympathies], however, for the murderous domestic policies of its rulers, and for its persistent support of terrorism abroad”.

6.5 Intertextuality and interdiscursivity

The discourse on the Iranian nuclear conflict is naturally not seen in isolation, but it is contextualized by its embedding into popular narratives. In the corpus used for this analysis, two elements of intertextuality as well as interdiscursivity could be identified, namely references to the Cold War and to the ‘War on Terror’ narrative.

6.5.1 Cold War

Possibly triggered, in part, by the nature of the conflict, some of the articles analyzed showed elements relating the nuclear conflict with Iran to the major confrontation between the Western and the Eastern Block after World War II. This is, on a fundamental level, engrained in the discourse by the construal of an antagonism between Iran and ‘the West’ as a monolithic block, but is also visible in certain intertextual references to the Cold War era (“nuclear domino effect”, “nuclear arms race”, “nuclear disarmament”), in the intertextual reference to a major Cold War conflict (“Cuban missile crisis”) as well as in the quoting of a famous Cold War public figure, namely Ronald Reagan and his motto “Trust but verify” that he proposed for dealing with Soviet Russia, and by reinterpreting this as a viable strategy for dealing with Iran.

6.5.2 War on Terror

A second frame that is constantly invoked is global terrorism. Ever since 9/11, the fight against Islamic terrorism has become a paradigm of contemporary society. The word ‘terrorist’ has become narrowed down to refer only to a particular kind of terrorism – namely that perpetrated by fanatical Islamists, mostly against Western targets or targets in which the West has vested interests. Therefore, whenever a text refers to terrorism, what is evoked through this is the ‘War on Terror’ frame, to the effect that when news articles mention ‘terrorism’, ‘terror’, ‘terrorist groups’, ‘Islamist terror’ or ‘Islamist regime’, this directly connects to collective memories of terror attacks against the West and its allies.

Word	Frequency
terror	4
terrorism	9
terrorist/s	8
Islamic	13
Islamist	2

Table 12: Frequency count of words relating to ‘terror’ and ‘Islam’

7 Discussion and conclusion

The corpus of opinion articles and editorials analyzed in this paper draws a very clear picture of the nuclear conflict between Iran and the West. This is already indicated by who is awarded the right to speak and whose perspective dominates.

As Table 2 illustrates, there is a relatively strong numerical advantage for those who speak out against the deal with Iran. Besides the numbers, however, there is also the fact that no one speaks in favor of the deal who has not themselves a vested interest in its success. On the other hand, the people who oppose the deal seem to be ‘independent’ sources, whose authority and credibility derives from the very fact that they were not involved. What adds to their credibility are the descriptions awarded to them (“a *distinguished* general”, “an Iran *expert*”, “foreign policy *specialist*”), which suggest that they are in a neutral position to know and judge.² The effect of such representation may be to suggest a clash between professional opinion and natural bias.

² One aspect that needs to be addressed is that, while labels such as ‘expert’ or ‘specialist’ for opponents of the deal may suggest an unbiased view, some are in fact politically invested in the issue or contested with regard to their credibility. Asharq Al-Awsat, for example, is a Saudi-funded newspaper with a strong affiliation to the Saudi Royal Family and thus naturally opposed to Iran. The NCRI (or MEK), an Iranian opposition movement, in fact was listed as a terrorist organization up until the year 2009 because of accusations of violent actions such as assassinations aimed at regime change in Iran (Porter 2014).

The description of the text population also shows certain representational tendencies. Table 3 demonstrates that a large number of negative modifiers are used to describe ‘them’ (“dangerous”, “fanatical”, “aggressive”, “expansionist”). The Iranian government is consistently referred to as a “regime”, a term that implies an illegitimate nature of government as well as an anti-Western attitude of said government. It is inconceivable that it would ever be employed for governments – democratic or undemocratic – that are aligned with the West, such as Saudi Arabia. Furthermore, Iran is primarily defined as an Islamic state (“Islamist”, “Ayatollah”, “Shiite power”, “theocracy”), i.e. in terms of its religion, and associated with terrorist groups (“the world’s foremost state sponsor of terrorism”, “an expansionist state exporting terror across the globe”), which serves as an umbrella term for a great variety of groups, but pragmatically is almost exclusively understood to mean terrorism in the framework of the WoT. The description of ‘us’, on the other hand (see Table 4), draws an entirely different picture. First of all, the West and its allies are frequently represented by official institutions (“Capitol Hill”, “the Senate”, “Congress”, “the White House”, “the National Council of Resistance in Iran”), which conveys a strong notion of legitimacy. In addition, the word “power” is frequently used when referring to the West as a collective (“world powers”, “five great power partners”, “world’s six largest powers”, “the Western powers”, “the strongest military and economic powers on earth”), suggesting that the West has both the upper hand in the conflict as well as authority in speaking for ‘world opinion’. This is further underlined by the use of very positively connoted terms in reference to countries working with the US (“its European allies”, “America’s partners”, “the fellowship of peaceful nations”, “five great power partners”, “Israel and U.S. Arab allies”), as opposed to the terms used for Iran’s ‘partners’ (“its proxies”, “Shiite allies and other militants”, “its puppet regimes in Syria and Iraq”). This creates the impression that while the US cooperates with its partners democratically on the same level, Iran is merely attempting to control others to force their will on the region.

The dominant explanatory themes identified in the articles, also, provide a very straight-forward construction of actors and events, causes and effects. Firstly, in all articles, the blame for the crisis is – with varying degrees of intensity – identified to lie with the Iranians. ‘Provocations’ by the West are mentioned – most notably in *The Guardian*, but within the overall explanatory framework that attributes a variety of negative features to the Iranian government, such casual mentions hardly make a difference. Consistently, it is being implied that negotiations were initiated by the West in order to avoid military conflict which – it is suggested – is something the Iranians would take their chances with. The picture is that of a powerful alliance of nations that choose to waive their power for the good of humankind, while the Iranians are portrayed as having been forced by the sanctions regime to concede and give up their dreams of nuclear weaponry. This argument seems to be used, therefore, to justify harsh economic sanctions as a valid instrument of conflict resolution, backgrounding at the same time the suffering these sanctions have caused on innocent civilians. This is identical to the offi-

cial narrative that is propagated by most Western politicians (Obama 2015; Netanyahu 2015), and takes no account of alternative narratives which present Iran as the active part in seeking negotiations, with the West refusing to accept this request until Iran had a sufficiently big leverage through its potential to enrich uranium to 20% (Porter 2014). The only news outlet to mention an active involvement by the Iranians at the sidelines is *The Guardian*, which acknowledges the effort put into current negotiations by Iranian President Rouhani. All other news outlets not only do not mention any active role by Iran, but also structurally make it clear that the West was the agent, Iran the patient in the defusing of the nuclear crisis, in spite of the clear evidence of Iranians proactively seeking to reestablish relations (Porter 2014).

Secondly, the official claim that Iran strives to obtain a nuclear weapon is presupposed throughout all media in the corpus and is never questioned. The implied reason for why Iranians are believed to pursue this goal lies in the secretive nature of their nuclear program that was exposed in 2002, i.e. in circumstantial evidence. Not one of the articles questions the validity of this very central claim and none takes into account the fatwa against chemical weapons that was issued by Ayatollah Khomeini twice (which is even mentioned in Obama's statement), and which was the reason why Iranians did not respond in kind to chemical attacks by Iraqis during the Iraq-Iran war. The articles also ignore the dubious origins of the documents used to implicate Iran with seeking nuclear capacity, which was provided by what Porter calls "the Iranian exile terrorist organization Mujahedeen E-Khalq (MEK)", and which according to then-IAEA director general El Baradei were never authenticated (Porter January 10, 2015, online). They also neglect the Iranian viewpoint claiming that they never actively pursued a nuclear weapon – striving only for a civil use of nuclear power – and that they merely started the uranium enrichment program to pressure the West into serious negotiations.

Thirdly, the accusation that Iran is a sponsor of international terrorism, frequently put forth by various U.S. administrations, is also very prominent in the corpus. In many cases, this sponsorship is also presupposed rather than explicitly mentioned, and the tendency to ascribe such affiliations to terror groups is admittedly stronger in US papers, so it appears to be a more dominant aspect of the US narrative. What is interesting in this respect is to see that some articles attempt to affiliate Iran simultaneously with Al-Qaeda, which is a Sunni extremist group, as well as with Hezbollah in Lebanon and the Houthis in Yemen, which are Shia, while simultaneously insinuating that Iran and Saudi Arabia were engaged in a Sunni-Shia religious conflict, creating an unresolved contradiction; however, few readers are bound to be aware of this for lack of required background knowledge. Notably, also, the usage of the various lexemes related to 'terror' manages to achieve the affiliation with Al-Qaeda or ISIS even without explicit mention, through its association with the 'War on Terror' narrative. This obscures the fact that Iran is backing groups with more local interests, which are – mostly – not directing their attacks against the West, and not groups such as Al-Qaeda, which have global reach and ambitions. The frequent use of 'terror' in connection with Iran (see Table 12) can be

argued to create a very tight connection between the two in the readers' mind, to the effect that any means necessary appear to be justified against Iran as they – via the WoT frame – are seen as a vital threat to Western civilization.

Fourthly, the notion of anti-Americanism or of an anti-Western attitude is also employed across the media outlets with some consistency, and thus positions Iran as a natural opponent of 'our' way of life. However, while this notion is being invoked, there is no exploration or even mentioning of any potential reasons for this negative attitude. In omitting any cause-effect references, the Iranian hatred appears as an intrinsic part of their ideology and therefore only solvable by a defeat of those holding such ideology. As the historical origin is traced back to 1979, i.e. the Islamic Revolution, the anti-Western sentiment thus ties in with Islamism and the attacks on Western targets it has spawned, so that again the 'War on Terror' frame is activated and reinforced. None of the articles specifically mention any events before 1979 that may account for the revolution happening or for negative sentiments evolving; the only mentions in *The Guardian* ("The strained relationship [...] did not begin with the 1979 Iranian revolution") and the *Daily Mail* ("[Iran] has suffered centuries of humiliation at the hands of Westerners") remain superficial, isolated and lacking in meaningful context. The overall effect of this is to locate the blame for the strained relations with Iran, since the narrative starts with their actions, whose further causal motivations are not or insufficiently explored.

On the other hand, there are quite a number of intertextual references that attempt to frame the issue in a particular way, by drawing on well-known historical narratives. Besides the WoT narrative, which was already discussed, the second major narrative is the Cold War narrative, both of which serve to provide the readers with a ready-made interpretational pattern through which to make sense of the unfolding events. The Cold War frame, here, evokes the threat of constant annihilation that was propagated and consequently felt on a regular basis during that period. It suggests that at any point in time, Iran – being thus likened to the Soviets – could decide to initiate a nuclear holocaust. The reference also suggests that the two parties involved are equally strong, similar to the U.S. and Soviet Russia, as well as it implies that Iran is pursuing hegemonic goals in the region, comparable to the goals the Soviets pursued through the Eastern Block or their invasion of Afghanistan.

Such a frame, however, can be argued to critically under- or even misrepresent crucial aspects of reality by drawing on an already established narrative. Most of all, it backgrounds the inequality of power between 'the West' and Iran, which investigative journalists such as Porter (July 15, 2015) consider to be the main reason for why negotiations with Iran were delayed for so long. Furthermore, it represents Iran in a way where readers may get the impression that Iran is the only country in the region to have or want nuclear weapons (e.g. by references to a nuclear arms race). However, Pakistan, India and Israel, for example, already own nuclear weapons, which was never seen as an issue. The Cold War frame, thus, serves as a powerful narrative to determine a-priori who is the good party and who the bad in this conflict and thus ignores the complex

and nuanced nature of the standoff and may prevent people from inquiring whether the question of responsibility is more multidimensional than officially assumed.

In summary, the historical contextualization of the issue is rudimentary at best. Most of the historical references are synchronous in nature, i.e. they refer to aspects and issues that people are familiar with from daily news discourse, such as terror, nuclear threat or anti-Western sentiments. There are no meaningful references to what Braudel calls 'Structural Time', i.e. no attempts to explain the issue in its historical complexity. Of course, it can be argued that this is not the function of opinion articles, but the fact that no distal factors are even mentioned to account for current tensions indicates that there appears to be a general lack of awareness or critical attitude, as the synchronous factors put forth in the articles very closely reflect official narratives propagated by Western politicians – in some parts even literally (Obama 2015 on the reason for the sanctions and on what brought Iranians to the negotiation table) – and do not take into account any alternative narratives.

The lack of a larger historical context, in connection with the genesis of the conflict being pinpointed to 1979, creates a particular cause-effect relationship in which the West does have a part ('provocations' in the *Guardian*), but in which the spark was and continues to be initiated by Iran. The specific choice of date affects readers' conceptualization of the nature of the conflict thusly that whatever the West does, this is seen merely as a reaction to previous provocations by Iran. However, a closer look at the historical development of Western-Iranian relations would show that, in fact, the converse is more likely to be true. The events of 1979 themselves, rather than appearing as the origin of the conflict, would seem like a reaction to Western intervention and to the brutality of the Western-backed regime of the Shah, and would turn the dominant narrative upside-down, by questioning the very axiom underpinning all the articles analyzed in this paper – the axiom that the West is fundamentally benevolent, and that all violent acts initiated by it are – almost by definition – a reaction to preceding acts of violence by another party and hence always justified. This notion is emphasized by the use of intertextuality and interdiscursivity, which manage to relate the conflict between the West and Iran with the frameworks of the Cold War and the 'War on Terror', in which the sides have been paradigmatically set – 'we' are good and 'they' are bad – a categorization that is automatically projected onto the issue at hand, but critically misrepresents it.

The discussion of explanatory themes has clearly shown that all of the media outlets – some more than others – reflect, endorse and thus naturalize the official narrative of the nuclear conflict between Iran and the West. Juxtaposing their accounts with the historical overview presented in chapter 5, it becomes apparent that alternative explanations that radically call into question the dominant discourse on the topic are not included, and where they are, they remain so isolated, unexplained and decontextualized that it is hard to imagine that readers would be able to meaningfully and coherently employ

these in their interpretation of the issue unless they already have in-depth knowledge of it.

Media discourse appears to follow the familiar patterns, including the orientalist and stereotypical, yet unquestioned, dichotomy between ‘us’ and ‘them’, which by extension also passes a value judgment reflecting a two-dimensional, black and white thinking in all but name. It positions the Iran issue within the paradigm of the clash of civilization (Huntington 1996) and in doing so foregrounds cultural and religious differences – as well as possibly envy-based hatred of the civilized West – to account for what essentially is the incarnation of a geopolitical and socioeconomic problem which has its origin in Western postcolonial policies. The potential effect this has on the reader is to reinforce existing stereotypes of the Islamic ‘other’ by connecting to already existing conceptualizations from our everyday lives. A very complex topic is thus interpreted through the lens of contemporary discourse in which – in Blommaert’s sense – different explanatory layers collapse into one, and thus a multidimensional issue becomes a two-dimensional one in which dominant narratives are reinforced rather than questioned.

“It can be dangerous,” says the historian Margaret Macmillan, “to question the stories people tell about themselves because so much of our identity is both shaped by and bound up with our history” (2009, 47). The same is the case with the dominant narratives of the Nuclear Deal with Iran. Yet these stories need to be questioned, in particular by journalists as the fourth estate in a democracy, if the mistakes that have led to a certain dismal state of affairs are not to be repeated. History can be a great teacher, but only if we are willing to look further than the officially propagated narratives, and accept that what we may find might not resonate with our view of the world, but instead create a wholesome dissonance.

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The Blog is Served

Crossing the ‘Expert/Non-Expert’ Border in a Corpus of Food Blogs

Daniela Cesiri*

Abstract

The present study investigates some of the most popular food blogs (FBs) in the United Kingdom. The aim is to examine this particular genre of computer-mediated communication and, in particular, to individuate the features that characterise its discourse, in which language seems to constantly cross the border between professional and popular terminology. Through corpus-based research methods, the lexico-grammatical aspects of the FBs are analysed to see when and to what extent the food bloggers make use of a more professional language and when and to what extent they employ a more popular(ised) level of discourse. The paper provides evidence that the food bloggers constantly cross the border between the role as experts and the role as food lovers to avoid a lecturing style that would make the FB less attractive to the average user.

Key words: food blogs, computer-mediated communication, corpus linguistics, English for Specific Purposes

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1 Introduction

In the last few years, food blogs (henceforth, FBs) have increasingly grown in importance also in relation to the popularity that food-related activities are enjoying in our society. For instance, we can consider the sheer number of publications dealing with food and drink that have recently been published in the UK alone; according to *The Guardian's* author Bee Wilson, Nielsen Books Services reveals that “1,808 food and drink titles [were] published in the UK in 2014” (Wilson 2015). To printed books we should add dedicated TV channels and TV shows.

In this context, blogs dedicated to food and drink allow anyone who is not a famous chef or expert in nutrition to be in the spotlight and contribute to the sharing of knowledge about specific food, food-related personal experiences and recipes that can be reproduced by other people even when their cooking skills are quite limited. In this regard, FBs take the role of “virtual communities” (Blanchard 2004), in which people with a common interest in food – including its preparation, processing and serving – share information, stories and, above all, recipes. The visitors of the FBs can interact with the authors, share their experiences, ask for more details, instructions or advice; something that is impossible to do with famous chefs and experts appearing in TV shows. In these shows the most successful food bloggers, along with the so-called ‘TV-chefs’, present their recipes and provide useful advice for a healthy diet and lifestyle through food consumption.

In TV shows, however, there is a very limited – if any at all – interaction with the public. On the contrary, FBs can be considered as ideal platforms for interaction between the ‘expert’ who runs the blog and ‘the non-expert’ who visits the same blog and possibly posts comments. However, this interaction is more complex than just a dual relationship between the author who spreads expert knowledge and the public who receives it; visitors include not only beginners but also experienced amateurs in the field of cookery and, in more general terms, food-related professions or activities.

The present study analyses a group of the most popular FBs in the United Kingdom in order to investigate if and to what extent food bloggers switch between their roles of experts and the roles of non-experts for a friendlier approach, especially when they explain the procedure and provide comments on their recipes. Through corpus-based research methods the study will look at the linguistic features, such as common nouns and lexical verbs, that contribute to shape the discourse of these specific virtual communities in which language seems to be used to constantly cross the border between expert and non-expert communication (cf. Diemer & Frobenius 2013).

The study can be considered as a first step to test the ground for a larger investigation that could conduct a more complex and thorough analysis of the language of FBs in order to understand its nature and to examine its potential for the teaching of EFL in professional-/occupational-specific domains as well as in mainstream EFL courses.

2 Food Blogs (FBs) as a Genre

FBs can be considered as “a written, asynchronous genre of CMC (Computer-Mediated Communication)” (Diemer & Frobenius 2013, 53). In addition, they are considered (ibid.) a complex sub-genre of blogs in general, composed of pages that contain recipes as any traditional printed cookbook, with the further addition of detailed food-related personal events and memories; FBs also display pages providing nutrition-related information and a platform for discussion with other likeminded internauts.

With regards to their organisation as a textual genre, FBs contain complex, multi-modal features that range from graphic, both static and dynamic, elements such as animations and sounds, text, pictures and videos, as well as hyperlinks. They also contain interactive features such as, for instance, dedicated sections to post comments, links to social media, subscription to a newsletter, access to searchable archives, and so forth.

Considering both their contents and their structure, FBs appear as places where the expert knowledge of food bloggers and other users and the ‘common practice’ of non-expert users or novices in the field meet. In this way they all contribute to create not only a discourse community interacting via computer-mediated communication (i.e., “human-to-human communication via computer networks”, Herring 2001, 612) but they also constitute a community of practice (cf. Wenger 1998; Wenger-Trayner 2015).

Indeed, the community of food bloggers and their public do constitute a discourse community, in that they fulfil, for instance, all the six characteristics of communities as listed by Swales (2011, 471–473):

1. they have “a broadly agreed set of common public goals” (i.e., sharing information and knowledge about food and preparing the dishes described in the recipes);
2. they also have their own “mechanisms of intercommunication among [the] members”, such as communication via the comments’ sections or forum-like discussions;
3. they use very specific “participatory mechanisms primarily to provide information and feedback”;
4. they “utilize and hence possess one or more genres in the communicative furtherance of [their] aims”, that is to say, they not only use the whole blog but, especially, the recipe pages to communicate food-related contents;
5. “in addition to owning genres [in our case the FB] , a discourse community has acquired a specific lexis”, which is composed of food-related terminology (as Section 6 will illustrate); and
6. “a discourse community has a threshold level of members with a suitable degree of relevant content and discorsal expertise” (471–473).

Indeed, the levels of the members of the FB community range from the novice (closer to the minimum threshold level) to the most expert, almost professional, level that is possessed by the food bloggers and the most advanced users.

In addition, the community of FBs can also be defined a community of practice, considering that “communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly” (Wenger-Trayner 2015, 1); this is another characteristic that the community of food bloggers and their visitors share and fulfil both in the recipe pages and in the comments’ sections. Unfortunately, research on the language of FBs, to date, is relatively scarce. However, a contribution especially dedicated to FBs is Diemer & Frobenius (2013) who conducted, both a qualitative and a quantitative investigation of a corpus of FBs of their own compilation with a similar approach to the one adopted in this study and which they label as the FBC (the Food Blog Corpus).

The authors report interesting results about the description of (1) the lexical and syntactic features that might be typical of FBs and (2) the same FBs’ nature of a hybrid genre of CMC, in that they combine the genre of weblogs with that of traditional cook-books, adding a direct interaction with their users. The results discussed in Diemer & Frobenius (2013) will then be compared and contrasted to the findings of the present study in order to infer the most typical features that can be observed in the language of FBs as a kind of “occupational variety” (Crystal 1996, 370, in Diemer & Frobenius 2013, 58).

2.1 General structure of the FBs’ recipe sections

The selection of the FBs to be investigated followed the criterion of their ‘popularity’ on the Web and the activity of posting comments by the food bloggers. In fact, the search for the most popular FBs in the UK did not involve the actual contents of the blogs or reviews by culinary experts; the selection included the most active and the most consulted FBs from a mere statistical viewpoint. This criterion was chosen because, for the purposes of the present study, it was more important to select the FBs in which the authors and the users interact more frequently and, thus, making it easier to analyse when and how the food bloggers position themselves along the ‘expert/non-expert’ border with respect to their public.

For this reason, the source used for the ranking of the FBs was a media database website, namely *Vuelio* (former *Cision UK*), which is a journalist and blogger database, monitoring analytics; indeed, “Vuelio’s blog ranking methodology takes into consideration social sharing, topic-related content and post frequency” (Hodges 2015). Consequently, the consultation of the data from this database issued a ‘UK’s Top 10 Food Blogs’ list, with data that were last updated in June 2015. The most popular FBs in the UK were collected in the list below following the same order as the list provided by *Vuelio*. The corresponding hyperlinks are also provided. It is also worth mentioning the fact that the FBs are all run by native speakers of English residing in the UK, thus issues concerning the food bloggers’ level and mastery of English that could influence their language and discourse-specific narratives were not taken into consideration. The ‘Top 10 UK FBs’ are:

1. *Deliciously Ella*, <<http://deliciouslyella.com/>>;
2. *The Curry Guy*, <<http://www.greatcurryrecipes.net/>>;
3. *Lavender And Lovage*, <<http://www.lavenderandlovage.com/>>;
4. *Honestly Healthy*, <<http://www.honestlyhealthyfood.com/>>;
5. *Tinned Tomatoes*, <<http://www.tinnedtomatoes.com/>>;
6. *A Girl Called Jack*, <<http://agirlcalledjack.com/>>;
7. *The Crazy Kitchen*, <<http://www.thecrazykitchen.co.uk/>>;
8. *Eat Like A Girl*, <<http://eatlikeagirl.com/>>;
9. *Amuse Your Bouche*, <<http://www.amuse-your-bouche.com/>>;
10. *Belleau Kitchen*, <<http://www.belleaukitchen.com/>>.

The authors of the ten FBs are predominantly women: indeed, only FBs number 2 and 10 are run by men. This female predominance can have more than one explanation and many might refer to stereotypical roles and interests still assigned to women in present-day Western societies: first of all, we could argue that women are more interested in cooking because of the traditional, century-old role of the woman as assigned, by a male-dominated view of society, to the kitchen and to household keeping that might still play a role even in modern society. Another explanation could be that women are generally believed to care more than men about healthy lifestyle and diet for them and their family.

A further explanation could lie in what Herring (2000 and 2003) affirms about the participation of women to/in computer-mediated communicative environments, namely that the Internet can provide a source of income – through advertisements and banners – for people who might be excluded from other forms of business. In the case of the eight FBs run by women, we have several examples that fall within this category, such as those who had to take care of a seriously-ill family member and could not achieve career goals, housewives with children of different ages, women who developed intolerances or whose children are born with intolerances or food-allergies and who dedicate their FB to spreading useful recipes and awareness about these problems. Running a FB, then, helps women in these situations to develop their own online business (through advertising banners, self-produced publications and so on) without neglecting their family commitments.

Another reason for FBs being run more by women than by men could be seen in the role that – according to Herring (2008) – women play in asynchronous CMC, namely that “women participate more actively and enjoy greater influence in environments where the norms of interaction are controlled by an individual or individuals entrusted with maintaining order and focus in the group” (209). Running their own FB empowers women with this role of communicative control, making sure that they discuss the topic they love most without the risk of meeting aggressive users who criticise or ‘flame’ and, if this should ever happen, they have full control over the blog, so they can block possible “threats of disruption and harassment” (ibid.).

Despite gender-related differences regarding the food bloggers, the FBs analysed present a common structure that recurs in each one of them; focusing in particular on the sections containing the recipes, these are accessible via the menu bar and are labelled as “Recipes” (in FBs number 1, 2, 4, 5 and 9 in the list above); FB number 3 calls it “Recipe Box”, in line with its old-fashioned, British tradition-oriented style, while FB number 6 labels the section “Recipes and Food”. FBs number 7 and 10 are structured to present their recipes directly on the home page, with other pages left for disclaimers and other food-related topics different than the actual recipes. Finally, FB number 8 labels the section dedicated to recipes as “Cooking”, in contrast to other sections such as the one labelled “Travelling”, for instance.

The recipe pages for the majority of the FBs analysed are accessible through a drop-down menu bar, listing the several sub-sections indicated with labels such as ‘main courses’, ‘appetizers’, ‘bakery’, ‘vegan recipes’, and so forth.

Once s/he has selected the sub-section of interest, the user can also access the recipe of his/her choice; these pages are structured in the same way in all the FBs: namely, they contain the title of the recipe with some comments, usually expressed in one sentence and an optional exclamation mark to emphasise some specific element of the recipes, such as its tastiness, lightness or a particular method of cooking or the time needed for the preparation of the dish. For instance, *The Curry Guy* FB, after the recipe title for “Indian Style Buffalo Wings with a Coriander Raita Dipping Sauce”, adds the phrase “These buffalo wings just plain get it!”, which indicates that the recipe is of easy and fast preparation.

Then, in the recipe pages, a few introductory paragraphs follow, containing the origin of the recipe, the source of information, which might be another food blogger, a family member, a friend, or the product of a particular travelling or life experience; the recipe, indeed, is always contextualised to the blogger’s experience or past history, either personal or of his/her closer family circle. However, these paragraphs might also contain the description of the emotions evoked by the recipe itself, thus making the introduction to the actual recipe as personal and personalised as possible.

The recipes, then, are presented as in any traditional cookbook, i.e. the food bloggers start indicating the number of servings, the time that will be necessary for the whole preparation and occasionally for each of the different stages. That might include the time needed for mixing the ingredients, the time for cooking or baking, the time if the dish needs to be cooled down or heated up before being served, and so forth. Other opening sections always include the recipe’s level of difficulty, the list of ingredients with quantities and, occasionally, alternatives for more seasonal products or in case of allergies and/or intolerances. This information is followed by the preparation procedure, traditionally the core of any recipe, with photos of the process and other steps, as well as some more or less detailed information on how to best serve or enjoy the final result.

The recipe page, then, is concluded by some remarks, which might be expressed through one brief paragraph, one or two short sentences, or some typical formulaic expressions; in the corpus of the FBs examined here it is usually ‘enjoy’, in the imperative tense, that predominates, with some exceptions such as FB number 8 that concludes some recipes with the phrase “Good, eh?”.

The recipe pages are actually concluded by the comments’ section in which the interaction with users takes place, but this is typically indicated as a visually well-defined, separate section at the very bottom of the recipe page. In Diemer & Frobenius (2013, 72), this is the section in which FBs contain the greatest alternation between the professional detachment of the food blogger and a more friendly-like closeness to the users who posted some comments, provided feedback or expressed compliments on the recipe or to the blogger. In this study, the comments’ sections are not the focus of the investigation, since it appeared that indirect interaction already happens in the recipe page, thus priority was given to the latter. However, the former will certainly be the object of future research.

The recipes presented in the FBs are of various kinds, from finger food and appetizers to preserves and liquors, as well as main courses and desserts. The food bloggers try to meet all the possible tastes of their public and even anticipate problems of intolerance or allergy to some ingredients by providing advice and suitable alternatives. A great number of recipes or entire sub-sections are intended for vegans and vegetarians, showing an attention to the demands of their public since the food bloggers openly admit that the vegan/vegetarian recipes or their vegan/vegetarian alternatives were proposed after explicit requests in the comment’s sections, via email, or through forum-like discussions.

Only some of the FBs display personal or profile pictures of the authors, and even when they show the stages of the preparation with photos, the FBs display the tools and food involved and the hands of the person, but never his/her face; these different levels of ‘recognisability’ of the bloggers might in a way influence the more or less immediate, personal contact between the public and the author, but only to a minor extent, since some photos of the blogger are always present even when they are reduced to a minimum, so the users can recognise him/he.

Finally, some FBs contain – in the recipe pages – a few lines dedicated to what could be called ‘disclaimers’ space, in which the blogger specifies that s/he has used specific products, ingredients, kitchen tools or appliances that were sent for testing by the producing companies; however, the bloggers always specify also that they were not paid to test or to provide positive feedback, so their testing and appraisal is independent from any kind of commercial influence. It must be said, though, that references to the products or tools is usually indirect and that priority is given to the recipe, the ingredients (without many specific references to individual brands) and the preparation procedure; appraisals or reviews are only incidental, or are inserted to seem incidental.

3 Methodology and Data

The present study aims at examining the explicit or implicit existence of boundaries between the expert (food bloggers) and the non-expert (the blogs' users) as well as investigating when the food bloggers cross over, i.e. when (and how) they position themselves on either side of the border, as experts or as "an approachable person sharing food-related everyday experiences with likeminded readers" (Diemer & Frobenius 2013, 72). The study takes into consideration the core, as it were, of the FBs, namely the pages dedicated to recipes (henceforth referred to as 'recipes pages'), in which the bloggers add recipe-specific information and instructions along with personal stories and comments related to the recipe itself or to a particular kind of food.

It is worth underlining that, as Gerhardt (2013, 43) puts it (emphasis added),

recipes are not simple, straight-forward step-by-step instructions that can be successfully used by any novice, but they represent a register containing *presuppositions on many levels*, *necessary incompleteness* in the steps of preparations or sets of instructions, *assumptions* about cultural knowledge, practical skills, and technical equipments evoking a complex set of practices. Successful cooks need to be able to time their steps, to understand the ever-changing nature of the product as they produce it while putting the text into action.

The elements emphasised in this passage underline the area in which food bloggers are more likely, and are actually called upon, to fulfil their role as experts, i.e. when they explain the procedure and the ingredients they are filling a gap in the non-experts' knowledge of the recipe and its preparation. The aim of this article is to understand how they do this, trying to answer two main research questions: Do the food bloggers distance themselves from their 'public' through their role as experts by using expressions and a general style that constantly remind the visitors of the blog of their 'authoritative' position? Or do they rather use a more friendly and informal language that puts the food bloggers at the same level as their public?

For the present analysis, the texts of the recipe pages were compiled into a corpus which we could call the 'Top 10 UK's FBs Corpus' (henceforth, T10_UKFBC). A sample of ten recipes from each of the ten FBs listed above was collected, thus producing a total of 100 recipe pages.

The recipes were selected randomly, generally taking one recipe page from each of the sub-sections present in the FBs, since the idea was to analyse the language of FBs in general, thus trying to exclude – for the time being – some possibly biased semantic influence that might derive from the selection of specific categories of the preparations (e.g., all the recipes in the main courses sub-sections, all desserts, etc.) or lists of basic ingredients (e.g., meat, fish or vegan recipes).

The texts collected to form the T10_UKFBC were annotated using the *CLAWS part-of-speech tagger for English* (Rayson 2008). The annotated corpus was, then, investigated

with *WordSmith Tools Version 6* (Scott 2012), a software for linguistic analysis. The corpus search was conducted on the tags for common nouns (both in the singular and in the plural form) as well as for lexical verbs in order to investigate the use of content-specific terminology contrasted to the use of vague and general language. Individuating the extent of the alternation of technical and general terminology could help detect the bloggers' intention to switch from the role of expert (using specialised language) to the role of common user (through the use of more general and/or vague language).

4 Results and Analysis

The analysis conducted on the results of the corpus search is both quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative analysis describes features such as the number of words present in a corpus, the number of types and tokens and their standardised ratio as well as mean word length, number of sentences and mean word length in the sentences. These are all values that help describe semantic complexity and lexical variation characterising a corpus. Then, the qualitative analysis examines the use of common nouns and lexical verbs to see if and when the food bloggers employ a more technical or a more general terminology, and vice versa.

4.1 Quantitative Analysis

The quantitative analysis conducted through *WordSmith Tools* produced some interesting results. Table 1 illustrates these results: the central column (T10_UKFBC) presents data from the present study, while the right-hand column (FBC) summarises results from Diemer & Frobenius (2013), using the acronym FBC, which is used by the authors to indicate their Food Blog Corpus.

	T10_UKFBC	FBC
Words	64,940	826,073
Tokens/types	60,221/3,597	207,938/8,039
STTR	28.61	69.53
Mean Word Length/Sentences	3.53/1,303	4/4,559
Sentences Mean Word Length	35.16	36

Table 1: Quantitative data contrasting the T10_UKFBC and the FBC corpora.

The relatively low Standardised Type-Token Ratio (STTR) of the T10_UKFBC corpus, as revealed by figures in Table 1, indicates that the corpus is lexically quite repetitive. However, the two corpora show similar figures as regards the mean word length and the mean word length in the sentences.

Commenting on their quantitative results, Diemer & Frobenius (2013) affirm that “usually the combination of high [S]TTR, high word, and high sentence length indicates

specialised or possibly even restricted content and elaborated style” (57). This statement drives a more specific interpretation of the quantitative data from the T10_UKFBC, namely that the corpus contains elaborated style – as demonstrated by the high sentence length – but a specialised, or even restricted, content – testified by the low STTR. This can be further interpreted as a reflection of the structure of the blog pages containing recipes, i.e., long introductions and contextual information, explicit instructions, or food-/recipe-related terminology, which is further restricted for the presence of many recipes meant for vegetarian/vegan dietary habits to meet the users’ explicit demands (see Section 4 above).

In conclusion, the quantitative data shows that the FBs in the T10_UKFBC are general in their structure (meeting the requirements of weblogs as a digital genre; on this see, for instance, Giltrow & Stein 2009, Herring et al. 2004, Miller & Shepherd 2004, Myers 2010); however, the FBs are at the same time specialised in their contents since the food bloggers are specialised in, or decide to focus on, specific kinds of recipes (e.g., curry, English countryside, vegan/vegetarian, etcetera).

4.2 Qualitative Analysis

As concerns the qualitative aspect of the present analysis, the FBs included in the corpus show the use of a wide range of terms (both nouns and verbs), that include terms typical of the ‘cooking world’ as also terms drawn from general language with recurrence to some vague language as well.

As for the group of common nouns, we find general food categories with the use of terms such as ‘fish, fruit, pasta’. Some more context-specific food categories are, instead, terms such as ‘cod, duck, halibut, onions’, or basic ingredients such as ‘parsley, oil, paprika, onions’. In this regards, the term ‘onions’ can be used for both categories with its use differentiated when the recipe employs onions as the main ingredient of a recipe (as in the ‘Caramelised Onion, Coconut & Egg Curry’ recipe in the *Eat Like A Girl* FB), or when onions are just employed to provide more flavour (as in the ‘Warming Winter Curry’ recipe in the *Deliciously Ella* FB).

Other specialised terms include names of kitchen tools (‘pan, [kitchen] paper, oven’) and of specific products (‘pudding, pesto, Leerdammer’). The specific lexicon certainly includes also recipe-related measures (‘pinch, palm’) in addition to the usual terms such as ‘grams, ounces, etc.’ and the texture of preparations (‘mousse, puff pastry, puree’).

In addition, we find terms that are strictly connected to the world of blogs in general and of social media, in particular, namely nouns such as ‘comments, post, Facebook’.

The lexical verbs that are used in the T10_UKFBC refer to general actions related to particular cooking processes; these can be divided into more general terms (such as ‘cook, serve, toss, add, turn, repeat, remove, remember, heat, pour’) and of terms indicating more specific cooking or preparation techniques (‘boil, beat, mix, bake, toast, fry, simmer, sprinkle, saut [sic], rinse, stir’).

In addition, we can list verbs indicating actions performed with specific kitchen tools, namely: ‘spoon [v.], blend, chop, drain [with kitchen paper], brush, flatten, slice, peel, grate, squeeze’. These verbs are, not surprisingly, used in the imperative form, since the nature of the recipes is essentially instructional. Other imperative forms are used for what could be defined as ‘imperatives of consumption’ with verbs such as ‘try, enjoy, buy’.

