

Západočeská univerzita v Plzni

Fakulta filozofická

Bakalářská práce

**TRANSLATION OF A TEXT FROM THE FIELD OF LINGUISTICS
WITH A COMMENTARY AND A GLOSSARY**

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Prohlašuji, že jsem práci zpracovala samostatně a použila jsem uvedených pramenů a literatury.

Plzeň, květen 2020

.....

Poděkování:

Touto cestou bych chtěla poděkovat vedoucí své bakalářské práce, PhDr. Alici Tihelkové, Ph.D., za odborný dozor, spolupráci, cenné rady, připomínky a čas, který mi věnovala.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of the thesis is the translation of a text from the field of linguistics with a commentary and a glossary, based on the fundamentals of translation theory. The source text was selected by the author, who is interested in language studies, and the translation is from the English language into Czech. The work is composed of two main parts - a theoretical part and a practical part, with the latter including the translation and its analysis.

The theoretical part is focused on an overview of the theory of translation. It presents the typology of translation from various perspectives and covers the role of the translator, the translation process and its parts, translation methods and the characteristics of scientific and popular scientific style. Vocabulary, use of the language and terminology of this field are also briefly explained. The theoretical part is based on the publications by Dagmar Knittlová, Jiří Levý and Zlata Kufnerová.

In addition to the translation itself, the practical parts contains a commentary, comprising the macro and micro approach, and a glossary. The translated text is from *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language* by David Crystal. The text selected for translation deals with linguistic overview of the use of English, specifically the varieties of discourse and regional variation. The author decided to translate only the main part of the text, as the original pages are heavily complemented with tables containing examples, graphs, etc. Those were translated only in two cases - as examples of monologue and dialogue variations.

In the commentary section, the macro approach examines the author of the source text, the source book, the source text, the target reader and style and language of the source text. The micro approach analyses the translated text from lexical and morpho-syntactical perspective. It also presents some of the translation difficulties that occurred while translating between the two languages, and the author comments on their solutions.

The commentary also include a glossary with translations of linguistic terms and other vocabulary.

The thesis also includes endnotes, a Czech abstract, an English summary and an appendix. The source text is attached in the appendix.

2 THEORETICAL PART

2.1 Theory of translation

Translation is a process in which a text is transferred from one language into another. [1]

The main aim of translation is to transfer the text from the source into the target language while maintaining the original tone and intent of a written message. [2]

2.2 Translation as a scientific field

The linguistic approach towards translation first appeared in the second half of the 20th century. The types of linguistics included in translation processes are text linguistics, confrontational linguistics, sociolinguistics, pragmalinguistics, psycholinguistics, phonetic aspects and, moreover, stylistics. [3]

The main issue of translation is *equivalence*. It is essential to obtain the main information of the text through translation from the source text into the target text while using grammatical systems of both languages. The belief that it is possible to translate the same situation even if source text and target text does not have the same linguistic meaning was first introduced by Catford. His belief was later named *functional equivalence*. [4]

Functional equivalence therefore means that even though the source and target language can use different language means, the translated texts still has the same function. [5]

The quality and corresponding translation should meet a number of requirements. The main three criteria include [6]:

- a) to look and sound natural
- b) to have the identical meaning

c) to preserve the dynamics of the source text (to provoke the same reaction)

The theory and linguistic orientation at translation has emerged rather recently, and this discipline has several names: *linguistics of translation*, *linguistic theory of translation*, or *translative linguistics*. [7]

2.3 Typology of translation

Linguists from all over the world defined several different types of translation.

2.3.1 Three main types of translation

According to Roman Jakobson, there are three types of translation [8]:

1. Intralingual translation - translation within one language. The target text is very similar to the source text and the author's intention is to maintain maximum similarity to the original text. It could also involve paraphrasing.
2. Inter-semiotic translation - translation of the non-verbal signs into verbal signs.
3. Interlingual translation - translation between two languages. The main intention is to preserve content, formal and stylistic form of the source text.

2.3.2 Form-based and meaning-based

According to Knittlová, all translated texts have their own form and meaning, and because of that, there are two main types of translation - form-based translation and meaning-based translation. [9]

Out of the following four types of interlingual translation, first two are form-oriented and other two are meaning-oriented [10]:

- Interlinear translation - extremely literal translation, which does not respect the grammatical system of the target language.
- Literal (or slavish) translation - translating of lexical units without context involvement while respecting the grammatical system.
- Free translation - the opposite of the first mentioned; it does not respect stylistic features and therefore lacks aesthetic qualities; rather non-professional translation.
- Communicative translation (idiomatic translation) - translation with emphasis on pragmatic aspects.