Finally, the category of lexical verbs also includes verbs referring to actions typical of social media, such as ‘[to] Twitter [sic], [to] share, [to] post’.

5 Discussion

The corpus search for common nouns and lexical verbs showed that the food bloggers make a mixed use of both general and more specialised terms, thus testifying to a mixed approach of the bloggers to their blogs’ users: on the one hand they use domain-specific and specialised terminology, thus positioning themselves on the ‘expert’ side of the imaginary border drawn at the beginning of this study. On the other hand, the use of more general and vague terms, even though always referring to the semantic field of food and cooking, signals a parallel tendency of the bloggers to position themselves on the ‘non-expert’ side, together with the visitors of their blogs as food lovers sharing their experiences, but not actually lecturing their public.

This alternation between the two roles, even in the same recipe page, is further confirmed if we have a closer look at the individual recipe pages of the FBs that were included in the corpus. In this respect, the food bloggers show different ‘strategies’ to position themselves on either side of the ‘expert/non-expert’ border.

In some FBs, such as *Deliciously Ella*, there is the alternate use of vague language for measures, lists of ingredients and the state of the preparation during the cooking process to the use of more precise indications, thus the blogger seems to oscillate halfway between the role of expert and the non-expert level. For instance, the sentences in example (1) appear in the same paragraph, separated by just a few words:

1. “1 bag carrots (about 750g) ... drizzle a little olive oil at the end” (*Deliciously Ella*).

In this case the quite specific quantity of the first ingredient is alternated to a very vague reference to a quantity of olive oil that, to a non-expert person, might indicate anything between a few drops and a tablespoon. In this case, however, we might find an instance of what in Gerhardt’s (2013, 43) quote cited in Section 1 was defined as elements typical of the recipe genre, that is to say “presuppositions on many levels, necessary incompleteness in the steps of preparations or sets of instructions, assumptions about cultural knowledge”. More specifically, the food blogger is assuming that her public already knows, because it is part of a shared knowledge in cooking instructions, the

exact quantity of oil to be added at that point of the recipe, thus she leaves that part of her instructions incomplete or, rather, undefined.

In other cases, such as those exemplified in (2) and (3), the cooking instructions might be quite specific in both procedures and terminology, with the bloggers explicitly positioning themselves on the expert side of the border:

2. “Start to build the recipe by adding half of the ingredients to each coddler in this order: smoked fish chopped sorrel, dill, capers, cheese and salt and pepper” (*Lavender and Lovage*);
3. “Make a well in the centre of the sifted flour and crack the eggs into the middle. Add the oil and salt and beat together to form a dough” (*A Girl Called Jack*).

In example (2), for instance, precision is given by providing the exact sequence of the ingredients that need to be added to the recipe; while in example (3) precision and specific language are provided by specifying the technique and the actions described to make the pastry.

In the case reported in example (4) below, there is an interesting mix of cooking instructions containing both general (underlined text, emphasis added) and specific (italic typed text, emphasis added) language in the same utterance; thus, the blogger presents himself as balancing right at the border line:

4. bung the whole lot into a large roasting tin and *roast for 1 hour on 160C turning the heat up to 180C for the last 10 minutes to brown the sausages* serve with a big salad and a smile! (*Belleau Kitchen*).

More often than not, however, the bloggers try to present themselves to the public as “an approachable person sharing food-related everyday experiences with likeminded readers” (Diemer & Frobenius 2013, 72). Indeed, in examples (5) to (7), the commentary text preceding or following the actual recipe presents the blogger as just one among the other food lovers, not as the expert, especially if we look at the use of narratives of personal, private events or experiences:

5. “I’m so excited to feature a recipe from the amazing Sarah at My New Roots, she’s been one of my foodie heroes since the beginning so it’s quite an honour that she wants to share a recipe with us all here!” (*Deliciously Ella*);
6. “Yesterday afternoon I was a bit tired and trying to think of something easy to make for dinner” (*The Curry Guy*);
7. “My mum remembers being treated to freshly cooked lobster served with hot melted butter on her sixteenth birthday; my grandmother used to buy fresh lobster straight from the quayside in Sunderland” (*Lavender and Lovage*).

A case in point is constituted by the blog called *Lavender and Lovage* (see example 7), in which the author puts herself far more frequently in the role of the expert than in that

of the peer, but she occasionally shares personal memories, actually reducing the very distant role that she herself has taken on in her blog.

Some remarks should be reserved to the comments' sections. Even though the comments were not the focus of the present research, the author tried a superficial reading with the aim of exploring, for the purposes of some future research, the area of the food bloggers' direct interaction with the users. Indeed, the preliminary reading of these sections revealed that, first, the food bloggers tend to reply to every single comment, thus establishing a very direct and personal, individual contact with their public; unsurprisingly, they agree with the users' positive comments, providing further suggestions or establishing an emotional bond with users who share their own personal experiences related to similar recipes or memories, but when they do disagree, in reply to some less positive feedback, this is done with recurrence to hedging devices and providing circumstantial replies to the negative comments, thus again balancing their role between the expert and the user side of our 'expert/non-expert' border. This aspect, however, needs to be further investigated especially for implications related to the gender of the food bloggers and the authors of the comments, analysed against the background of existing literature on the role of gender and the pragmatics of politeness in CMC (see, e.g., Herring 1994, Herring & Paolillo 2006, Pedersen & Macafee 2007).

Finally, the interesting results shown in Diemer & Forbenius (2013), combined with those presented in this study, reveal that investigating aspects of expert/non-expert CMC in FBs is particularly relevant to understand the network of relationships that participants to this discourse community reciprocally establish. If contrasted to the roles that we see in other food-related environments, such as TV cooking shows or printed cookery books, we immediately understand the difference between these forms of expert/non-expert communication: while food bloggers are open to comments by the visitors, the persons in the show and the authors of the book establish a monologic relationship with the public (cf. Chiaro 2013); personalities in cookery shows and books unilaterally position themselves in the role of the sole experts, relegating their public to the role of non-experts without any possibility of interaction. It is the dialogic nature of the FBs, and the possibility for the participants to the online, albeit asynchronous, interaction, to switch roles across the expert/non-expert border that makes FBs worthy of further investigation, also in terms of the pragmatics of politeness already mentioned for the gender-related CMC in the FBs comments' sections.

6 Conclusions

The analysis conducted in this paper aimed at individuating the common nouns and lexical verbs that could characterise the language of the FBs composing the corpus under investigation. In particular, the results were analysed to individuate whether and to what

extent the bloggers position themselves as experts, thus above the users of the blog, or as food lovers just sharing their recipes, thus at the same level as their public.

The qualitative analysis showed that the food bloggers prefer to constantly cross the border between their role as experts and their status as general food lovers, perhaps to reduce the distance with their public; this is reflected linguistically through the use of vague and general language in the recipes and, to some extent, also pragmatically in the use of emotive connotations blending in their food-/recipe-related narratives, as it was also revealed by a general examination of the comment's sections.

The quantitative analysis showed that, despite its reduced lexical variation, diversity in the selection of the FBs and the size of the final corpus, T10_UKFBC presents similar results to the larger FBC analysed in Diemer & Frobenius (2013); this can be interpreted as a confirmation of the fact that the language of food blogs as a separate kind of occupational variety is something real that deserves far deeper and more detailed investigation from many perspectives.

These results, indeed, allow generalisations on the nature of the language of FBs as well as the use of the results from the corpus search and of the texts in FBs for the teaching of ESP not only in discipline-specific vocational courses both at secondary school and at University level but also in mainstream EFL courses in order to train students in how to deal, in their professional life, with the variation present in ESP and in various occupational and professional fields. This could help them adapt their linguistic skills more easily to the different professions that they might find after completing school or after graduation (on this see, for instance, Cesiri 2015). In the latter respect, the kind of material provided by the corpus might be of help in the study and in the teaching of topics such as genre variation, discourse variation, context-specific/specialised translation, and so forth.

As already mentioned in the Introduction section of this article, this is an exploratory study, which provided interesting information on the great potential of the kind of material included in the corpus. Further research that will be conducted on T10_UKFBC, then, will involve a more detailed analysis, both quantitatively and qualitatively, of the same corpus, such as in its use of modals, hedges and boosters, etc. Further analysis will be conducted also in terms of audience design in both the recipes and in the comments sections, as well as a far more detailed analysis of the interaction between the food bloggers and the users in the comments' section. Finally, the role of the 'non-expert' visitors of the blogs, either presumed by the bloggers or self-assigned by the users themselves, will be investigated for their potential role in influencing the bloggers' use of more or less specific/technical language.

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Third language vocabulary acquisition

The influence of Serbian and Hungarian as native languages on the English language

Ivana Cvekić*

Abstract

This paper examines the influence of bilingualism on the use of vocabulary learning strategies during the acquisition of a third language. More precisely, it debates whether having a knowledge of two languages is beneficial for the awareness and frequency of strategy use. In this analysis, the use of learning strategies of pupils bilingual in Hungarian and Serbian language is compared to their monolingual peers of Serbian language while acquiring English as a third language. Since third language acquisition (TLA) is a relatively new and unexplored area, little research has been done on this specific topic. This particular study is situated in Serbia and used a 5-point Likert scale questionnaire as a way of collecting data consisting of two parts. The first part was based on three questionnaires on vocabulary strategies proposed by Gu and Johnson (1996), and Schmitt (1997), and on Oxford's (1990) *Strategy Inventory for Language Learning*. The second part consisted of pupils' suggestions and thoughts on learning strategies, together with their background information. Further discussion focuses on the use of bilinguals' vocabulary strategies and their frequency compared to monolinguals'.

Key words: bilingualism, learning strategies, vocabulary, third language acquisition

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1 Introduction and background

Vocabulary acquisition is one of the essential aspects of language proficiency. Having knowledge of only grammatical structures is not sufficient to contribute to a successful language acquisition. There should be a certain amount of vocabulary knowledge that can aid a foreign language competence. Following these lines, beginners are pressured to store many words in their memory and prepare them for instant use. Oxford and Scarcella (1994) suggest that vocabulary learning strategies help users of a foreign language (FL) reach a certain number of remembered words. Thus, the knowledge of various language strategies can potentially aid reaching a high FL proficiency.

The research on language strategies has reached its bloom in the last forty years. So far, various aspects of the field have been examined in more detail, with vocabulary strategies being one of the important components. For instance, according to the research in vocabulary strategies (Nation 1990), words which have a high frequency are important in vocabulary learning and teaching. So far, many studies in linguistics have focused on positive strategies and “good learner” strategies (Nation 1990, Oxford 1990, Gu and Johnson 1996, Thornbury 2002).

Vocabulary learning was of particular interest for the field of second language acquisition (SLA). The area of vocabulary acquisition was not given much importance around 1950s due to former dominating approaches, which emphasized the importance of grammar and phonology. Generative transformational linguistics (Chomsky 1957) is one of the theories labeling vocabulary as secondary to language acquisition. Somewhere around the 1970s, teaching perspectives started to change. Instead of a teacher-oriented approach, the focus was on learners’ awareness and control of a language. Considering that pupils are becoming more active in the process of acquisition, learning strategies should be presented as tools for reaching a desired competence in a FL.

However, there are few studies in the area of third language acquisition (TLA) focusing on vocabulary learning strategies. Even though learning strategies in general have been researched in the last four decades, most of the research has been done in the area of SLA, not taking into consideration multilingualism as a growing world phenomenon. Bilingualism as a phenomenon implies that there are two linguistic systems which can influence TLA. Therefore, there may be a certain preference or pattern in strategy use. The study of Hammaberg (2001) has shown that the first language is usually used as a pragmatic and metalinguistic source, while the second language functions as a lexical storage. On the other hand Cenoz (2001) and Wei (2003) argue that there is a tendency to use a language which is typologically closer as a source of transfer on a third language. This paper is focused on Hungarian/Serbian bilingual pupils who are currently acquiring English as a foreign language in Grammar schools in Serbia. Their preference towards vocabulary strategy use was analyzed and compared with monolingual peers, contributing to a better understanding of bilingual approaches towards strategy selection.

2 Categorization of vocabulary strategies

According to Schmitt (2002), second language users tend to employ activities which require less active manipulation of information in vocabulary acquisition, such as rote repetition and memorization. Cohen and Aphek (1981) argue that these “shallow” strategies may be more suitable for beginners, as they do not contain too much information. Similarly, more complex strategies are presented as more effective in the case of intermediate or advanced foreign language users. Even though some generalizations towards strategy preference can be made, O’Maley and Chamot (1990) suggest that any strategy is a useful one if FL users are accustomed to it. More precisely, if learners make a conscious effort and actively manage strategies in their acquisition process, the chances of those strategies having an impact on vocabulary learning are higher.

Research on language learning strategies counts numerous typologies. One of them is Oxford’s (1990) division on memory, cognitive, compensation, metacognitive, affective and social strategies. Furthermore, Oxford designed a questionnaire based on her typology of strategies. Oxford’s SILL (Strategy Inventory for Language Learning) questionnaire consists of fifty items, grouped according to the six divisions mentioned above. Moreover, the questionnaire is based on a five-point Likert scale, with the poles indicating how strongly someone agrees or disagrees with a statement.

The weakness of Oxford’s typology is that some of the strategies can be labeled with more than one term. Cook and Mayer (1983) and Nation (1990) suggested a vocabulary categorization between the initial discovery of words and the remembering of them. Also, considering that the questionnaire was designed more than two decades ago, the usefulness of some strategies is outdated. For instance, the omnipresence of technology in today’s society provides a potential of creating various other strategies, which may possibly replace some (e.g. the use of flashcards). Furthermore, it is crucial to point out that the study is focused on the pupils’ self-report of vocabulary strategy use. Schramm and Chamot (2007) suggest that pupils’ self-perception does not necessarily have to reflect reality. Moreover, pupils may understand strategies differently and can also forget some strategies they use.

On the other hand, Schmitt (2002) organized the taxonomy of vocabulary strategies, counting fifty-eight strategies, according to the Oxford (1990) system. More precisely, they are classified according to the strategies of initial discovery of a word’s meaning (*discovery*) and strategies for remembering the meaning (*consolidation*). Furthermore, the strategies are also classified according to five groups, *determination*, *social*, *memory*, *cognitive* and *metacognitive*. *Determination* strategies are used when a person encounters a new word, but has no source of information. In this case, the person can guess from context, knowledge of a language, or from a L1 cognate. *Social* strategies refer to the interaction with other people in order to discover the meaning or to remember a word. Moreover, *memory* strategies involve a conscious effort of retrieving a word, which does not require a deeper understanding of the lexeme. According to Oxford (1990), *cognitive*

strategies manipulate language material through reasoning, note-taking, and summarizing, while *metacognitive* strategies include an organization of a learning process, such as planning a studying process, and evaluating successfulness and effectiveness of strategies.

There are many variables that affect a person's preference for selecting a particular learning strategy. Some of the factors that potentially have an influence on the effectiveness of strategies include context of learning, target language, and learner characteristics. Aside from factors such as gender, age, and national origin, Rebecca Oxford (2011, 260) suggests that motivation is also strongly linked to strategy use. Moreover, a study done by Schmitt (1997) emphasizes the importance of culture towards strategy preference. In the study of O'Malley and Chamot (1990), Asian learners which were trained in strategy use tended to perform lower in vocabulary tasks compared to their untrained peers. On the other hand, strategy training had a positive effect on Hispanic learners in comparison to the control group. Therefore, a high number of potential variables only reaffirms the complexity of language acquisition. Therefore, understanding learning strategies can help FL users be aware of the process of acquisition, and can encourage them to be active, independent learners.

3 Methodology and participants

The current study used a forty-five minute questionnaire in order to collect information about pupils' approaches to vocabulary strategy use. Moreover, it was based on three questionnaires on vocabulary strategies proposed by Gu and Johnson (1996), Schmitt (1997), and Oxford's (1990) *Strategy Inventory for Language Learning* (SILL, version 7.0). Therefore, the focus was on the preference towards strategy use when encountering a new word (*discovery*), and remembering the already encountered one (*consolidation*). The questions regarding this categorization are presented in the form of a five-point Likert scale. However, there were several additional questions regarding pupils' personal information and their own suggestions regarding language strategies, in case some examples were omitted. Considering that the paper aims at contrasting the preference between bilinguals and monolinguals, bilingual pupils were presented with some additional questions, which relate to the Hungarian/Serbian bilingual situation in the north of Serbia. Table 1 gives a detailed overview of the questions taken from different tests. The fourth category of sources consists of originally created questions, which were deemed as important to the study.

	Gu & Johnson (1996)	Schmitt (1997)	Oxford (1990)	Original	Total
Monolinguals	15	25	8	13	61
Bilinguals	16	26	10	15	67
Total	31	51	18	28	128

Table 1: Sources of questionnaire formation in the case of bilinguals and monolinguals

As already mentioned in the introduction, the study focuses on the bilingual phenomenon in Serbia. More precisely, the research was focused on the northern part of Serbia, which consists of many minorities, and Hungarians are by far the largest one. Also, apart from the Serbian language, Hungarian is also given certain legal and educational rights which vary locally. Moreover, three cities that were chosen as a location for the research are Bečej, Zrenjanin and Novi Sad. In each town there is a Grammar school that teaches in both the Hungarian and the Serbian language. In all three cities only pupils in their fourth year were tested. More importantly, in both Serbian and Hungarian sections of the schools, the English language is taught for twelve years as a first foreign language. According to the curriculum, pupils should have reached the B1 (intermediate) level in their senior year of high school. The number of participants in both the bilingual and monolingual group was 55, leading to the number of 110 pupils in total.

4 Results and discussion

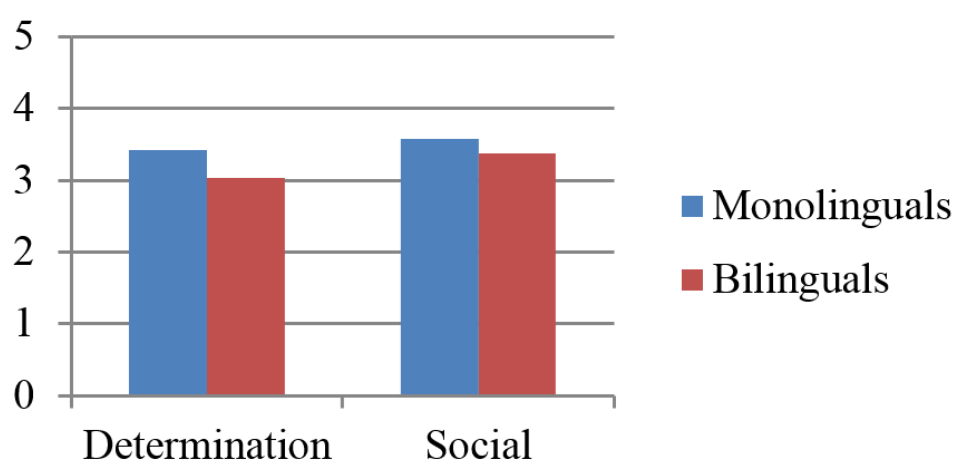
Before comparing the differences in strategy use regarding vocabulary, an estimation of internal consistency was made, which resulted in 68% of variance being reliable. Following the analysis of variance reliability, the first comparison was made in regard to discovery and consolidation strategies. Table 2 indicates that in both cases, monolingual students tend to employ strategies more frequently. This can particularly be seen in the example of discovery strategies (Table 2) whereby the mean of frequency use among monolinguals was 3.47, as opposed to 3.1 among bilinguals.

	Discovery (1997)	Consolidation
Monolinguals	3.47	2.70
Bilinguals	3.1	2.64

Table 2: Difference in means of *discovery* and *consolidation* strategies between two groups

DISCOVERY	Monolinguals	Bilinguals
Determination	3,42	3,04
Social	3,57	3,37
CONSOLIDATION	Monolinguals	Bilinguals
Social	2,87	2,67
Memory	2,65	2,61
Cognitive	3,44	3,23
Metacognitive	2,31	2,29

Table 3: Comparison of means among subcategories

Figure 1: Comparison of means among *determination* and *social* strategies

As already stated, *consolidation* and *discovery* strategies can be further subdivided. In the case of *discovery*, the subcategories include *determination* and *social* strategies. On the other hand, *consolidation* strategies are divided into *social*, *memory*, *cognitive* and *metacognitive*. Table 3 covers the comparison of means among these subcategories.

Table 3 is also presented visually in two charts (Figure 1 and 2). What can be observed in Figure 1 is that monolinguals were by far more active in their use of both *determination* and *social* strategies. Furthermore, a major difference can be observed in the case of *determination*, whereby the mean among monolinguals was 3.42, compared to 3.04 among bilinguals.

Similarly, monolinguals were still more active in every subcategory of *consolidation* strategies, according to their self-report in the questionnaire. However, the difference in the mean was not that apparent. Therefore, Figure 2 shows that there is a slightly higher preference in the case of monolinguals. This difference is almost undetectable in regard to *metacognitive* and *memory* strategies.

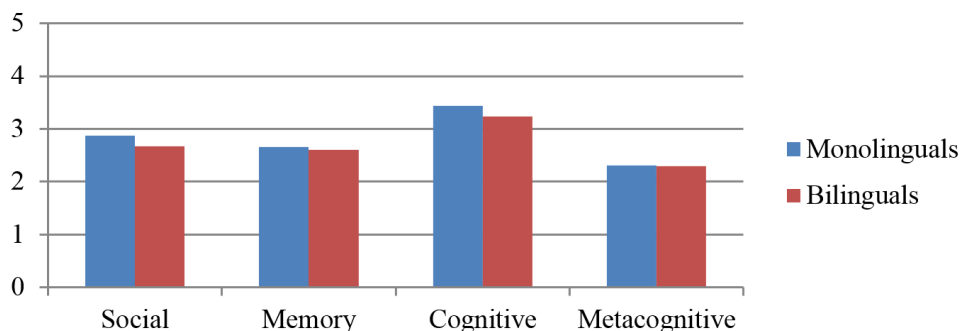


Figure 2: Comparison of means among *social*, *memory*, *cognitive* and *metacognitive* strategies

The following table (Table 4) provides examples of the five most frequent strategies from the questionnaire concerning *discovery* and *consolidation* strategies. All the examples are ordered from the highest mean to the lowest in both monolingual and bilingual cases. As could be seen in the *consolidation* section, *metacognitive* strategies are not preferred when remembering words. Even though various studies have emphasized a close connection between *metacognitive* strategies and bilingualism, this study shows no preference of bilingual learners in using *metacognitive* strategies for vocabulary acquisition in comparison to monolingual learners. What is more, in the case of both groups, it is the least preferred approach.

Apart from the division between *discovery* and *consolidation* strategies, there were also some additional questions. These questions covered the topics of dictionary use, source of vocabulary acquisition, anxiety, and motivation. Throughout the questionnaire, a Likert scale was used to calculate the results, and the means of the strategies mentioned was again contrasted between bilinguals and monolinguals. In the case of dictionary use (Table 5), it was shown that pupils from both groups mostly rely on its use for the purpose of discovering meaning. The strategies for using a word in a sentence and for a word's pronunciation are less frequent. However, bilinguals have a slightly higher preference for using dictionaries regarding word meaning and word use in a sentence.

Furthermore, other additional questions in the questionnaire refer to the most frequent source of English vocabulary. Some of the sources of word input, which were included in the questionnaire, were learning words during class, from books, video material and songs. Table 6 displays that visual input is one of the most frequent sources. However, audio input is another important source for both monolinguals and bilinguals. In this case, monolinguals have a higher tendency to use almost every source. This is apparent in the case of learning new words from listening to songs in English, with the mean among monolinguals being 4.36 compared to 3.8 for bilinguals. In the case of reading books, bilinguals (3.49) had only a slightly higher preference than the monolinguals (3.38).

	Monolinguals	Bilinguals
Discovery D-Determination S-Social	1. I try to guess from the context. (D)	I usually use an English-Hungarian dictionary when I see a new word. (D)
	2. I analyze the sentence in order to guess the meaning. (D)	I prefer when the teacher gives an example in a sentence. (S)
	3. I rely on my experience and common sense. (D)	I use other means of discovery if I cannot find out the meaning right away. (D)
	4. I prefer when the teacher gives an example in a sentence. (S)	I prefer when the teacher translates a word in a native language. (S)
	5. I prefer when the teacher paraphrases or gives a synonym. (S)	I rely on my experience and common sense. (D)
Consolidation M-Memory S-Social C-Cognitive MC-Metacognitive	1. I use new words in speech and writing. (C)	I use new words in speech and writing. (C)
	2. I repeat the words that I've learned. (C)	I imagine how the word is written. (M)
	3. I use new words in a context in order to remember. (M)	I repeat the words that I've learned. (C)
	4. I talk to someone who can speak English. (S)	I link the new word with my experience. (M)
	5. I remember words by phrases. (M)	I analyze pronunciation of a new word. (M)

Table 4: The most frequent *discovery* and *consolidation* strategies in the case of monolinguals and bilinguals

Pupils		I use a dictionary to find out the pronunciation.	I use a dictionary to find out the meaning.	I use a dictionary to find out the use in a sentence.
Monolinguals	Mean	2,5636	3,6909	2,6182
	N	55	55	55
	Std. Deviation	1,21356	1,08649	1,22461
	Sum	141,00	203,00	144,00
Bilinguals	Mean	2,5091	3,7273	2,8000
	N	55	55	55
	Std. Deviation	1,16861	1,09637	1,20800
	Sum	138,00	205,00	154,00
Total	Mean	2,5364	3,7091	2,7091
	N	110	110	110
	Std. Deviation	1,18614	1,08658	1,21418
	Sum	279,00	408,00	298,00

Table 5: Dictionary use

Pupils		I learn new words in the class.	I learn new words while reading books in English.	I learn new words while watching TV, movies, series in English.	I learn new words while listening to songs in English.
Monolinguals	Mean	3,3091	3,3818	4,5455	4,3636
	N	55	55	55	55
	Std. Deviation	1,27472	1,35388	,74082	,67669
	Sum	182,00	186,00	250,00	240,00
Bilinguals	Mean	3,2364	3,4909	4,2364	3,8000
	N	55	55	55	55
	Std. Deviation	1,08804	1,05185	,74445	1,02560
	Sum	278,00	192,00	233,00	209,00
Total	Mean	3,2727	3,4364	4,3909	4,0818
	N	110	110	110	110
	Std. Deviation	1,18018	1,20798	,75535	,91000
	Sum	360,00	378,00	483,00	449,00

Table 6: Sources of word input

Considering that vocabulary acquisition is a complex process, it is influenced by various variables. Affective factors are another important part of the acquisition. Yet, the study of all personality factors would require a much more extensive analysis. For this questionnaire, affective factors were limited only to anxiety and motivation. Even though both of the variables require a detailed research, this paper restricts itself to the application of a more general approach. According to the pupils' self-report, it seems that bilinguals were less motivated for learning new words in English (Table 7). Not only was their motivation lower, but they also had a higher level of anxiety during the process (Table 8). In other words, bilinguals have a harder time remembering words than their monolingual peers, while the case is quite the opposite for monolinguals who demonstrated a higher motivation and a lower level of anxiety.

I am motivated to learn new words in English.

Pupils	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Sum
Monolinguals	3,7636	55	1,17005	207,00
Bilinguals	3,50911	55	1,16861	193,00
Total	3,6364	110	1,17096	400,00

Table 7: Comparison of motivation means

I find it difficult to remember new words in English.

Pupils	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Sum
Monolinguals	2,0364	55	1,07089	112,00
Bilinguals	2,2000	55	,98883	121,00
Total	2,1182	110	1,02922	233,00

Table 8: Comparison of anxiety means

Another interesting aspect is the choice of the native language for lexical storage and grammar for bilinguals. In other words, the question referred to the first word translation that pupils think of. The following question inquired about the background grammar they rely on more, when learning the grammar of English. Figure 3 shows that bilinguals tend to rely more on the Hungarian language for both translation (3.49) and grammar (2.8).

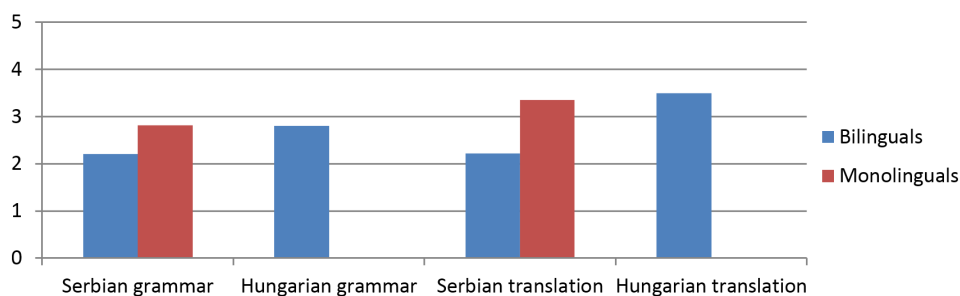


Figure 3: Comparison of grammar and translation means

In addition, four other questions were given regarding conscious organizational strategies, i.e. whether the pupils' focus in vocabulary learning was on the most frequently used words, on vocabulary used in a test, or on personal interest. Both groups of pupils are more eager to learn words that interest them, when compared to other factors. Moreover, the interest in vocabulary is followed by the frequency of words as the second important factor in the vocabulary acquisition process. Yet, in terms of focusing on the words for the test, bilinguals had a higher preference (2.76) than monolinguals (2.38). This means that aside from personal motivation, they were also highly motivated in learning English vocabulary as an instrument for meeting class requirements.

Pupils		I focus only on words for the test.	I know which words are important for me.	I look up the meaning only of those words which interest me.	I only learn the words which are used most frequently.
Monolinguals	Mean	2,3818	3,6000	4,0727	3,6182
	N	55	55	55	55
	Std. Deviation	1,28367	1,14827	,97856	1,13024
	Sum	131,00	198,00	224,00	199,00
Bilinguals	Mean	2,7636	3,2727	3,7091	3,5636
	N	55	55	55	55
	Std. Deviation	1,29047	1,16197	1,21217	1,08463
	Sum	152,00	180,00	204,00	196,00
Total	Mean	2,5727	3,4364	3,8909	3,5909
	N	110	110	110	110
	Std. Deviation	1,29543	1,16152	1,11162	1,10292
	Sum	283,00	378,00	428,00	395,00

Table 9: Additional questions compared

In the last section of the questionnaire, pupils were given the option of writing their own suggestions of strategies, which were not mentioned in the taxonomy. The questions were mainly aimed at *discovery* and *consolidation* strategies. Table 10 shows that both groups use very creative approaches. An interesting point is that even though pupils from Serbian classes are in theory monolingual, they still use other languages for the acquisition of a vocabulary. The examples include using German language, borrowing, and code-mixing. Other examples include modern technology (videogames, cell phones) and the accessibility of internet. Some of the pupils even have the opportunity of talking to English native speakers. Even though it is not mentioned, it may be possible that this communication is also achieved via today's technology.

Bilinguals		Monolinguals
Discovery	Videogames	Internet (google)
		Billboards
		Text messages
		Using German
Consolidation	Talking to native speakers Drawing	Movies with English subtitles
		Using new words in essays
		Borrowing
		Code-mixing

Table 10: Pupils' suggestions on vocabulary strategies

5 Conclusion

The evidence shows that monolingual pupils are more interested in a higher number of strategies. Only in the case of *metacognitive* strategies, both groups had the same level of preference. Moreover, for both monolinguals and bilinguals, *determination* strategies were the most prominent ones from the *discovery* category. On the other hand, *cognitive* strategies had a high frequency in the *consolidation* group. Furthermore, bilingual dictionaries are mostly used for discovering the meaning of a word. There was also a high use of visual and auditory materials for vocabulary input. However, bilinguals tend to use books slightly more for the acquisition of words. Furthermore, as affective factors influence the process of acquisition, it is important to note that in the case of bilinguals motivation was slightly lower when compared to monolinguals. This was quite the opposite when regarding anxiety, as bilinguals find it harder to learn new words. Yet, all the groups mostly focus on learning words that interest them. Only in the case of focusing on words for the test, bilinguals showed a higher interest. Once again, self-report questionnaires should always be interpreted in a way that takes into account the limiting factor of subjectivity and the subjective reality of participants.

Moreover, when discussing CLI, it has been shown that bilinguals rely on Hungarian in both word translation and grammar comprehension. However, when pupils were asked to share their personal strategies, many of them mentioned the use of other languages than their native ones. This only shows that today's world is not being guided anymore according to monolingual norms. Even though it may seem easy to label someone as a monolingual, all the pupils are in constant contact with various languages on a daily basis. Furthermore, pupils also mentioned the intensive use of modern technology. This only shows that questionnaires should be updated according to today's trends in order to take into consideration modern technologies and the increasingly multilingual realities of contemporary societies.

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Lexical borrowing in Slovene green energy terminology

Laura Mrhar*

Abstract

The paper presents the most common types of lexical borrowing in Slovene green energy terminology and the languages this particular field generally borrows from, with a special emphasis on calques and doublets, which often occur as a result of borrowing from these languages, e.g., *odlagališče* (also: *deponija*) 'landfill', *odlagališčni plin* (also: *deponijski plin*) 'landfill gas', *biotska raznovrstnost* (also: *biodiverziteta*, *biotska pestrost*, *biološka raznovrstnost*) 'biodiversity', and *albedo* (also: *odbojnost*) 'albedo'.

The examples of lexical borrowing are taken from the *English-Slovene Dictionary of Green Energy Terms* (Mrhar 2015) and analyzed with the help of a small corpus compiled for the purposes of this study, containing a limited number of Slovene articles on green energy and their English translations. The paper furthermore concentrates on the variety of vocabulary deployed in texts pertaining to the field and assesses both unproblematic and problematic cases of lexical borrowing.

Key words: green energy terminology, lexical borrowing, calques, doublets, terminological dictionary

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1 The Issue of Loanwords in Slovene Green Energy Terminology

The field of green energy is characterized by rapid development, which requires an exceptionally dynamic terminology, both in English and Slovene. Slovene green energy terminology is currently a rather sensitive linguistic area, mainly because of a vast influx of loanwords (especially different types of compounds), primarily borrowed from English, which can be attributed mostly to the impact of globalization and massive exposure to English in all areas of life (Šabec 2009, 20). The field of green energy is particularly susceptible to borrowing from other languages, either to find words for concepts formerly unknown and unexpressed by the Slovene language or to borrow words for concepts which already have native expressions. The term loanword (or lexical borrowing) is hereinafter used to describe all kinds of transfer of lexical material from one language (the donor language, e.g., English, Greek or Latin) to another language (the recipient language, i.e., Slovene) (Zenner and Kristiansen 2014, 1).

A large part of older green energy terminology that has been completely integrated into Slovene and no longer sounds foreign comes from classical languages, i.e., Greek and Latin, whereas newer terminology mainly comes from English or, rather, is first formed in English. Such terms can, however, have Greek or Latin components, e.g., the English term *eco-auditor* was formed in English, but the first part of the compound, *eco-*, comes from Greek, and the second part of the compound, *auditor*, comes from Latin¹. Both components of the Slovene translation *ekorevizor* originate in Latin as well². When such words are borrowed from English to Slovene, a loan translation or calque is typically first established, and can be substituted by a native equivalent, in case the usage of the term is frequent enough (Erjavec 2010, 110)³.

A more in-depth research will show whether the majority of loanwords in Slovene green energy terminology originates in Greek and Latin or comes from other languages. It will also be shown if native expressions exist alongside borrowed expressions and which are used more often. The sample in this study consists of 300 terms taken from the revised English-Slovene Dictionary of Green Energy Terms (Mrhar 2015)⁴. The selection of words taken from GREET was first divided up into two groups, i.e., native Slovene expressions that were, according to their etymology, not borrowed from another language and words of foreign origin. The latter were then divided into two subsequent subgroups, i.e., the (mostly) multi-word calques and the single-word loanwords.

¹ The etymology of the terms is taken from *Duden: Das Große Fremdwörterbuch. Herkunft und Bedeutung der Fremdwörter* (1994).

² The etymology for lexical items in Slovene comes from *Veliki slovar tujke* (2002).

³ All translations into English: Laura Mrhar.

⁴ Hereafter: GREET

2 Common Types of Lexical Borrowing in Slovene Green Energy Terminology

There is a large amount of borrowed lexical material in Slovene green energy terminology, ranging from older loanwords, which have by now been completely integrated into the language and conform to the rules of Slovene grammar, to more contemporary borrowed expressions, which are borrowed directly from English and are much more vulnerable to variation (cf. Šabec 2009, 20–22). One of the most comprehensive taxonomies of borrowing, the most common type of transference between languages, was developed by Haugen (1950, 1956), who states that importation and substitution combine in the borrowing process, meaning that there are multiple outcomes of lexical borrowing, i.e., foreign words can be borrowed together with their meanings, or meanings can enter a language on their own. Haugen's taxonomy includes two main categories – loanwords and loanshifts (Greavu 2013, 96). Loanwords can be further categorized into pure loanwords and loanblends or, rather, hybrids, whereas loanshifts or, rather, calques, can be categorized into semantic loans and creations. In the following section of this paper we are going to illustrate these separate classes of borrowing with examples from *GREET*.

2.1 Loanwords

The first category in Haugen's classification of borrowing is that of loanwords. In the case of loanwords, the form and meaning of English and Slovene words are either identical or highly similar to each other. The borrowed word “*may undergo a process of phonetic integration into the structures of the recipient language*” (Greavu 2013, 97), and can be moderately to highly successful. To characterize a loanword as highly successful, it has to become the only occurring lexicalization for a given concept. The majority of loanwords extracted from *GREET* are nouns (1), which is not surprising, as nouns form by far the largest word class in all languages, and are borrowed the most.

- (1)
- *biodizel* ‘biodiesel’
 - *emisija* ‘emission’
 - *reciklaža* ‘recycling’
 - *toksin* ‘toxin’
 - *vegetacija* ‘vegetation’, etc.

The considerable quantity of noun loanwords most likely has to do with grammatical factors; verbs are normally more difficult to borrow than nouns because they need more grammatical adaptation (Haspelmath 2009, 35). There is, however, a small number of loan adjectives (2), and an even smaller number of loan verbs (3).

(2)

- *alternativni* ‘alternative’
- *ekološki* ‘ecological’
- *radioaktivni* ‘radioactive’
- *toksični* ‘toxic’, etc.

(3)

- *destilirati* ‘distil’
- *izolirati* ‘insulate’
- *reciklinati* ‘recycle’, etc.

2.2 Hybrids

The second category in Haugen’s classification of borrowing is that of loanblends or hybrids. For the purposes of this article, hybrids are not treated as a separate category in the classification of borrowing but rather as a subcategory of loanwords, as hybrids are in fact loanwords, in which “*a part of the phonemic shape of the word has been imported, while a native portion has been substituted for the rest*” (Haugen 1950, 214). In green energy terminology, the terms *biogorivo* ‘biofuel’, *biohrana* ‘bio food’, *biokmetovanje* ‘organic farming’, *biovrtnarjenje* ‘biogardening’ and *ekokmetija* ‘eco farm’, represent this type of borrowing. It is usually the second part that is not borrowed, since preserving the native part as the second (inflected) part of the word makes morphological adaptation easier⁵. Considering the structural patterns of hybrids, the most common are noun + noun combinations, proving that “among hybrids, compound nouns are by far the largest group. [...] This is indicative of the general dominance of nominal borrowings over verbal and adjectival loans” (Onysko 2007, 56).

2.3 Calques

The third category in Haugen’s classification of borrowing is that of loanshifts or calques. Calques or word-for-word translations taken from *GREET* can include one or more words of foreign origin and one or more words of native origin (4), two or more words of native origin (5), or two or more words of foreign origin (6).

(4)

- *alternativna energija* ‘alternative energy’
- *biotsko ravnovesje* ‘biotic equilibrium’
- *zelena energija* ‘green energy’

⁵ Slovene linguists describe these as “*compounds with replacement (borrowed) elements in the syntactic base*” (Vidovič Muha 2011, 296).

(5)

- *podnebna sprememba* ‘climate change’
- *učinek tople grede* ‘the greenhouse effect’
- *varstvo okolja* ‘environmental protection’

(6)

- *aktivni biomonitoring* ‘active biomonitoring’
- *ekološka toleranca* ‘ecological tolerance’
- *sekundarna energija* ‘secondary energy’

Foreign lexemes are present in nearly all Slovene reproductions, with the possible combinations: 1.) native adjective + foreign noun: *zelena revolucija* ‘the green revolution’, 2.) foreign adjective + native noun: *agresivna voda* ‘aggressive water’, or 3.) foreign adjective + foreign noun: *antropogeni stres* ‘anthropogenic stress’. Anglo-Slovene combinations are much more frequent than reproductions consisting exclusively of native elements: *podnebna sprememba* ‘climate change’.

3 Donor Languages

For the purposes of this analysis, all 300 terms extracted from GREET were categorized according to their etymological origin⁶ and divided amongst native expressions, calques and loanwords, with merely a small section of the division presented in Table 1. Out of 300 analyzed expressions, 70 were categorized as native (unborrowed) Slovene, 81 as calques and 149 as loanwords. The majority of analyzed (primarily single-word) loanwords in Slovene green energy terminology is borrowed in a straightforward way from Greek and Latin, e.g., *anabioza* ‘anabiosis’, *anoksija* ‘anoxia’, *biom* ‘biome’, *favna* ‘fauna’, *flora* ‘flora’. The two languages represent the common heritage of European languages, and can thus be characterized as internationalisms, most commonly found in the fields of medicine, natural sciences, social sciences and the humanities (Vidovič Muha 2004, 74–78). Such loanwords are unproblematic for green energy terminology. English is perhaps even more important as a donor language than Greek or Latin, as the better part of newer expressions, not only single-word loanwords (e.g., *biodiverziteta* ‘biodiversity’ or *biomonitor* ‘biomonitor’) but also multi-word loanwords (e.g., *ekološko pomembno območje* ‘ecologically important area’ or *hibridno vozilo* ‘hybrid vehicle’), comes from the English language and enriches the terminological system of Slovene.

In the case of multi-word loanwords, individual elements often do not originate in English, but come from the classical languages. For example, in the multi-word term *abiotški stres* ‘abiotic stress’, the adjective *abiotški* ‘abiotic’ originates in Greek, whereas

⁶ The etymology for lexical items in Slovene comes from *Veliki slovar tujk* (2002).

Native	Calque	Loanword
<i>apnenec</i> ‘limestone’	<i>aktivni monitoring</i> ‘active monitoring’	<i>aeracija</i> ‘aeration’
<i>blato</i> ‘sludge’	<i>biotski okoljski dejavnik</i> ‘biotic environmental factor’	<i>biocenoza</i> ‘biocenosis’
<i>drevesnica</i> ‘tree nursery’	<i>ekološka toleranca</i> ‘ecological tolerance’	<i>biodizel</i> ‘biodiesel’
<i>elektrarna</i> ‘power plant’	<i>fosilno gorivo</i> ‘fossil fuel’	<i>ekoturizem</i> ‘ecotourism’
<i>gozdarstvo</i> ‘forestry’	<i>kisli dež</i> ‘acid rain’	<i>filtracija</i> ‘filtration’
<i>hlapnost</i> ‘volatility’	<i>trajnostni razvoj</i> ‘sustainable development’	<i>herbicid</i> ‘herbicide’
<i>izsekavanje</i> ‘deforestation’	<i>zelena revolucija</i> ‘green revolution’	<i>klimatologija</i> ‘climatology’

Table 1: Native expressions, calques and loanwords from *GREET*

the noun *stres* ‘stress’ originates in Latin. Similarly, in the multi-word term *energijska bilanca* ‘energy balance’, the adjective *energijski* ‘energy’ originates in Greek, and the noun *bilanca* ‘balance’ comes from Latin. In such cases, it can often prove problematic to determine the language from which the given term is borrowed into Slovene. In general, such terms are rather new, and have first been used or formed in English, from which they pass into other languages. We therefore normally say that these terms are borrowed from English, even though their constituent parts originate in the classical languages. The same holds true for a number of multi-word terms translated word-for-word from English, in which the constituent parts are native, for example *varstvo okolja* ‘environmental protection’ or *okljsko računovodstvo* ‘environmental accounting’.

The growing dominance of English can be attributed to its use as a lingua franca for international communication in various specialized fields (cf. Seidlhofer 2011), which is not to say other languages are not important in the borrowing process. On a much smaller scale, Slovene green energy terminology also borrows from Italian (e.g., *izolacija* ‘insulation’), German (e.g., *deponija* ‘landfill’), Arabic (e.g., *katran* ‘tar’), and Persian (e.g., *nafta* ‘oil’). These are the donor languages of the terms taken only from *GREET*; there are other donor languages in the case of Slovene green energy terminology, but they have not been mentioned here, as they do not occur in the analysis.

4 Doublets and Calques in Slovene Green Energy Terminology

A special feature of green energy terminology is an extensive use of terminological doublets and triplets or, rather, lexemes sharing the same meaning, e.g., *acidnost* and *kislost* ‘acidity’, *aeracija* and *prezračevanje* ‘aeration’, *aklimatizacija* and *prilagoditev* ‘acclimatization’, *albedo* and *odbojnost* ‘albedo’, *atmosfera* and *ozračje* ‘atmosphere’, *karbonizacija* and *oglenitev* ‘carbonization’, which often prove to be problematic for the user of the specialized language and therefore attract much criticism, not entirely because of the fear that the loanword will replace the native word (cf. Crystal 2011, 69), but because of the non-uniform use of the given variants.

In the case of single-word terms, doublets most often consist of a loanword of Greek or Latin origin (e.g., *aeracija* ‘aeration’ or *karbonizacija* ‘carbonization’) and a native expression (e.g., *prezračevanje* ‘aeration’ or *oglenitev* ‘carbonization’), whereas in the case of multi-word terms, doublets normally consist of a calque (e.g., *klimatska sprememba* ‘climate change’) originating in English, and a term in which native words substitute foreign components (e.g., *podnebna sprememba* ‘climate change’).

The main goal of *GREET* is to present standard or, rather, preferential terms in those cases in which one or more Slovene translation equivalents can be used for a single word or unit in English. Usually, native expressions are considered preferential, e.g., *podnebje* and not *klima* ‘climate’, *oglenitev* and not *karbonizacija* ‘carbonization’, *sušnost* and not *aridnost* ‘aridity’, but before any given expression can be included in a terminological dictionary, a more thorough analysis needs to be carried out to determine whether the terms that form a doublet are entirely co-extensive, and established within a particular field. The need for stability and predictability is especially strong in the case of academic texts which must have a predictable lexis and in which neologisms must remain within previously determined patterns (Kranjc and Žele 2014, 126).

4.1 Corpus Analysis and Problematic Cases of Lexical Borrowing

Within the framework of the translation process, one of the most effective methods of collecting evidence concerning various linguistic phenomena (e.g., borrowings) is the compilation of mono-, bi-, or multilingual corpora. As of yet, the Slovene area does not have a specialized corpus of scientific language that would enable quantitative or qualitative research of translation strategies and relationships between the original-language terms (e.g., English) and the foreign-language translation equivalents (e.g., Slovene). Slovene translation-related linguistic analyses would substantially benefit from a bilingual English-Slovene corpus of scientific or technical texts and their translations, which is why a small corpus was compiled for the purposes of the given analysis.

It contains 25 specialized texts or, rather, abstracts in either Slovene or English with their translations and key words. As the quantity of Slovene articles on green energy is highly limited, various other subject fields had to be consulted in the selection of articles

to be included in the corpus, e.g., environmental protection, forestry, geology, geography, etc. Due to the shortage of Slovene articles in all fields, not just those pertaining to green energy, the analysis was highly limited in its scope and shows the current state of a small number of borrowed expressions.

Only 13 terms and their doublets taken from *GREET* were included in the analysis, as the number of their appearances in the articles was high enough to provide reliable data for further interpretation. Other green energy terms appear in the corpus, but not much data on actual use can be obtained from merely one or two appearances. To analyze a larger number of terms and their doublets from *GREET*, the corpus would have to include at least 100 articles or abstracts, which is currently impossible, as there is an acute shortage of representative specialized texts in Slovene (or English, with Slovene translations).

Besides showing the number of appearances of Slovene terms in the 25 specialized texts, the corpus also shows the number of appearances in the general corpus Gigafida⁷, thus providing data not only on specialized but also on general language. A word frequency analysis was carried out to determine whether native expressions are used more often than borrowed expressions or vice versa. The following table (Table 2) shows the list of analyzed terms and their concordances in the general corpus Gigafida and the small corpus of specialized texts, including the possible doublet(s) (e.g., the synonyms of *biotska raznovrstnost* 'biodiversity': 1.) *biološka raznovrstnost*, 2.) *biotska pestrost*, 3.) *biodiverziteta*).

The quantitative data presents the actual use of a number of green energy terms and their doublets in Slovene. The corpus analysis of native terms and their doublets, words borrowed from foreign languages, shows with some degree of certainty that in green energy terminology, native expressions are used as frequently as borrowed expressions. Some Slovene terms included in the table do not have any borrowed doublets (i.e. *onesnaževanje* / *onesnaženje* 'pollution' and *podzemna voda* / *podtalnica* 'groundwater'), but are included in the analysis to show which native expression is more frequent. Similarly, the borrowed expression *biotska raznovrstnost* 'biodiversity' is included in the analysis to show which of its borrowed doublets (i.e., *biodiverziteta* / *biotska pestrost* / *biološka raznovrstnost*) is the most frequent.

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⁷ An extensive Slovene corpus of authentic texts of various genres, built to serve as a research module for the modern Slovene language. It includes both texts from printed sources and the Internet, and can be used by language specialists, linguists, teachers, students, and pupils.

Preferential term	Concordance in Gigafida	Concordance in the corpus of specialized texts	Non-preferential term	Concordance in Gigafida	Concordance in the corpus of specialized texts
biotska raznovrstnost	2.178	6	1.) biološka raznovrstnost	1.) 440	1.) 0
			2.) biotska pestrost	2.) 492	2.) 1
			3.) biodiverziteta	3.) 832	3.) 5
vegetacija	3.308	11	rastlinstvo	2.509	0
podnebna sprememba	12.024	6	klimatska sprememba	3.076	5
emisija	17.783	9	izpust	14.499	3
transport	19.854	6	prevoz	84.933	2
odlagališče	24.449	13	deponija	13.433	0
onesnaževalo	5.332	7	1.) onesnaževalec	4.227	3
			2.) polutant	233	1
urbani	37.803	7	mestni	294.278	0
podzemna voda	1.598	12	podtalnica	6.202	6
onesnaževanje	12.107	7	onesnaženje	8.228	5
toksični	2.002	4	strupeni	19.313	1
rastlinski	25.203	3	vegetativni	1.307	1
podnebje	12.057	10	klima	21.146	3
Monolinguals	15	25	8	13	61
Bilinguals	16	26	10	15	67
In total	31	51	18	28	128

Table 2: 13 terms and their doublets from *GREET*

are included in the analysis to show which native expression is more frequent. Similarly, the borrowed expression *biotska raznovrstnost* ‘biodiversity’ is included in the analysis to show which of its borrowed doublets (i.e., *biodiverziteta* / *biotska pestrost* / *biološka raznovrstnost*) is the most frequent.

Out of 13 terms, 5 native and 5 borrowed expressions are classified as preferential (to be included in *GREET* as headwords, with other expressions listed as possible (non-preferential) translation equivalents) due to the number of their appearances in the corpus. The 5 native expressions are *odlagališče* (and not *deponija*) ‘landfill’, *onesnaževalo* (and not *pollutant*) ‘pollutant’, *rastlinski* (and not *vegetacijski*) ‘vegetative’, *podnebje* (and not *klima*) ‘climate’, *podnebna sprememba* (and not *klimatska sprememba*) ‘climate change’. The 5 borrowed expressions are *vegetacija* (and not *rastlinstvo*) ‘vegetation’,

emisija (and not *izpust*) ‘emission’, *transport* (and not *prevoz*) ‘transport’, *urbani* (and not *mestni*) ‘urban’, *toksični* (and not *strupeni*) ‘toxic’.

Interestingly, the number of preferential borrowed expressions is relatively low, as it was first expected that borrowed expressions would be used more often than native expressions in Slovene green energy terminology. Perhaps the sample of articles included in the corpus was not representative enough to show the true state of borrowed expressions on the one hand and native on the other, or the considerable use of Slovene terms as opposed to borrowed ones shows that field specialists are in fact inclined towards using native Slovene terms and only use borrowed ones when there are no Slovene variants or when the borrowed expression is common to the extent that everybody uses it.

According to data obtained from the corpus, there are some cases that show inconsistent or, rather, problematic use of borrowed and native expressions, which suggests that some areas of Slovene green energy might not have been unified. In the case of *vegetacija* / *vegetacijski* ‘vegetation / vegetative’ and *rastlinstvo* / *rastlinski* ‘vegetation / vegetative’, the borrowed expression is used more often than the native expression in the case of the noun *vegetacija* (and not *rastlinstvo*) ‘vegetation’, whereas in the case of the adjective *vegetacijski* / *rastlinski* ‘vegetative’, the native Slovene expression *rastlinski* is used more often than the borrowed expression. The borrowed term *vegetacija* ‘vegetation’ has 3.308 occurrences in the general corpus Gigafida and 11 occurrences in the specialized corpus, whereas the native term *rastlinstvo* ‘vegetation’ has 2.509 occurrences in Gigafida and 0 occurrences in the specialized corpus. The native term *rastlinski* ‘vegetative’ has 25.203 occurrences in Gigafida and 3 occurrences in the specialized corpus, whereas the borrowed term *vegetativni* ‘vegetative’ has 1.307 occurrences in Gigafida and 1 occurrence in the specialized corpus.

The terminological pairs *vegetacija* / *vegetacijski* ‘vegetation / vegetative’ and *rastlinstvo* / *rastlinski* ‘vegetation / vegetative’ are used quite interchangeably in Slovene green energy terminology, even though there are some contextual differences in uses of each of the pairs in Slovene. The term *vegetacija* ‘vegetation’ refers to the ‘growth and development of plants’, whereas the term *rastlinstvo* ‘vegetation’ encompasses ‘plants as a whole’⁸. The adjective *vegetacijski* ‘vegetative’ ‘refers to vegetation’, whereas the adjective *rastlinski* ‘vegetative’ ‘relates to plants’⁹.

In English, the term *vegetation* stands for ‘plant life or total plant cover (as of an area)’¹⁰, whereas the term *vegetative* can relate to ‘growing or having the power of grow-

⁸ The Slovene definition is taken from *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (Dictionary of Standard Slovenian). Translation into English: Laura Mrhar.

⁹ The Slovene definition is taken from *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (Dictionary of Standard Slovenian). Translation into English: Laura Mrhar.

¹⁰ “Vegetation.” Merriam-Webster.com.

Accessed September 5, 2016. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/vegetation>.

ing', 'promoting plant growth', or 'vegetation' in general¹¹. *GREET* therefore presents both terminological pairs individually, i.e., shows both *rastlinstvo* / *rastlinski* 'vegetation / vegetative' and *vegetacija* / *vegetacijski* 'vegetation / vegetative' as headwords and disregards the frequency of use as shown in the table, according to which only the terms *vegetacija* 'vegetation' and *rastlinski* 'vegetative' should be presented as headwords.

The analysis has also shown that doublets are problematic in the case of English terms which have two or more concurrently used native Slovene equivalents, e.g., *onesnaževanje* / *onesnaženje* 'pollution'. Similarly, doublets are problematic in the case of English terms which have two or more borrowed translation equivalents in Slovene, e.g., *biotska raznovrstnost* / *biološka raznovrstnost* / *biotska pestrost* / *biodiverziteta* 'biodiversity'. In some cases, the use of the native and borrowed expressions that form a terminological pair can vary. In relatively numerous terminological pairs, the borrowed term is used in specialized language and the native term in general language (7), e.g., *albedo* in specialized language and *odbojnost* in general language, whereas there are fewer instances of terminological pairs in which the native term is used in specialized language more often than the borrowed term (8), e.g., *ozračje* not *atmosfera*. Sometimes, the borrowed expression is established instead of a native expression simply because of its shorter and, therefore, more convenient form, e.g., *habitat* 'habitat' vs. the descriptive native equivalent *naravno okolje živali* 'habitat'.

(7)

- *albedo* / *odbojnost* 'albedo'
- *incineracija* / *sežiganje* 'incineration'
- *meteorologija* / *vremenoslovje* 'meteorology'

(8)

- *ozračje* / *atmosfera* 'atmosphere'
- *oglenitev* / *karbonizacija* 'carbonization'
- *pomorski* / *maritimni* 'maritime'

The variety of vocabulary used in the field can also be seen through the use of one or more synonyms for a single concept in a single Slovene article included in the corpus. One of the authors, for example, uses the term *podnebna sprememba* 'climate change' 26 times and its synonym *klimatska sprememba* 'climate change' 6 times. Another author uses the term *emisija* 'emission' 14 times and its unborrowed equivalent *izpust* 'emission' 6 times. In a different article, the expression *biotska raznovrstnost* 'biodiversity' occurs 15 times, whereas its synonym *biotska pestrost* 'biodiversity' occurs twice. One of the most interesting examples is the use of the term *onesnaževalo* 'pollutant' vs. *pollutant* 'pollutant'. In one of the articles in the corpus, the authors make use of the unborrowed term *onesnaževalo* as many as 59 times, and only use the borrowed term *pollutant* twice.

¹¹ "Vegetative." Merriam-Webster.com.

Accessed September 5, 2016. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/vegetative>.

In the case of some terminological pairs, the borrowed term is more often used in general language than in specialized language. The borrowing *klima* 'climate', for example, prevails in general language and has merely 3 concordances in the specialized corpus, whereas the unborrowed term *podnebje* 'climate' remains preferential in specialized language, with as many as 10 concordances in the corpus. In general, however, borrowings still prove superior in specialized language, as is the case with terms like *toksični* 'toxic' (not *strupeni*), *transport* 'transport' (not *prevoz*) and *urbani* 'urban' (not *mestni*). Many a times, the same terms from the field of green energy are used both in general in specialized language, e.g., *podnebna sprememba* 'climate change' (not *klimatska sprememba*), *emisija* 'emission' (not *izpust*), *odlagališče* 'landfill' (not *deponija*), etc.

It is the liberal, non-uniform use of borrowed expressions on the one hand and native expressions on the other that is the most problematic and, points out, at a very basic level, that Slovene green energy terminology has not been unified. It would be too presumptuous to say that Slovene green energy should be standardized, as this field is so interdisciplinary, and therefore cannot be compared to narrower fields, whose terminology is more organized - even more rigid - but green energy terminology should to some extent be regulated. The most burning issues should be addressed, especially in the case of terminological pairs. Specialized dictionaries should clearly present the preference for specific terms in cases of several terms to one concept, supported by empirical (quantitative) data obtained from corpus analyses showing a large number of instances of a given term as well as typical uses in various semantic environments, in this case related to green energy and other similar fields.

5 Conclusions

The analysis of borrowing from English into Slovene in the field of green energy has revealed the richness and complexity of this process and has furthermore shown the integration and co-existence of loanwords with Slovene equivalents. Even though the vast influx of new expressions along with a large amount of loanwords add semantic value to Slovene, the need for linguistic economy is stressed, especially in the case of newer fields such as that of green energy, in which the use of terminology is not as regulated or as unified as it should be. In such interdisciplinary fields, characterized by both terminologization and determinologization, which encourage broader terminological use, constant and rapid changes will continue to happen, and it will become more and more important to monitor these changes in specialized bilingual dictionaries and keep up with them, in order to keep the specialized language alive and fully functional.

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Osebni, kolektivni spomin in identiteta v sodobnem slovenskem romanopisju na avstrijskem Koroškem

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Abstract

Literature has always been the medium to help readers find their own identity and sometimes to even expand it further. In the last few years, self-reflection has thus become one of the leading ways for communicating a first-person narrator's experience. It is particularly distinctive for the literatures of minorities, which deal with the past in their own specific way. Language, as a medium for exchanging experiences, of dreams, and thoughts is the main intermediary between past and present. In the literatures of minorities, the personal memory of an individual becomes connected with the collective memory that refers to a particular time and a particular place.

Key words: identity, contemporary Slovenian novel, individual memory, collective memory

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V pričujočem članku bom analizirala motivno-tematske prvine v izbranih romanih Florjana Lipuša in v romanu Maje Haderlap. Roman *Boštjanov let* je eden izmed najprezentativnejših Lipuševih romanov, *Poizvedovanje za imenom* pa spada med njegove najaktualnejše, zaradi česar sem se tudi odločila za slednja. Ker je izid romanesknega prvenca Maje Haderlap *Angel pozabe* zelo odmeval na obeh straneh meje, slovenske in avstrijske, se je njegova vključitev v obravnavo zdela več kot primerna. Oba avtorja prav tako prihajata z avstrijske Koroške in sta del tamkajšnje slovenske narodne skupnosti, ki se je v svoji zgodovini venomer borila za svoje pravice. Zunanji boj se je vseskozi kazal tudi z notranjim bojem posameznika, kar sta omenjena pisatelja tematizirala tudi v obravnavanih romanih. Posameznik se v kritičnih situacijah prav tako sooča z lastno identiteto, na katero med drugim vplivata individualni in kolektivni spomin. Iz tega razloga sem si pri obravnavi romanov zastavila naslednje vprašanje:

V kolikšni meri gradita individualni in kolektivni spomin identiteto romaneskni junakov v romanih Florjana Lipuša *Boštjanov let* in *Poizvedovanje za imenom* ter v romanu Maje Haderlap *Angel pozabe*?

1 Identiteta, spomin (individualni in kolektivni) in književnost

Književnost, spomin in identiteta so že od nekdaj predmet najrazličnejših raziskav različnih humanističnih vej. Z njihovo povezavo so se ukvarjali znanstveniki že konec 80. let 20. stoletja in poudarjali, da identiteta posameznika ni mogoča brez sposobnosti spominjanja (prim. Neumann 2005, 149–150). Že znani filozofi, kot so Platon, John Locke, Friedrich Nietzsche, so bili prepričani, da je spomin eden glavnih gradnikov identitete oz. tudi eden njenih edinih rešiteljev. V psihologiji so se s povezavo začeli ukvarjati v 2. polovici 20. stoletja (prim. Neumann 2005, 151–152).

Številna sodobna literarna besedila tematizirajo povezavo med spominom in identiteto. Rezultat raziskovanja je način, kako posameznik skozi samorefleksijo posega v preteklost. Še posebej je to zanimivo pri prvoosebni pripovedi. Takšni romani se imenujejo *fictions of memory* (prim. Nünning 2003b, v Neumann 2005, 164). Omenjeni način pisanja je značilen za manjšinsko književnost, v njem pa gre za izpoved tabuizirane izkušnje. Izziv, pred katerim se pripovedovalec znajde, je, ali mu bo uspelo premostiti časovno in čustveno distanco do pretekle izkušnje, oz. če bo zmozel svojo preteklost povezati s sedanjo situacijo spominjanja. Če mu to ne uspe, je ogrožena njegova identiteta (prim. Neumann 2005, 166).

»Kolektivni spomin je kontinuiran mišljenjski tok, katerega kontinuiranost ni ume tna, saj obdrži od preteklosti zgolj tisto, kar je še živo ali zmožno živeti v zavesti skupine, ki ga vzdržuje« (Halbwachs 2001, 87). Nosilka slehernega kolektivnega spomina je skupina, omejena na prostor in čas. Gre za podobne motive, pri čemer je naraven

občutek, da skupina ostaja oz. je ostala ista. Kolektivni spomin je pogoj za spomin posameznika in identiteto skupine. Pri posameznikovem spominu ne gre za t. i. mentalni proces, ki je umetno odrezan od vseh družbenih vezi, ampak spada k družbeni interakciji prek t. i. družbenih vlog. Obstaja toliko kolektivnih časovnih obdobj, kolikor je ločenih skupin (prim. Halbwachs 2001, 55–90).

Halbwachs (prim. 2001, 85) je prepričan, da otrok v stiku s starimi starši še bolj seže do oddaljene preteklosti. Ti se zblížajo z otroki tudi zato, ker ne enih ne drugih ne zanimajo sodobni dogodki, na katere se fiksira pozornost staršev. Otrok sicer ne takoj, a vseeno kmalu opazi, da ob vstopu v hišo starih staršev vstopa v drugačno območje, ki mu ni tuje, saj se dobro ujema z načinom življenja in razmišljanja najbolj priletnih članov njegove družine. Logično je, da se otrok potem zanima za vse, kar pripovedujejo starejše osebe, ki so pozabile na razliko med časi in povezujejo preteklost s prihodnostjo, ne da bi vključevali sedanjost. Življenje otroka je močno odvisno od družbe, prek katere prihaja v stik z bolj ali manj oddaljeno preteklostjo. Ta je kot okvir, v katerega so zajeti najbolj osebni spomini. Pozneje se lahko otrokov spomin opre na to doživljeno preteklost, ki jo je poslušal, veliko bolj kot na preteklost, ki se je naučil iz napisane zgodovine. Ko otrok odraste, se razločneje in bolj reflektirano približuje mišljenju svoje družine in se udeležuje dogodkov skupin, katerim pripada, ne da bi se tega zavedal. Spomin je v veliki meri rekonstrukcija preteklosti s pomočjo podatkov, sposojenih iz sedanjosti, ti pa izhajajo iz drugih rekonstrukcij.

Jan Assman (1991, 347), eden vodilnih sodobnih raziskovalcev kulturnega spomina (ki je del kolektivnega spomina), se strinja s Halbwachsovim mnenjem, ki v njem vidi družbeno valenco, saj se že čisto zasebni spomin oblikuje v povezavi z drugimi ljudmi. Assman v svoji knjigi Kulturni spomin (1992, 16) izpostavlja dejstvo, da je kolektivni spomin odgovoren za živo vez med skupaj živečimi generacijami, ki se med seboj povezujejo tako s pomočjo izročila sobivajočih generacij (časovno) kot socialno, prek različnih slojev, razredov, poklicev. Assman (1992, 45–46) deli kolektivni spomin na kulturnega in komunikativnega. Kulturni spomin zajema npr. dogodke in osebe, ki jim skupnost pripisuje utemeljitveno vrednost in lahko sega v daljno preteklost. Komunikativni spomin pa pretekle dogodke sprejema pretežno prek individualnih biografij, jih oblikuje ohlapno, zajema obdobje 80–100 let. Na avstrijskem Koroškem živi slovenska narodna manjšina,¹ ki je zaradi travmatičnih zgodovinskih dogodkov v preteklem

¹ Slovenci so na južnem Koroškem avtohtona jezikovna skupina, ki je najstarejša v Avstriji. Predniki Slovencev so se na avstrijskem Koroškem naselili že približno pred 1400 leti. Problem se je pojavil sredi 19. stoletja zaradi prisilne asimilacije, ki je imela tako objektivne kot subjektivne razloge, oboji pa so bili tesno povezani z neenakim ekonomskim, socialnim in političnim položajem. Okoli leta 1900 se je za Slovence na avstrijskem Koroškem izreklo 85.000 ljudi. Po prvi svetovni vojni so se le-ti priključili Kraljevini Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev. Leta 1920 pa je južni del Koroške s plebiscitom pripadel Avstriji. Med drugo svetovno vojno je bilo izgnanih ogromno koroških Slovencev v koncentracijska taborišča, prišlo pa je tudi do partizanskega upora. Zedinjenje med slovensko in nemško govorečimi naj bi prinesel 7. člen Avstrijske državne pogodbe, s katerim naj bi bila slovenska narodna manjšina na tem območju bila tudi uradno priznana. Odnos je kljub tej afirmaciji ostal zaostren, ključni sta bili vprašanji dvojezičnega šolstva in dvojezični topografski napisi. Konfliktna atmosfera je pripeljala do asimilacije mnogih Slovencev, kar izkazuje dejstvo, da se je za Slovence leta 1910 izreklo 74.210 prebivalcev, leta 2001 pa je bilo takih le 12.600. Poleg

stoletju (obrambni boj in plebiscit leta 1920, pregon Slovencev in Slovenk med drugo svetovno vojno in napad na dvojezične krajevne napise jeseni leta 1972) in z njimi tesno povezanih asimilacijskih procesov vse do danes močno ogrožena (prim. Klemenčič 2010, 24–28). Poleg tega na njen obstoj vplivajo družbene in politične spremembe, ki so jim podvrženi posamezni člani (prim. Vavti 2011, 9).

Medtem ko je bila etnična identifikacija v starejši generaciji jasna in polarizirana, s težiščem na dveh ekstremih, ki so jih v zgodovini razlikovali v zavedne na eni in v asimilirane na drugi strani, sta se pri mlajših ekstrema omilila. Pomembne biografske okoliščine za trdno etničnost so slovensko govoreča družina, obiskovanje slovenskih/dvojezičnih šol, kulturno in politično udejstvovanje itd. (prim. Vavti 2011, 30–31). Vavtjeva je v svoji raziskavi prišla do ključnega dejstva, da je večina staršev in starih staršev obravnavanih koroških Slovencev bila med drugo svetovno vojno izseljenih ali ubitih v koncentracijskih taboriščih, saj so bili žrtve nacizma. Te izkušnje so tako postale del njihovega kolektivnega spomina. To travmo pa občutijo vse nadaljnje generacije (prim. Vavti 2010, 51–57).

2 Iskanje identitete v izbranih sodobnih slovenskih romanih

Iskanje identitete v literarnih delih je že stalnica sodobnih slovenskih romanov. Če živiš na območju, kjer tvoja identiteta ni nekaj samoumevnega in se moraš zanjo boriti in se vedno znova dokazovati, je vprašanje identitete še toliko bolj prisotno v literarnih delih. Na ta način se avtorji izpovedujejo, razčlenjujejo, polemizirajo, dokazujejo – vse v želji, priti do spoznanja. Samo po sebi se pojavi vprašanje, če je do slednjega mogoče priti? Za analizo iskanja identitete sem izbrala romane naslednjih sodobnih slovenskih avtorjev:

- *Boštjanov let* (2003) Florjana Lipuša,
- *Angel pozabe* (2011) Maje Haderlap,
- *Poizvedovanje za imenom* (2013) Florjana Lipuša.

2.1 Florjan Lipuš: *Boštjanov let*

Roman *Boštjanov let* Florjana Lipuša je odraz avtorjeve osebne in jezikovne travme (prim. Paternu 2003, 19). V času globalizacije je namreč jasnejše zavedanje jezikovnih korenin prišlo prav z območja največje ogroženosti, ki jo je avtor močno čutil že v otroštvu. Lipuš se je že z izidom romana *Zmote dijaka Tjaža* (1972) zapisal med vidne

asimilacije je tak rezultat tudi posledica vse večje ekonomske in socialne mobilnosti mlajše generacije, ki se vse bolj seli v večja avstrijska mesta in tujino. Veliko asimiliranih ljudi pa še vedno kaže delno identifikacijo s svojim maternim jezikom (Vavti 2010, 51–52).

ustvarjalce slovenske proze. Lastnosti njegovega pisanja sta tematska in jezikovna naslo-nitev na regijo (Koroško) in nadregionalna povednost in učinkovitost, slednja ga uvršča tudi med svetovne pisatelje. Avtor se poistoveti s slovenskim svetom, v katerega je vpet že od otroštva, hkrati pa se od njega radikalno oddaljuje. Iz tega razloga je opaziti v delu binarno razmerje do domačega sveta (prim. Paternu 2003, 19–20).

V romanu *Boštjanov let* se pred našimi očmi razprostre hermetična zgodba o otroku Boštjanu. Slednji s starši odrasča v hribih vse do izbruha vojne, ki mu vzame oba starša. Mamo ubijejo v koncentracijskem taborišču, oče služi pri vojaki. Nasilni odvzem matere dečka najgloblje zaznamuje, zato se zapre vase in ima strah pred ljudmi. Pri tem mu ne pomaga oče, ki se izmučen vrne s fronte. Očetov molk dečkovo tesnobo le še stopnjuje; oče ga niti ne pokliče po njegovem pravem imenu,² nalaga mu le delo in ga utrjuje v garaštvu. Očetu ljubezen, igra in prostost ne pomenijo nič. Deček kljub temu najde svetlo točko v svojem življenju – ljubezen do Line. Poleg mame in Line pa Boštjana ves čas spremlja pokojna babica v obliki duha – škopnika.³ Ta Boštjanova avtonomna religioznost (prim. Paternu 2003, 21) povzroči njegov odmik od običajne (katoliške) vere k zatekanju v naravo. Na samotni jasi so se dečku skale, grmovja in drevesa spreminjale v prijazna bitja. Ko začuti smrt lastne matere, se njegova odrešitev šele začne.

Pri oblikovanju dečkove identitete, ki jo je z izgubo matere začel znova iskati, imajo ključno vlogo naslednji dejavniki: vas, voda, vera, molk, erotika, hiša in groza.

Okolje, ki ga obdaja, je ujeto v materialno revščino. Kajžarji, drvarji, dninarji in pastirji so še edini prebivalci hribovitega območja, saj je bilo le-to izpostavljeno močnemu izseljevanju. Vsa energija je usmerjena v delo, »šparanje« in vsestransko »ohrnost«, v mentalno ozkost (prim. Paternu 2003, 22). Mimogrede, kritičnost do ozkogledosti ljudi v vasi je izpostavil že znan avstrijski pisatelj Thomas Bernhard. Da ima v Lipuše-vih delih vas negativno konotacijo, izkazuje že njeno uvodno poimenovanje »žnergava« oz. »žnedrava vas« (prim. Lipuš 2003, 7).⁴ Prebivalci takšne vasi si lastijo pravico do nadzora in vrednotenja ostalih, njihov kompas je krščanstvo, ki se očičuje le z nesrečo in smrtjo. Utesnjujočo atmosfero označujejo že krajevna imena, npr. Tesen, Graben. Destruktivnost vasi je omiljena zaradi perspektive pripovedovalca (otroške in mladostniške). Ta je bolj naklonjen tradiciji, saj se ob nedeljah in praznikih lahko sprosti. Prav tako je vasi podrejen življenjski ritem, ki je istočasno delovni ritem. Temu mo-

² »Molčal je, ko mu je Ugav izmaknil tla pod nogami in je Boštjan padel v praznino, postal predmet in zaimek, ni vzrojal nad nasilnežema, ki sta prišla ponjo in odvzela dečku dostojanstvo in osebnost. Kdo ga bo zdaj klical po imenu? Njegov oče imena ni izrekal, oče je primogel le izognjene besede, se je posluževal zaimkov.« (Lipuš 2003, 34)

³ Škopnik je po ljudskem verovanju goreče bitje, ki leta (ponoči) po zraku, seda v vrhove dreves ali na strehe. Navadno se prikaže pri hišah, kjer nekdo umira, nevaren pa je tudi otrokom, še posebej, če jih zanemarja mati (prim. Ovsec 1991, 301, 402, 481–483).