2.3.3 Typological distance or nearness

Natural languages differ from each other by typological distance or nearness of the target and source language. There is a difference between the translation of typologically *related languages* and typologically *distant languages*. The translation could be then specified lingually, territorially and periodically. [11]

2.3.4 Communicative and semiotic translation

Another typology was invented by British theorist and practitioner Peter Newmark. He specialized more in non-literal translation and distinguished another two types of translation using the terms *communicative* and *semiotic translation*. Communicative translation is simpler and clearer. It has a tendency towards *undertranslation* - usage of general terms in demanding parts. Semiotic translation is more complex, clumsy and detailed. It has a tendency to *overtranslation* - to be more specific than the source text. [12]

2.4 The translator

As argued by Knittlová “The goal of the translator is to create in the target language such a text that has the identical meaning as the source text, but the formal processing is natural for the target language.” [13]

Levý argued that “the translator should know: 1. the language from which s/he translates, 2. the language into which s/he translates, 3. the factual content of the translated text.” [14]

Levý also claims that the translator should think about the target reader - translations for children should be made in a way understandable for them. S/he should also be aware of readers’ cultural background, because unfamiliarity of habits or traditions could lead to misunderstanding. [15]

Finally, Levý adds: “First of all, a good translator must be a good reader.” [16]

The translator must adjust the text to addressee, who can have a different background, meaning that s/he must deal with words naming objects connected with history, culture, economy and way of a life - words that do not have equivalents in the target language. These can be names of institutions, newspapers, magazines, geographical locations, national dishes, clothes, dances and games, musical instrument, schooling systems and political and social organizations. [17]

While overcoming the obstacles in translation, the translator must provide other necessary information and leave out the redundant details. [18]

2.5 The translation process

The translation is communication. The translator deciphers the original message and enciphers it into his/her language. [19]

S/he can produce a creative or mechanical translation. Mechanical translation is based on superficial reading of the text and translation of words, while creative translation involves in-depth understanding of situations, ideas or characters. [20]

Macro and micro approach

There are two approaches to translation - the macro and the micro approach. The macro approach deals with culture, historic and local background as well as with the type of audience and type and function of the text. It is a phase of strategic decision-making. It is followed by the micro approach - detailed decision-making - which deals with grammar structures and their lexical contents. It also builds the target text. [21]

2.5.1 Translation work

The general model of translation work is [22]:

- a) There is a text in a language that translator is proficient in. S/he can comprehend the text on the syntactical, morphological and verbal level.
- b) The translator translates into his/her mother language.
- c) The translator looks for equivalences in the target language.

Kufnerová created the following model of translation work [23]:

1. Assignment of equivalent

It is the easiest type of intertextual operations and is often used by standard technical-informative texts. The equivalents are unequivocal. There is a good use of dictionaries of word connections and other translation manuals.

2. Choice from several options

There are several possible choices of equivalents, but their relevance is not always the same. It is essential to choose the equivalent corresponding to the context.

3. Compensation

The translator is sometimes forced to use constructions different from the original. S/he can use the relations such as sentence and non-sentence construction.

4. Creation of equivalent, creative method

It may happen that an equivalent is impossible to construct. Creative character is displayed especially by translations of fiction and poetry. It is also absolutely necessary when translating fragmentary texts and puns.

The translation is equivalent when it has the same impact on the reader as the source text would have. Some non-artistic texts (bans, appeals, instructions etc.) could be translated literally and the reader would understand them, but it would not sound natural. [24]

The author of the translation in scientific field should have a knowledge of the relevant field and should be able to use the terminology. [25]

2.6 Translation methods

There are numerous translation methods and techniques in instances where there is no equivalent in the target language created by different linguists.

Among others, Knittlová mentions seven basic methods by the Canadian authors Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet, which deal with the lack of such equivalents [26]:

1. Transcription - adapted transcription

2. Calque - literal translation
3. Substitution - replacement of one language media with other
4. Transposition - necessary grammatical change
5. Modulation - change of viewpoint
6. Equivalence - change of stylistic and structural means
7. Adaptation - substitution of situation described in original text with another situation

In addition, the American theoretician Gerard Vázquez-Ayora has identified 8 strategic methods [27]:

1. Transposition
2. Modulation
3. Equivalence
4. Adaptation
5. Amplification (extension of the text)
6. Explicitation (addition of explaining information)
7. Omission
8. Compensation

2.7 The technical functional style - scientific and popular-scientific texts

The main intention of these texts is to create a clear message with a logical structure. The basic stylistic approach is an expository essay, which explains the problem and provides arguments. It can also contain examples. [28]

Popular scientific style tries to explain complexity in accessible language. It is highly structured and uses the descriptive style. The sentences are short; terms are explained and even expressive formulations can occur. [29]

The translator should have a good command of both languages. S/he should also have at least basic knowledge of the field with which the translated text deals. It means there are usually translators specializing in particular fields (human or veterinary medicine, mathematics...). Translators often cooperate with specialists and experts from the fields. [30]

The technical functional style makes use of all three Jakobson translation types [31]:

- intralingual - especially in didactical materials; recipient is becoming familiarized with the field;
- intersemiotic - especially in natural sciences; interpretation of formulas, signs and symbols, equations, diagrams etc.,
- interlingual.