⁴ »Povsod navzoča in vsevidna vas, žnergava in žnedrava, je vse in vsakega nadzirala, krotila otroške bedarije, pregledovala doraščanje, druženja in navezave, gnana od skrbi vlekla v nas izhlapine greha, vedno na preži za pohujšanjem, da se je imela ob čem zgazati, se ob koga spotikati.« (Lipuš 2003, 7–8)

rajo slediti že otroci, katerih edina naloga je čim prej odrasti. Da je Boštjanov oče glava družine, ni naključje za patriarhalno urejeno družbo, ki jo v največji meri podpira Cerkev. Po smrti matere in babice je deček prepuščen trdi vzgoji molčečega in resnega očeta (prim. Zupan Sosič 2004, 81–83). Tudi igra velja za nekaj grdega, nevrednega. Boštjan si je zato primoran na skrivaj izboriti čas in prostor zanjo.

Voda v romanu zavzema posebno mesto. Je darilo narave, ki ga pisatelj imenuje s »spremljati«, »priskakljati«, »žuboreti«. Pisatelj jo razume kot svoj lasten izvir, kjer se je »izlegel«. Glagol »izleči se« je primernejši od glagola »roditi se«, saj signalizira pripadnost leglu (prim. Podpečan Polanc 2007, 754). Boštjan se ob stiku z vodo znajde na meji med sanjskim in resničnim. Vedno ga vodi do izvira, njegovega doma. Deček si želi začutiti njen tok, zato nekoč spusti vanjo javorjev list in teče za njim. Voda ima še en pomen v Boštjanovih očeh; po vodo je vsakodnevno hodila njegova pokojna mati, ravno tako pa ponjo hodi zdajšnja simpatija – Lina. Včasih se mu dozdeva, kot da sta se mama in Lina prelili druga v drugo, in da je oseba, ki ji zvesto sledi, jo opazuje in venomer čaka, v resnici njegova mati.

Na izoblikovanje Boštjanove identitete vpliva tudi vera. Paternu (2003, 22) meni, da gre za verništvo slaboumne vrste. Ljudstvo je ubogljivo in poslušno, duhovnik pa ukazovalen. Na svojih domovih verniki dokazujejo lastno sprenevedanje s tepežem svojih otrok in posrednim izkazovanjem spolnih nagonov. Tako obnašanje naj bi katoliška cerkev celo spodbujala (prim. Lipuš 2003, 79). Boštjan je najbolj občutljiv do nasilnosti Cerkve oz. ubijanja drugače vernih, zelo pa ga prizadene tudi nasilje nad ženskami. Cerkev vsiljuje vernikom spolno moralo T. Akvinskega: »Kdor spolno občuje zgolj iz uživanja, stori smrtni greh, kdor spolno občuje z odporom in nevoljo, nima nobenega greha, kdor ne občuje, stori dobro delo« (Lipuš 2003, 83). Takšna neizživeta spolnost pa ljudi vodi le v perversnost (prim. Zupan Sosič 2004, 86). Pripovedovalec Cerkve označi za kraj »dogme in drame«, s »hudičem pa njeni fanatiki le polnijo in praznijo mošnjičke«. Boštjan si od Cerkve obeta korist, ko vsako nedeljo opazuje, ali se bo v njej pojavila Lina.

Naslednji bistveni gradnik Boštjanove identitete je molk,⁵ ki se izkazuje v razmišljanju in čutenju. Boštjanova jezikovna zavrtost je odraz koroškega gorskega zakotja (prim. Paternu 2003, 23).⁶ Zanimivo je, da na tak način poteka tudi komunikacija z Lino, ko

⁵ »Delata molče, molk daje, večja moč, krepi duha, sprošča sile, še kako potrebne v zadnjem delu tedna, v zadnjem delu dneva.« (Lipuš 2003, 61)

⁶ »Po odhodu matere, preden jo je zmanjkalo na vrhu klanca, se mu je zaprlo v grlu, težnost se je zajedla v jezik, klada mu je legla na usta, in Boštjan je potehmal povsem umolknil, zunanje pretopil v notranje, ostal nem, bil sam svoj sogovornik in nasprotnik, o ničemer ni govoril več, o vsem je molčal, povest se mu je zgnetla v stavek, stavek v besedo, beseda v nemi pok« (Lipuš 2003, 118); »Za toliko reči seve ni bilo izraza, ni bilo orodja, ni bilo poguma. Tudi njeni ljudje in z njimi ona, narojeni v nepredušni in zavrti molk, v brezglasno potajenost, so se razodevali, izražali v poslu, se udejanjali z naganjem in pregledovanjem dela in opravkov, dobro izvedljivih le v molčečnosti in le v skrajni sili podprtih s kako besedo. Sestajali so se, a se niso pozdravljali, pozdrav je bila kaka malost, drobec vremena, zamah z orodjem, pomig z glavo, navezava na kak vsakdanji popravek, okrnina stavka. Posel, posel je bil gonilo medsebojnega občevanja, bil pozdrav in nepremakljiva mera pri izbiri jakosti besed. Kaj čuda, saj tod okoli vsi molčijo, molči meseno in leseno, ker so tisto malo povedali že predniki.« (Lipuš 2003, 37)

se z njo sprehaja po gozdnih poteh, oz. ko ji sledi. Tudi ona nima posebne želje po govorjenju. Ta jezikovna revščina spominja na začetke boja za drugačno slovenščino, ki v Boštjanovem travmatičnem krogu poteka od nacističnega genocida do zatrtega življenja soseske (prim. Paternu 2003, 23–24).

Odraščajoči Boštjan zelo kmalu najde svojo sorodno dušo, ženski princip, ki ga je s smrtjo obeh žensk v družini izgubil. Lina in z njo povezana erotika mu predstavljata izhod iz vaške konzervativnosti. »Osebna, intimna zgodba je v *Boštjanovem letu* preglasila sicer pretanjen oris po/vojnih razmer na avstrijskem Koroškem« (Zupan Sosič 2004, 87). Iskanje lastne identitete je močno vpeto v spreminjanje tradicionalnih spolnih vlog, saj že Boštjan uvidi rešitev v sožitju med moškim in žensko in ne obratno (prim. Zupan Sosič 2004, 87). O spolnosti razmišlja junak kar v cerkvi,⁷ Lino poimenuje blagovest, oznanilo, Roža skrivnostna. Da je ljubezensko čustvo pomembno, je razvidno že iz strukture romana, saj se začne in konča s srečanjem zaljubljenec.

Hiša že v osnovi predstavlja človekov dom, zatočišče in varnost. Tako čuti tudi Boštjan, ko mora oditi iz nje zaradi vojne. Hiša s tem izgubi svojo primarno funkcijo, a je še vedno kraj, kjer deček vedno znova začuti mater.⁸ Hišo je avtor opisal z glagoli, ki označujejo njeno propadanje, saj se je najprej »potuhnila«, nato »skrčila« in nazadnje »k zemlji stisnila«. Čas, ki je »shranjen v zidovih«, učinkuje zaradi uporabe trpnika kot nespremenljiv in trajajoč in tako omogoča Boštjanu, da je vedno del nje. Živ utrip pa s sabo prinaša raba deležnika »trepetajoč«, »pocejajoč«. Boštjan se z obiski hiše vrača v svojo mladost, družino in nenazadnje v sprejetost. V njej je znova deček, kakršen je bil prej in si znova želi biti. Hiša mu daje duševni mir, prostor, v katerem je v svojih mislih zopet s svojo mamo in babico.

Stalen Boštjanov spremljevalec je groza. Pojavila se je z maminim nasilnim odhodom, nadaljevala z novim domom in dosegla vrh z babičino smrtjo. Osamljen in zapuščen Boštjan svojo travmatično izkušnjo zgosti v grozo, ki se pojavlja v obliki škopnika. Ta ima »duh po slami« in se »pretkano iskri«. Prislov »pretkan« je zanimiv, ker je zavajajoč. Škopnik res sije skozi drevesne veje, a ko se začne iskrenje približevati, se spremeni v nevarnost. Vsaka negativna izkušnja pa preusmeri njegovo pozornost na halucinatorno bitje. Ta je prisoten »vedno« in »povsod«, omogoča pa otrokov beg (Podpečan Polanc 2007, 756–757).

⁷ »Boštjan je videval Lino ob nedeljah, ko so ljudje počivali v cerkvenih klopih od garanja, zgodaj se mu je narajmala, se mu zamotala na oči in vsake toliko bolj ga je vleklo k njej. Stojte na deški strani, se naslanjajoč na cerkveni stol, na steber, ali vpet v gnečo, se je po svoje dotikal Line, ki je stala v šopu deklet na ženski strani, oddaljena več vrst in še hodnik je bil vmes po sredi. Pošev skoz cerkveno ladjo ji je pošiljal sporočila, mimo glav ji je vtrinjaval vesele in bridkostne, in nihče ni posumil, da ima pomenke na daljavo z njo, zemeljske pomenke z deklico ob nedostojnem času in na prepovedanem kraju.« (Lipuš 2003, 7)

⁸ »Dobri kosi ležijo znotraj teh zidov, dobri spomini so natisnjeni po posameznih prostorih.« (Lipuš 2003, 18)

2.2 Maja Haderlap: *Angel pozabe*

Engel des Vergessens je Maja Haderlap⁹ napisala v nemščini in z njim v nemško govorečem okolju sprožila niz razprav in nagrad (Bachmannova nagrada). Nato je roman izšel še v slovenščini, njenem maternem jeziku. Prevedel ga je Štefan Vevar. Z nemščino je sama sebi ustvarila distanco do vsega zapisanega, kljub temu pa so v originalu tudi slovenski izrazi (Horvat 2011, 37). V ospredju je zgodovinski konflikt med Slovenci in Avstrijci/Nemci v času druge svetovne vojne na Koroškem, ko so slovenske družine sodelovale s partizani, avstrijske/nemške pa ne, kar je bilo po vojni zabrisano - pisanje o partizanskem boju je (bila) tabu tema. Roman ima zato osveščevalno in pričevanjsko vlogo (Lesničar 2011, 27).

Snov za roman je avtorica črpala iz svojega okolja Železne Kaple, iz pogovorov s sorodniki, babico in starši. Kot vsaka družina v tistem času je bila tudi njena tesno povezana s partizanstvom. Že kot otrok je čutila, kaj so jim prizadejali nacisti. Snov je avtobiografska, a literarno predelana. Da gre za slovenski svet, pričajo slovenske zgodbe (*Kdo je napravil Vidku snajčico*), pesmi (Oton Župančič: *Zima zima bela*) in film *Kekec*. Prav tako so slovenski priimki družin (Rastočnik, Želodec, Perko).

Prvoosebna pripovedovalka, ki v začetku zavzame otroško perspektivo, v romanu gradi sebe. Združuje vse delce, ki jih je v svojem otroštvu imela razmetane okrog sebe, v celoto. Roman bi iz tega razloga lahko spadal med razvojne romane, saj smo priča dekličinemu odrasčanju, razčiščevanju s samo sabo. Na svoj način se sooča s travmami, strahovi, z vprašanjem jezika in identitete.¹⁰ Pri oblikovanju pripovedovalkine identitete imajo veliko vlogo babica, mama, oče, nemško okolje, spomin in jezik.

Eden ključnih ljudi v pripovedovalkinem življenju je babica, ki nadomešča dekličino mater, ko je le-ta prezaposlena z delom na kmetiji. Deklica se z babico veliko druží, zato ni naključje, da nekoč odkrije sivozelen plašč še iz časa internacije v taborišču v Ravensbrücku. Babica ji zaupa marsikateri kosček vojnega mozaika, a ga deklica razume šele, ko odraste. Vse zgodbe pričajo o strašnem trpljenju žensk, ki so jih ponižali, mučili in izstradali, nekatere celo ubili. Babica se je na srečo vrnila, njena trdnost pa se zrcali tudi na vnukinjo. Babica ima v pripovedovalkinem življenju veliko vlogo, saj je dekličina mentorica, varuhinja in tolažnica. Kljub temu pa se babica izkaže za neizprosno v odnosu do dekličine matere, ki je niti ne spusti v kuhinjo, pomaga ji lahko le pri gnetenju testa. Deklica se že kot otrok sprašuje, zakaj je temu tako, a odgovora ne najde. Zanj je babica še vedno oseba, h kateri se ponoči stisne in mirno zaspi. Babica pa z deklico deli marsikateri vojni spomin.¹¹ O veri je prepričana, da jo je treba

⁹ Maja Haderlap je bila po študiju teatrologije in germanistike zaposlena v celovškem gledališču, predavala pa je tudi na celovški univerzi, a je svoje delo opustila za tri leta, ki jih je posvetila pisanju romana, za katerega je od vsega začetka vedela, da ga bo napisala v nemščini. Že njena poezija je prelamljala s tradicijo, saj je tematizirala pot od doma, iskanje ženskega obraza in identitete ter usodo rodu.

¹⁰ »Kdo sem, h komu spadam, zakaj pišem slovensko ali govorim nemško?« (Haderlap 2011, 27)

¹¹ »Tako malo kruha smo imeli v taborišču, vidiš, toliko, s palcem in kazalcem pokaže velikost rezin, ki so jih delili zapornikom. Zaleči je moral za ves dan, včasih za dva. Pozneje nismo dobili niti tega, pove, in smo

iz cerkve preseliti v življenje,¹² zato za praznik vernih duš postavi na mizo kruh in mleko za mrtve. Prav tako ima ritual, s katerim očiščuje zrak in napetosti v hiši.¹³ Vseh teh modrosti jo je naučila njena mati, ki ji je ob poroki dala za doto hišni žegen, ki ga naj izgovarja v hudih časih. Deklico najbolj zaznamuje babičino pripovedovanje o vojni, ki jo je preživela in na katero spominja marsikateri predmet v sobi.¹⁴ Pogosto ji pripoveduje o svojem povratku iz vojne in naelektrenem ozračju, ki je bilo takrat v Železni Kapli, sprejeti pa je ni želel niti lasten stric. Deklica vse te doživljaje zbira v sebi in jih kot otrok še ne razume najbolje. Jo pa babičine pripovedi in soba, opremljena s številnimi predmeti iz vojne, očitno zaznamujejo in celo osebnostno oblikujejo, kot to pripovedovalka kasneje spozna. Usta ji razveže ravno prebiranje babičine taboriščne beležnice.¹⁵

Materne pripovedovalka že kot otrok ne razume najbolje. Ima jo rada, skuša se ji na več načinov približati, a je ta ne sprejme.¹⁶ Deklica jo dojema kot osamljeno osebo, večkrat jo tudi najde jokajočo v spalnici ali ob večerih osamljeno sedečo na travniku za hišo, ko gleda v nebo. Mati ji nekoč pritrdi nad posteljno steno dva angela. Se pravi dva varuha, ki bosta bdela nad njo, nato skupaj še zmolita molitev *Sveti angel varuh moj*. Mati, ki je zelo verna, svojo pripadnost do Boga drugače izkazuje kot babica. Meni, da je treba hoditi k maši ter moliti zjutraj in zvečer. Deklica tako že kmalu ugotovi, da je materin sanjski prostor oltar. Kasneje spozna, da se tako zoperstavlja babičinemu vplivu na deklco. V odnosu do očeta je mati nemočna. Ko ima oče svoje izpade, deklica vedno pokliče babico. Ob babičini smrti postelji mati kljub vsemu izkaže do nje spoštovanje. Materi zelo veliko pomeni izobrazba otrok, zato tudi deklico pošlje na Slovensko gimnazijo v Celovec in se ob zaključku šolanja udeleži slovesne prireditve, česar oče ne naredi. Mati se po babičini smrti vse bolj osamosvaja, k čemur pripomore tudi moped, s katerim se lahko odpravi po opravkih. Po dekličini vrnitvi z Dunaja pričakuje, da bo ona prevzela skrb za družino. Kasneje mati spozna, da bo morala

o kruhu fantazirali. Pogledam jo. In reče, kot bo zmeraj rekla, čudno je bilo, res čudno, v mislih pa ima grozno, a se te besede ne domisli.« (Haderlap 2011, 9)

¹² »Na cerkev se človek ne more zanesti, meni, ne more ji zaupati.« (Haderlap 2011, 21)

¹³ »Iz vrbovja izdeluje majhne križe, ki jih spomladi odneseva na polja in zatakneva v zorano zemljo, da bo še naprej rodila njiva krompirja, da bo uspevala pšenica. Ko se pripravlja k nevihti, naloži vrbovje na žerjavico in ga v železni ponvi nosi po hiši.« (Haderlap 2011, 21)

¹⁴ »Babica nič ne vrže stran. Celo Hitlerjevo navlako uporablja, dokler se ne uniči. [...] Odpre omaro in pokaže na temen sivozelen plašč iz volne, ki zložen leži na tleh. Zrihtala sem si ga v Ravensbrücku, reče, in ga odtlej nisem več spustila z oči. Nosila ga je, ko so zapuščali taborišče.« (Haderlap 2011, 17)

¹⁵ »Za trenutek se ustrašim, da me bo preteklost povsem poteptala, da se bom izgubila pod njeno težo. Potem sklenem vse razpršeno, hranjeno v spominu, pripovedovano, vse navzoče in odsotno preliti v pisno obliko, se na novo zasnovati po spominu in si vdihniti telo iz besed, telo iz zraka in pogledov, vonjev in vonjav, glasov, šumov in minulega, telo iz sanj in sledov.« (Haderlap 2011, 207)

¹⁶ »Kadar je židane volje, me z ljubkovalnimi klici, ki jih namenja tudi živalim, zvabi na prosto in mi potem naloži kakšno delo ali pa me stisne k sebi. Pri svojih nežnostih je vihrava in neobrządzana. Pograbi me, kakor babica zgrabi koš, me stisne k sebi in me žgečka in grize, ko ji skušam uiti. Kadar pa je pobita, me ne spusti do sebe. [...] V takih trenutkih bi rada splezala po njej, kakor mačka spleza na drevo, in ji od zgoraj, z vrha glave pogledala v oči, jo polizala po licih, se malo posmukala ob njenem nosu ali pa se ji s kremplji zarila v hrbet, če bi se me skušala otresti. Ampak mama ne razume mojih želja.« (Haderlap 2011, 10)

vztrajati do konca. Ob moževem bolečem umiranju je ves čas prisotna in ne pusti, da bi jo premagal spomin: mož ni bil nikoli ljubeč, ni bil mož, v katerem bi našla oporo. Pripovedovalka mater razume šele kasneje, ko odraste. V nenehnem boju z očetom in babico je namreč nemo opravljala svoje delo in prenašala njune žaljivke.

Očetova figura je najmočnejša v romanu. Ne gre za karkovskega očeta, avtoritarno ime nedoumljivega Zakona, ampak gre za »otroškega očeta«, ki je moral v vojnih časih prehitro odrasti, in mu kot odraslemu življenje nekako uhaja iz rok (Kos 2013, 260). Svoje preteklosti ne skriva, ampak o njej skoraj v celoti odkrito govori. Le o dogodku, ki ga je ohromil za celo življenje, ne spregovori nikoli, razkrije ga šele njegova sestra. Ta deklici priključuje drugo podobo očeta; pripoveduje o fantu, ki je že kot otrok šel v partizane, in ki so ga nemški vojaki že imeli obešenega na drevesu. Ta travma dekličinega očeta spremlja ves čas, in ko se ga preveč oklene, si oče želi vzeti življenje.¹⁷ Oče se zato zelo rad zateka v gozd, ki pa mu hkrati pomeni tudi zaslužek. Včasih s seboj vzame pripovedovalko. Skupaj pojeta partizanske pesmi, ki naj bi odganjale strah. V politiko se oče ne vmešava, prav tako se ne udeležuje protestov koroških Slovencev, niti ne želi, da bi deklica odšla v šolo v Celovec, ravno ko v tem času lomijo dvojezične napise. Po babičini smrti se njegova jeza in gnev stopnjujeta,¹⁸ še bolj je prepričan, da je za vse kriva njegova žena, česar pa pred sosedi ne izda. Osrečujejo ga le obiski najožjih sorodnikov, s katerimi je preživel vojno.

Nemško okolje je odločilno pri odraščanju pripovedovalke. Izraža se že v jeziku: *malada, zrihtati, krancijati, kvateren, dečva, avženga, mašina, šlus, ženirati, vahtati, ...* Vojna,¹⁹ ki se je začela že s priključitvijo Avstrije Nemčiji (t. i. *anšlusom*) leta 1938 na ozemlju Tretjega rajha, odločilno vpliva na usodo koroških Slovencev. Ti so se nacizmu uprli s partizanskim uporom. Zgodovina ves čas vstopa v besedilo, a se izkazuje skozi individualni spomin, ki gradi kolektivni spomin koroških Slovencev. S preteklostjo ni nihče obračunal, nihče ni skušal popraviti številnih krivic.²⁰ Tudi izraz partizan je pomenil v nemškem okolju nekaj strašnega, živečega v gozdu. Partizane so povezovali s komunisti, čeprav je šlo v prvi vrsti za katolike, preproste verne ljudi, ki so verjeli v svoj upor. Po vojni so jih v Avstriji zmerjali za komunistične privržence, na drugi strani jih tudi Jugoslavija ni vgradila v svoj junaški kult. Tako so te partizanske zgodbe postale njihove »privatne zgodbe«, Avstrija pa zanje ni hotela slišati. Vsa država se je začela

¹⁷ »Oče vstopi v izbo in sede na klop pri peči. V roki ima vrv za teleta in vzdihuje. Tokrat se brez sramu razjočem in prisedem k njemu. Osuplo me gleda, kakor da šele sedaj razume, kar sem, zdi se mi, spoznala jaz. [...] Samo mislil sem na to, ko sem si nadel zanko na vrat, sem začutil, da me nekaj zadržuje, nekakšen angel, veš.« (Haderlap 2011, 85)

¹⁸ »Po babičini smrti preneha govoriti o svojih samomorilskih naklepih. Uničujočo slo, ki jo je prej usmerjal navznoter, zdaj sprošča navzven. [...] Obmetava nas s svojim gnevom – kamnitim plazom besed.« (Haderlap 2011, 121)

¹⁹ »Vojna je zahrbtnen ribič, lovec na ljudi. Vrgla je svojo mrežo na odrasle in zdaj jih s črepinjami smrti, svojo spominsko navlako davi v ujetništvu.« (Haderlap 2011, 68)

²⁰ »Prepričana sem, da je odnos do preteklosti v tej deželi kriv za to, da so naše zgodbe nekaj tako čudnega, in da se godijo v tolikšni zapuščenosti in osami. Skoraj nobene zveze nimajo s sedanostjo.« (Haderlap 2011, 137)

tudi sprenevedati glede svojega sodelovanja z nacisti (Borovnik 2012, 197).²¹ V romanu zamenjava slovenščine z nemščino ni odpoved slovenstvu, ampak dejanje emancipacije, jezikovne premestitve (Kos 2013, 256). Pripovedovalki omogoča, da se izvije iz globoke osebne zaznamovanosti. Gre za jezik, ki želi z razdalje prikazati bližino. Pisati o partizanskem gibanju na Koroškem pomeni odpirati tabu temo, saj so partizani tam do danes veljali za »bandite«. Morda je roman ravno zato napisan v nemščini, da se lahko večinski narod lažje in brez prevoda pogleda v ogledalo in se zamisli o sobivanju dveh kultur na področju avstrijske Koroške (Borovnik 2012, 190). Pripovedovalki je samoumevno govoriti slovensko, a na trenutke svojega šolanja niti ne ve, kaj bi s slovenskimi besedami.²² Pred maturo začne v dijaškem domu pisati svoje prve pesmi v slovenščini. Na Dunaju z ustvarjanjem v slovenskem jeziku nadaljuje, saj čuti, da ji neizpovedana žalost ne da miru. Rasla je z občutkom, da mora ves čas dokazovati svojo eksistenco, saj koroška družba ni sprejemala, da obstaja kot Slovenka tudi v nemško govorečem prostoru (Horvat 2011, 38). V neki antologiji najde pesmi Katrice Miklav, sestre svojega dedka, ki se je izjemno dotakneta. Znova se srečuje s problemom pripadnosti, ko mora vseskozi pojašnjevati, kdo je.²³ Ko začne delati v celovškem gledališču, se slovenščina začne odmikati iz njenih besedil. Kot je Haderlapova poudarila, je nemščina sestavina njene kulturne identitete, v romanu pa jo je varovala in poskrbela za distanco do otroštva (Forstnerič Hajnšek 2012, 10).

Spomin ima v romanu eno ključnih vlog. Gre za posameznikov, individualni spomin, ki ga pripovedovalka skozi otroško perspektivo odstira pred nami. Obenem gre za kolektivni spomin, ki z babičinim pripovedovanjem in njenimi predmeti iz vojnih let prikazuje takratno realnost. Avtorica je v delu parafrazirala angela zgodovine Walterja Benjamina, ki opisuje angela s slike Paula Kleeja. Ta angel gleda v preteklost, čeprav ga že nese v prihodnost. Iz njega je Haderlapova oblikovala angela pozabe, ki ga je našla že v romanu Nazarečan pisatelja židovskega rodu Sholema Ascha. V tem romanu angel pozabe poljubi novorojenca, s čimer jim omogoči življenje, ki ni obremenjeno z zgodbami prednikov. Zato lahko otrok zaživi na novo. Je pa ta angel tudi pozabljen in včasih pozabi poljubiti kakšnega novorojenca. Ta angel je v delu Maje Haderlap doživel metamorfozo in se na koncu spremenil v pripoved.

²¹ »Pri vsem pa nima Avstrija nič z nacisti, sama je vendar žrtev, nič ne razume, sploh ni bila vmešana, ni je bilo zraven v težkih časih. Nihče v tej deželi blaženega licemerstva ni z dobrodošlico pozdravil nacistov, nihče ni hrepenel po velikonemškem rajhu, nihče si ni umazal rok, nihče ni deloval za »končno rešitev«, samo majčkeno sodeloval, malce streljal z drugimi, malce somoril, majčkeno zaplinjal z drugimi, ampak to ne šteje, nič ne šteje.« (Haderlap 2011, 183)

²² »Povsod sem polna jezika, slovenskih besednih tvorb, ki jih odlagam v praznino, ker ne vem, kaj bi z njimi.« (Haderlap 2011, 106)

²³ »Zaradi meje, ki je lahko v očeh večine v naši deželi samo nacionalna in jezikovna meja, se moram izrehati in legitimirati. Kdo sem, h komu spadam, zakaj pišem slovensko ali govorim nemško?« (Haderlap 2011, 162)

2.3 Florjan Lipuš: *Poizvedovanje za imenom*

V Lipuševem romanu *Poizvedovanje za imenom* je v ospredju Tjaževa zgodba. Ta se vsebinsko navezuje na njegov prejšnji roman *Zmote dijaka Tjaža*. Dečku v slednjem med vojno odpeljejo mater v koncentracijsko taborišče, zato zanj skrbita babici. Ko se oče vrne iz vojske, dečka uri le pri v delu in vztrajno molči. Tjažovo šolanje se začne v deškem zavodu, kjer imata božji nauk in stroga disciplina vodilno mesto. Ko se Tjaž začne razvijati iz dečka v fanta, ga začne zavod vse bolj omejevati. Svoje občutke začne izražati s praskanjem, to ga osvobaja. Ko ga izključijo iz zavoda, se vrže skozi okno. Avtor je v tem romanu dal bralcu ogromno praznih vzročno-posledičnih povezav, da jih zapolni s svojim sklepanjem. Razlogov, zakaj si je protagonist zgodbe vzel življenje, je veliko. V romanu *Poizvedovanje za imenom* se ti jasneje izrazijo.

Silvija Borovnik v svojem razmišljanju zapiše, da Lipušev roman *Poizvedovanje za imenom* ne pomeni recikliranje že napisanega, razumemo ga lahko kot »sklepanje kroga s krepkejšo črto«; kot poznavalka Lipuševih del vidi Borovnikova v tej prozi že obravnavane teme, katerim pisatelj doda tudi nove, še posebej je očiten aktualističen ton, ki se navezuje na sodobno problematiko življenja koroških Slovencev (prim. Borovnik 2013, 22). Časovni prestop v sedanost se zgodi, ko se Tjaž po svoji smrti pojavi na praznovanju, a ne ve, za kaj gre. Po prerivanju v ospredje ugotovi, da gre za veselje ob izdani knjigi.²⁴

Prvoosebni odrasli pripovedovalec se v tem romanu še enkrat nekako z vrha ozre na travmatične dogodke iz svojega življenja, a je tokrat v središču pripovedi dečkovo iskanje materinega imena na nagrobnikih.

Gradniki Tjaževe identitete so močno vpleteni v vse sfere njegovega življenja. Bistveno vplivajo nanj družina, okolje in zavod, kjer prebije največ časa. Tjaž se vse bolj posveča iskanju materinega imena na nagrobnikih in spominskih napisih. Travmatska izkušnja iz otroštva ga spremlja ves čas odrasčanja, z njo se sooča na svojstven način – z obiskovanjem grobov. Tam se počuti domačega, sprejetega in zmožnega, da razvozla skrivnost, ki mu je nihče ne pojasni. Čeprav do odgovora ne pride, vseskozi vztraja. Že sama hoja na pokopališče dečka razbremenjuje in mu priklicuje spomin na mater. Na oblikovanje Tjaževe identitete imajo vpliv njegovo ime, materino ime, oče, materni jezik, zavod.

²⁴ »Tjaž, še ves omotičen od pokopališkega sevanja, še ves pod vplivom grobnega valovanja, se je zamešal v množico ljudi in se znašel sredi ljudske veselice. Kaj vendar praznujejo? Praznujejo morda končno postavitev zavlečenih napisov, jih tako pozdravljajo na domačih tleh? Tjaž se je neovirano prerival skož gnečo, njegovo duhovno telo, zdaj nič več, ko lahen dim, se je zlahka muzalo mimo nasmejanih trupel, ki se niso zmenila zanj, čeprav se jih je dotikal, ko se je tlačil mimo, niso ga čutila. On sam je čutil prilagajanje svoje nevidnosti okolju, ko je vijugal in se navijal okoli ljudi, prilagajal svojo postavo zdaj širšemu, zdaj ožjemu prostoru med njimi, menjaval gostoto dima, pogosto prehajal iz zmečkane oblike v zmečkano obliko. Prilagaje svojo postavo vnanjosti se je zrinil čisto v ospredje in videl, da ne proslavljajo pravkar pridobljenega napisa, ne veselijo se nečesa, česar doslej niso imeli in zdaj končno in srečno imajo. Krajani praznično proslavljajo ne ve se, ali po naključju ali načrtovano v isti čas nameščen izid knjige, kar se Tjažu zdi začetka jako čudno in nenavadno, ko krajevne table vendar niso mačje solze, niso ne mačji kašelj ne mušji drekec, niso zanemarljiv narodni dogodek.« (Lipuš 2013, 55–56)

Zavod, ki je bil nekdanji samostan, od daleč pa je izgledal kot grad, je v številnih mimoidočih prebudil čudne občutke. Tudi dijakom, ki so se prvič podali na izobraževanje in bivanje v njem, je že na vlaku vzbujal mešane občutke.²⁵ Namen samostana je bil, da v strogi božji ponižnosti vzgoji gojence s trdnim značajem in občutkom za resnico. Kljub temu jih je ravno ta ustanova najbolj omejevala in zatirala njihove prve občutke telesne in duhovne ljubezni.²⁶ V začetnem opisu gradu se pripovedovalec za hip obrne v prihodnost s tem, ko reče, da se gojenci ne bojo že kar v mladosti ustavljali pri zadnjih vprašanjih. Takrat še niso bili sposobni dojeti okoliščin, v katerih so odraščali, sprejemali so jih z vso otroško naivnostjo in radovednostjo in imeli posledično večkrat težave z vodstvom zavoda. Slednje je s svojimi unikatnimi prijemi, kot so bili skupni sprehodi ob nedeljah popoldne, želelo preprečiti telesne skušnjave gojencev, ki so po ure trajajočem sprehodu utrujeno zaspali. Naloga vodstva je bila strogo nadzorovati gojence. Ti pa so bili strogega nadzora večkrat že vajeni.²⁷ Tjažu sta njegova urejenost in zmožnost izginjanja v množici prijala, čeprav je bilo do njegove osebne svobode še zelo daleč. Tjaž si je dneve zapolnjeval s sprehodi v podzemne hodnike, kjer je v miru in skrivnostnosti nadvse užival. Pot ga je zanesla tudi na podstrešje, kjer je odkril pisalni stroj, na katerega je v popoldnevih skrivaj pretipkaval učno snov pri slovenščini.

Tjaž je bil samohodec, samotar že od ranega otroštva. Družina, ki naj bi mu bila varno zavetje pred svetom, je bila vse prej kot to. Po materinem nasilnem izgnanstvu v koncentracijsko taborišče je ostal sam z očetom. Ta se je osredotočal le na delo, zato je Tjaža klical z velelnikom,²⁸ ki je nakazoval njegove naloge. Imenom tudi zavod ni bil naklonjen, saj so vzgojitelji gojence klicali vedno le s priimkom, prav tako so se gojenci klicali med seboj. S tem je Tjaž že v zgodnjih letih izgubil del svoje identitete, česar se takrat še ni zavedal, se pa tega skozi prizmo pojasnjevalca in opisovalca zelo dobro zaveda odrasli pripovedovalec.

Tjaža lastno ime ni tako obremenjevalo, kot ga je materino, ki ga ni našel nikjer več – ne v očetovih besedah in ne na nagrobnem spomeniku. To ga je močno prizadelo in mu hkrati dajalo voljo, da živi in vztraja. Vso svojo energijo je usmerjal v iskanje matere oz. njenega imena na pokopališčih.²⁹ Sebe je enačil z njo. Če je ne bo našel, ne

²⁵ »Trdnjavi podobno poslopje je bilo vidno tudi iz doline, in marsikoga tistih, ki so bili prvič tja gor na poti, je že na vlaku stisnilo v prsih, ko se je za oknom visoko in v daljavi, pojavil grad.« (Lipuš 2013, 6)

²⁶ »Ko vsi gradovi na samem, nekdanj meniški samostan, zdaj izobraževalna ustanova, katere nabožno obarvani, v višave povzdignjeni vzgojni namen, in ločeni, v tostranstvo obrnjeni šolski pouk sta posredovala vse svoje večšine, ostrila duha, oblikovala značaj, človečnost, plemenitost, približevala občutek za resnico in lepoto, pa vse te vrline tudi omejevala in zavirala.« (Lipuš 2013, 6)

²⁷ »Privijati gojencev ni bilo težko, ker je večina njih že prišla tja privita, ustrahovana v zatohlih domačih hišah in na prižnicah, priškrnjena v povojnem primežu in pomanjkanju vsega in vsakršnega, in je zavod pričeto zadahnenost le nadaljeval.« (Lipuš 2013, 9)

²⁸ »Ne spomni se, da bi ga oče kdaj poklical po imenu, klical ga je z velelnikom na i. Pridi. Nesi. Drži. Pojdi.« (Lipuš 2013, 16)

²⁹ »Na pokopališčih, na domačem in na tujih, se je ustavljal iz notranje nuje, prebiral tam napise in podatke, si ogledoval slike in kipce, zunanja znamenja za pokrivanje notranje stiske. [...] Ni se on ustavljal, ona so ga ustavljala in obljubljala odgovore, ponujala odhod iz duševne zmede. [...] Z vso osredotočenostjo

bo imel niti sebe. Njeno ime je bilo sicer zapisano v debelih knjigah, v katerih so bila navedena imena žensk različnih narodnosti, ki so bile žrtve vojne. V domačem kraju pa na spomeniku vojnim žrtvam ni bilo mogoče najti njenega imena. Tjaž ni mogel sprejeti dejstva, da so sezname iz tujine lahko obelodanili njeno ime, lasten kraj ne. Zanj je bilo ime velikega pomena, saj je pomenilo, da je njegova mati živela. Pripovedovalec s svojo trditvijo, da »je resnica v trpljenju, ne pri polnih skledah in na toplem, na varno ograjenem dvorišču« (Lipuš 2013, 16), še bolj povzdigne Tjažovo iskanje materinega imena in s tem iskanje resnice.³⁰ Tjažev odnos do ostalih žensk v njegovem življenju je bil prav tako zapleten, saj mu je kmalu umrla babica, za mačeho je predstavljal še ena prazna usta, ki jih bo morala hraniti, k deklicam pa niti ni znal pristopiti.³¹ Vse to ga je gotovo gnalo, da razreši vsaj odnos z materjo, ki je v resnici najpomembnejši za oblikovanje posameznikove osebnosti. Edini, ki bi lahko kaj spremenil, je bil oče. Ta pa je s svojim molkom pokopal še tisto malo upanja, ki ga je imel Tjaž.³²

Tjažev oče tako kot Tjaž ni imel lepega otroštva. Že od mladosti je poznal edino delo na kmetiji, o šoli v družini nikoli ni bilo govora. Odrasel je kot samorastnik. Sicer premožna družina ga je hitro odpravila od hiše in ga celo ogoljufala za delež. Po ženini nasilni ugrabitvi se je poročil na novo kmetijo, s tem je tudi Tjaž dobil mačeho. Ta je imela že od začetka vse niti v svojih rokah. Njen sin je bil sprva z vse starejšim in nemočnim Tjaževim očetom v dobrih odnosih, kasneje je od njega želel le čim več iztržiti. Na koncu se mu je godilo še slabše kot na začetku.³³ S Tjažem ju je povezoval le molk,³⁴ ki ga je slednji odnesel s seboj v zavod skupaj z mamino tišino. Vzorec, ki ga je dobil doma, je v svojem mladem življenju le še nadaljeval. Po eni strani mu je pomagal predelati tisto najbolj zamolčano, po drugi strani ga je dušil. Oče in Tjaž se nista nikoli zbližala.