Some fields are described more in detail in one language and less in another, which could bring about some possible translation problems. It is also essential to pay close attention to word order, while its misunderstanding could mean serious semantic change. [32]

The language has only an informative function and the form should be simple. [33]

2.7.1 Vocabulary and use of the language

The typical word classes are nouns and adjectives, especially technical terms. There are no subjective and expressive terms. [34]

There is a widespread use of passive voice, because there is no need to specify the agent, as it is usually not important for the message. Another option is the use of the general pronominal subject “we”. [35]

The use of modal verbs also occurs extensively in combination with full verbs to express hypothetical action. [36]

In addition, the verb *should* is also more polite - and therefore more suitable - than the verb *must*. [37]

It is also important to formulate sentences accurately and to provide structural relations between them. There is a high frequency of conjuncts such as *moreover*, *then*, *in addition*, *on the other hand*, *nevertheless*, etc. [38]

2.7.2 Terms

Technical terms are clear, autonomous, self-contained, and do not need any context. When translating terms from classic fields, we can use technical dictionaries. When the appropriate term does not exist, the translator has several options. It could be graphically adopted or translated. One of these options is borrowing, which is common e.g. in computer technology. [39]

When there is no acceptable equivalence or a way to translate a technical term, it is possible to keep it in the text in quotation marks. [40]

As all fields are constantly developing, the translator must always acquaint himself/herself with new terms. [41]

3 PRACTICAL PART

3.1 Translation of the English text

ČÁST V

Užití angličtiny

Části II, III a IV této knihy zkoumají strukturální vlastnosti angličtiny: soupis prvků ve slovní zásobě, gramatiku, fonologii a grafologii, které se používají k vytvoření smysluplných slov a vět. Studie těchto prvků je poměrně abstraktní: můžeme popsat, jakým způsobem je věta zkonstruována, jaké jsou sémantické vazby mezi slovy a nebo jaký je systém samohlásek a souhlásek, a to aniž bychom museli říkat něco o tom kdo, kdy, kde a nebo proč je používá. Část V obrací tento přístup na ruby.

Tato část začíná představením pojmu diskurz (§19), který zahrnuje analýzu větších úseků řeči nebo psaní, než jen věty, a studiem faktorů, které usnadňují jazykové interakce. To vede k představení pojmu text - jednotky diskurzu, která náleží k určitým sociálním situacím, a jejíž charakteristické jazykové rysy identifikují řadu jazykových variet. Po přezkoumání rozdílů mezi řečí a psaním a mezi monologem a dialogem, sleduje §20 tyto variety systematicky, počínaje těmi, které sdělují geografické informace o uživateli: regionálními dialekty.

Tato část začíná mezinárodním přehledem - řadou novinových materiálů ilustrujících den v životě (psaného) anglického jazyka. Poté podrobně sleduje rozdíly v rámci americké a britské variety angličtiny, dvou hlavních modelů světového užití jazyka. Jsou zde zkoumány všechny ze tří keltských dialektů Britských ostrovů, přičemž zvláštní pozornost je věnována skotštině, která má mnohem bohatší dialektovou literaturu, sahající od středověku až do současnosti, než jakákoliv jiná varieta světové angličtiny, s výjimkou standardní angličtiny. Poté se vydáme na stejnou cestu jako v části I a doplníme zde prezentovanou historickou perspektivu

současnými postřehy o vlastnostech angličtiny v Kanadě, Karibiku, Austrálii, na Novém Zélandě a v Jižní Africe. Samostatně se podíváme na pidginské a kreolské angličtiny, a také na vznikající škálu angličtin jako druhého jazyka v Indii, Africe, Jižní Asii a kdekoliv jinde.

Čím více regionální rozmanitost studujeme, tím více zjišťujeme, že ji nelze pochopit, aniž bychom vzali v úvahu rozmanitost sociální. Další sekce (§21) se proto zaměřuje na to, co je zahrnuto pod tímto nadpisem. Tato část začíná diskuzí o dvou důležitých otázkách - preskriptivismu a rodu - které byly zmíněny na několika dalších místech v této knize, a poté přezkoumává hlavní profesní variety, které poskytují nejjasnější příklady charakteristického sociálního použití jazyka. Speciální pozornost je věnována angličtině používané v náboženství, vědě, právu, politice, sdělovacích prostředcích, ve vysílání a v reklamě. Tato kapitola je uzavřena krátkým pohledem na omezené variety angličtiny a na některé z nových variet, které se objevují v důsledku elektronické revoluce.

Část V končí zkoumáním povahy stylistické odchylky a přidružené domény osobní jazykové identity. Čtyři široké oblasti jsou pokryty v §22. Ten začíná popisem rozrůstajícího se světa slovních her, a to jak v mluvené, tak v psané angličtině. Dále identifikuje ty variety, u kterých je pravděpodobné, že poruší lingvistická pravidla, a zkoumá druh odchylek, které se objevují. Zjistilo se, že v tom všem hraje ústřední roli oblast verbálního humoru; takže role, kterou hrají různé úrovně jazykové struktury ve vtipcích a jiných žertovných formách, je zkoumána samostatně. Část V poté končí s podobně podrobným přehledem o tom, jak lze různé úrovně jazykové struktury použít jako vodítko při pozorování přístupu nejkreativnější domény jazykového užití: anglické literatury.

19. Variety diskurzu

Mezi studiem komponentů struktury angličtiny (jak je uvedeno v částech II, III a IV) a studiem domén použití angličtiny je hlavní rozdíl kvalitativního

charakteru. Strukturální vlastnosti jazyka jsou četné a složité, ale přinejmenším jsou určité a poměrně snadno identifikovatelné: existuje jen několik zvuků, písmen a gramatických konstrukcí, a přestože existuje obrovská slovní zásoba, alespoň jednotky (lexémy, s. 118) jsou pevné a zvládnutelné. Nic z toho neplatí, když začneme zkoumat způsob, jakým je angličtina použita: okamžitě jsme konfrontováni s nepřehlednou změť situací, ve kterých se rysy mluveného nebo psaného jazyka objevují ve zjevně neomezeném počtu kombinací a variant. Výsledkem je občasné použití angličtiny nebo některého rysu angličtiny, který je velmi výrazný a snadno vysvětlitelný, s čímž se často setkáme u regionálních dialektů a v některých institucionalizovanějších oblastech užívání jazyka, jako je náboženství a právo. Častěji se ale setkáváme s použitím, které je rafinované a neurčité, a které vyžaduje podrobnou a zdlouhavou analýzu, než dojde k pochopení toho, co je jeho účelem a jak funguje. Toto použití se často vyskytuje v sociálních dialektech a v některých kreativnějších oblastech použití jazyka, jako je humor a literatura.

V posledních letech byl zaznamenán značný pokrok ve studiu používaného jazyka a vznik několika výzkumných paradigmat, protože lidé toto téma zkoumají z různých hledisek. Někteří lingvisté upřednostňují přístup "zdola", studujíc způsob, jakým se věty kombinují do větších jednotek diskursu a zaměřujíc se na roli, kterou hrají specifické rysy jazyka při usnadňování úspěšné interakce. Při tomto přístupu by mohly být napsány celé knihy o komunikativní úloze úzkého výseku jazyka (jako je použití "you know" v konverzaci). Další lingvisté pracují s přístupem "shora dolů", počínajíc široce definovanou kategorií - jako je oblast znalostí (věda, politika), sociální situace (pohlaví, třída), nebo komunikačního žánru (poezie, vtip) - a zkoumajíc škálu lingvistických rysů, které se v ní nacházejí. Lze zde nalézt jakýkoliv myslitelný druh akademického šetření, jako jsou silně ilustrované popisy vzorků dat, přepečlivé statistické nebo experimentální analýzy jednotlivců a skupin, ambiciózní taxonomie nebo vysoce abstraktní teoretické obrysy. Různá odvětví lingvistiky, která toto téma zkoumají, jako

jsou sociolingvistika, stylistika, analýza diskurzu, pragmatika a textová lingvistika, představují pozoruhodnou škálu metodik a zaměření. Část V nemůže podat ucelený souhrn všeho, co se děje v rámci těchto okruhů, ale na následujících stránkách je vynaloženo značné úsilí k tomu, aby byl představen rozsah existujících přístupů a aby byla prostřednictvím příkladů uvedena složitost, která leží za zdánlivě jednoduchým pojmem “používání angličtiny”.

Konstruování diskurzu

Kdykoliv konstruujeme část spojitě řeči nebo psaní, ať už v monologu či dialogu (s. 294), neustále využíváme lexikálních a gramatických zdrojů jazyka, abychom našli způsoby, jak nechat svou kompozici volně plynout a zároveň vyjadřovat nuance, které chceme sdělit. Příklady na této straně ilustrují některé z pozoruhodné škály nástrojů, které existují pro tento účel, a které většina dospělých užívá a odpovídá na ně se sebevědomou lehkostí.

Mikrolingvistické studie

Existuje jen jeden způsob, jak stanovit přesnou funkci různých prvků, které přispívají k organizaci diskurzu, a to podrobit velké množství lingvistických dat mikrolingvistické analýze. V případě mluveného diskurzu (s. 291) musí být proveden záznam přiměřené akustické kvality, ten musí být přepsán s maximální pozorností zaměřenou na detail, která věnuje zvláštní pozornost pauzám, přerušením, falešným začátkům, zaváháním a dalším podobným rysům. V ideálním případě by měla být zahrnuta úplná prozodická transkripce (s. 248), i když úroveň specializovaného výcviku požaduje slyšení přesných prozodických jevů, což znamená, že to není vždy proveditelná možnost. Je zaznamenána každá instance konkrétní zájmové položky - slovo *well*, hezitační zvuk *er*, věta *you see* - a její kontext zkoumaný s cílem zjistit, jakou roli může hrát v tomto okamžiku diskurzu. Okamžitá intuitivní odpověď na předmět může být vylepšena manipulací

s daty různými způsoby, jako je například vynechání tohoto předmětu, aby se zjistilo, jak to ovlivní význam nebo přijatelnost výpovědi, nebo jeho kontrast s jiným předmětem. Porovnáváním velkého počtu případů se snažíme dospět k informativní klasifikaci použití a vyvinout teorii organizace diskurzu, kterou lze poté testovat proti jiným druhům promluv. Po více než deseti letech výzkumu se nyní objevilo několik teoretických rámců.

Texty a variety

Pojem “užívání angličtiny” zahrnuje mnohem více, než jenom využití našich znalostí lingvistické struktury (jako jsou rysy popsané na stranách 286-9) k vytvoření a interpretaci posloupnosti vět a konverzačních interakcí. Týká se to uvědomění si rozsahu situací, ve kterých může být angličtina používána charakteristickým a předvídatelným způsobem, a možností, které máme k dispozici, když chceme produkovat nebo reagovat na kreativní použití jazyka.