Jezik je v Tjaževem življenju imel pomembno vlogo. Tjaž se je že kmalu zavedal, da so mu zaradi napačnega jezika vzeli mamo. Pripovedovalec prikaže dogajanje ob odstranitvi dvojezičnih napisov ter kasnejše maščevanje, ko so pripadniki slovenske manjšine ponoči pod znake kar sami dopisali slovenska imena. Tudi v zavodu je bilo nekaj takšnih

je pričakoval, [...] da bo nekega dne na nekem bog si ga vedi pokopališču presenečen obstal na mestu in zagledal na kamnu mamino ime.« (Lipuš 2013, 14)

³⁰ »Lovca na glave sta zapečatila njen čas, naročeno opravila skrbno in natančno, zanesljivo se ne bo več vrnila.« (Lipuš 2013, 22)

³¹ »Tjaž ni bil namenjen za ženske, njemu ženski paradiž ni bil naklonjen. [...] Ženske mu niso bile usojene.« (Lipuš 2013, 26)

³² »Le oče bi mogel priklicati mamino dušo, pa si je ženo sam sproti odvajal, jo odganjal, sproti jemal Tjažu mamo s tem, da je ni priklical. [...] Mimogrede, kadar koli, ves ljubi dan bi lahko ponovil za njo kak pripetljaj, kako delovno besedo in mama bi bila spet živa. [...] Mama je počivala v očetovem molčanju.« (Lipuš 2013, 38–39)

³³ »Tjažev oče, ki za življenja ni poznal drugega ko delo od zare do zare, je šel od hiše z manj, kar je na sebi prinesel k hiši. Prišel je v debeli zimski suknji, v zimskem površniku, odšel je v beli srajci.« (Lipuš 2013, 43)

³⁴ »Oče ni znal pomagati z besedami, ni imel rok za to, besede so le pri delu sodile med očetovo orodje.« (Lipuš 2013, 35)

učiteljev, ki so bili še pred nekaj leti proti slovenskemu jeziku, sedaj pa to skrbno skrivajo za uniformami.³⁵ Pripovedovalec se iz zgodovine preusmeri v kritiko sedanjosti, ko je slovenski del Koroške dobil dvojezične napise, za katere trdi, da so nagrobniki.³⁶ Prav tako kritizira veselje ob izidu knjige s slovensko tematiko v nemščini.³⁷ Kot meni Borovnikova je za poznavalce literarnega dogajanja na avstrijskem Koroškem očitno, da gre na tem mestu za medbesedilni dialog z romanom Maje Haderlap *Angel pozabe*, ki je bil napisan v nemščini, kar pa se zdi Lipušu sporno (prim. Borovnik 2013, 25). Prav tako obsoja, kako vaščani prestopajo iz enega jezika v drugega. Trdi, da jezik plačujejo z jezikom, nakar se temu celo ironično posmehuje.³⁸ Da si narod piše sodbo sam, je popolnoma prepričan in s tem zavrne začetno trditev, da so ljudje zgornjega napisa postavili ljudem spodnjega napisa nagrobnik, namreč po njegovem so si ljudje spodnjega napisa sami postavili svoj nagrobnik. Ni težko razvozlati, da je spodnji jezik slovenski in zgornji nemški. Pripovedovalec vseskozi opozarja na zgodovinsko situacijo, na poboje in deportacije, na prednike, ki so jih »v zgornjem jeziku topli, jim ukradli dom in prostost.«

3 Zaključek

V Lipuševem romanu *Boštjanovem letu* ima individualni spomin glavnega junaka velik vpliv na oblikovanje njegove identitete. Že dečkovo zgodnje soočenje z vojno, travmatična izkušnja odvzema matere in samotno življenje brez staršev ga izoblikujejo v vase zaprtega dečka, ki se zateka v naravo in v namišljeni svet, v katerem vidi t. i. škopnika. Prav tako ima nanj velik vpliv vaško okolje, v katerem živi. Paradoks se izkazuje v tem, da se Boštjanova osebnost odraža z njegovim molkom, ki ga ne prekinejo niti ljubezenska srečanja z Lino. Molk je del njegove travme in obenem kraj in sredstvo spominjanja, saj na ta način razrešuje vse vtise in spomine na svojo travmatično mladost.

V drugem Lipuševem romanu *Poizvedovanje za imenom* prvoosebni pripovedovalec po mnenju Bogataja (2013, 14) »prehaja med časi, ne vzdrži čisto v preteklem, ampak se na vse skupaj ozre še enkrat, z vrha, višine in časa«. Individualni pripovedovalčev spomin se v delu prepleta s kolektivnim, ki se osredotoča že na sodobnejše dogodke – odstranitev dvojezičnih napisov. S prestopanjem iz enega v drug spomin, se izkazuje identiteta pripovedovalca, ki je močno zasidrana v koroško okolje in boj za slovenski jezik.

³⁵ »V zavodu so kajpada glavnino hudega časa premolčali. [...] In marsikak učitelj je zabrisal za seboj sledove in dokaze o tem, kaj je, komaj nekaj let pred tem, sam doprinala k zasivitvi [...]« (Lipuš 2013, 49)

³⁶ »Pripadniki zgornjega mesta so pripadnikom spodnjega mesta postavili nagrobnike.« (Lipuš 2013, 49)

³⁷ »Krajanji pozdravljajo knjigo vseh knjig, napisano v tabelnem zgornjem jeziku.« (Lipuš 2013, 56)

³⁸ »Od travm se da lepo živeti. Torej na dan spisateljci in spisateljice prestopnih knjig, na dan prestopniki in prestopnice, pojdite se komika in klovna.« (Lipuš 2013, 58)

V romanu Maje Haderlap *Angel pozabe* se izraža individualni spomin s prvoosebno pripovedovalko, z njenimi spomini na otroštvo, odrasčanje, študijska leta in kasnejše življenje. Kolektivni spomin je povezan s spomini pripovedovalkine babice o drugi svetovni vojni in času, ki ga je preživela v taborišču. Odnos vnukinje in babice je iskren in topel, zato ne preseneča dejstvo, da babica vnukinji nekoč celo pokaže del svoje preteklosti – plašč iz taborišča. Vnukinja na ta način vstopa do preteklosti svojih prednikov in tako odkriva tudi del sebe.

Po motivno-tematski obravnavi vseh treh romanov je odgovor na uvodno vprašanje jasen, saj individualni in kolektivni spomin bistveno vplivata na oblikovanje identitete vseh treh romaneskni junakov – Boštjana, prvoosebne otroške pripovedovalke in Tjaža. Osebni spomin se v vseh treh romanih veže na odnose znotraj družin, vojne travme določenih družinskih članov ter na tradicionalno vaško okolje, ki jih obdaja. Kolektivni spomin pa se sooča predvsem s preteklimi dogodki, ki so pomembno zaznamovali zgodovino koroških Slovencev, kot so npr. kruti dogodki med drugo svetovno vojno pregon koroških Slovencev ter napad na dvojezične krajevne table v 70. letih. Ta spomin jih povezuje, a obenem bremeni in ločuje od večinskega prebivalstva.

Tudi s pomočjo literature se te meje vse bolj brišejo in kolektivni spomin koroških Slovencev vse bolj širi in priznava. Gotovo doprinaša literatura s svojo izpovednostjo tudi k vse večji strpnosti med narodoma in rušenju predsodkov.

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La novella di Andreuccio da Perugia: un documento di storia urbana e sociale, una parabola di rinascita

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Abstract

The paper is divided into two parts. The first presents a short historical examination of the hygienic conditions of urban spaces in the Middle Ages of the West, especially in the 13th and 14th centuries. This provides a helpful introduction to the second section of the paper which is dedicated to the analysis and exegesis of the short story of Andreuccio from Perugia in Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* (Second Day, Novel V); an exegesis that sees the story (only on the surface a *conte à rire*) as a kind of parable of rebirth that can be defined as “spiritual”, albeit presented in a comic manner.

Key words: Giovanni Boccaccio, Andreuccio from Perugia, hygienic conditions of Western medieval urban spaces, parable, spiritual rebirth

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Tutti i lettori del *Decameron* ricordano l'inganno con cui una bella "ciciliana" toglie maestrevolmente cinquecento ducati ad Andreuccio da Perugia nella novella quinta della giornata seconda. Il Boccaccio ambienta questa novella nel quartiere malfamato di Napoli chiamato del "Malpertugio"¹. Andreuccio, attirato con l'inganno nella casa della siciliana, prima di mettersi a letto ha un bisogno urgente e si reca nel locale a tali necessità adibito. Là tuttavia è stata predisposta per lui una trappola: alcune assi del pavimento sono state sconficcate e sotto il suo peso cedono, precipitando il giovanotto, seminudo, in un puzzolente chiassetto sottostante, pieno di ogni genere di immondizia².

Da una parte, la storia di Andreuccio rappresenta una testimonianza storica di prima mano sulle condizioni igienico-sanitarie della città partenopea durante il basso Medioevo (Boccaccio visse a lungo a Napoli, come ben sappiamo). Dall'altra – vedremo – la metropoli campana fa da sfondo, per nulla idilliaco e ridente, ad una vera e propria parabola di rinascita, dai contorni quasi fiabeschi; una rinascita che, senza cadere nel blasfemo, credo potremo da ultimo definire spirituale, e quasi una allegorica *imitatio Christi*. Ma cominciamo esaminando la novella innanzitutto come testimonianza storica.

¹ «Il Castellione [una fortezza costruita nel X secolo a difesa del porto] sorse lungo il margine occidentale del Vulpulo e non era collegato alla cinta muraria, ma piuttosto distaccato da essa [...], posto nell'attuale zona di rua Catalana, tra via A. de Pretis e via Medina. Nel lato meridionale della struttura era inserito l'antico arsenale, detto in età normanna de domino Rege, che si protendeva nel margine occidentale del bacino, direttamente sul mare. L'arsenale era sormontato da una possente merlatura e dotato di feritoie e posti di avvistamento. La fisionomia era quella di un robusto avamposto murario di sicuro peso difensivo, la cui area però doveva essere piuttosto ridotta, tanto da non poter contenere più di due galere, come testimoniano i documenti contemporanei. Una porta ricavata nell'edificio – *la portua de arcina, attestata nel 1018 (Feniello, 1991, p. 177)* – permetteva il rapido accesso alla marina: adito che diede vita, in seguito, al *pertusum de mare* o loco detto *pertusum*, ricordato da Giovanni Boccaccio come *Malpertugio* nella novella di Andreuccio da Perugia» (Aceto 1997; miei i corsivi). Credo che, a parte questa spiegazione dell'origine del nome Malpertugio, dovuta già a Benedetto Croce, Boccaccio sottintendesse anche un'allusione all'organo genitale femminile, data la cattiva fama del quartiere e la professione di donna pubblica esercitata là dalla siciliana. Per il possibile valore simbolico di questa allusione, vedi la fine di questo saggio.

² Boccaccio spiega come e dove era costruito il luogo comodo della siciliana: «Il quale luogo, acciò che meglio intendiate e quello che è detto e ciò che segue, come stesse vi mostrerò. Egli era in un chiassetto stretto, come spesso tra due case veggiamo: sopra due travicelli, tra l'una casa e l'altra posti, alcune tavole eran confitte e il luogo da seder posto, delle quali tavole quella che con lui cadde era l'una». Si trattava insomma di una stretta galleria (probabilmente coperta) che univa due case separate dal chiassetto. Un foro apposito permetteva di lasciar cadere le deiezioni nel chiassetto stesso. Ricorda Marilisa Ficarra (n.d., 18) che in genere i servizi igienici dei piani superiori delle case medievali sporgevano sopra intercapedini tra casa e casa: «Nel medioevo, l'intercapedine tra casa e casa nasceva dalla necessità di prevenire il propagarsi degli incendi in un isolato in cui abbondava l'uso del legno come materiale da costruzione. Mentre alcune di queste intercapedini vennero poi promosse al rango di via transitabile, altre furono ridotte a fognatura». Cfr. anche, per i tentativi di arginare il problema, Leguay 2013, 36-38. I vicoletti in cui cadevano i rifiuti erano spesso separati dalle vere e proprie vie da muretti o da stecconate (dice Boccaccio, § 41: «[...] un muretto che quello chiassolino dalla strada chiude»), ma talvolta no, e venivano transitati dai passanti.

È possibile che i servizi igienici della bella e ingannevole siciliana fossero costruiti abusivamente³, ma Napoli non era allora l'unica città d'Italia o d'Europa a ospitare simili scempi, benché, ci fa notare l'utile e sintetica rassegna di Marilisa Ficara,

in quelle città italiane in cui erano presenti forti istituzioni comunali, la situazione ambientale non doveva essere cattiva nel medioevo, se Bonvesin de la Riva (1240 circa- 1315 circa) descrive [nel *De magnalibus Mediolani*], non senza intenti encomiastici, la sua Milano circondata da un fossato che contiene «non una palude o uno stagno putrido, ma l'acqua viva delle fonti, popolata di pesci e di gamberi».

La situazione era assai diversa, invece, nelle capitali statali [come Napoli] che, già in questo periodo, presentavano elementi di disagio ambientale. (Ficara n.d., 3)

La sovrappopolazione, soprattutto urbana, ha sempre aggravato il problema dello smaltimento dei rifiuti. Non è un caso se gli statuti cittadini europei che prevedono disposizioni particolareggiate al riguardo e comminano pene severe per i contravventori appartengono proprio al periodo compreso tra la fine del sec. XIII e la prima metà del XIV. Una lotta impari contro il degrado, nella quale il massimalismo dei legislatori appare spesso volte pateticamente irrealistico⁴.

Gran parte degli statuti di città europee cercavano di limitare i danni prodotti, oltre che dagli spurghi dell'industria e dell'artigianato, anche d'un altro tipo di produzione inquinante che oggi considereremmo inconsueta per una città, ma che allora era comune: quella agropastorale. Fin dall'alto Medioevo le città ospitavano all'interno delle loro mura coltivazioni, perfino d'uva e di cereali, e allevamenti di bestiame (non solo animali da cortile, ma maiali, pecore e capre) (cfr. Mazzi 1978, 22). Le città di antica fondazione erano, nell'alto Medioevo, spopolate rispetto all'età antica, e a Roma, l'entrata all'interno delle vecchie e ormai troppo estese mura aureliane, poneva il viaggiatore di fronte alla visione di campi, in parte coltivati, in parte addirittura incolti, e di fattorie; uno spettacolo non molto diverso da quello che aveva potuto già osservare all'esterno. Urbanisticamente parlando, tuttavia, le cose nel basso Medioevo erano molto cambiate: le città ora straripavano, per lo più, oltre le vecchie cinte murarie. Tuttavia la sovrappopolazione significava anche penuria e rincaro dei generi alimentari, e quindi la tentazione di allevare animali in città, non mucche magari, ma pollame e soprattutto maiali rimaneva forte (cfr. Leguay 2013, 20-24).

³ «Un ulteriore ingombro [al passaggio della luce] era rappresentato dalle sporgenze dei primi piani delle case, di solito costruite abusivamente per racimolare un po' di spazio all'interno, soggette a divieti e tassazioni, ma sempre presenti come ci testimoniano le numerose fonti pittoriche» (Mazzi 1978, 21; cfr. anche Leguay 2013, 36-38)

⁴ «Dell'igiene pubblica si occupano le disposizioni legislative con una pignoleria, una minuzia e una ripetitività che fanno subito pensare a un messaggio rimasto inascoltato. Non solo l'iterazione di queste norme ci induce subito a credere che esse cercassero non di prevenire ma di porre rimedio a deplorevoli abitudini già radicate nella vita di tutti i giorni» (Mazzi 1978, 21)

Insomma, la situazione igienica e demografica alla vigilia della grande peste del 1348, pretesto per i racconti del *Decameron*, era preoccupante dappertutto in Europa. Essa consegnerà al bacillo della *Pasteurella pestis* un'umanità non soltanto denutrita (almeno nelle sue classi più povere) per le frequenti carestie e per i raccolti comunque insufficienti, ma quasi certamente anche indebolita da malattie ormai endemiche legate alla sporcizia. Per un'operazione malthusiana come quella che ridusse, tra il 1348 e il 1356, la popolazione europea di circa un terzo, non bastava il semplice bacillo della peste: occorreano altre gravi cause concomitanti.

Eppure, nella Napoli angioina, i sovrani succedutisi a partire dallo stesso fondatore della dinastia, Carlo I, erano ormai pienamente consapevoli della gravità della situazione⁵, e all'epoca di Boccaccio avevano da tempo iniziato a emanare leggi per alleviare, se non per risolvere, i problemi dell'igiene e dell'ecologia urbana⁶. In varie parti d'Italia si vietava, espressamente, la costruzione di *toilettes* aggettanti o sospese (come quella della siciliana), scaricanti direttamente e dall'alto sopra la pubblica via. I motivi di tale divieto sono talmente ovvi che non è qui necessario spiegarli. Tuttavia, sappiamo bene che, quando si promulga un divieto, significa che quanto è vietato si fa, ed è divenuto un problema serio. Serio, il problema, doveva esserlo davvero, nell'Europa di allora, se in Francia, all'epoca, a certi vicoletti così come ad alcune strade cittadine si davano nomi invero poco romantici, quali *Impasse du Merdron*, *Rue du Pipi*, *Rue des Aisances*, e tutte le quasi infinite altre variazioni dell'allora già ricco vocabolario scatologico francese (cfr. Leguay 2013, 7). In certe città il problema venne giuridicamente affrontato per tempo, come ad Avignone nel 1243, quando gli Edili della città emanarono dei decreti che vietavano di gettare in strada gli escrementi e altri rifiuti (cfr. Leguay 2013, 51). Eppure, nel 1390, per la pulizia della sola Rue Paraphernie, i responsabili della stessa città di Avignone dovettero pagare settanta giornate di lavoro per aver ragione dei cumuli di sporcizia che la ostruivano (cfr. Leguay 2013, 11).

È singolare il contrasto tra una Avignone già sfarzosa sede del papato (e poi di alcuni antipapi) e una Avignone che si presenta al visitatore come deposito di immondizie. La gente del tempo non deve aver mancato di fare paragoni tra la corruzione dell'aria

⁵ Nel 1313 re Roberto I d'Angiò constatava scontento che la città era «piena di sporcizie» (cfr. Mazzi 1978: 22).

⁶ Si veda, sulla situazione di Napoli e del regno meridionale, almeno Binetti (1998), dove l'autrice concludeva significativamente il suo saggio (Binetti 1998, 57) con queste parole: «La maggiore difficoltà, di ordine bibliografico, è consistita nel reperimento non tanto delle fonti, la maggior parte delle quali abbondano di informazioni utili, quanto dalla letteratura storiografica, datata se non, talvolta, inesistente». Carlo I, dalla metà degli anni Settanta del sec. XIII, si era preso cura particolare del problema degli approvvigionamenti idrici, ordinando all'occorrenza la ripulitura dal fango, dalla sabbia e dai rifiuti inquinanti degli acquedotti urbani. A questo riguardo, a testimonianza di quanto sia vero il detto dell'Ecclesiaste, secondo cui non c'è niente di nuovo sotto il sole, si ricorda che a Barletta le premure igieniche di Carlo I furono sabotate dal malaffare: i funzionari cittadini intasavano i proventi delle tasse raccolte per la pulizia dell'acquedotto senza far minimamente eseguire i necessari lavori. Sempre Maria Angela Binetti ricorda che leggi per risolvere i problemi igienici delle città meridionali, benché di portata parziale, erano già state promulgate nelle Costituzioni melfitane da Federico II di Svevia, il quale tuttavia rielaborò quelle emanate dal re normanno Ruggero II.

e la corruzione della corte pontificia: dobbiamo ricordarci che sporco e fetore, nell'immaginario religioso dell'epoca, erano strettamente associati con l'idea del peccato e della sua punizione⁷. La Gheenna biblica, infatti, era nome storicamente identificato con quello dell'antica discarica di Gerusalemme, là dove re Giosia, per eliminarvi ogni traccia di culto non rivolto a Yahweh, stabilì che venissero eliminati col fuoco i rifiuti della sua capitale⁸. Dante non doveva sforzare molto la sua potente immaginazione per rappresentare il castigo di Taide e dei lusingatori nel XVIII dell'Inferno.

Ma tornando ad Andreuccio e alla sua disavventura, come erano fatte le latrine aggettanti quali quella da cui gli capitò di cadere? L'iconografia ci provvede di qualche esempio. Uno dei più espliciti tra quanti ne conosco è di epoca tardo-medievale. Si tratta di un particolare del quadro *I proverbi fiamminghi* di Bruegel (figura 1), in cui due fondoschiena in atteggiamento inequivocabile sono ritratti all'interno di uno di quei luoghi di decenza, una specie di rustico casotto che non è sospeso, come quello della "ciciliana", sopra un vicoletto, ma sporge su un corso d'acqua, il quale funge evidentemente da cloaca (figura 2) (cfr. Leguay 2013, 19, 70). Inoltre Bruegel, nel suo quadro, ci mostra che quello stesso casotto che a noi pare a dir poco spartano poteva rappresentare allora una raffinatezza quasi sibaritica: parecchia gente, come altri personaggi raffigurati nel quadro, ne faceva, in genere, a meno (figure 2, 3, 4)⁹.

Ma una volta caduto nel vicolo-fogna, Andreuccio non è neppure a metà delle sue peripezie. Gli scherni e le minacce che rispondono alle sue richieste sempre più insistenti e disperate di essere riammesso in casa o di recuperare almeno la roba sua, vestiti e denaro, gli fanno capire troppo tardi di essere stato vittima della donna di malaffare e del suo protettore, fino ad allora nascostosi. Quest'ultimo poi è soprannominato "lo scarabone", nomignolo che ben si intona all'immondizia e allo sterco in cui Andreuccio è caduto. Privo ormai di tutto, inizia a vagare per una Napoli che, con le sue lordure e i suoi inganni, ci è già stata presentata quasi come metafora di un mondo sottomesso alla signoria del male¹⁰. Poco dopo, «più cupido – dice Boccaccio – che consigliato»,

⁷ Nell'Antico Testamento (Isaia III, 24; Ecclesiaste. X 1; Salmi XXXVIII 6; II Maccabei IX 9-12; Gioele II 20; Amos IV 10) il cattivo odore è già associato all'idea del peccato e della sua punizione. Per Gregorio Magno (*Dialogorum Libri*, IV, XXXVII e *Moralium libri*, XIV XIX) il fetore caratterizza in particolare il peccato della lussuria. Nello Pseudo-Beda, *Similitudo Arcae Noe*, la sentina dell'Arca di Noè (*ubi stercus mittebatur*) è figura dell'inferno (cfr. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. CLXXXVI. Per riferimenti in altri autori al fetore infernale (cfr. Vorgrimler 1995).

⁸ Ciò rendeva il posto inutilizzabile per qualsiasi culto pagano, anche clandestino. Prima di Giosia vi erano celebrati olocausti (anche umani) in onore di Moloch (cfr. Vorgrimler 1995, 14-17).

⁹ Mazzi (1978, 22-23) rileva che nel Medioevo quasi non vi erano servizi igienici nelle case, legali o abusivi che fossero.

¹⁰ Celebre è la definizione proverbiale di Napoli come «un paradiso abitato da diavoli» (definizione la cui storia, che si snoda tra i secoli XVII e XVIII, venne ricostruita da Benedetto Croce). Scrive Palumbo 2007, a proposito della Napoli del tempo del Petrarca (§ 6): «A Napoli non è solo il potere [dell'indegno signore succeduto a Roberto d'Angiò] ad essere infetto, ma la vita intera appare irrilevante e insicura. C'è un ulteriore aspetto che attira lo sguardo di Petrarca e che trasforma la città in un luogo infernale, estraneo alle leggi del vivere civile. Napoli, "per molti rispetti eccellente", possiede agli occhi del poeta "questo oscuro e vergognoso e inveterato malanno, che il girar di notte vi è non meno pauroso e pericoloso che tra folti boschi, essendo le vie percorse da nobili giovani armati, la cui sfrenatezza né la paterna educazione



Figura 1: *Proverbi fiamminghi*



Figura 2: “Cacare in due dallo stesso buco”
[Essere d'accordo]



Figura 3: “Cacare sul mondo”
[Disprezzare tutto]



Figura 4: “Orinare contro la luna”
[Avere aspirazioni troppo alte]

il giovanotto si assocerà a una coppia di ladri per derubare del suo corredo funebre un arcivescovo morto da alcuni giorni (e l'idea della putrefazione della morte si inserisce perfettamente nel contesto di questa novella in cui Boccaccio sembra dar sfogo ad una indubbia vena di coprolalia, anche se – vedremo – giustificata da ragioni simboliche)¹¹. Forse è proprio la sua condizione di “segnato” dall'immondizia e dalla disperazione a rendere il giovane perugino, agli occhi dei suoi nuovi soci, il complice ideale per forzare il sepolcro fetente e pauroso del morto arcivescovo.

Prima però, perché Andreuccio «non putisse sì fieramente» finché resta in loro compagnia, i due marioli decidono di lavarlo. E come pensano di farlo? Nei pressi si trova un pozzo. Legato il loro nuovo complice alla corda del secchio che serve per attingervi, i due ve lo calano dentro affinché possa ripulirsi. Naturalmente, quell'acqua la gente del circondario dovrà poi berla¹². E infatti, mentre Andreuccio sta ancora sguazzando in fondo al pozzo la ronda armata che vigila sull'ordine pubblico del quartiere si dirige là intenzionata a ristorarsi proprio con qualche sorso di acqua. I malandrini che dovrebbero recuperare Andreuccio scappano all'arrivo delle guardie, le quali, stupefatte per il peso di quello che credono il secchio, tirano su il malcapitato perugino e, per la sorpresa di aver pescato un uomo dal fondo del pozzo scappano via a loro volta con la più grande paura della loro vita.

I ladri che avevano abbandonato Andreuccio pensando ormai di non rivederlo più, tornano al loro piano originale quando lo incontrano di nuovo mentre gira ancora una volta quasi senza meta per le strade del quartiere. Stabiliscono, anzi, che sarà lui a scendere nel profondo sarcofago. Andreuccio, in cui il bagno e lo spavento sembrerebbero aver prodotto un radicale cambiamento di spirito, non si fida più dei due compari come prima e vorrebbe evitare quel pericoloso onore. Ma i ladri minacciano di ucciderlo, ed

né l'autorità dei magistrati né la maestà e gli ordini del re seppero mai contenere”. Nella rappresentazione di questi abusi prende forma l'immagine sinistra di un *locus terribilis*: come se, nelle viscere della storia, fosse annidato un male indistruttibile, fatto di anarchia, di sangue, di violenza, che getta la sua ombra sulla vita stessa degli uomini e la condiziona. La ferocia degli abitanti, il disordine, l'indifferenza a qualunque norma, l'inefficacia delle leggi, diventano, nella descrizione di questo mondo, un carattere distintivo. Di fatto, Petrarca registra, con lo sbigottimento di un testimone estraneo, la mancanza di valore che l'esistenza individuale assume e la sua insignificanza assoluta».

¹¹ Una vena che torna prepotente anche in altre novelle, come quella nona dell'ottava giornata. Il pittore Buffalmacco e il suo compagno di scherzi, Bruno, decidono di beffare l'ingenuo e libidinoso maestro Simone da Villa, medico bolognese trasferitosi a Firenze. Con una storia ancor più inverosimile di quella raccontata dalla siciliana ad Andreuccio per poterlo derubare dei suoi denari, Bruno e Buffalmacco convincono il dottore a seguirlo fino al monastero femminile domenicano di San Jacopo a Ripoli, presso via della Scala, nel quartiere di Santa Maria Novella. Tutto il mondo è paese: là erano accumulate grandi quantità di feci che i contadini vi facevano raccogliere allo scopo di attingervi periodicamente per concimare i campi. Senza che il medico possa accorgersi di nulla, Buffalmacco lo scaraventa proprio dentro il mucchio di letame. Vedremo più avanti il modo diverso in cui la disavventura agisce su Andreuccio e su maestro Simone.

¹² E pensare che gli statuti del tempo, come abbiamo detto, ci mostrano che i legislatori medievali erano perfettamente consapevoli dei rischi per la salute pubblica rappresentati dall'inquinamento di pozzi e falde acquifere. A Pisa non si potevano costruire pattumiere (chiamate localmente “voitini”) all'interno di una determinata distanza dai pozzi di acqua potabile, proprio per evitare infiltrazioni che già la scienza medica del tempo riteneva responsabili di quelle malattie a carattere epidemico che andavano sotto il nome generico di “peste”. Sempre Boccaccio ci riferisce che, al tempo della peste nera del 1348, uno dei provvedimenti (uno dei pochi sensati) che le autorità cittadine di Firenze presero per cercare di arginare il contagio fu una grande operazione di ripulitura della città dalle immondizie.

egli deve fare buon viso a cattivo gioco, per guadagnare tempo ed escogitare qualcosa che lo tiri fuori dal nuovo guaio in cui è finito. Nella tomba dell'arcivescovo fa finta di non trovare lo sperato tesoro (ma ha invece raccolto un preziosissimo anello con rubino), e chiede dunque ai due complici di lasciarlo uscire. Ormai Andreuccio si è fatto furbo, ma – così sembra – troppo tardi: i due ladri, «come lui maliziosi», lo abbandonano nella profondità della sepoltura, richiudendo sopra di lui il pesantissimo coperchio. Parrebbe la fine, ma dopo quest'ultima e potenzialmente fatale avventura, la sorte girerà in senso favorevole ad Andreuccio:

E in così fatti pensieri e doloroso molto stando, sentì per la chiesa andar genti e parlar molte persone, le quali, sì come egli avvisava, quello andavano a fare che esso co' suoi compagni avean già fatto: di che la paura gli crebbe forte. Ma poi che costoro ebbero l'arca aperta e puntellata, in quistion caddero chi vi dovesse entrare, e niuno il voleva fare; pur dopo lunga tencione un prete disse: “Che paura avete voi? credete voi che egli vi manuchi? Li morti non mangian gli uomini: io v'entrerò dentro io”. E così detto, posto il petto sopra l'orlo dell'arca, volse il capo in fuori e dentro mandò le gambe per doversi giuso calare. Andreuccio, questo vedendo, in piè levatosi prese il prete per l'una delle gambe e fé sembiante di volerlo giù tirare. La qual cosa sentendo il prete mise uno strido grandissimo e presto dell'arca si gittò fuori; della qual cosa tutti gli altri spaventati, lasciata l'arca aperta, non altramente a fuggir cominciarono che se da centomila diavoli fosser perseguitati.

La qual cosa veggendo Andreuccio, lieto oltre a quello che sperava, subito si gittò fuori e per quella via onde era venuto se ne uscì della chiesa; e già avvicinandosi al giorno, con quello anello in dito andando all'avventura, pervenne alla marina e quindi al suo albergo si abbatté; dove li suoi compagni e l'albergatore trovò tutta la notte stati in sollecitudine de' fatti suoi. A' quali ciò che avvenuto gli era raccontato, parve per lo consiglio dell'oste loro che costui incontanente si dovesse di Napoli partire; la qual cosa egli fece prestamente e a Perugia tornossi, avendo il suo investito in uno anello, dove per comperare cavalli era andato (II; 5, §§ 81-5).

Credo che si possano accostare le tre “cadute” del protagonista della novella (tre “cadute”, si badi: quante sono anche quelle di Cristo lungo la *via crucis*) alle sequenze di una specie di rituale di iniziazione e di purificazione. In principio Andreuccio è viziato da quello che per Boccaccio è il peccato originale dell'uomo: la non-conoscenza di sé, generatrice di credulità, di superficialità e di un pericoloso ottimismo¹³. Ingenuità, nel suo caso, non fa rima con bontà: Andreuccio all'inizio *non può* essere buono, perché è

¹³ L'innocenza edenica (cioè l'ignoranza di ciò che è bene o male) non sembra essere per Boccaccio né buona né desiderabile, specie su questa terra.

soltanto stupido (si ripensi al fatto che egli è disposto a peccare anche in modo grave: cerca la facile avventura amorosa, e si unisce ai ladri senza esitare di fronte alla prospettiva del furto sacrilego). La stupidità discende dal peccato di non conoscere se stesso, ed è a sua volta fonte di peccato.

La caduta negli escrementi è allora fortemente simbolica: abbiamo detto che l'uomo del Medioevo intendeva il peccato indissolubilmente unito al concetto di sporcizia e di fetore. Andreuccio (de)cade a causa di una donna, la siciliana, che egli ha seguito, senza dimostrare molto buon senso, sperando inizialmente di farne l'oggetto del piacere di una notte¹⁴. Una certa tradizione dice che il peccato originale, simboleggiato dal frutto proibito, fu la concupiscenza; oppure che quest'ultima ne fu la conseguenza diretta¹⁵. Tale peccato si eredita ad ogni congiunzione feconda dei sessi, e l'uomo pertanto nasce *dal e nel* peccato¹⁶. Nasciamo, in ogni senso, nel fetore e nella sporcizia: la nostra venuta in questo basso mondo è simile ad una caduta in una gora di sterco e di fango. La fine della novella ci mostrerà che per Andreuccio la disavventura nel chiassetto della siciliana può essere interpretata in senso figurale, dantesco, come una specie di (ri)nascita. La donna che lo raggiunge, in quello che sarà un cammino di Grazia apparentemente *sui generis*, agisce sì da ladra e da ingannatrice, ma in questo svolge soprattutto una necessaria e brutale funzione maieutica: è uno strumento della Grazia. Per usare la terminologia del Propp di *Morfologia della fiaba*, la siciliana apparentemente agisce da *antagonista*, ma in realtà si rivela un *aiutante*: è colei che in modo brusco rompe l'*equilibrio iniziale* (pernicioso per l'*eroe*, che si crogiola nella sua stoltezza), facendo "nascere" il vero Andreuccio, dandogli modo di intraprendere un percorso di "redenzione" che lo porterà ad un nuovo e più confacente equilibrio¹⁷.

¹⁴ Dice Boccaccio, giudicando l'eccessiva opinione di sé e l'infondato ottimismo di Andreuccio (§ 11): «Il quale vedendola [la siciliana], tutto postosi mente e parendogli essere un bel fante della persona, s'avvisò questa donna dover di lui essere innamorata, quasi altro bel giovane che egli non si trovasse allora in Napoli». Tra i vari peccati che Andreuccio commette durante la sua avventura c'è dunque anche quello di vanità.

¹⁵ Cfr. la voce *Concupiscenza* dell'Enciclopedia Italiana (1931), oggi in rete all'indirizzo [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/concupiscenza_\(Enciclopedia-Italiana\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/concupiscenza_(Enciclopedia-Italiana)).

¹⁶ Cfr. Sant'Agostino, *De nuptiis et concupiscentia*, lib. I, dove si dice che il battesimo solo può liberare dalla colpa della concupiscenza, anche se non dalla concupiscenza stessa.

¹⁷ La "nascita nella sporcizia", nella stalla di Betlemme, è anche quella del Cristo che volle farsi uomo. Il fatto che la siciliana in questo caso svolga una funzione positiva, direi quasi voluta da Dio, potrebbe essere forse avvalorata dal fatto che il suo agire non verrà in alcun modo punito. Diverso sarà il caso della sua corregionale che, nella novella decima della giornata ottava, credendo di ingannare impunemente l'apprendista mercante Salabatto, verrà alla fine ripagata con gli interessi. Ingannatrice poi ingannata, offrirà un *exemplum* di avidità punita (cfr. qui, n. 32), e un caso terreno d'applicazione della dantesca legge del contrappasso. Salabatto, per quanto cada nell'inganno, non è così ingenuo e disarmato come Andreuccio: egli, dopo giorni di smarrimento, si riorganizza, scegliendosi accuratamente un consigliere per la sua rivalsa. Il suo nome (anzi, il suo soprannome), senz'altro singolare, sa di arabo e ha per questo un che di diabolico. E come dice il detto, "Al diavolo non la si fa". Oppure, come dice la donna alla fine della novella, "Chi ha a che far con toscio ('toscano', ma anche 'veleno'), non ha da esser losco". I ruoli, rispetto alla novella di Andreuccio, si sono invertiti: sarà la donna a imparare suo malgrado una lezione. Che tra le due novelle ci sia una serie di simmetrie, lo dimostra non solo il fatto che le protagoniste sono entrambe siciliane, che entrambe portino un nome "floreale" (Fiordaliso la prima, Lanciofiore la seconda), ma anche che entrambe, con diversa fortuna, aspirano ad impadronirsi di un bottino di uguale consistenza: 500 monete d'oro. Infine, le due novelle sono raccontate rispettivamente (e simmetricamente) da Fiammetta e da Dioneo, ovvero

Eppure, derubato, svillaneggiato, sporco e puzzolente in modo intollerabile, ridotto all'assoluta indigenza, la sua tenace credulità, il suo sciocco ottimismo, rischiano ancora di far perdere ad Andreuccio addirittura la vita, quando si accorda coi due ladri per spogliare il cadavere dell'arcivescovo (ladri che – il lettore dotato di discernimento lo intuisce subito – si sbarazzeranno sicuramente di lui, una volta ottenuto ciò che vogliono). Ma il bagno nel pozzo che costoro gli faranno fare è paragonabile a un battesimo (per immersione, come quello impartito dal Battista a Gesù). Un battesimo che lava via il “peccato originale” di Andreuccio, il suo non conoscere se stesso, e di conseguenza gli altri. Andreuccio capisce finalmente, dopo essere stato abbandonato nel pozzo al sopraggiungere delle guardie di città, che, se vorrà venire fuori dai suoi guai, dovrà cambiare. La discesa nella tomba (una sorta di metaforica discesa agli inferi, sulle orme ancora una volta di Cristo, così come di alcuni eroi dell'antica mitologia tanto amata da Boccaccio) completerà la sua rinascita o “resurrezione”. Le circostanze avverse (delle quali però, stavolta, egli non è responsabile) mettono nuovamente in pericolo Andreuccio, rinchiuso dai ladri nel sepolcro, ma stavolta egli sarà capace di cogliere al volo l'occasione che la fortuna gli offre di togliersi d'impaccio e di conseguire inoltre un risarcimento. Ciò ci mostra come egli sia ormai “mondo dal suo peccato”, come sia rinato ad una “nuova”, migliore e consapevole vita¹⁸.

Ed è il caso, prima di concludere, di ricordare che il rubino di cui Andreuccio entrerà alla fine in possesso, rappresentava nel Medioevo una pietra ancor più preziosa del diamante, una pietra carica di fortissime valenze simboliche¹⁹. Scrive Eleutheria Avgoloupi (2013, 298)

... il rubino, il cui splendore è più forte delle tenebre, acquieta la lussuria e la tristezza dell'animo, dà forza al corpo e prosperità, aiuta a raggiungere il benessere spirituale, poiché esso allontana i cattivi pensieri e le liti tra amici. Fondamentale in questo contesto è il valore mistico della pietra come simbolo della parola di Dio, che attraverso l'ordine apostolico e la predicazione evangelica illumina gli uomini allontanandoli dall'oscurità delle tenebre, quindi dal peccato.

i due personaggi più spregiudicati della brigata.

¹⁸ Sul finire della novella, egli «impara a difendersi, a considerare quello che è opportuno e ciò che non lo è. Calcola gli effetti possibili, agendo in modo razionale e prudente. Proprio nella conclusione della novella, Boccaccio introduce, riferiti al suo protagonista, verbi come “deliberò”, “pensò seco”, “s'avisò”. Sono il riflesso di quanto è accaduto. La sensazione costante del pericolo avvia, dunque, un percorso di formazione e di crescita, durante il quale un giovane “rozzo e poco cauto” diventa più esperto, fino ad essere qualificato “malizioso” come i malfattori a cui si è unito. L'intelligenza si affina in mezzo a tranelli, inganni o imprevedibili peripezie. Diventa più sottile e acuta. Alla fine della sua notte di disavventure, Andreuccio, chiuso nella tomba dell'arcivescovo, ha imparato ad anticipare le decisioni degli altri e a prevenire le possibili offese» (Palumbo 2007, § 14).

¹⁹ Cfr. quanto dicono ad es. Terramagnino da Pisa, vv. 27–28: *Tot enaysi con le rubis / sobre totas peyras es fis* [‘proprio come il rubino / è pregiato più di ogni altra pietra’] e Chiaro Davanzati, canz. 41, v. 13–14: *come robino passa di valore / ogn'altra pietra ...*

Molte virtù del rubino dipendono dal suo colore, il rosso, che ha anche favorito determinate associazioni iconografiche per questa pietra. L'allegoria della Carità, una delle tre virtù teologali, è raffigurata, secondo l'iconografia tradizionale, nell'atto di allattare un putto mentre con la mano destra sostiene la fiamma di fuoco eletta a simbolo stesso della carità, secondo le parole di Cristo che aveva detto: "Venni a portare il fuoco in terra e che cosa voglio se non che arda". Il colore dominante dell'abbigliamento delle Virtù è il rosso, colore che allude al sangue mistico di Cristo, così come rosso è anche il colore del rubino. Il rosso indica anche la vittoria e gli uomini perfetti, che con ardente carità ardono e risplendono col candore dell'onestà²⁰.

Andreuccio diverrà alla fine simile a quell'uomo di cui parla il vangelo di Matteo, che, trovato un tesoro sepolto in un campo (la Saggezza), lo nasconde e poi vende tutto ciò che ha per comprare quel campo (Matteo XIII, 44); oppure ancora al gioielliere accorto del quale sempre il vangelo di Matteo (XIII, 45-46) dice che, trovata una perla preziosissima, in quella investe tutta la sua fortuna. Il giovane, infatti, «a Perugia tornossi, *avendo il suo investito in uno anello*, dove per comperare cavalli era andato». Il tesoro sepolto nel campo è il rubino trovato nella tomba dell'arcivescovo, di grande valore materiale ma di un inestimabilmente maggior valore spirituale: la saggezza appresa da Andreuccio sarebbe già un premio senza prezzo, anche senza la gemma, che però ne è la *figura* in senso dantesco. I cavalli che il giovane mercante non ha a suo tempo comprato, pur piacendogliene molti, finiscono col rivelarsi a loro volta *figura* di una ancora inconsapevole rinuncia al desiderio dei piaceri e dell'orgoglio terreni²¹. E che la pietra preziosa (equivalente del tesoro o della perla evangelici) rappresenti un'acquisita perfezione spirituale lo spiega ancor più a chiare lettere la leggenda di Barlaam e Giosafat, opera conosciutissima nel Medioevo e cristianizzata:

[Al palazzo di Giosafat l'eremita Baarlām] Si presenta travestito da mercante, ed afferma di avere con sé una pietra preziosa dotata di tutte le virtù: dà la vista ai ciechi, l'udito ai sordi, la voce ai muti, risana gli infermi, infonde sapienza agli ignoranti, allontana i demoni e concede ogni bene a chi lo possiede. Il guardiano di Giosafat risponde che mai ha conosciuto una pietra di tante virtù, e chiede al finto mercante che gliela mostri – ma Barlaam gli risponde che chi non ha gli occhi sani e il cuore puro non può guardare questa pietra perché perderebbe la poca luce che possiede, e che precisamente

²⁰ Il lapidario contenuto nel Libro di Sidrach fiorentino rimanda per parte sua ad un'origine paradisiaca della pietra: "Egli à virtù delle pietre preziose e di sopra queste [...]. Le bestie che beono dell'acqua dove il rubino è stato, guariscono della loro malizia [...] Rubino è trovato nella profonda India, nel fiume di paradiso" (cit. dal corpus di testi dell'OVI).

²¹ A quanto pare è sant'Agostino che fa per primo del cavallo il simbolo dell'Orgoglio; san Gregorio lo considera l'emblema dell'Impurità e della vita di disordini. Particolarmente interessante quello che dice san Gerolamo, secondo il quale i cavalli rappresentano gli uomini lussuriosi, ben pasciuti, adulteri e *frequentatori di prostitute* (e la siciliana è una prostituta). Le voci di questi tre santi verranno raccolte e ritrasmesse dall'autore medievale Vincenzo di Beauvais (cfr. Charbonneau-Lassay 2006, 220).

perché ha udito parlare della purezza del cuore di Giosafat l'ha portata per lui e non per altri. Naturalmente, una volta introdotto presso il giovane principe, questi gli chiede a sua volta di vedere la pietra preziosa – e il vecchio eremita, dopo avergli raccontato varie parabole intese a dimostrare che i veri beni sono quelli spirituali e non quelli mondani, perché solo quelli possono condurre alla salvezza eterna, gli rivela la propria religione, ed allora Giosafat comprende che la pietra preziosa è quella fede che può portare alla salvezza. (Penna 1952, 36)

Spesso si è presentato il Boccaccio del *Decameron* come un campione del nuovo pensiero laico, un pensiero che supera gli scrupoli e le costrizioni religiose di un Medioevo bigotto. Non so quanto possa esservi di vero in questo giudizio che pare fondarsi su stereotipi già da tempo smentiti. Io direi che, dietro l'apparente spregiudicatezza di tante novelle boccacciane (questa di Andreuccio compresa), vi sia uno spirito ancora profondamente religioso, che adatta ai tempi e ad una società che stanno cambiando un messaggio che possiamo definire di ispirazione al fondo cristiana, e che si esprime per parabole²². Il paragone tra le vicende dello sprovveduto Andreuccio e le tappe di una (ri)nascita spirituale: in realtà, dal punto di vista del loro significato profondo, non riesco ad immaginare qualcosa che sintetizzi meglio la morale delle sue avventure di queste parole citate sempre dal vangelo di Matteo, X, 16–17:

Ecco: io vi mando come pecore in mezzo ai lupi; siate dunque prudenti come i serpenti e semplici come le colombe.

Nel mondo, così come nella morte, direbbe l'imperatore Adriano di Marguerite Yourcenar, «bisogna entrare con gli occhi aperti». La Napoli di questa nostra parabola è interpretabile come *figura* di un mondo squallido e impuro, dove dominano inganno e sopraffazione, mondo di lupi e di diavoli. Un mondo come lo potevano ritrarre i più estremisti tra i predicatori cristiani²³. E Andreuccio (“candido come una colomba”, ma questo non basta a lui per salvarsi, né nel corpo né nell'anima) dovrà affrettarsi a diventare astuto come un serpente. Dovrà cioè conoscersi, diventare responsabile, libero:

²² Che Boccaccio fosse dentro di sé severo moralista, e che la sua religiosità attenta più alle opere che alle manifestazioni esteriori di fede finisse, col passar del tempo, per degenerare quasi nella superstizione, sembrano provarlo la sua reazione sgomenta alla profezia e all'invito del mistico senese Pietro Petroni ad abbandonare la poesia profana, e anche la pessimista, cupa e misogina atmosfera del *Corbaccio*.

²³ La sopra citata (nota n. 16) novella di Salabaetto, in qualche modo parallela alla novella di Andreuccio, non a caso è la rielaborazione di un *exemplum* di Petrus Alfonsi, l'*Exemplum de decem cofris* (*Disciplina Clericalis*, cap. 15; esso è raccontato anche dalle *Gesta Romanorum*, 118, e da Jacopo da Cessole, nel *Liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium super ludo scacchorum*, nella sez. dedicata al “quinto pedone”, cioè al mercante). E osserva al riguardo Douglas Galbi: «Boccaccio ingeniously personalized the *Exemplum de decem cofris*. Rather than the generic figures in that exemplum, Boccaccio gave characters' names. Rather than abstract holiness, Boccaccio's Salabaetto aspired to the passionate love of worldly, ordinary men. Madama Iacofiore was the human, worldly woman that many men, blinded by ideology, refuse to recognize. Boccaccio filled his story with realistic detail. In his astonishingly daring work, Boccaccio brought medieval didactic literature generically to the Gospels» (in rete, all'indirizzo www.purplemotes.net/2016/03/13/salabaetto-iacofiore-decem-cofris/).

questo soprattutto è cosa che deve innanzitutto a sé (la prima carità, dice San Paolo, è per se stessi, e ognuno è prima di tutto responsabile del proprio corpo e della propria anima). L'Andreuccio che alla fine “rinascereà dagli inferi” di quella megalopoli medioevale sarà un uomo migliore, per certi aspetti quasi un *imitator Christi*, che ha percorso una sua neppur troppo parodica *via crucis*²⁴.

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²⁴ A questo punto, il Malpertugio, il nome del quartiere in cui si svolge gran parte della vicenda, acquista anch'esso un significato simbolico: rappresenterà la “vagina” da cui dovrà nascere, libero, l'Andreuccio nuovo. Di esito opposto sarà la vicenda del già ricordato maestro Simone: la caduta negli escrementi non rappresenterà per lui la rinascita: se, come dicevano i teologi del Medioevo, il peccato è soprattutto “follia” e “stoltezza”, il medico bolognese rimane “folle” e “stolto”: mai capirà infatti di essere stato ingannato, mai si “laverà” dal peccato. E addirittura si farà maldestro burattino nelle mani di Buffalmacco e Bruno, quando costoro – quasi diavoli incarnati – metteranno in scena un'altra beffa, ai danni del solito Calandrino. Che Boccaccio costruisse parabole per far ridere, ma liberamente ispirate ad aneddoti biblici o di letteratura religiosa, non avrebbe stupito, probabilmente, un uomo del Medioevo: era ai suoi tempi ancora viva la tradizione del *risus paschalis*. A Pasqua, il clero aveva la consuetudine di intrattenere i fedeli non con il tradizionale (e a volte noioso) sermone, ma con storie apparentemente comiche, addirittura oscene, dalle quali alla fine il predicatore riusciva comunque a ricavare un senso morale, cfr. su questo Jacobelli (2000). Soprattutto, il riso voleva esprimere la gioia della Resurrezione: e forse la storia di Andreuccio, per certi aspetti parodica (ma non troppo) della Resurrezione stessa, poteva benissimo essere raccontata in tale circostanza.

Investigating Learner Preferences in the Application of Language Learning Strategies: A Comparison between Two Studies

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Abstract

The general topic of this article is language learning strategies, i.e. activities that foreign language learners purposefully choose to improve their skills in a foreign language and to reach desired learning outcomes. To highlight the importance of combining quantitative and qualitative information in a study about strategic language learning, the article uncovers some weaknesses that may be created by a one-sided perception. It hence looks exclusively at the quantitative data gained in a mixed-methods study (Amerstorfer 2016) that used a popular strategy inventory (SILL; Oxford 1990) to collect numerical information about the language learning strategies of five English as a foreign language (EFL) learners. The core of the article is a comparison of the quantitative data with three strategy categories that resulted from a previous study (Griffiths 2013). The article closes with the statement that a one-sided perception is not appropriate for a study about strategic foreign language learning.

Key words: Language learning strategies, quantitative data, qualitative data, mixed-methods research, strategy inventory for language learning, SILL, English as a foreign language, EFL

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1 Introduction

Language teachers, teacher educators, and researchers have inquired into language learning strategies for forty years. Numerous projects employing quantitative, qualitative, and mixed research methods have produced countless publications addressing terminological definitions, as well as theoretical aspects like taxonomies, and practical applications like strategy-based instruction. This paper is an extract of a doctoral dissertation that studies language learning strategies in the context of cooperative learning. It will demonstrate the self-perception of strategic behaviour of five foreign language learners during cooperative English lessons. The article is based on a case study conducted at an Austrian secondary school. It aims to assess the similarities and differences of each participant's strategy use in comparison with three strategy types identified as significant for certain achievement levels (Griffiths 2003, 2013). The comparison will reveal ambiguous results. It will further highlight the importance of clearly defined terminology and of carefully selected research tools and methods.

First, past research into language learning strategies will be briefly summarised. Second, the research design, environment, and methodology will be described with reference to the purpose of this article. Third, the data collected will be analysed and compared, which will finally lead to some reflections highlighting the importance of acknowledging individual learner differences.

2 Research into language learning strategies

Ever since Rubin's first mention of language learning strategies (LLSs) in 1975, the topic has been of immense interest to scholars around the globe. In the past forty years heated discussions about appropriate terminology, categorisation schemes, and practical applications of LLSs have occupied the academic community (for example, Hosenfeld 1976; Naiman et al. 1978; O'Malley et al. 1985; Wenden 1987; O'Malley and Chamot 1990; Oxford 1990, 1999, 2011; Weinstein et al. 2000; Griffiths 2008, 2013; Cohen 2012). Consensus has been met regarding the general notion of LLSs by describing them as actions undertaken by learners to support learning processes and/or to produce language output.

A milestone in the development of LLS research is Oxford's (1990) categorisation system in which she divides LLSs into direct strategies (memory, cognitive, and compensation strategies) and indirect strategies (metacognitive, affective, and social strategies). The general distinction between direct and indirect strategies was first drawn by Rubin (1975, 1981) and later expanded by Oxford. Figuratively speaking, Rubin created the skeleton and Oxford put flesh on the bones. Oxford's comprehensive classification demonstrates what each of the six sub-categories encompasses and provides a total of 62 examples. Based on this categorisation scheme, Oxford developed the Strategy

Inventory for Language Learning (SILL), which is one of the most commonly used instruments in the field of LLS research to date. The SILL consists of fifty statements about LLS usage that are rated by participants on a 5-point scale from 1, never/almost never true of me, to 5, always/almost always true of me (see table 1). The statement ratings enable the calculation of participants' average overall LLS use as well as an average application of strategies belonging to the six strategy types (A = memory, B = cognitive, C = compensation, D = metacognitive, E = affective, and F = social strategies). The overall aim of the SILL is to identify and quantify LLSs based on learners' self-perception.

Oxford nominated high, medium, and low frequency of strategy use as follows:

High	Always or almost always used	4.5 to 5.0
	Usually used	3.5 to 4.4
Medium	Sometimes used	2.5 to 3.4
Low	Generally not used	1.5 to 2.4
	Never or almost never used	1.0 to 1.4

Table 1: Key to determine high, medium, and low frequency of LLS use by Oxford (1990)

The SILL profiles below quantitatively demonstrate how the participants of the study described in this paper ranked different strategy types (parts A-F) in sum and on average. Oxford's key corresponds with average ratings for each strategy type. An overall sum of all ratings and an average rating of all 50 statements are given at the bottom of each participants' SILL profile.

In her PhD thesis, Griffiths (2003) used the SILL to investigate whether there is a relationship between highly frequently used LLSs and successful language learning. Griffiths developed SILL profiles of 348 participants aged 14 to 64 from 21 different nations. The group under investigation consisted of approximately one-third male and two-thirds female participants with proficiency levels ranging from elementary to advanced (Griffiths 2013). Griffiths focused on strategies most frequently used by elementary learners and by advanced learners, as well as on strategies applied highly frequently across all proficiency levels. In comparison to the elementary language learners, the advanced participants reported an overall higher frequency in LLS application. Additionally, the study revealed that advanced learners reported using nine times as many different LLSs than elementary learners. Based on these findings, Griffiths identified three groups of LLSs (see table 2), namely base, core, and plus strategies.

	Sub-group	Item	Statement (paraphrased for brevity ¹)
Base strategies	Memory	3	I create images of new words
	Memory	6	I use flashcards to remember new words
	Memory	7	I physically act out new words
	Memory	8	I review English lessons often
	Memory	9	I use location to remember new words
	Compensation	26	I make up words if I don't know the right ones
	Metacognitive	34	I plan my schedule to have time to study
	Affective	43	I write my feelings in a diary
	Affective	44	I talk to someone else about how I feel
Core strategies	Cognitive	11	I try to talk like native speakers
	Cognitive	12	I practise the sounds of English
	Cognitive	15	I watch TV or movies in English
	Compensation	25	When I can't think of a word I use gestures
	Compensation	29	If I can't think of a word I use a synonym
	Metacognitive	30	I try to find many ways to use English
	Metacognitive	31	I use my mistakes to help me do better
	Metacognitive	32	I pay attention to someone speaking in English
	Metacognitive	33	I try to find how to be a better learner
	Metacognitive	38	I think about my progress in learning English
	Social	45	I ask others to speak slowly or repeat
	Social	49	I ask questions in English
Plus strategies	Memory	1	I think of relationships
	Cognitive	10	I say or write new words several times
	Cognitive	14	I start conversations in English
	Cognitive	18	I skim read then read carefully
	Cognitive	19	I look for similar words in my own language
	Cognitive	20	I try to find patterns in English
	Cognitive	21	I divide words into parts I understand
	Cognitive	22	I try not to translate word for word
	Compensation	24	I guess the meaning of unfamiliar words
	Compensation	27	I read without looking up every new word
	Affective	39	I try to relax when afraid of using English
	Affective	40	I encourage myself to speak even when afraid
	Social	46	I ask for correction when I talk
	Social	48	I ask for help from English speakers
	Social	50	I try to learn the culture of English speakers

Table 2: Base, core, and plus strategies (adapted from Griffiths 2013, 59-64)

According to Griffiths, base strategies are used highly frequently by elementary learners, while proficient learners prefer strategies from the plus category. Core strategies are applied highly frequently by learners across all proficiency levels.

This article presents the quantitative results of a recent case study (Amerstorfer 2016) in comparison with Griffiths' (2013) findings about base, core, and plus strategies. Specifically, it focuses on base and plus strategies because core strategies, according to Griffiths, are used by learners of all proficiency levels. Before the comparison will be made, the research design, environment and methodology of the case study will be explained.

3 Research design, environment, and methodology

The case study at hand investigates five learners' strategic behaviour during cooperative EFL lessons. All participants are female and between 14 and 18 years of age. To protect anonymity, pseudonyms are used. The participants' shared first language (L1) is German. In this paper, a clear distinction is drawn between proficiency levels and achievement levels. Proficiency levels are regularly assessed in school and defined by the CEFR². The participants' achievement levels, on the other hand, reflect the grades they received in the subject English in the semester reports (table 3). The high-level achievers in this study received A-grades, while the low-level achievers received D-grades. In other words, the achievement level describes how well the pupils performed in English in the first semester of the academic year 2013/14.

Participant's name	Overall proficiency in EFL	Achievement level
Christina	A2	low
Lisa	A2+	high
Paula	B1/B1+	high
Stella	B2	high
Sabrina	B2	low

Table 3: Participants' proficiency and achievement levels

The research environment of the study is CoOperative Open Learning (COOL), a state-funded teaching concept that was introduced in 1996 in Austria (Cooltrainers, n.d.). The teaching philosophy underlying COOL is the Dalton Plan³ (Parkhurst 1922), a humanistic teaching approach developed in the early 1920s. In COOL schools, pupils take increased responsibility for their learning processes and outcomes. About a third to half

¹ For the original SILL statements, see Oxford 1990, 292-299

² Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe 2014)

³ The original title is "Dalton Laboratory Plan," but the shortened version is commonly used in the literature.

of a COOL timetable consists of open learning periods (COOL lessons) in which pupils work independently of a teacher. The remainder are regular lessons that are teacher-centred, similar to those in mainstream schools in Austria. The class teachers involved in COOL meet regularly to discuss any current business and to design assignments and tasks for COOL lessons. During those lessons, pupils are encouraged to work collaboratively, support each other, and offer feedback on each other's work. They self-regulate their learning and take responsibility for the learning progress. Pupils in COOL schools are aware that what they cannot finish in school must be completed in their leisure time.

The starting point of this paper is the five participants' self-perception regarding their use of language learning strategies, which will be demonstrated in their SILL profiles (tables 4, 6, 8, 10, and 12). Second, the strategies that were rated highest and lowest will be isolated to enable a comparison with Griffiths' (2013) findings (tables 5, 7, 9, 11, and 13). The purpose of this paper is, therefore, to analyse how each participant's self-perception of LLS use compares to Griffiths' categories.

4 Analysis of data

For a comparison with Griffiths' (2013) study, this section will summarise and analyse the quantitative results of each participant. Only the highest and lowest SILL ratings are taken into account.

4.1 Christina (low-level achiever)

Part	Strategy type	Number of items	Participant's rating	
			Sum	Average
A.	Memory strategies	9	29	3.22
B.	Cognitive strategies	14	49	3.50
C.	Compensation strategies	6	19	3.17
D.	Metacognitive strategies	9	39	4.33
E.	Affective strategies	6	17	2.83
F.	Social strategies	6	19	3.17
		50	172	3.44

Table 4: Christina's SILL profile

According to Oxford's (1990) interpretation of the SILL, Christina uses language learning strategies at a medium to high frequency (3.44). She uses metacognitive strategies most frequently (4.33) and affective strategies least frequently (2.83). She favours cognitive (3.50) over memory (3.22) strategies followed by compensation and social strategies (both 3.17).

SILL	Item	BCP	Lowest rating (1 = Never or almost never true of me)	comparison
A.	3	B	I connect the sound of a new English word and an image or picture of the word to help me remember the word.	disagreement
E.	43	B	I write my feelings in a language learning diary.	disagreement
SILL	Item	BCP	Highest rating (5 = Always or almost always true of me)	comparison
A.	8	B	I review English lessons often.	agreement
B.	10	P	I say or write new English words several times.	disagreement
C.	25	C	When I can't think of a word during a conversation in English, I use gestures.	(core)
D.	32	C	I pay attention when someone is speaking English.	(core)
D.	34	B	I plan my schedule so I will have enough time to study English.	agreement
D.	35		I look for people I can talk to in English.	n/a ⁴
D.	38	C	I think about my progress in learning English.	(core)
E.	40	P	I encourage myself to speak English even when I am afraid of making a mistake.	disagreement

Table 5: Christina's lowest- and highest-rated SILL statements⁵ in comparison with Griffiths (2013)

In contrast to Griffiths' view that base strategies are typically used by low-level achievers, the two strategies rated lowest by Christina (items 3 and 43) both belong to the category of base strategies. However, Christina's highest ratings for two other base strategies (items 8 and 34) are in line with Griffiths' results. Christina further rated three core strategies highest (items 25, 32, and 38). Core strategies were found to be used by all pupils, so they are not relevant in this comparison. Christina's high rating for two plus strategies (items 10 and 40) deviates from Griffiths' findings because those are believed to be usually representative of high-level achievers. One strategy (item 35) rated highest by Christina is not mentioned in any of the categories. With two strong agreements (items 8 and 34) and four strong disagreements (items 3, 10, 40, and 43) Christina's strategy use does not represent that of Griffiths' typical low-level achiever.

⁴ n/a = not applicable because not included in Griffiths' study

⁵ SILL = strategy type according to Oxford (1990); BCP = base, core, plus strategies according to Griffiths (2013)

4.2 Sabrina (low-level achiever)

Part	Strategy type	Number of items	Participant's rating	
			Sum	Average
A.	Memory strategies	9	20	2.22
B.	Cognitive strategies	14	37	2.64
C.	Compensation strategies	6	17	2.83
D.	Metacognitive strategies	9	27	3.00
E.	Affective strategies	6	18	3.00
F.	Social strategies	6	16	2.67
		50	135	2.70

Table 6: Sabrina's SILL profile

Sabrina's SILL profile shows that her overall strategy use is mediocre (2.7). She prefers metacognitive and affective strategies (both 3) and uses memory strategies least frequently (2.222). According to Griffiths' study, low-level achievers favour memory strategies, but Sabrina is the opposite.

Sabrina's lowest-rated strategies consist in equal numbers of base strategies, which Griffiths found typical of low-level achievers (items 6, 7, 26, and 43), plus strategies, which are typical of high-level achievers (items 14, 18, 20, and 48), and strategies that were not mentioned in Griffiths' scheme (items 5, 16, 35, and 49). No core strategies were rated lowest by Sabrina, but all six highest-rated strategies are core strategies, which are used by learners across all levels. A remarkably large number of high ratings, as in Sabrina's case, cannot be satisfyingly compared to Griffiths' study because core strategies were not found representative of either achievement group. The analysis of Sabrina's quantitative data does, therefore, not show any particularly significant similarity with Griffiths' results. The opposite is the case for the four statements rated lowest by Sabrina that were described as characteristic of low-level achievers. All in all, Sabrina's strategy use is not representative of a typical low-level achiever.

SILL	Item	BCP	Lowest rating (1 = Never or almost never true of me)	comparison
A.	5		I use rhymes to remember new English words.	n/a
A.	6	B	I use flashcards to remember new English words.	disagreement
A.	7	B	I physically act out new English words.	disagreement
B.	14	P	I start conversations in English.	n/a
B.	16		I read for pleasure in English.	n/a
B.	18	P	I first skim an English passage (read over the passage quickly) then go back and read carefully.	n/a
B.	20	P	I try to find patterns in English.	n/a
C.	26	B	I make up new words if I do not know the right ones in English.	disagreement
D.	35		I look for people I can talk to in English.	n/a
E.	43	B	I write down my feelings in a language learning diary.	disagreement
F.	48	P	I ask for help from English speakers.	n/a
F.	49		I ask questions in English.	n/a

SILL	Item	BCP	Highest rating (5 = Always or almost always true of me)	comparison
B.	11	C	I try to talk like native English speakers.	(core)
B.	12	C	I practice the sounds of English.	(core)
C.	25	C	When I can't think of a word during a conversation in English, I use gestures.	(core)
D.	32	C	I pay attention when someone is speaking English.	(core)
D.	33	C	I try to find out how to be a better learner of English.	(core)
F.	45	C	If I do not understand something in English, I ask the other person to slow down or say it again.	(core)

Table 7: Sabrina's lowest- and highest-rated SILL statements in comparison with Griffiths (2013)

4.3 Paula (high-level achiever)

Part	Strategy type	Number of items	Participant's rating	
			Sum	Average
A.	Memory strategies	9	17	1.89
B.	Cognitive strategies	14	43	3.07
C.	Compensation strategies	6	19	3.17
D.	Metacognitive strategies	9	25	2.78
E.	Affective strategies	6	15	2.50
F.	Social strategies	6	20	3.33
		50	139	2.78

Table 8: Paula's SILL profile

SILL	Item	BCP	Lowest rating (1 = Never or almost never true of me)	comparison
A.	3	B	I connect the sound of a new English word and an image or picture of the word to help me remember the word.	n/a
A.	4		I remember a new English word by making a mental picture of a situation in which the word might be used.	n/a
A.	5		I use rhymes to remember new English words.	n/a
A.	6	B	I use flashcards to remember new English words.	n/a
A.	7	B	I physically act out new English words.	n/a
B.	12	C	I practice the sounds of English.	(core)
B.	21	P	I find the meaning of an English word by dividing it into parts that I understand.	disagreement
C.	26	B	I make up new words if I do not know the right ones in English.	n/a
E.	43	B	I write down my feelings in a language learning diary.	n/a
E.	44	B	I talk to someone else about how I feel when I am learning English.	n/a

SILL	Item	BCP	Highest rating (5 = Always or almost always true of me)	comparison
A.	9	B	I remember new English words or phrases by remembering their location on the page, on the board, or on a street sign.	disagreement
B.	10	P	I say or write new English words several times.	agreement
B.	18	P	I first skim an English passage (read over the passage quickly) then go back and read carefully.	agreement

Table 9: Paula's lowest- and highest-rated SILL statements in comparison with Griffiths (2013)

Paula's SILL profile reveals that her overall language learning strategy use (2.78) is below the average frequency level defined by Oxford (1990). She favours social (3.33), compensation (3.17), and cognitive (3.07) strategies over metacognitive (2.78) and affective (2.50) strategies. According to her SILL profile, she hardly ever applies memory strategies (1.89).

Out of the ten strategies Paula rated lowest, six (items 3, 6, 7, 26, 43, and 44) are base strategies. Following Griffiths' theory, it appears that Paula has a tendency to avoid strategies that are typically used by low-level achievers. However, Griffiths study focuses on strategies with high ratings without considering low-rated strategies, which makes a comparison difficult. Other strategies that Paula never or almost never applies are items 12 (core), 21 (plus), 4, and 5 (not mentioned by Griffiths). Out of the total of fifty items, Paula gave the highest rating to only three: item 9, a base strategy typical of low-level achievers, and items 10 and 18, which both belong to the plus category.

4.4 Stella (high-level achiever)

Part	Strategy type	Number of items	Participant's rating	
			Sum	Average
A.	Memory strategies	9	28	3.11
B.	Cognitive strategies	14	53	3.79
C.	Compensation strategies	6	24	4.00
D.	Metacognitive strategies	9	29	3.22
E.	Affective strategies	6	18	3.00
F.	Social strategies	6	19	3.17
		50	171	3.42

Table 10: Stella's SILL profile

Stella's frequency of strategy use is 3.42 on average. Her most used strategy types are compensation strategies (4.00) closely followed by cognitive (3.79), metacognitive (3.22), social (3.17), memory (3.11), and affective (3.00) strategies. There is little divergence between her most and least frequently used strategy types on average.

SILL	Item	BCP	Lowest rating (1 = Never or almost never true of me)	comparison
A.	6	B	I use flashcards to remember new English words.	n/a
E.	43	B	I write down my feelings in a language learning diary.	n/a

SILL	Item	BCP	Highest rating (5 = Always or almost always true of me)	comparison
A.	1	P	I think of relationships between what I already know and new things I learn in English.	agreement
A.	9	B	I remember new English words or phrases by remembering their location on the page, on the board, or on a street sign.	disagreement
B.	10	P	I say or write new English words several times.	agreement
B.	19	P	I look for words in my own language that are similar to new words in English.	agreement
B.	22	P	I try not to translate word-for-word.	agreement
C.	27	P	I read English without looking up every new word.	agreement
C.	29	C	If I can't think of an English word, I use a word or phrase that means the same thing.	(core)
E.	39	P	I try to relax whenever I feel afraid of using English.	agreement
E.	40	P	I encourage myself to speak English even when I am afraid of making a mistake.	agreement

Table 11: Stella's lowest- and highest-rated SILL statements in comparison with Griffiths (2013)

Out of the five participants, Stella shows the most similarity to Griffiths' results. She ranked two strategies (items 6 and 43) lowest which both belong to the base category and are typically used frequently by low-level achievers. Seven of the nine strategies with the highest ranking are plus strategies (items 1, 10, 19, 22, 27, 39, and 40), which is indicative of high-level achievers in Griffiths' study. The two remaining strategies ranked highest belong to the base category (item 9) and to the core category (item 29). All of the strategies ranked highest or lowest by Stella were mentioned in Griffiths' study. Accordingly, Stella represents the results of a typical high-level achiever.

4.5 Lisa (high-level achiever)

Part	Strategy type	Number of items	Participant's rating	
			Sum	Average
A.	Memory strategies	9	17	1.89
B.	Cognitive strategies	14	45	3.21
C.	Compensation strategies	6	18	3.00
D.	Metacognitive strategies	9	25	2.78
E.	Affective strategies	6	10	1.67
F.	Social strategies	6	16	2.67
		50	131	2.62

Table 12: Lisa's SILL profile

Lisa's preferred strategy types are cognitive strategies (3.21) closely followed by compensation strategies (3.00). She sometimes applies metacognitive (2.78) and social (2.67) strategies but rarely memory (1.89) and affective (1.67) strategies. Her overall use of language learning strategies, according to Oxford's (1990) SILL analysis, is mediocre.

Lisa gave the lowest possible rating to 14 items. Five of them (items 6, 7, 26, 43, and 44) are base strategies. Six of the strategies ranked lowest by Lisa (items 4, 5, 16, 17, 28, and 41) are not mentioned in Griffiths' study. The remaining three items Lisa declared as never or almost never true of her (items 39, 46, and 48) belong to the group of plus strategies which are typically used by high-level achievers. Therefore, Lisa's results do not mirror the results of a typical high-level achiever in Griffiths' study. Regarding the highest ratings, Lisa declared six statements to be always or almost always true of her. One of them (item 23) does not belong to any of the three categories as defined by Griffiths. Two (items 29 and 45) are core strategies, and three (items 14, 21, and 22) are plus strategies.

SILL	Item	BCP	Lowest rating (1 = Never or almost never true of me)	comparison
A.	4		I remember a new English word by making a mental picture of a situation in which the word might be used.	n/a
A.	5		I use rhymes to remember new English words.	n/a
A.	6	B	I use flashcards to remember new English words.	n/a
A.	7	B	I physically act out new English words.	n/a
B.	16		I read for pleasure in English.	n/a
B.	17		I write notes, messages, letters, or reports in English.	n/a
C.	26	B	I make up new words if I do not know the right ones in English.	n/a
C.	28		I try to guess what the other person will say next in English.	n/a
E.	39	P	I try to relax whenever I feel afraid of using English.	disagreement
E.	41		I give myself a reward or treat when I do well in English.	n/a
E.	43	B	I write down my feelings in a language learning diary.	n/a
E.	44	B	I talk to someone else about how I feel when I am learning English.	n/a
F.	46	P	I ask English speakers to correct me when I talk.	disagreement
F.	48	P	I ask for help from English speakers.	disagreement
SILL	Item	BCP	Highest rating (5 = Always or almost always true of me)	comparison
B.	14	P	I start conversations in English.	agreement
B.	21	P	I find the meaning of an English word by dividing it into parts that I understand.	agreement
B.	22	P	I try not to translate word-for-word.	agreement
B.	23		I make summaries of information that I hear or read in English.	n/a
C.	29	C	If I can't think of an English word, I use a word or phrase that means the same thing.	(core)
F.	45	C	If I do not understand something in English, I ask the other person to slow down or say it again.	(core)

Table 13: Lisa's lowest- and highest-rated SILL statements in comparison with Griffiths (2013)

5 Reflections

As summarised in table 14, the five participants' SILL responses partly support Griffiths' findings about base, core, and plus strategies. While Paula's and Lisa's strong agreements equal the occurrences of strong disagreements, Christina's and Sabrina's results show more disagreement than agreement. Stella appears to reflect Griffiths' (2013) findings best with a much higher number of strong agreements than disagreements.

Participant's name (achievement level)	Number of SILL items with strong agreement	Number of SILL items with strong disagreement
Christina (low)	2	4
Sabrina (low)	0	4
Paula (high)	2	2
Stella (high)	7	1
Lisa (high)	3	3

Table 14: Numerical agreements and disagreements with the strategy types defined by Griffiths (2013)

An analysis of the results reveals a few problems. First of all, the originally designed SILL (Oxford 1990) is outdated. Some strategies that are often used by pupils in schools today are not included in the original version of the SILL, particularly those related to modern technologies. Second, participants' responses to the SILL are purely based on self-perception and memory. Research tools that solely depend on a person's own judgement and recollection lack reliability and may not reflect reality. Third, the SILL provides only quantitative results. While this may be unproblematic in a large-scale study, it is inappropriate for a case study with a small sample size. The three issues raised call for an inclusion of other research methods.

Through semi-structured initial interviews and recorded lesson observations combined with stimulated recall interviews, the shortcomings mentioned above can be overcome (see Amerstorfer 2017 for more information). Strategies that are not included in the SILL can be added, and numerical results supplemented with qualitative information. The purpose of this article, however, is to compare the quantitative findings generated through the SILL with Griffiths' categorisation of base, core, and plus strategies. Therefore, all qualitative aspects have been neglected. As was mentioned in the introduction, this article is a snapshot of a larger study. The additional research methods mentioned in this paragraph are, in fact, applied in the study (Amerstorfer 2016) but not reported here.