Tyto situace jsou nesmírně rozmanité a ne vždy snadno definovatelné, můžeme je ale začít chápat tím, že se podíváme na komunikační produkty, nebo-li *texty*, se kterými jsou spojeny, a na lingvistické rysy, které definují identitu těchto textů. Modlitby, plakáty, dopravní značky, přednášky, sportovní komentáře, romány, projevy, rozhovory a recepty jsou také v tomto ohledu považovány za texty. Každý z nich má konkrétní komunikační účel - snáze stanovený u dopravní značky než třeba u románu, ale přesto komunikační účel. Jsou také relativně samostatnými jednotkami diskurzu, ať už mluveného či psaného, a každá má do určité míry definovatelnou jazykovou identitu.

Slovní obraty jako “relativně” nebo “do určité míry” jsou důležité, protože ne všechny texty mají hranice, které jsou stejně jednoduše identifikovatelné, nebo používají jazyk, který je stejně distinktivní: například hranice psaných textů jsou obvykle určitější než hranice mluvených a většina kázání (v řeči)

má mnohem jasnější začátek a konec než většina rozhovorů. Při zkoumání použití angličtiny je však možné pracovat s hierarchií následujících pojmů: *situace* vedou ke vzniku *textů*, a texty využívají sady *charakteristických jazykových rysů*. Konkrétní sada těchto rysů představuje kategorii textu, známou jako *varieta*. Vezměme si jeden příklad: *O living God* je charakteristický rys (vokativ s *O*, s. 220) *modlitebního* textu, který se nachází v *náboženské* situaci: je tedy rysem variety *náboženského jazyka*.

Sociolingvistické a stylistické rysy

Rysy, které identifikují varietu, nejsou rysy jazyka jako celku, ale vyskytují se kdekoliv, kde je jazyk mluvený nebo psaný, ve všech možných sociálních situacích. Rysy variet závisí na přítomnosti určitých faktorů v dané sociální situaci. Klasifikace těchto rysů se liší, ale je možné je rozdělit do dvou obecných typů, které nechávají vzniknout něčemu, co zde nazýváme *sociolingvistickými a stylistickými rysy*.

- *Sociolingvistické rysy* se vztahují k velmi širokým situačním omezením v používání jazyka a identifikují především regionální a sociální variety jazyka (např. kanadskou nebo cockneyskou, či variety vyšší a vzdělané vrstvy). Jedná se o relativně trvalé základní rysy mluveného či psaného jazyka, nad nimiž máme poměrně malou vědomou kontrolu. Nemáme sklony měnit náš regionální nebo společenský způsob mluvení, když se věnujeme našim každodenním činnostem, a obvykle si ani neuvědomujeme, že nějaký máme.
- *Stylistické rysy* se vztahují k omezením v používání jazyka, která jsou mnohem přísněji omezena, a identifikují osobní preference v použití (poezie, humor) nebo variety spojené s profesními skupinami (přednášející, právníci, novináři). Jsou to relativně dočasné rysy našeho mluveného nebo psaného jazyka, nad nimiž máme určitou míru vědomé kontroly. Během našeho každodenního života často zapojujeme různá

skupinová použití jazyka (např. rodinné, pracovní, náboženské, sportovní) a často měníme styl mluvení nebo psaní tak, aby měl určitý vliv (jako když imitujeme akcent při vyprávění příběhu nebo si hrajeme s jazykem v neformálním dopise, s. 402).

Následující stránky ilustrují mnoho použití angličtiny, projevující se ve výběru textů spojených s mluvenými i psanými varietami jazyka. Kapitoly 20 a 21 se zabývají sociolingvistickou rozmanitostí, především regionálního a sociálního druhu. Kapitoly 22 a 23 se zabývají stylistickou rozmanitostí, s konkrétním přihlédnutím k pracovním a osobním faktorům. Začneme však přehledem dvou velmi obecných dimenzí, které je třeba vždy brát v úvahu při zvažování charakteristik jazykové variety: zvolený prostředek komunikace (řeč vs psaní) a typ zapojené účasti (monolog vs dialog).

Řeč a psaní

Mluvený a psaný jazyk ukazuje řadu důležitých rozdílů nad rámec zjevného rozdílu ve fyzické podobě - tj., že řeč používá jako prostředek "fónické substance", obvykle pohyby tlaku vzduchu produkované hlasivkami, zatímco psaní využívá jako prostředek "grafické substance", obvykle značení na povrchu vytvořené rukou za použití náčiní. Tyto rozdíly se týkají především použití jazyka a vyplývají ze skutečnosti, že řečníci a spisovatelé pracují v zásadě v odlišných komunikačních situacích. Je zde ale také několik rozdílů v jazykové struktuře: gramatika a slovní zásoba řeči není v žádném případě stejná jako ta psaná, a ani kontrast dostupný ve fonologii (§17) neodpovídá tomu, který je k dispozici v grafologii (§18).

Psaní je někdy považováno za něco víc, než jen "psanou řeč". Řeč je pak podle toho často posuzována podle její blízkosti k psaní (s. 236). Ani jedno stanovisko však není rozumné. Tyto dva prostředky, byť historicky příbuzné, fungují jako nezávislé způsoby komunikace. Existuje jen málo okolností, u kterých čelíme skutečné volbě mezi mluvením a psaním. Kdykoliv jsou

si dva lidé na doslech, navzájem spolu mluví. Pouze velmi mimořádné okolnosti - uličníci posílající si tajné zprávy ve třídě; partneři, kteří spolu "nemluví"; předseda poroty sdělující verdikt soudním úředníkům; někdo, kdo nemůže mluvit nebo neslyší (a není schopný použít znakovou řeč) - nás motivují i přes velké obtíže napsat to, co chceme "říct". Naopak lidé, kteří jsou od sebe vzdáleni v prostoru nebo v čase, a nemají elektronické komunikační prostředky (nebo peníze k jejich použití), nemají jinou možnost, než si navzájem psát.

Ani důležitost těchto dvou prostředků není stejná. Psané formulace, jako například smlouvy, jsou obvykle požadovány k tomu, aby byla ujednání právně závazná. Historické dokumenty, starověké nápisy, původní rukopisy, první vydání, duchovní spisy a ostatní takové materiály používají určité vážnosti, která je zřídka kdy přiznána řeči (i když archivy nahraných zvuků začínají přinášet určitou rovnováhu). Nad to všechno poskytuje psaná angličtina standard, který společnost oceňuje, a její relativní stálost a celosvětové proudění jí dávají velmi zvláštní místo v životě společnosti.

Smíšený prostředek

Rozdíl mezi prostředkem řeči a prostředkem psaní se na první pohled zdá jednoznačný: věci jsou buď napsané nebo jsou řečené. V praxi jsou tyto situace značně složitější. Pokud se rozhodneme pro použití jednoho z těchto prostředků, důvod našeho výběru může vyžadovat, abychom měli na paměti existenci prostředku druhého, a to pak ovlivní povahu jazyka, který používáme. Následující schéma shrnuje hlavní alternativy, které pravděpodobně povedou k vytvoření odlišných stylů mluvené nebo psané angličtiny, a text ilustruje některé typické situace pod každým nadpisem.

Monolog a dialog

Faktor, který zásadním způsobem ovlivňuje jazykový charakter užití jazyka, je počet účastníků zapojených do činnosti. Teoreticky je rozdíl zcela jasný: existuje monolog, v němž se jazykového aktu účastní pouze jeden člověk,

a poté existuje dialog, jehož se (obvykle) účastní dva lidé. Očekávali bychom také, že zde bude těsná souvislost se dvěma kategoriemi prostředků (s. 291): monolog je spojen činností psaní a čtení, a dialog s mluvením a poslechem. S tolika teoretickými rozdíly prezentovanými v této knize je koncept do značné míry správný, ale v několika případech jsou rozdíly nejasné nebo se překrývají, a právě tyto rozdíly poskytují některé z nejzajímavějších příkladů toho, jak jazyk používáme.

Jak k některým z těchto případů dochází uvidíme, pokud budeme věnovat pozornost definici. Monolog neznamena, že je člověk sám, jak je tomu většinou u autorského psaní - které bylo nazváno "osamělým povoláním". Odkazuje spíše na aktivitu, ve které mluvčí neočekává odpověď, a to i přesto, že publikum může být přítomno (a může čas od času reagovat, jako například pokřiky, které mohou doprovázet politický projev). V monologu je jazyk koncipován jako samostatná prezentace. Naproti tomu je podstatou dialogu, že účastníci očekávají, že si budou navzájem odpovídat, a obsahuje mnoho lingvistických rysů, které to umožňují (především formou otázek). Zajímavé případy jsou tedy takové, ve kterých situace klade řečníkovi/spisovateli zvláštní požadavky nebo omezení a narušuje normální očekávání reakce.

Nečekané rysy dialogu

Když z nahrávek přirozené řeči zkoumáme, jak dialogy skutečně fungují, jsme často velmi překvapeni. Jsme zvyklí vidět dialog v kontextech, ve kterých byl jazyk pečlivě vystavěn, jako je scénář divadelní hry nebo konverzace v učebnici jazyků. Takové dialogy mohou být pro svůj účel velmi efektivní, ale obvykle jsou značně vzdálené tomu, co se může stát při každodenní konverzaci. Stereotypem je, že lidé hovoří v úplných větách, střídají se ve vymezeném čase, pozorně naslouchají tomu druhému a produkují vyvážené množství řeči. Skutečností však je, že se lidé často podílejí na větách které produkují, navzájem se přerušují, nevěnují pozornost všemu co je řečeno, a vytvářejí diskurz, u kterého jsou příspěvky

účastníků velmi asymetrické. Přesto všechno to vede k naprosto normální a úspěšné konverzaci.

Varianty monologu

Existují dvě možné situace, ve kterých se někdo může zapojit do monologu, ať už mluveného nebo psaného: ty, u kterých může být přítomno publikum, a ty, u kterých nikoliv. V každém případě existuje několik zajímavých variant, které vedou k lingvisticky distinktivním textům. Jen málo z nich bylo podrobena hlubokému stylistickému zkoumání.

S publikem

U monologu s publikem je pravděpodobné, že prostředkem bude řeč (s. 291), a přerušitelnost poskytuje zajímavý základ pro klasifikaci. Mnohé mluvené monology prezentované publiku jsou v zásadě nepřerušitelné (jinou než nelingvistickou reakcí, jako třeba potleskem). Příklady zahrnují velmi formální projev (s. 294), přednášku a kázání (v konzervativních náboženských tradicích). Na druhou stranu však existuje několik situací, které přerušování umožňují. Kazatelé, stojící před mnoha afroamerickými kongregacemi, jsou ve své rétorice posílení reakcemi svých posluchačů a často si osvojují dotazovací styl, aby je vyvolali (s. 371). Politické projevy si s publikem hrají stejným způsobem (s. 378).