The data analysis notably reveals that Griffiths' study exhibits some weaknesses. First, there is a terminological issue that needs clarification. On the one hand, Griffiths inquires about the relationship among successful language learning and certain language learning strategies and strategy types. On the other hand, learner proficiency levels are mentioned in the analysis of the results. As was explained above, proficiency levels

should clearly be distinguished from achievement levels. To clarify, while two learners can be on the same proficiency level (for instance, B1 according to the CEFR), one can perform well in the school subject English and receive an A-grade in the semester report, while the other one can be a low-level achiever and get a D-grade because overall they did not do so well in that particular semester. Such terminological ambiguities can lead to misinterpretations of results. Second, only highly frequently used strategies are analysed in Griffiths' study. Strategies with low ratings are disregarded. This raises a number of questions, for instance, what can low-rated SILL statements say about a learner's language learning strategy use? Are certain strategies avoided by learners? If yes, why? Third, according to Griffiths, core strategies are used by learners across all levels, which again poses questions about the meaning of low or high ratings for the corresponding SILL statements in the core category. In a SILL-only approach, a comparison between high-level and low-level achievers' application of core strategies becomes irrelevant. However, adding a qualitative component can reveal interesting results, such as reasons for certain strategy choices or connections between single strategies (Amerstorfer 2016). Fourth, how should SILL statements that are not included in any of Griffiths' categories be handled? In order to draw a valid comparison, they would have to be excluded from the study. That would, however, cause additional complications because high or low ratings for them also convey meaning.

All of these factors lead to a high degree of ambiguity in the comparison between Griffiths' study and the SILL results extracted from the case study reported in this article. As was mentioned before, the study mixes a number of research methods in order to prevent flaws resulting from a SILL-only approach. A combination of SILL outcomes with qualitative information leads to comprehensive findings that acknowledge individual learner differences in the application of language learning strategies. Nevertheless, the purpose of this article was a comparison between the participants' SILL results and Griffiths' categories (2013).

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Zur Beurteilung von Schreibleistungen aus Deutsch als Erstsprache in *High-Stakes Tests*. Die Stabilität von Skalendeskriptoren im Bewertungsraster für die österreichische Matura¹

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Abstract

The present study describes a first step towards validating the rating scale for assessing L1 German writing in the context of the Austrian Matura exam. After describing the process of scale development in the context of the exam reform, it reports on an empirical study into the stability of scale descriptors. The 70 scale descriptors were assessed in terms of their difficulty by a panel of 100 experienced teachers who had not undergone training in the use of the scale. This data served as the basis for studying overall rater agreement, the correspondence of the sequence of empirically scaled descriptors to the intended sequence, and for studying rater agreement on individual descriptors. It was found that using the scale without previous rater training is not recommendable and rater training is indispensable. The highest level on the scale was found to be the most consensual among the assessors. There is relatively high agreement with regard to what constitutes excellence in L1 German writing. The descriptors on the critical pass level were found to function relatively well although at least two descriptors turned out to be unstable and should be focused on in rater training. Overall, a high number of stable

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descriptors was found, which is remarkable given that the assessors had not yet received training in using the scale. Suggestions for areas of focus in assessor training or minor improvements of the scale are made.

Key words: language teaching, validation, writing, rating scales

1 Zur Beurteilung von Schreibkompetenz mittels Skalen

Skalen oder Beurteilungsraster werden sowohl im Zweitsprachenbereich als auch im Erstsprachenbereich zur Beurteilung von Schreibleistungen verwendet. Charakteristisch für die Verwendung von Skalen ist es, dass keine diskreten Elemente, wie etwa Fehler gezählt werden, sondern vielmehr versucht wird, den Gesamteindruck, der in der beurteilenden Person erweckt wird, einer Niveaustufe auf einer mehrstufigen Skala zuzuordnen. Skalen sind somit, anders als Tests, die aus einzelnen Testfragen bestehen, Instrumente zur Beurteilung im Sinne eines qualitativen Beschreibungsansatzes. Dies bedeutet jedoch nicht, dass Qualitätsansprüche, die üblicherweise an Beurteilungsverfahren gestellt werden, bei der Verwendung von Skalen nicht relevant wären. Insbesondere wenn Skalen im Rahmen von Qualifikationsprüfungen Verwendung finden, deren Ergebnis wichtige Folgen für die Kandidaten² mit sich bringen, ist es notwendig, Klarheit über die Reliabilität und Validität der Beurteilungen zu schaffen.

Anders als in Testverfahren, die auf diskreten Testfragen oder Items beruhen, für deren Beurteilung in der Regel explizite und exakt anwendbare Beurteilungsschlüssel vorliegen, spielt bei der direkten Beurteilung von sprachlichen Leistungen mittels Skalen die Interpretation der Skalen und der darin enthaltenen Formulierungen eine wesentliche Rolle. Die beurteilenden Personen, die fortan als Assessoren bezeichnet werden, können sich oft erheblich in ihrer Interpretation der jeweiligen Skala unterscheiden. Daher spielt die Varianz, die durch die Interpretation der Skala durch die Assessoren in den Beurteilungsprozess einfließt, eine wesentliche Rolle, wie aus verschiedenen Modellen zum Beurteilungsprozess mittels Skalen klar wird. Dies gilt im Prinzip für die Beurteilung sowohl von mündlichen als auch schriftlichen Leistungen in gleicher Weise (z.B. McNamara 1996; Skehan 1998; Bachman 2002; Fulcher 2003).

Neben der Zuverlässigkeit der Assessoren an sich kommt dabei insbesondere den Interpretationen der Niveaubeschreibungen durch die Assessoren besondere Bedeutung zu. Wenn Niveaubeschreibungen von verschiedenen Assessoren unterschiedlich interpretiert werden, entstehen Zufallseffekte bei der Beurteilung, die die Fehlervarianz erhöhen und daher der Reliabilität und in weiterer Folge der Validität der Beurteilung

² Zur besseren Lesbarkeit werden durchgehend männliche Formen verwendet. Es sind jedoch immer sowohl weibliche als auch männliche Personen gemeint.

abträglich sind. Deshalb ist es notwendig, herauszufinden, inwieweit die Interpretation einzelner Niveaubeschreibungen über verschiedene Assessoren hinweg schwankt. Das Ausmaß dieser Schwankung kann als Stabilität der Niveaubeschreibungen bezeichnet werden. Ein geringes Maß an Schwankung wird somit hohe Stabilität abbilden, während ein hohes Maß an Schwankung niedrige Stabilität der Niveaubeschreibungen bedeutet. Der vorliegende Artikel beschreibt eine Untersuchung, in der die Stabilität von Elementen von Niveaubeschreibungen einer Skala, die im Rahmen der Reform der österreichischen Matura entwickelt wurde, im Zentrum des Interesses steht. Der Reformprozess, in dessen Rahmen die Skala entwickelt wurde, fand in den Jahren von 2009 bis 2013 statt (Bundesinstitut für Bildungsforschung, Innovation & Entwicklung des österreichischen Schulwesens (BIFIE) 2013).

1.1 Skalen zur Beurteilung von Texten in der Erstsprache

Skalen zur direkten Beurteilung von Schreibleistungen fanden ab 1970 sowohl für Englisch als Erstsprache als auch für Englisch als Zweitsprache zunehmend Verwendung (Knoch 2009, 18). Einer der ersten Ansätze zur systematischen Entwicklung einer Skala für erstsprachliche englische Texte von Studienanfängern in den USA ist Diederich et al. (1961). Eine Faktorenanalyse von Beurteilungen von 300 Schreibperformanzen durch 53 erfahrene Assessoren ergab fünf Dimensionen, auf die die Assessoren Wert zu legen schienen. Die Dimensionen waren *Ideas*, *Forms*, *Flavour*, *Mechanics* und *Wording*. Analytische Skalen zur Beurteilung von Schreibleistungen in elf verschiedenen Erstsprachen, darunter auch Deutsch, von Teilnehmern aus 14 Ländern in der Sekundarstufe wurden später auch von der *International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement* (IEA) (Gorman et al. 1988) entwickelt. Diese Skalen bestanden aus sieben Kerndimensionen, deren englische Bezeichnungen folgendermaßen lauten: *Quality and scope of content*; *Organization and presentation of content*; *Style and tone*; *Lexical and grammatical features*; *Spelling and orthographic conventions*; *Handwriting and neatness*; *Response of the assessor* (S. 49). Sasaki und Hirose (1999) beschreiben die Entwicklung einer analytischen Skala für expositorische Texte in Japanisch als Erstsprache für Studierende an japanischen Universitäten. In der englischen Dokumentation der Skalenentwicklung werden die sechs Dimensionen folgendermaßen benannt: *Clarity of the theme*; *Appeal to readers*; *Expression*; *Organization*; *Knowledge of language forms*; *Social awareness* (Sasaki & Hirose 1999, 463).

Allerdings ist im deutschsprachigen Raum die Verwendung von Skalen zur direkten Beurteilung von sprachlichen Leistungen in der Erstsprache Deutsch weniger verbreitet. Zumindest gibt es kaum publizierte Skalen zur Beurteilung von Schreibleistungen in Deutsch als Erstsprache, insbesondere nicht für Schreibleistungen von jungen Erwachsenen am Ende der Sekundarstufe. Im deutschen Sprachraum dürfte sich die Entwicklung und Verwendung derartiger Instrumente, sofern sie überhaupt stattfand, eher im informellen und nicht öffentlich dokumentierten Bereich vollzogen haben. Eine Skala zur Beschreibung von erstsprachlichen Kompetenzen in Deutsch, die ähnlich weite

Verbreitung wie der für Zweit- und Fremdsprachen intendierte Gemeinsame Europäische Referenzrahmen für Sprachen (GERS) hat, existiert nicht. Zumindest in Österreich fand die Entwicklung einer Skala zur Beurteilung von schriftlichen Maturaarbeiten, die auf nationaler Ebene Anwendung findet, erst vor einigen Jahren statt (Glaboniat & Sigott 2012). Diese Skala bildet die Grundlage für den Beurteilungsraster, der derzeit zur Beurteilung von Schreibleistungen in der Matura in Deutsch, aber auch in Slowenisch, Ungarisch und Kroatisch als Unterrichtssprache im gesamten Bundesgebiet verwendet wird (BIFIE 2014).

1.2 Konstruktionsprinzipien für Skalen

Grundsätzlich ist bei der Entwicklung von Skalen zwischen holistischen und analytischen Skalen zu unterscheiden. Holistische Skalen beschreiben Charakteristika von Leistungen umfassend und detailliert auf verschiedenen Niveaus einer einzigen Skala, weshalb bei holistischen Skalen die Unterscheidung zwischen Skala und Dimension nicht notwendig ist. Analytische Skalen hingegen umfassen mehr als eine Dimension. Auf jeder Dimension werden Charakteristika von für die einzelnen Niveaus typischen Leistungen beschrieben. Diese Beschreibungen werden üblicherweise als Deskriptoren bezeichnet.

Für die Entwicklung beider Arten von Skalen können prinzipiell drei Ansätze unterschieden werden, die als intuitiv, theoriegeleitet und empirisch bezeichnet werden können (Berger 2015, 65ff.; Fulcher 2010, 208–215). Der *intuitive* Ansatz steht für eine Vorgangsweise, die sich hauptsächlich auf die Intuitionen von erfahrenen Lehrenden und Experten stützt. Dabei werden keine empirischen Daten erhoben oder Schreibperformanzen herangezogen. Vielmehr werden im Zuge von Diskussionen in einer Gruppe, die mit der Entwicklung der Skala betraut wurde, Deskriptoren formuliert. Der Prozess ist in der Regel zyklisch. Die ursprünglichen Formulierungen werden oftmals in mehreren Zyklen überdacht und gegebenenfalls überarbeitet. Der *theoriegeleitete* Ansatz hingegen baut auf einem Kompetenzmodell auf, das zum Ziel hat, die Kompetenzen, die zur Erbringung der geforderten Leistungen notwendig sind, zu beschreiben. Dabei wird der Versuch unternommen, die Dimensionen der Skala, sofern eine analytische Skala anvisiert wird, von den Komponenten des Kompetenzmodells abzuleiten. Sofern das Kompetenzmodell auch Informationen zur Entwicklung der Kompetenz oder Kompetenzen enthält, werden diese in die Formulierung der Deskriptoren einbezogen. Der *empirische* Ansatz beruht auf der Bewertung von Deskriptoren oder Schreibperformanzen durch Informanten. Eine mögliche Vorgangsweise besteht darin, fachkundigen Personen Deskriptoren oder Teile von Deskriptoren vorzulegen mit der Bitte, diese in eine sinnvolle Rangordnung zu bringen. Diese Rangordnung kann sodann mit der Anordnung der Deskriptoren im vorher erstellten Skalenentwurf verglichen werden und Diskrepanzen korrigiert werden. Eine andere Vorgangsweise besteht darin, den fachkundigen Personen Schreibperformanzen vorzulegen und die Personen zu bitten, anzugeben, inwieweit die einzelnen Deskriptoren die einzelnen Schreibperformanzen treffend be-

schreiben. Eine weitere Alternative besteht darin, die Performanzen hinsichtlich ihrer Qualität in Gruppen zu ordnen. Danach wird versucht, die Kriterien, die die Grundlage für die Gruppenbildung darstellen, explizit zu machen. In der Regel geht der empirischen Phase eine intuitive und allenfalls theoriegeleitete Phase voran.

2 Die Entwicklung des österreichischen Beurteilungsrasters für Deutsch als Unterrichtssprache

2.1 Ausgangssituation

Die Deskriptoren für die vorliegende Untersuchung stammen aus dem Entwicklungsprozess, der zur Beurteilungsskala für die teilzentrale Matura aus Deutsch als Unterrichtssprache im österreichischen Schulwesen führte. Dieser Prozess begann 2009, als in Österreich die Einführung eines teilzentralen Prüfungswesens für die Unterrichtssprachen (Deutsch, Slowenisch, Kroatisch, Ungarisch), für die lebenden Fremdsprachen (Englisch, Französisch, Italienisch, Spanisch), für die klassischen Sprachen (Latein und Altgriechisch) und Mathematik beschlossen wurde. Gegenstand der vorliegenden Untersuchung ist die Skala für die Beurteilung von Schreibleistungen in Deutsch als Unterrichtssprache. Für die große Mehrheit der Schüler in Österreich ist Deutsch Unterrichtssprache, wobei die überwiegende Mehrheit Deutsch als Erstsprache erlernt hat.

Ausgangspunkt für die Skalenentwicklung war eine Reform der Aufgabenstellung. Diese Reform ist im größeren Kontext des Paradigmenwechsels zur Kompetenzorientierung zu sehen, der sich im österreichischen Schulwesen ab etwa 2005 vollzog. Vor dem Reformprozess wurde für die Matura aus Deutsch ein Aufsatz verlangt, dem eine vom jeweiligen Unterrichtenden formulierte Aufgabenstellung zu Grunde lag. Die Beurteilung lag im Wesentlichen im Ermessen des Unterrichtenden. Die Reform brachte eine Neustrukturierung der Prüfung mit sich. Die Basis für diese Neustrukturierung bildet ein Kompetenzmodell, das Kompetenzen für das Gesamtfach Deutsch (bzw. Kroatisch, Slowenisch oder Ungarisch) beschreibt (BIFIE 2012). Für die schriftliche Prüfung werden insbesondere die folgenden Kompetenzbereiche definiert: Lesekompetenz, Schriftliche Kompetenz, Argumentationskompetenz, Interpretationskompetenz sowie Sach-/Fachkompetenz. Darüber hinaus spielen Sprachbewusstsein und Reflexionskompetenz in allen zuvor genannten Kompetenzbereichen eine Rolle. Lesekompetenz befähigt zur „Ermittlung von Informationen und Positionen aus unterschiedlichen Texten und Bildern, jeweils auch die Fähigkeit und Bereitschaft, die Adressatenorientierung und Intention des Textes mitzureflektieren“ (ibid. 9). Daher beinhaltet die Aufgabenstellung immer einen oder mehrere längere Inputtexte, auf die bei der Bearbeitung der Aufgaben Bezug genommen werden muss. Schriftliche Kompetenz umfasst „neben der Fähigkeit

zur Sprach- und Schreibrichtigkeit jeweils die Fähigkeit und Bereitschaft, einen der jeweiligen Aufgabe angemessenen Text unter Verwendung der dem gewählten Thema angemessenen stilistischen und textuellen Sprachmittel zu verfassen, sowie die Fähigkeit, den eigenen Text adressatengerecht zu formulieren.“ (ibid. 9). Argumentationskompetenz meint „[die] Kompetenz, zu einer gegebenen oder selbst gestellten strittigen Frage von sozialer, politischer und/oder kultureller Relevanz in Auseinandersetzung mit den Positionen anderer eine eigene Position aufzubauen sowie diese durch Thesen, Begründungen und Beispiele abzusichern; weiters die Fähigkeit, nachvollziehbare und kohärente Argumentationslinien mit sprachlich angemessenen Mitteln zu realisieren.“ (ibid. 9). Bei der Interpretationskompetenz handelt es sich um „Kompetenzen der Erschließung, Deutung, Beurteilung und Bewertung pragmatischer und poetischer Texte, auch Bilder [...]“ (ibid. 10). Sach-/Fachkompetenz schließlich umfasst „Kenntnisse der relevanten Konzepte und Begriffe des jeweiligen Themas, Kenntnisse von Daten und Zusammenhängen“ (ibid. 10). Bei der Bearbeitung der Schreibaufgaben interagieren diese Kompetenzbereiche in komplexer Weise.

Nach der neuen Regelung müssen die Kandidaten zwei Schreibaufgaben bearbeiten. Die zu produzierenden Texte müssen den textuellen Anforderungen von Textsorten gerecht werden, die in einem Textsortenkatalog, der neun Textsorten umfasst, aufgelistet und definiert sind (Staud & Taubinger 2011). Die dort definierten Textsorten sind Textanalyse, Textinterpretation, Zusammenfassung, offener Brief, Leserbrief, Empfehlung, Kommentar, Erörterung und Meinungsrede. Die Aufgabenstellung erfolgt nach standardisierten Rahmenvorgaben. Jede der beiden Schreibaufgaben erfordert auch die Bezugnahme auf einen oder mehrere sogenannte Inputtexte. Je nach Aufgabenstellung ist auf diese Inputtexte in unterschiedlicher Form Bezug zu nehmen. Die Gesamtwortzahl für beide Texte zusammen beträgt 810 bis 990 Wörter. Die Länge der beiden Texte variiert je nach Aufgabenstellung innerhalb der vorgegebenen Gesamtwortanzahl. Jede Aufgabenstellung enthält auch drei oder vier sogenannte Arbeitsaufträge, denen der zu verfassende Text gerecht werden muss. Die Erfüllung dieser Arbeitsaufträge ist auch Bestandteil der Beurteilung. Weitere Details zur Aufgabenstellung mit Beispielen sind auf der BIFIE-Homepage (BIFIE 2016) zu finden.

2.2 Entwicklung des Beurteilungsrasters

Der Beurteilungsraster wurde in mehreren Sitzungen einer internationalen Arbeitsgruppe im Zeitraum von 2011 bis 2013 entwickelt. Dieser Arbeitsgruppe gehörten erfahrene Lehrende im österreichischen Sekundarschulwesen, an der Universität tätige Deutschdidaktiker aus Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz, sowie ebenfalls an der Universität im Bereich Prüfen und Bewerten tätige Fachleute an. Der Entwicklungsprozess orientierte sich am oben beschriebenen Kompetenzmodell, war somit theoriegeleitet, beinhaltete aber auch intuitive und empirische Facetten. Allerdings war es aus logistischen und zeitökonomischen Gründen nicht möglich, die drei Ansätze rigoros voneinander zu trennen und in linearer Abfolge zu durchlaufen. Eine erste Diskussionsrunde führte zum

Entschluss, eine analytische Skala mit den vier Dimensionen *Aufgabenerfüllung aus inhaltlicher Sicht*, *Aufgabenerfüllung aus textstruktureller Sicht*, *Aufgabenerfüllung in Bezug auf Stil und Ausdruck* sowie *Aufgabenerfüllung hinsichtlich normativer Sprachrichtigkeit* zu entwickeln. Diese analytische Skala sollte für die Beurteilung von Schreibleistungen in allen neun Textsorten grundsätzlich anwendbar sein. Weiters wurde beschlossen, auf jeder Dimension vier Niveaustufen zu definieren. Dabei bedeutet Niveaustufe 1 das einfachste Niveau (Mindestanforderung) und Niveaustufe 4 das schwierigste (exzellente Leistung). Auf den Versuch, eine Niveaustufe 0 für das Nichterreichen der Mindestanforderung zu beschreiben, wurde verzichtet, da sich die Beschreibung zwingend durch die Nichterfüllung der Anforderungen für die Niveaustufe 1 ergibt.

Bei der Formulierung von Deskriptoren wurde zunächst theoriegeleitet und intuitiv vorgegangen. Die Mitglieder der Arbeitsgruppe schlugen Formulierungen für jedes der vier Niveaus auf jeder der vier Dimensionen vor. In Diskussionen wurden diese Formulierungen adaptiert bis ein Konsens gefunden werden konnte. Darauf folgte eine empirische Phase, in der geprüft wurde, inwieweit Schreibperformanzen, die aus der gleichzeitig laufenden Pilotierung der Aufgabenstellungen stammten, durch die formulierten Deskriptoren treffend beschrieben werden konnten. Dies führte zu weiteren Anpassungen der Formulierungen. Schließlich wurde auch das Kompetenzmodell, das auf der Grundlage umfangreicher Literaturrecherchen und Fachdiskussionen entwickelt worden war, im Hinblick auf seine Kompatibilität mit dem entstehenden Beurteilungsraster überprüft. Die Arbeitsgruppe kam zum Schluss, dass das Kompetenzmodell und die Richtlinien zur Aufgabenerstellung mit dem Beurteilungsraster kongruent waren. Der Beurteilungsraster, der aus dieser Arbeit hervorging, ist mit geringen Formulierungsunterschieden die Basis für den derzeit in Verwendung befindlichen Beurteilungsraster. Der Algorithmus für die Berechnung einer Gesamtnote über beide Aufgaben und Dimensionen hinweg ist in BIFIE 2014 beschrieben. Der vorläufige Beurteilungsraster, aus dem die Deskriptoren für die vorliegende Untersuchung stammen, ist in den Tabellen 4 bis 7 zu finden (Glaboniat & Sigott 2012).

3 Empirische Untersuchung

Der vorläufige Beurteilungsraster stellt einen Konsens der Arbeitsgruppe dar, nicht aber einen Konsens jener Personen, die ihn später zur Beurteilung anwenden sollen. Daher entsteht die Frage, inwieweit die Formulierungen der Deskriptoren auch für jenen Personenkreis sinnvoll und konsensfähig sind, der den Beurteilungsraster später als Prüfer in der Matura anwenden soll. Freilich werden die Lehrenden in der Anwendung des Beurteilungsrasters in Fortbildungsseminaren geschult. Der Schulungsaufwand hängt jedoch in hohem Maß davon ab, wieweit die Teilnehmer hinsichtlich der Interpretation der Deskriptoren bereits vor Schulungsbeginn übereinstimmen. Daher ist es von Interesse, herauszufinden, welche Deskriptoren auch ohne Schulung konsensfähig sind.

Nicht konsensfähige Deskriptoren erfordern entweder Revisionen des Beurteilungsrasters oder besondere Beachtung in der Assessorenschulung.

3.1 Fragestellung

Das Ziel der empirischen Untersuchung besteht darin, festzustellen, inwieweit ungeschulte Assessoren darin übereinstimmen, welchem von vier Niveaus einzelne Deskriptoren zuzuordnen sind. Dabei ist es notwendig, die Niveaus zu definieren. Anders als in den lebenden Fremdsprachen kann hier als Bezugspunkt nicht ein Niveau des GERS herangezogen werden, weil der GERS nicht für die Beschreibung und Beurteilung erstsprachlicher Kompetenzen konzipiert ist. Es muss daher von dem Konzept des in der österreichischen Matura erwarteten Mindestniveaus ausgegangen werden. Eine den Niveaubeschreibungen des GERS entsprechende Beschreibung der Kompetenzen für die schriftliche Matura aus Deutsch in Österreich liegt bislang allenfalls in Ansätzen vor. Eine zentrale Rolle spielt in diesem Zusammenhang das Konzept des minimal kompetenten Kandidaten (Cizek & Bunch 2007, 83). Im Kontext der vorliegenden Untersuchung ist dies jener Kandidat, der gerade noch ausreichend fähig ist, um die schriftliche Matura in Deutsch als Unterrichtssprache zu bestehen. Dieser Kandidat wird die Anforderungen von Deskriptoren, die dem Niveau 1 zugeordnet werden, erfüllen, nicht jedoch jene auf den Niveaus darüber. Es muss für die vorliegende Untersuchung somit von einem prototypischen Kompetenzprofil des minimal kompetenten Maturanten ausgegangen werden, hinsichtlich dessen unter den beurteilenden Lehrenden mehr oder weniger Konsens besteht. Auf der Basis des Konzepts des minimal kompetenten Maturanten (für die schriftliche Matura aus Deutsch als Unterrichtssprache) kann nun gefragt werden, wie schwierig es nach Einschätzung des einzelnen Assessors für den minimal kompetenten Maturanten sein wird, den Anforderungen der einzelnen Deskriptoren des Beurteilungsrasters gerecht zu werden. Auf dieser Basis können nun in Anlehnung an Berger (2015, 133) für die einzelnen Deskriptoren die folgenden Forschungsfragen formuliert werden:

1. Inwieweit stimmen die Assessoren hinsichtlich der Reihung der Deskriptoren überein?
2. Inwieweit entsprechen die aggregierten Einschätzungen der Deskriptoren bezüglich ihrer Schwierigkeit der im Skalenentwurf intendierten Reihung?
3. Welche Deskriptoren sind instabil, weil die Einschätzungen der Assessoren bezüglich der Schwierigkeit nicht ausreichend übereinstimmen?

3.2 Materialien und teilnehmende Personen

Vor der Erstellung des Fragebogens wurden Deskriptoren, die aus mehreren eigenständigen Komponenten bestehen, in Deskriptorenteile zerlegt. Dies war beispielsweise für den Deskriptor für das höchste Niveau auf der Dimension *Aufgabenerfüllung aus textstruktureller Sicht* der Fall. Der Deskriptor *Leicht nachvollziehbare Binnengliederung, ziel-*

gerichteter, sicherer Einsatz von passenden Textorganisatoren; kohärent und frei von Gedankensprüngen, zielgerechter Einsatz von metakommunikativen Mitteln wurde in folgende vier Deskriptorenteile zerlegt:

- leicht nachvollziehbare Binnengliederung
- zielgerichteter, sicherer Einsatz von passenden Textorganisatoren
- kohärent und frei von Gedankensprüngen
- zielgerechter Einsatz von metakommunikativen Mitteln

Der Einfachheit halber wird für diese Deskriptorenteile fortan, wie für die nicht zerlegten Deskriptoren, die Bezeichnung Deskriptor verwendet. Nach der Zerlegung der komplexen Deskriptoren standen 76 Deskriptoren zur Verfügung. Dabei ist zu beachten, dass einige Deskriptoren doppelt vorkommen, weil sie in aufeinanderfolgenden Niveaus der Skala zu finden sind. Die 76 Deskriptoren stellen somit *tokens*, nicht *types* dar. Im Fall von Deskriptoren, die auf mehr als einem Niveau vorkommen, wurde für die Analyse nur ein Deskriptor verwendet. In wenigen Fällen unterschieden sich die Schwierigkeitseinschätzungen von doppelt vorkommenden Deskriptoren geringfügig. In diesen Fällen wurde der kleinere der beiden Werte in die Analyse einbezogen. Wenn doppelt vorkommende Deskriptoren nur einmal aufgelistet werden, reduziert sich die Anzahl der Deskriptoren auf 70. Diese sind in den Tabellen 4 bis 7 ausgegraut dargestellt. Die Deskriptorenliste mit allen 76 Deskriptoren, einschließlich der doppelt vorkommenden, diente als Grundlage für die Erstellung eines Fragebogens. Die Reihenfolge der Deskriptoren im Fragebogen wurde willkürlich verändert, um den Teilnehmern nicht die im Skalenentwurf vorgegebene Reihenfolge zu suggerieren. Außerdem wurde darauf geachtet, doppelt vorkommende Deskriptoren möglichst weit voneinander entfernt im Fragebogen zu positionieren. Der Fragebogen wurde im Jänner 2012 an österreichische Deutschlehrende in allen neun Bundesländern per E-Mail versandt. Alle Lehrenden hatten Unterrichtserfahrung in der Sekundarstufe 2 bzw. unterrichteten zu dieser Zeit in der Sekundarstufe 2 und waren im Rahmen des Prüfungsreformprozesses als Aufgabenersteller tätig, nicht aber in die Entwicklung des Beurteilungsrasters eingebunden. In dieser Gruppe von Lehrenden waren alle Schultypen repräsentiert. Dieser Personenkreis umfasste rund 150 Lehrende. Die Assessoren trugen ihre Bewertungen in ein dem E-Mail angehängtes Excel-Datenfile ein und retournierten dieses wieder per E-Mail an eine eigens dafür eingerichtete E-Mail-Adresse. Bis Februar 2012 lagen 117 ausgefüllte Fragebögen vor, die die Basis für die vorliegende Studie bilden. Die Fragestellung im Fragebogen ist in Tabelle 1 wiedergegeben.

Wie ersichtlich, war von den Teilnehmern jeder Deskriptor hinsichtlich des Grades seiner Realisierbarkeit durch den minimal kompetenten Maturanten auf einer Skala von 1 bis 8 zu beurteilen. An dieser Stelle wird die Verbindung der Skalenentwicklung mit der Setzung von Kompetenzstandards besonders deutlich. Die Beurteilung der „Schwierigkeit“ der einzelnen Deskriptoren hängt in erster Linie von der Vorstellung der Kompetenz des minimal kompetenten Maturanten ab, die der jeweilige Assessor hat. Die

Fragebogen zu den Deskriptoren der Skala SRDP Deutsch

Bitte stellen Sie sich einen Maturanten / eine Maturantin vor, der / die gerade kompetent genug ist, um die Matura zu bestehen.

Lesen Sie dann die Deskriptoren und geben Sie auf der Skala von 1 bis 8 an, wie schwierig es Ihrer Meinung nach für diesen Maturanten / diese Maturantin ist, dem jeweiligen Deskriptor gerecht zu werden, also einen Text zu verfassen, auf den der Deskriptor zutrifft.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
sehr einfach				sehr schwierig			

Geben Sie Ihre Einschätzung durch Eintragen einer Zahl von 1 bis 8 an:

Deskriptor	Schwierigkeit 1 bis 8
1 Text gedanklich und grafisch der Textsorte angemessen klar strukturiert	
2 Variantenreiche und komplexe, der Textsorte angemessene Satzstrukturen	
3 ...	

Tabelle 1: Fragebogen

Daten spiegeln daher einerseits die Einschätzung der Schwierigkeit der Deskriptoren an sich, d.h. unabhängig vom Kompetenzniveau des minimal kompetenten Maturanten, und andererseits allfällige Unterschiede in der Vorstellung der Kompetenz des minimal kompetenten Maturanten zwischen den einzelnen Assessoren wieder.

3.3 Resultate

Zur Analyse der Daten werden sowohl klassische korrelationsstatistische Verfahren als auch Verfahren der probabilistischen Testtheorie verwendet. Die korrelationsstatistischen Verfahren werden als bekannt vorausgesetzt. Grundlegende Konzepte des Multifacetten-Raschmodells (MFRM) werden im folgenden Abschnitt resümiert.

3.3.1 Das Multifacetten-Raschmodell

Das MFRM stellt eine wichtige Grundlage für die Datenanalyse in dieser Untersuchung dar. Das MFRM zählt zur Gruppe der probabilistischen Testmodelle. Im Gegensatz zu den klassischen (deterministischen) Testmodellen erfolgt die Bestimmung von Assessorstrenge, Deskriptorenschwierigkeit, Probandenfähigkeit und Skalenqualität mit Hilfe probabilistischer Verfahren. Jeder Beurteilungsvorgang ist eine Interaktion zwischen diesen Facetten und das MFRM ermöglicht die simultane Berücksichtigung und Ausparialisierung dieser. Das MFRM stellt eine Erweiterung des dichotomen und polytomen Raschmodells dar und spielt insbesondere bei der Bewertung von produktiven Fertigkeiten (Schreibleistungen, Sprechleistungen) eine Rolle. Hier erfolgt die Bewertung der

Probandenleistung nicht über Zählen sondern über Bewertungen auf einer mehrstufigen Skala.

Das wichtigste Ergebnis aus dem MFRM sind die Fair Measures, Maßzahlen für die Assessorenstrenge, die Deskriptorenschwierigkeit und die Personenfähigkeit (falls vorhanden). Diese Maßzahlen berücksichtigen bereits die jeweils anderen Facetten und ermöglichen somit einen fairen Vergleich von Strenge, Schwierigkeit und Fähigkeit. Dieser Vorgang wird als Auspartialisieren bezeichnet. Fair Measures sind also Maßzahlen, die wieder auf die originale Bewertungsskala (hier: 1 bis 8) rücktransformiert sind. Damit sind die Ergebnisse auch für den statistisch weniger versierten Leser klar interpretierbar. Modellintern wird aus rechnerischen Gründen allerdings eine logarithmische Skala (Measure) verwendet.

Der Itemfit ist ein wesentliches Kriterium zur Einschätzung der Güte und somit der Plausibilität der Ergebnisse aus dem Raschmodell. Der Itemfit für den Deskriptor beispielsweise zeigt die Übereinstimmung aller auspartialisierten Assessoren in der Bewertung dieses Deskriptors. Sinngemäß gilt dies auch für alle anderen Facetten. Prinzipiell gilt, je höher die Übereinstimmung, desto höher die Beurteilungsgüte. Unterschieden wird nach Infit und Outfit. Der Outfit (Outlier fit) basiert auf einer traditionellen Chi-Quadrat Statistik (quadrierte Abweichung zwischen Beobachtungs- und Erwartungswert). Das Quadrieren der Abweichungen bewirkt, dass Ausreißer die Maßzahl stärker beeinflussen. Der Outfit ist ausreißersensitiv. Der Infit (Information fit) basiert ebenfalls auf einer Chi-Quadrat Statistik, die jedoch mittels Itemvarianz (=Information) gewichtet wird. Der Infit ist varianzsensitiv. Als statistische Maßeinheit zur Einschätzung des Fits dient der Mean Square (MNSQ). Der Wertebereich des MNSQ liegt zwischen Null und plus Unendlich. Werte von oder um Eins sind optimal, weiter entfernt liegende Werte zeigen Misfit zwischen Modell und Empirie (Realität) auf. MNSQ weit unter Eins sind Hinweise auf Overfit oder Abhängigkeiten zwischen den Facettenelementen. Erwünscht ist voneinander unabhängiges Beurteilungsverhalten der Assessoren. MNSQ weit über Eins sind Indikatoren auf Underfit, also das Vorhandensein zusätzlicher Varianz in den Daten ("Rauschen"). Für die Interpretation des MNSQ gelten nach Linacre (2014) folgende Richtwerte: $MNSQ < 0,5$ (Item kann verwendet werden); $MNSQ 0,5$ bis $1,5$ (Item ist gut geeignet); $MNSQ > 1,5$ bis 2 (Item ist eventuell zu modifizieren); $MNSQ > 2$ (Item ist zu verwerfen oder zu überarbeiten).

3.3.2 Plausibilitätsprüfung der Daten

Nach Einlangen der 117 Fragebögen wurden die Daten zunächst auf Plausibilität geprüft. Dazu wurde eine Rasch-Multifacettenanalyse mit FACETS (Linacre 1997) mit den Facetten Assessor und Deskriptor durchgeführt. Assessoren, deren Infit oder Outfit Mean Square über 1,5 lag, wurden als Ausreißer identifiziert. Diese Assessoren zeigen ein atypisches Ratingverhalten, das im Widerspruch zum Verhalten des Großteils der anderen Assessoren steht. Diese 16 Assessoren wurden daher aus dem Datensatz eliminiert. Ebenso ausgeschlossen wurden Assessoren, deren mittlere Korrelation mit

allen anderen Assessoren kleiner als 0 war. Dies trifft auf einen Assessor zu. Nach der Plausibilitätsprüfung verblieben 100 Assessoren im Datensatz, der als Grundlage für die weiteren Analysen dient.

3.3.3 Übereinstimmung der Assessoren (Interrater Reliability)

Ein grobes Bild der Assessorenübereinstimmung kann durch die Prüfung der internen Konsistenz der Gruppe der 100 Assessoren gewonnen werden. Dies ist grundsätzlich durch die Berechnung des Cronbach-Alpha-Koeffizienten möglich. Alpha wird in der klassischen Testtheorie routinemäßig zur Prüfung der internen Konsistenz von itembasierten Tests verwendet. In dieser Untersuchung kann Alpha herangezogen werden, um die Konsistenz der Assessoren untereinander zu überprüfen. In der Tat liegt der Wert für Alpha sowohl für den Gesamtpool der Deskriptoren wie auch für die Deskriptoren auf jeder der vier Dimensionen getrennt betrachtend durchgehend über 0,9. Allerdings ist bei der Interpretation von Alpha als Maß für interne Konsistenz Vorsicht geboten, da Alpha in hohem Maß von der Größe der Stichprobe, hier der Assessorenanzahl, abhängt. Daher wurden in Anlehnung an Berger (2015, 138ff.) weitere Maßzahlen für die Assessorenübereinstimmung berechnet. Die Schwierigkeitsbeurteilungen durch die 100 Assessoren wurden mittels Kolmogorov-Smirnov-Anpassungstest auf Normalverteilung geprüft. Die Prüfung ergab, dass für den Großteil der Assessoren die Beurteilungen nicht normalverteilt sind. Dies legt für die Prüfung der Assessorenübereinstimmung die Verwendung von nichtparametrischen Verfahren nahe. Daher wurden in Anlehnung an Berger (2015, 138ff.) der Spearman-Koeffizient sowie Kendall Tau-b berechnet. Um ein globales Maß für die Assessorenübereinstimmung zu erhalten, wurden die Koeffizienten der jeweiligen Koeffizientenmatrix gemittelt (vgl. Berger 2015, 139). Die Mittelwerte der Koeffizienten sind in Tabelle 2 dargestellt.

	Spearman Rho	Kendall Tau-b
Aufgabenerfüllung aus inhaltlicher Sicht (IN)	0,39	0,32
Aufgabenerfüllung aus textstruktureller Sicht (TS)	0,31	0,27
Aufgabenerfüllung in Bezug auf Stil und Ausdruck (ST)	0,46	0,39
Aufgabenerfüllung hinsichtlich normativer Sprachrichtigkeit (NR)	0,28	0,25
Total (n=100)	0,37	0,31

Tabelle 2: Mittelwerte Spearman Rho und Kendall Tau-b.

Tabelle 2 zeigt die Mittelwerte der beiden Korrelationskoeffizienten, berechnet auf der Basis der Deskriptoren getrennt nach den vier Dimensionen *Aufgabenerfüllung aus inhaltlicher Sicht (IN)*, *Aufgabenerfüllung aus textstruktureller Sicht (TS)*, *Aufgabenerfüllung in Bezug auf Stil und Ausdruck (ST)* und *Aufgabenerfüllung hinsichtlich normativer Sprachrichtigkeit (NR)*. Weiters wurden die mittleren Koeffizienten auf der Basis des gesamten Deskriptorensatzes berechnet. Die ausgewiesenen Korrelationskoeffizienten sind Mittel-

werte aus allen 4950 maximal möglichen bivariaten Korrelationskoeffizienten $[(100 \cdot 100 - 100)/2]$ bei $n = 100$ Assessoren. Wie ersichtlich, liegen die Mittelwerte der paarweisen Korrelationskoeffizienten für Spearman Rho zwischen 0,28 (NR) und 0,46 (ST). Kendall Tau-b schwankt von 0,25 für (NR) bis 0,39 für ST. Die Koeffizienten für das gesamte Deskriptorenset sind 0,37 für Spearman Rho und 0,31 für Kendall Tau-b.

Die Stärke der Korrelation zwischen Assessoren hängt sowohl von Unterschieden in der Rangordnung ab, in die die einzelnen Assessoren die Deskriptoren bringen, als auch von Unterschieden in der Assessorenstrenge. Die Nichtnutzung der gesamten Bandbreite der Schwierigkeitsskala kann zu Boden-, Mitten- und Deckeneffekten führen, die Auswirkungen auf die Stärke der Korrelation haben können. Vereinzelt können einzelne Assessorenpaare auch eine negative Korrelation aufweisen. Alle diese Effekte beeinflussen die durch Korrelationskoeffizienten ausgedrückte Assessorenübereinstimmung in Tabelle 2.

Global betrachtet kann von einer schwachen bis mäßigen mittleren positiven Korrelation zwischen den Assessoren in jeder der vier Deskriptorkategorien (IN, TS, ST, NR) sowie in den Deskriptoren als Gesamtkategorie gesprochen werden. Betrachtet man die Assessorenübereinstimmung in den vier Dimensionen, so wird klar, dass die Übereinstimmung in der Dimension *Aufgabenerfüllung in Bezug auf Stil und Ausdruck* am höchsten ist. Die mittleren Koeffizienten liegen hier bei 0,46 (Spearman Rho) und 0,39 (Kendall Tau-b). Die zweithöchste Assessorenübereinstimmung zeigt sich für die Dimension *Aufgabenerfüllung aus inhaltlicher Sicht*, wo die Koeffizienten bei 0,39 (Spearman Rho) und 0,32 (Kendall Tau-b) liegen. Die dritthöchste Assessorenübereinstimmung besteht in der Dimension *Aufgabenerfüllung aus textstruktureller Sicht*, wo die Koeffizienten bei 0,31 (Spearman Rho) und 0,27 (Kendall Tau-b) liegen. Die geringste Assessorenübereinstimmung zeigt die Dimension *Aufgabenerfüllung hinsichtlich normativer Sprachrichtigkeit*. Hier liegen die Koeffizienten bei 0,28 (Spearman Rho) und 0,25 (Kendall Tau-b). Es zeigt sich somit, dass die Assessoren das Konstrukt Stil und Ausdruck am zuverlässigsten interpretieren. Im Gegensatz dazu besteht bei der Interpretation des Konstrukts *normative Sprachrichtigkeit* die größte Unsicherheit unter den Assessoren.

In Summe kann festgehalten werden, dass die Assessoren in der Interpretation der Konstrukte, die durch die analytische Beurteilungsskala operationalisiert werden, zu einem gewissen Grad übereinstimmen. Der Grad der Übereinstimmung wäre jedoch für die Verwendung der Skala in einer Qualifikationsprüfung wie der Matura, aus deren Ergebnissen für die Kandidaten bedeutende Konsequenzen erwachsen, nicht ausreichend. Um ein ausreichendes Maß an Übereinstimmung zu gewährleisten, müssen die Lehrenden in der Anwendung der Skala entsprechend geschult werden. Das Ergebnis zeigt somit, dass Assessorenschulungen für die Verwendung der Skala im operativen Testbetrieb unumgänglich sind und unterstreicht somit die Wichtigkeit der Durchführung von Schulungen zur Skalenverwendung, wie sie im Rahmen der SRDP Unterrichtssprachen routinemäßig stattfinden. Besondere Beachtung sollte dabei der Dimension *normative*

Sprachrichtigkeit geschenkt werden, wo die in dieser Untersuchung ungeschulten Assessoren am wenigsten übereinstimmen.

3.3.4 Übereinstimmung der Deskriptoren mit der intendierten Skala

Die Grundlage für die Prüfung der Übereinstimmung der Deskriptoren mit der intendierten Skala ist die Reihung der Deskriptoren auf der Basis der Schwierigkeitseinschätzungen durch die Assessoren. Da diese Einschätzungen unter anderem von Unterschieden in der Assessorenstrenge abhängen, wurden die Daten einer Rasch-Multifacettenanalyse unterzogen, wodurch Unterschiede in der Assessorenstrenge auspartialisiert werden. Um einen Vergleich der Positionierungen der Deskriptoren auf der Basis der Schwierigkeitseinschätzungen aus der Rasch-Multifacettenanalyse mit der intendierten Positionierung in der Skala zu ermöglichen, wurde die nach Schwierigkeitseinschätzung geordnete Liste der 70 Deskriptoren in vier Sektoren unterteilt, die den vier Niveaus in der Skala entsprechen. Von den 70 Deskriptoren befinden sich jeweils 18 in den Niveaus 1, 2 und 3 und 16 in Niveau 4. Wenn die Schwierigkeitseinschätzungen vollkommen mit der Positionierung der Deskriptoren in der Skala übereinstimmen, müssen sich alle Deskriptoren aus Niveau 1 in Sektor 1, jene aus Niveau 2 in Sektor 2, jene aus Niveau 3 in Sektor 3 und jene aus Niveau 4 in Sektor 4 wiederfinden. In diesem Fall wären die Sektorengrenzen kongruent mit den Niveaugrenzen in der Skala. Tabelle 3 zeigt die nach Schwierigkeitseinschätzung geordnete Deskriptorenliste sowie die Sektorengrenzen zwischen den vier Niveaus. Auf dieser Grundlage kann man erkennen, welche Deskriptoren auch auf der Basis der Schwierigkeitseinschätzungen dem jeweiligen intendierten Niveau auf der Skala zugeordnet werden. Auf der Basis der Abweichung von dieser Zuordnung können die einzelnen Deskriptoren hinsichtlich ihrer Stabilität beurteilt werden.

Grundlage für die Beurteilung der Deskriptorenstabilität ist die Distanz zwischen der Position, die auf der Beurteilung der Schwierigkeit beruht und der intendierten Position in der Skala. Deskriptoren wurden als instabil betrachtet, wenn die Schwierigkeitsbeurteilung einen Deskriptor in eine Position bringt, die mehr als einen Sektor von der in der Skala intendierten Position liegt. Somit ist beispielsweise ein Deskriptor, der in der Skala auf Niveau 4 liegt, in der nach Schwierigkeitsbeurteilung geordneten Liste jedoch in Sektor 2, als instabil anzusehen.

Weiters wurden auch sogenannte mäßig stabile Deskriptoren identifiziert. Dazu wurden die Sektoren auf der nach Schwierigkeitseinschätzung geordneten Liste halbiert. Deskriptoren, die mehr als einen Halbsektor von ihrer intendierten Position in der Skala entfernt sind, wurden als mäßig stabil betrachtet. Beispielsweise wird damit ein Deskriptor, der in der Skala auf Niveau 2 liegt, in der geordneten Liste jedoch im ersten Sektor von Niveau 1, als mäßig stabil erachtet. In Tabelle 3 sind die instabilen Deskriptoren dunkelgrau und die mäßig stabilen Deskriptoren hellgrau schattiert. Weiters sind in Tabelle 3 auch jene Deskriptoren grau schattiert, für die ungenügende Assessorenübereinstimmung besteht. Details dazu sind unten, Abschnitt 3.3.5. beschrieben.

Total Score	Total Count	Observed Average	Fair Measure	Measure	Infit MNSQ	Outfit MNSQ	Num	kritische Position	Sektor	Deskriptor
217	98	2,21	2,06	-2,1	1,82	1,87	15		Sektor 1 (einfach)	ST1_7u
248	97	2,56	2,43	-1,79	1,24	1,17	3			IN1_3u
284	95	2,99	2,88	-1,46	3,32	3,25	12			ST1_4u
328	100	3,28	3,22	-1,24	1,5	1,44	14			ST1_6u
342	99	3,45	3,43	-1,11	1,01	0,99	7			TS1_2u
331	95	3,48	3,46	-1,09	1,08	1,08	20	int. Niv. 2		IN2_2u
368	100	3,68	3,66	-0,97	0,97	0,97	21	int. Niv. 2		IN2_3u
386	100	3,86	3,85	-0,85	0,81	0,8	6			TS1_1u
378	98	3,86	3,86	-0,84	1,68	1,63	9			ST1_1u
387	99	3,91	3,92	-0,81	1,59	1,57	13			ST1_5u
396	99	4	4	-0,76	0,69	0,68	22			IN2_4u
418	100	4,18	4,2	-0,64	0,77	0,76	5			IN1_5u
415	99	4,19	4,2	-0,64	1,04	1,02	25			TS2_2u
425	100	4,25	4,27	-0,6	1,16	1,15	2			IN1_2u
426	100	4,26	4,28	-0,59	1,1	1,08	4			IN1_4u
438	98	4,47	4,52	-0,45	0,69	0,69	1			IN1_1u
460	100	4,6	4,65	-0,37	0,76	0,73	18			NR1_3u
459	99	4,64	4,68	-0,35	0,53	0,51	40	int. Niv. 3		IN3_4u
463	99	4,68	4,73	-0,33	0,68	0,65	19		Sektor 2	IN2_1u
478	100	4,78	4,85	-0,26	0,94	0,92	33			ST2_6u
474	99	4,79	4,87	-0,24	0,55	0,54	10			ST1_2u
480	99	4,85	4,91	-0,22	0,65	0,66	24			TS2_1u
487	99	4,92	4,99	-0,17	1,41	1,39	23			IN2_5u
472	96	4,92	5	-0,17	0,84	0,83	36			NR2_3u
492	100	4,92	5	-0,17	0,68	0,66	44	int. Niv. 3		TS3_3m
494	99	4,99	5,07	-0,12	0,54	0,54	30			ST2_3u
502	100	5,02	5,11	-0,1	0,95	0,97	42	int. Niv. 3		TS3_1m
506	100	5,06	5,15	-0,07	0,53	0,51	11	int. Niv. 1		ST1_3u
506	100	5,06	5,15	-0,07	1,16	1,14	39			IN3_3m
491	97	5,06	5,15	-0,07	0,61	0,6	43			TS3_2u
497	98	5,07	5,18	-0,05	0,78	0,79	27			TS2_4u
503	99	5,08	5,19	-0,05	0,64	0,64	26			TS2_3u
506	99	5,11	5,2	-0,04	0,89	0,88	16	int. Niv. 1		NR1_1u
511	100	5,11	5,2	-0,04	0,79	0,78	31			ST2_4u
513	100	5,13	5,23	-0,03	1,51	1,48	38			IN3_2m
514	100	5,14	5,24	-0,02	0,61	0,59	8	int. Niv. 1		TS1_3u

Total Score	Total Count	Observed Average	Fair Measure	Measure	Infit MNSQ	Outfit MNSQ	Num	kritische Position	Sektor	Deskriptor
515	100	5,15	5,25	-0,01	0,82	0,79	37			IN3_1m
519	100	5,19	5,29	0,01	0,93	0,9	58	int. Niv. 4		IN4_4u
522	100	5,22	5,32	0,03	1,08	1,07	34			NR2_1u
520	99	5,25	5,35	0,05	0,55	0,54	28			ST2_1u
514	98	5,24	5,36	0,06	0,75	0,76	32			ST2_5u
531	100	5,31	5,42	0,09	0,76	0,77	47			ST3_1u
534	100	5,34	5,45	0,11	0,88	0,88	59	int. Niv. 4		IN4_5u
538	100	5,38	5,49	0,14	0,63	0,59	62	int. Niv. 4		TS4_2u
542	100	5,42	5,54	0,17	1,09	1,05	54			NR3_3u
534	98	5,45	5,56	0,18	0,94	0,93	64			TS4_4u
534	98	5,45	5,59	0,21	0,64	0,62	49			ST3_3u
544	99	5,49	5,61	0,22	1,35	1,35	35	int. Niv. 2		NR2_2u
547	99	5,53	5,64	0,24	1,28	1,29	17	int. Niv. 1		NR1_2u
549	99	5,55	5,68	0,27	0,62	0,6	51			ST3_5u
556	99	5,62	5,74	0,3	0,92	0,91	73			ST4_7u
570	100	5,7	5,83	0,37	0,78	0,78	69			ST4_3u
566	99	5,72	5,85	0,39	0,95	0,92	45			TS3_4u
573	100	5,73	5,86	0,39	0,6	0,6	29	int. Niv. 2		ST2_2u
576	99	5,82	5,95	0,45	1,2	1,24	52			NR3_1u
583	100	5,83	5,96	0,47	0,76	0,71	46			TS3_5m
596	98	6,08	6,22	0,67	1,41	1,33	76			NR4_3u
591	97	6,09	6,23	0,67	0,88	0,85	67			ST4_1u
626	100	6,26	6,4	0,81	1,06	1	41			IN3_5u
624	99	6,3	6,43	0,84	1,46	1,5	53			NR3_2u
632	100	6,32	6,46	0,86	0,91	0,85	50			ST3_4u
640	99	6,46	6,59	0,99	1,02	1,08	48			ST3_2u
653	100	6,53	6,66	1,06	1,33	1,3	75			NR4_2u
642	98	6,55	6,69	1,09	1,02	1	70			ST4_4u
655	99	6,62	6,74	1,14	1,18	1,18	68			ST4_2u
664	100	6,64	6,77	1,17	1,78	1,68	74			NR4_1u
669	100	6,69	6,81	1,22	1,58	1,47	72			ST4_6u
653	97	6,73	6,83	1,24	1,52	1,4	66			TS4_6u
673	100	6,73	6,85	1,26	1,11	1,08	60			IN4_6u
698	98	7,12	7,22	1,75	1,33	1,2	71			ST4_5u

Tabelle 3: Instabile und mäßig stabile Deskriptoren geordnet nach Schwierigkeitseinschätzung.

Total Score: Summe der Rohwerte aller Bewertungen; Total Count: Anzahl der Bewertungen; Observed Average: Mittelwert aller Bewertungen; Fair Measure: auspartialisierter Mittelwert aller Bewertungen auf der Originalskala; Measure: auspartialisierter Mittelwert aller Bewertungen auf der Logit Skala; Infit MNSQ: Maß für Beurteilungsübereinstimmung, varianzfokussiert; Outfit MNSQ: Maß für Beurteilungsübereinstimmung, ausreißerfokussiert; Num: Nummer des Deskriptors im Fragebogen; kritische Position: Items, die außerhalb der definierten Sektorgrenzen liegen; Sektor: Gliederung in vier den Niveaustufen auf der Skala entsprechende Schwierigkeitsstufen; Deskriptor: Kurzbezeichnung des Deskriptors.

Wie aus Tabelle 3 ersichtlich, sind 14 Deskriptoren in Bezug auf die Übereinstimmung mit der intendierten Position näher zu betrachten. Entsprechend den festgelegten Kriterien sind davon zwei Deskriptoren als instabil und 12 Deskriptoren als mäßig stabil anzusehen. Aus der Kurzbezeichnung der Deskriptoren kann die Dimension (IN, TS, ST, NR), das intendierte Niveau in der Skala (1, 2, 3, 4) sowie die Position des Deskriptors in der jeweiligen Dimension (1-7) in der Matrix in den Tabellen 4 bis 7 abgelesen werden. Außerdem ist ersichtlich, ob es sich um einen einfach (u) oder mehrfach (m) vorkommenden Deskriptor handelt. Somit zeigt sich beispielsweise, dass Sektor 1 dreizehn Deskriptoren enthält, die sich auch in der Skala auf Niveau 1 befinden. Fünf Deskriptoren in Sektor 1 befinden sich auf der Skala jedoch auf einem anderen Niveau. Deskriptor IN3_4u befindet sich beispielsweise in der Skala auf Niveau 3. Er wird somit von den Assessoren als wesentlich einfacher zu erfüllen beurteilt als in der Skala intendiert. Ähnlich verhält es sich mit IN2_2u und IN2_3u, die in der Skala auf Niveau 2 stehen, von den Assessoren aber als einfacher zu erfüllen beurteilt wurden. Die anderen beiden Deskriptoren in Sektor 1, die nicht aus Niveau 1 in der Skala stammen, sind IN2_4u und TS2_2u. Sie sind nicht grau schattiert, weil der Grad ihrer Abweichung noch innerhalb der oben definierten Toleranzgrenzen liegt.

In den Tabellen 4 bis 7 sind die Deskriptoren in einer Matrix angeordnet, die der Skala entspricht. Die vier Dimensionen (IN, TS, ST, NR) sind in den Zeilen zu finden. Die Spalten enthalten die vier Niveaustufen. Alle in Tabelle 3 ausgewiesenen instabilen und mäßig stabilen Deskriptoren werden in den Tabellen 4 bis 7 kommentiert. Die Kommentare sind in Kursivschrift eingefügt und hellgrau schattiert. Kommentare, die sich auf die Übereinstimmung der Deskriptoren mit der intendierten Position in der Skala beziehen, sind mit K-Rang gekennzeichnet. Die Kommentare die sich auf die Assessorübereinstimmung beziehen sind mit K-Fit gekennzeichnet.

Betrachtet man die Kommentare zur Übereinstimmung der Deskriptoren mit der intendierten Rangordnung (K-Rang), so wird klar, dass semantische Überschneidungen von Formulierungen in der Interpretation durch die Assessoren präsent sind. Dies trifft zu auf „erfüllt“ vs. „bearbeitet“; „überwiegend“ vs. „weitgehend“ vs. „durchgehend“; „elementar“ vs. „zentral“; „leicht nachvollziehbar“ vs. „gut erkennbar“; „überwiegend kohärent“ vs. „gut erkennbare Kohärenz“ vs. „leicht nachvollziehbar“. Beachtung verdient auch der Aspekt Lesekompetenz in Verbindung mit dem Inputtext. Hier dürften unter den Assessoren unterschiedliche Auffassungen hinsichtlich der Schwierigkeit von Lesekompetenzen bestehen. Die Assessoren scheinen sich darüber uneinig zu sein, ob das „Erfassen der Kernaussage“ schwieriger oder einfacher als das „Erfassen von Einzelaussagen“ ist. Möglicherweise wird „Kernaussage“ konzeptuell mit dem Erfassen des Gesamtthemas des Textes assoziiert, während das „Erfassen von Einzelaussagen“ mit Präzision und Detail und damit mit höheren Anforderungen assoziiert wird. Es ist plausibel, dass das Erkennen des Themas eines Textes einfacher ist als das Verstehen von mehreren Detailaussagen. Beachtung verdient auch der Begriff „nachvollziehbar“. Dieser könnte mit ‚diffus‘ und ‚gerade noch erkennbar‘ assoziiert werden und dadurch als leicht zu reali-

sieren betrachtet werden. Schließlich dürften nicht prämodifizierte Formen in manchen Fällen ikonisch interpretiert werden. Prämodifizierte Formen werden unter Umständen auf Grund ihrer größeren Länge als schwieriger betrachtet als nicht prämodifizierte Formen, die kürzer sind. Dies dürfte auf Formulierungen zutreffen wie *„überwiegend der Textsorte angemessen strukturiert“* vs. *„der Textsorte angemessen strukturiert“*; *„weitgehend gelungen“* vs. *„gelungen“* oder *„weitgehend präzise“* vs. *„präzise“*. Bei der Assessorenschulung sollte auf diese Bereiche besonders geachtet werden.

Aufgabenerfüllung aus inhaltlicher Sicht (IN)	Niveau 1	Niveau 2	Niveau 3	Niveau 4
	1 (IN1_1u) Schreibhandlung(en) im Sinne der Textsorte überwiegend erkennbar	19 (IN2_1u) Schreibhandlung(en) im Sinne der Textsorte weitgehend realisiert	37 (IN3_1m) Schreibhandlung(en) im Sinne der Textsorte durchgehend realisiert	55 (IN4_1u) Schreibhandlung(en) im Sinne der Textsorte durchgehend realisiert
	2 (IN1_2u) Alle Arbeitsaufträge angesprochen und 3 (IN1_3u) mindestens zwei bearbeitet	20 (IN2_2u) Alle Arbeitsaufträge angesprochen und mindestens zwei erfüllt <i>K-Rang: „erfüllt“ wird als nur geringfügig schwieriger beurteilt als „bearbeitet“ und wandert dadurch auf Schwierigkeitsniveau 1.</i>	38 (IN3_2m) Alle Arbeitsaufträge erfüllt <i>K-Fit: nur minimal über der definierten Toleranzgrenze; aus diesem Grund nicht kommentiert</i>	56 (IN4_2u) Alle Arbeitsaufträge erfüllt
	4 (IN1_4u) Wichtige Einzelaussagen/-aspekte des Inputtexts erfasst	21 (IN2_3u) Kernaussage des Inputtexts erfasst <i>K-Rang: Erfassen der „Kernaussage“ wird als weniger schwierig angesehen als Erfassen von „Einzelaussagen“ und wandert dadurch auf Schwierigkeitsniveau 1.</i>	39 (IN3_3m) Inputtext vollständig erfasst	57 (IN4_3u) Inputtext vollständig erfasst
	5 (IN1_5u) In elementaren Punkten überwiegend sachlich richtig	22 (IN2_4u) In elementaren Punkten weitgehend sachlich richtig	40 (IN3_4u) In zentralen Passagen durchgehend sachlich richtig	58 (IN4_4u) Sachlich richtig
			<i>K-Rang: werden um nahezu zwei Niveaustufen einfacher beurteilt als intendiert; dürfte einerseits an der semantischen Ähnlichkeit der Begriffe „elementar“ und „zentral“ sowie andererseits zwischen der Ähnlichkeit von „überwiegend“, „weitgehend“ und „durchgehend“ liegen.</i>	
		23 (IN2_5u) Ansätze zur Eigenständigkeit	41 (IN3_5u) Über den Inputtext hinaus eigenständig	59 (IN4_5u) Nachvollziehbare Entwicklung eines eigenen Standpunktes <i>K-Rang: wird als zu einfach beurteilt; „nachvollziehbar“ wird vermutlich als abmindernd empfunden</i>
				60 (IN4_6u) Komplexität und Ideenreichtum

Tabelle 4: Deskriptorenmatrix mit Kommentaren zur Dimension Aufgabenerfüllung aus inhaltlicher Sicht

Aufgabenerfüllung aus textstruktureller Sicht (TS)	Niveau 1	Niveau 2	Niveau 3	Niveau 4
	6 (TS1_1u) gedankliche Grobstruktur des Textes erkennbar	24 (TS2_1u) Text gedanklich und formal überwiegend der Textsorte angemessen strukturiert	42 (TS3_1m) Text gedanklich und formal der Textsorte angemessen klar strukturiert <i>K-Rang: Wird als zu ein- fach beurteilt. Die nicht prämodifizierte Form dürfte nur als geringfügig schwieriger beurteilt werden als die prämodifi- zierte Form („über- wiegend“).</i>	61 (TS4_1u) Text gedanklich und formal der Textsorte angemessen klar strukturiert
	7 (TS1_2u) Erkennbare Bezugnahme auf den Inputtext	25 (TS2_2u) Eindeutige Bezugnahme auf den Inputtext	43 (TS3_2u) Weitgehend gelungene Verknüpfung mit dem Inputtext	62 (TS4_2u) Gelungene Verknüpfung mit dem Inputtext <i>K-Rang: wird als zu einfach eingeschätzt; möglicherweise wegen fehlender Prämodifi- kation (ikonische Interpretation)</i>
	8 (TS1_3u) Überwiegend kohärenter Aufbau innerhalb der Absätze <i>K-Rang: wird als schwieriger beurteilt; „überwiegend“ dürfte einen höheren Schwierig- keitsgrad ausdrücken als „gut erkennbar“ oder „nachvollziehbar“</i>	26 (TS2_3u) Gut erkennbare Kohärenz innerhalb der Absätze, 27 (TS2_4u) nachvollziehbarer Einsatz von Kohäsionsmitteln	44 (TS3_3m) Leicht nachvollziehbare Binnengliederung, <i>K-Rang: wird als zu einfach eingeschätzt; „leicht nachvollziehbar“ und „gut erkennbar“ sind schlecht voneinander zu unterscheiden.</i> 45 (TS3_4u) zielgerichteter, sicherer Einsatz von Kohäsionsmitteln; 46 (TS3_5m) kohärent und frei von Gedankensprüngen	63 (TS4_3u) Leicht nachvollziehbare Binnengliederung, 64 (TS4_4u) zielgerichteter, sicherer Einsatz von passenden Textorganisatoren; 65 (TS4_5u) kohärent und frei von Gedankensprüngen, 66 (TS4_6u) zielgerechter Einsatz von metakommunikativen Mitteln <i>K-Fit: Die Assessoren dür- ften unsicher über die Be- deutung von „metakom- munikativen Mitteln“ sein.</i>

Tabelle 5: Deskriptorenmatrix mit Kommentaren zur Dimension Aufgabenerfüllung aus textstruktureller Sicht

Aufgabenerfüllung in Bezug auf Stil und Ausdruck (ST)

Niveau 1	Niveau 2	Niveau 3	Niveau 4
9 (ST1_1u) Ansätze zur schreibhandlungs- und situationsadäquaten Sprachverwendung <i>K-Fit: „Ansätze“ dürfte ein weites Spektrum abdecken, daher große Streuung unter den Bewertungen.</i>	28 (ST2_1u) Überwiegend schreibhandlungs- und situationsadäquate Sprachverwendung	47 (ST3_1u) Weitgehend schreibhandlungs- und situationsadäquate Sprachverwendung	67 (ST4_1u) Durchwegs schreibhandlungs- und situationsadäquate Sprachverwendung mit gegebenenfalls entsprechenden Stilmitteln
10 (ST1_2u) In den Schlüsselbegriffen treffend 11 (ST1_3u) überwiegend angemessene und semantisch korrekte Ausdrucksweise <i>K-Rang: Die Prämodifikation „überwiegend“ ver- leitet dazu, den Deskrip- tor als schwieriger zu beurteilen als die nicht prämodifizierte Form des Deskriptors.</i> 12 (ST1_4u) geringe Varianz in Wortwahl <i>K-Fit: Es mag für manche Assessoren unklar sein, ob geringe Varianz ein erstrebenswertes oder nicht erstrebenswertes Textmerkmal darstellt.</i>	29 (ST2_2u) Weitgehend präzise Wortwahl und <i>K-Rang: Die Prämodifi- kation „weitgehend“ ver- leitet dazu, den Deskrip- tor als schwieriger zu beurteilen als die nicht prämodifizierte Form des Deskriptors.</i> 30 (ST2_3u) angemessene und semantisch korrekte Ausdrucksweise, 31 (ST2_4u) erkennbare Varianz in Wortwahl	48 (ST3_2u) Präzise und variantenreiche Wortwahl, 49 (ST3_3u) idiomatisch, dem Inhalt und der Textsorte entsprechend	68 (ST4_2u) Durchgehend differenzierte und variantenreiche Wortwahl, dem Inhalt und der Textsorte entsprechend; 69 (ST4_3u) Verwendung einer angemessenen Fachsprache; 70 (ST4_4u) idiomatisch gewandt; 71 (ST4_5u) feinere Bedeutungsnuancen auch bei komplexeren Sachverhalten deutlich
13 (ST1_5u) In Ansätzen erkennbare Varianz in Satzstruktur <i>K-Fit: „Ansätze“ dürfte ein weites Spektrum abdecken, daher große Streuung unter den Bewertungen.</i>	32 (ST2_5u) Erkennbare Varianz in Satzstruktur	50 (ST3_4u) Weitgehend variantenreiche und komplexe Satzstrukturen	72 (ST4_6u) Variantenreiche und komplexe bzw. der Textsorte angemessene Satzstrukturen <i>K-Fit: Es dürfte Unklar- heit über das Verhältnis von Satzstrukturen und Textsorten bestehen.</i>

Niveau 1	Niveau 2	Niveau 3	Niveau 4
14 (ST1_6u) An den Inputtext angelehnte Formulierungen, 15 (ST1_7u) vieles wortwörtlich übernommen <i>K-Fit: „vieles“ ist relativ, wird daher unterschiedlich interpretiert</i>	33 (ST2_6u) Ansätze zu eigenständigen Formulierungen in Bezug auf den Inputtext	51 (ST3_5u) Weitgehend eigenständige Formulierungen in Bezug auf den Inputtext	73 (ST4_7u) Eigenständige Formulierungen in Bezug auf den Inputtext

Tabelle 6: Deskriptorenmatrix mit Kommentaren zur Dimension Aufgabenerfüllung in Bezug auf Stil und Ausdruck

Aufgabenerfüllung hinsichtlich normativer Sprachrichtigkeit (NR)	Niveau 1	Niveau 2	Niveau 3	Niveau 4
	16 (NR1_1u) Überwiegend richtige Anwendung der Prinzipien der deutschen Schreibung <i>K-Rang: Deskriptor wird schwieriger als intendiert beurteilt. Zwischen „überwiegend“ und „weitgehend“ dürfte nicht unterschieden werden.</i>	34 (NR2_1u) Weitgehend richtige Anwendung der Prinzipien der deutschen Schreibung	52 (NR3_1u) Richtige Anwendung der Prinzipien der deutschen Schreibung	74 (NR4_1u) In Orthographie nahezu fehlerfrei <i>K-Fit: „nahezu“ dürfte ein weites Spektrum abdecken, daher große Streuung unter den Bewertungen.</i>
	17 (NR1_2u) Überwiegend richtige Anwendung der Regeln der Zeichensetzung	35 (NR2_2u) Weitgehend richtige Anwendung der Regeln der Zeichensetzung	53 (NR3_2u) Richtige Anwendung der Regeln der Zeichensetzung	75 (NR4_2u) In Bezug auf Zeichensetzung nahezu fehlerfrei
	<i>K-Rang: Zwischen „überwiegend“ und „weitgehend“ dürfte nicht unterschieden werden. Außerdem werden die Begriffe von den Assessoren als wesentlich schwieriger interpretiert als intendiert.</i>			
	18 (NR1_3u) Überwiegend grammatikalisch korrekt	36 (NR2_3u) weitgehend grammatikalisch korrekt	54 (NR3_3u) Frei von Verstößen gegen mehrere Grammatikregeln	76 (NR4_3u) Grammatikalisch nahezu fehlerfrei

Tabelle 7: Deskriptorenmatrix mit Kommentaren zur Dimension Aufgabenerfüllung hinsichtlich normativer Sprachrichtigkeit

3.3.5 Deskriptorenstabilität nach Assessorenübereinstimmung

Die Stabilität eines Deskriptors hängt auch vom Grad der Übereinstimmung der Schwierigkeitsbeurteilungen der Assessoren für den jeweiligen Deskriptor ab. In der Rasch-Multifacettenanalyse kommt der Grad der Übereinstimmung in den Fitstatistiken der Deskriptoren zum Ausdruck. Die Fitstatistiken (Infit, Outfit) geben an, inwieweit die Assessoren auch nach Auspartialisierung der Assessorenstrenge sich hinsichtlich der Beurteilung eines Deskriptors uneinig sind. Tabelle 3 zeigt die Deskriptoren mit auffälligen Fitstatistiken. Es werden auch hier unterschiedliche Grauschattierungen für instabile Deskriptoren und mäßig stabile Deskriptoren verwendet. Wie ersichtlich, weisen acht Deskriptoren auffällige Fit-Werte auf. Ein Deskriptor (ST1_4u) muss auf dieser Basis als instabil betrachtet werden, während die übrigen sieben Deskriptoren als mäßig stabil zu bezeichnen sind.

In den Tabellen 4 bis 7 sind die Deskriptoren, die hinsichtlich der Assessorenübereinstimmung auffällig sind, ebenfalls kommentiert. Die Kommentare, die sich auf die Assessorenübereinstimmung beziehen, sind mit K-Fit gekennzeichnet. Die geringe Stabilität von diesen Deskriptoren dürfte einerseits durch konzeptuelle Unschärfen in der Interpretation einzelner Termini durch die Assessoren bedingt sein. Beispiele dafür sind „Ansätze“, „viele“ und „nahezu“. Andererseits dürften fachliche Aspekte zu Unklarheiten führen. So ist zu überlegen, ob alle Assessoren mit dem Begriff „metakommunikative Mittel“ vertraut sind und diesen in ähnlicher Weise interpretieren. Es ist auch zu überlegen, ob „geringe Varianz“ nicht von manchen Assessoren als ein positives Textmerkmal interpretiert wird im Sinne von ‚frei von Stil- oder Registerbrüchen‘. Schließlich könnte auch Unklarheit darüber bestehen, welche Satzstrukturen charakteristisch für welche Textsorten sind. Zur Verbesserung der Assessorenübereinstimmung sollte in der Assessorenschulung explizit auf diese fachlichen Aspekte eingegangen werden. Außerdem sollte bei der Assessorenschulung auf die Bedeutung der Termini „Ansätze“, „viele“ und „nahezu“ eingegangen werden. Bei einer eventuellen zukünftigen Skalenrevision wäre hier eine Neuformulierung zu überlegen.

4 Schlussfolgerungen

Die Untersuchung der Assessorenübereinstimmung zeigt, dass die Schulung der Assessoren zur Erhöhung der Übereinstimmung unumgänglich ist. Eine Verwendung der Skala durch nicht geschulte Assessoren in der Durchführung der Prüfung ist nicht ratsam. Das Ergebnis unterstreicht somit die Wichtigkeit der Durchführung von regelmäßigen Assessorenschulungen, wie dies bereits vom BIFIE praktiziert wird. Dabei sollte der Tendenz zu unterschiedlicher Assessorenstrenge in der Dimension *Aufgabenerfüllung hinsichtlich normativer Sprachrichtigkeit* besondere Beachtung geschenkt werden. Zusätz-

lich kann den Problemen durch Revision des Beurteilungsrasters begegnet werden. Ein derartiger Revisionsprozess ist derzeit im Gang und steht kurz vor dem Abschluss.

Die Untersuchung hat weiters ergeben, dass nach den gesetzten Toleranzmaßstäben knapp 70 Prozent der Deskriptoren als stabil bezeichnet werden können. Dieser Prozentsatz ist umso beachtlicher als die Daten von Assessoren stammen, die für die Anwendung der Skala noch keinerlei Schulung durchlaufen hatten. Sektor 1, der im Idealfall sämtliche für das Bestehen der Matura zur erfüllenden Deskriptoren beinhalten müsste, weist mit 61 Prozent den geringsten Prozentsatz an stabilen Deskriptoren auf. Er enthält zwei als instabil eingestufte Deskriptoren, die in der Assessorenschulung besondere Beachtung verdienen und fünf Deskriptoren die mäßig stabil sind, weil sie entweder einem höheren Niveau in der intendierten Skala entstammen und daher als zu einfach beurteilt wurden oder weil die Assessorenübereinstimmung in dem jeweiligen Deskriptor gering ist. Sektor 2 enthält sechs mäßig stabile Deskriptoren. Sektor 3 enthält neben einem instabilen Deskriptor, der besondere Aufmerksamkeit in der Assessorenschulung verdient, fünf mäßig stabile Deskriptoren. Der Prozentsatz an stabilen Deskriptoren ist in beiden Sektoren mit 67 Prozent identisch. Mit 81 Prozent weist Sektor 4 den höchsten Anteil von stabilen Deskriptoren auf. Es scheint ein hohes Maß an Konsens über die erwarteten Charakteristika von exzellenter Leistung zu geben.

In weiterer Folge wäre es interessant, zu untersuchen, wie gut sich die Deskriptoren zur Beurteilung von authentischen Performanzen eignen. Dazu müssten authentische Performanzen in das Untersuchungsdesign einbezogen werden. Eine derartige Studie würde eine sinnvolle Weiterentwicklung der vorliegenden Untersuchung darstellen.

Die Untersuchung der Beurteilungen der Deskriptoren durch die Assessoren hat es ermöglicht, Aussagen über die Stabilität einzelner Deskriptoren zu tätigen. Damit steht eine empirisch fundierte Basis für Schwerpunktsetzungen in den Assessorenschulungen zur Verfügung.

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