Zajímavou kategorií je případ publika, které je přítomné, ale není schopné reagovat ("pseudopublikum"). Příklady těchto situací zahrnují dentistu, který vede rozhovor (včetně otázek!), zatímco jsou ústa posluchače plná zubařského vybavení, a dospělý mluvící s prelingvistickým kojencem (nebo matka mluvící s dítětem v lůně). Je sporné, zda jsou takové případy nejlépe popsány jako monology nebo dialogy.

Bez publika

Ponecháme-li stranou literární projev, který lze brát jako monolog i dialog (s. 294), představa, že by mohl existovat monolog bez přítomného publika,

se zdá být poněkud neobvyklá. Proč bychom vůbec měli něco říkat, když tu není nikdo, kdo by slyšel, co říkáme? Proč něco psát, když tu není nikdo, kdo by to četl? Řeč i psaní nicméně poskytují zajímavé případy, u kterých dochází k monologickým aktivitám.

Řečové aktivity

K dispozici je jen málo vědeckých údajů, ale lidé očividně mluví i sami k sobě. Autor má dobře doloženo, že akademici jsou známí tím, že řešení svých problémů prodiskutovávají o samotě (např. ve vaně). Známe také další případ jiného druhu pseudopublika - tentokrát není přítomna žádná lidská bytost - třebaže je diskutabilní, zda by taková použití neměla být spíše nazývána "pseudodialogy".

Existují například lidé, kteří hovoří k rostlinám (a jsou schopni uvést důvody proč). Jsou také lidé, kteří mluví ke svým autům - často jim spílají za to, že špatně fungují. Ve skutečnosti lze oslovit prakticky každý objekt, jako by to byl člověk. "Vy jste ale hezoučké!", oslovil někdo podle svědků šaty v obchodním domě. (Zda zvířata zahrneme do této kategorie nebo do stejné kategorie jako výše uvedené kojence, představuje jen další téma k diskuzi.)

Písemné aktivity

I zde máme neobvyklou možnost oslovit sami sebe. V klasickém případě prostřednictvím deníku. Mezi další příklady patří psaní poznámek při přípravě přednášky a psaní poznámek při poslechu přednášky někoho jiného. Že jsou tyto poznámky psány ve prospěch zapisovatele je zřejmé, pokud se pokusíme použít materiál jiné osoby - situace, která bude známá každému studentovi, který vynechal hodinu a snaží se jí tímto způsobem dohnat. Výběr informací pro psaní poznámek bude proveden s odkazem na to, co už spisovatel ví, a to, spolu s eliptickým stylem, který souvisí s psaním při nedostatku času, omezuje možnosti sdílené koherence.

Pseudopublika u písemných aktivit monologu jsou také spíše neobvyklá. Odpovědi v písemných zkouškách jsou pravděpodobně nejjasnějším příkladem. Dialog v jednom směru již proběhl (zkoušející položil studentovi otázku), ale odpovědí je monolog (studenta neočekávajícího odpověď - s výjimkou nepřímé odpovědi ve formě známky). Některé společenské hry také nabízejí pseudopublika pro psaný jazyk. V jedné takové hře napíšou všichni účastníci větu o někom jiném v místnosti a vloží své příspěvky (anonymně) do klobouku. Věty se pak náhodně vytahují ve dvojicích a umisťují za sebe. Na dětské oslavě nastává radost z juxtapozice nepatřičných aktivit (jako třeba *Michael má nového králíka - Jane má hlad.*) Na oslavách dospělých se pak mohou objevit poněkud choulostivější nepatřičnosti.

A nakonec, existují i případy, kdy můžeme psát, jako *by* bylo publikum přítomno, protože víme, že v pozdějším stádiu přítomno bude. Aktivity zde zahrnují přípravu podkladů na přednášku, psaní eseje pro lektora nebo indexování knihy. Indexování je občas popisováno jako úkol, při kterém se kompilátor snaží předvídat možný dotaz na obsah, který mohou mít budoucí čtenáři knihy. Indexátoři se však ve skutečnosti snaží odpovědět na spoustu nevyřčených otázek - zajímavé obrácení komunikačních priorit. Musí tedy pracovat, jako by jejich publikum bylo přítomno - ačkoliv ani netuší, kdo tímto publikem bude, a bez toho, aniž by získali zpětnou vazbu, zda byly jejich úsudky úspěšné. Jde tedy o těžký úkol, který vyžaduje výjimečné komunikační odhodlání.

Varianty dialogu

Jedním ze způsobů klasifikace dialogů je prozkoumání jejich symetrie - zjištění, zda jsou účastníci rovnoměrně zapojeni. Lišit se může také časování jazykových příspěvků ve vztahu k sobě navzájem. Standardem je,

že jsou dva účastníci, kteří hovoří postupně (s určitým množstvím očekávaného překrývání, s. 288). Několik typů dialogických situací se však od tohoto standardu zajímavým způsobem odchyluje.

Symetrický dialog

Lidé mohou mluvit současně, což bude působit jako dialog, ale pravděpodobně jen s malým porozuměním. Pokud by se dvě skupiny demonstrantů postavily proti sobě, a přitom obě nesly transparenty vyjadřující svůj názor, juxtapozice psaných textů by vytvořila jakousi formu dialogu, avšak takovou, ve které by byly všechny “promluvy” zobrazeny současně.

V řeči je jakákoliv souběžnost spíše nesrozumitelná - ale ani to jí nebrání existovat, jak můžeme pravidelně slýchat při veřejných politických konfrontacích. Dalším zajímavým případem jsou například večírky, při kterých může člověk přispívat do dvou konverzací ve stejnou dobu - poznámky sice vkládat do každé postupně, ale poslouchat obě najednou. Jde o něco, co je možné pouze tehdy, je-li člověk buď velmi střízlivý, nebo velmi opilý.

Další variantou je, že dialog závisí buď na třetí straně, nebo na prostředníkovi. Obvyklým případem je cizojazyčné tlumočení a překlad, kde osoba A musí komunikovat s osobou B prostřednictvím osoby C. I u jednoho jazyka existují dobře známé situace, kde jedna osoba (či skupina) komunikuje s další přes “oficiálního mluvčího”, nebo (ve zjevně poněkud odlišné doméně) přes břichomluveckou loutku.

Zajímavá varianta dialogu je ta, která je tvořena pomocí promluvy třetí strany. Hlasitá osoba v restauraci může zapříčinit, že i pár u vedlejšího stolu odpoví (*sotto voce*) na to, co je řečeno, čímž vytvoří svůj vlastní pokračující dialog podnícený promluvou cizí osoby. V oscarovém snímku Françoise Truffauta *Day for Night (La Nuit Americaine, 1973)* jsou vidět dva členové

filmového štábu, jak mívá televizor, který náhodou vysílá kvízovou hru o filmech. Zastaví se aby se podívali, a snaží se odpovídat na otázky ještě před účastníky na obrazovce. Během toho, co uvažují nad svými odpověďmi, si spolu povídají a věnují se dialogu, který je opět závislý na třetí straně.

Asymetrický dialog

Jde zřejmě o nejneobvyklejší dialog ze všech, protože se zjevně odehrává pouze s jednou přítomnou osobou. Slovní obrat “zjevně” je důležitý, jelikož co se ve skutečnosti odehrává je to, že si účastník představuje přítomnost někoho dalšího. V některých případech je chybějící osoba tím, kdo by měl konverzaci začít - jako v případě duchařské seance, kdy lidé sedí a čekají, než k nim někdo promluví. V dalším případě je chybějící osoba ten, kdo by měl odpovědět, když nejistě zvoláme do tmy “Je tady někdo?”, a doufáme, že jsme nakonec přeci jen součástí monologu.

Vzhledem k tomu, že existuje jen malá šance na to, že budou použity, spadají do asymetrické kategorie nejspíše také dopisy tisku nebo rádiovým stanicím. V takových případech se snažíme o příspěvek do dialogu, nad kterým má kontrolu někdo jiný. Ani pokud se nám podaří náš příspěvek nechat publikovat či přečíst, neexistuje žádný způsob jak zjistit, s kým si nakonec “budeme povídat”. Redaktoři a moderátoři jsou zběhlí ve vytváření dramatických juxtapozic dopisů tímto způsobem.

Multilogy?

Pokud osoba A mluví k jedné osobě, jde o dialog. Pokud ale osoba A mluví k více lidem najednou, nebo pokud více lidí mluví najednou k osobě A, pojem dialog je jen stěží vhodný. Vzhledem k tomu, že každá promluva je odlišná od ostatních, můžeme takovouto konverzaci interpretovat jako sérii “mini-dialogů”. Ale pokud jsou skutečně jednohlasné, vypadá to, že jde o něco jiného - o “multilog”?

V řeči mohou se mohou takové situace vyskytnout například v kostelech (jednohlasné modlitby), při veřejných setkáních (Chceme Billa!), na sportovních hřištích (Do toho Royals!) a na typických britských pantomimických představeních (u kterých je zapojení publika pomocí jednohlasných reakcí podstatou - *pozn. překl.*). Při psaní se jednohlasná komunikace objevuje u petic a společně podepsaných dopisů. V posledním případě je dokonce možné nalézt několik skupin lidí komunikujících mezi sebou najednou, jako když je vedle sebe v tisku zveřejněno několik společných dopisů zaujímajících různé pozice.

20. Regionální rozmanitost

Ze všech sociolingvistických a stylistických faktorů, které přispívají k rozmanitosti v užití jazyka (s. 364), lidi nejvíce zajímá zeměpisný původ. To, že především řeč může dá tak jasnou odpověď na otázku “Odkud jsi?” je zvláštním způsobem fascinující, a pojmy jako *dialekt* a *přízvuk* jsou běžnou součástí každodenní slovní zásoby. Regionálních rozdílů si povšimneme okamžitě ve způsobu, jakým lidé mluví, a ačkoliv nemusíme být schopní tyto rozdíly popsat jinak než nejasnými a impresionistickými pojmy (“hrdelní”, “melodické”, “rytmické”), nemáme žádný problém na ně odpovídat intuitivně, smát se vtipům pronášeným dialektem, užívat si literaturu a folklór psané dialektem, a ocenit pointu parodií na dialekty (s. 410).

Ve stejnou dobu - a to je paradox studia dialektů - je pro nás stejně snadné dělat hrubé a kritické úsudky o způsobech mluvení, které vnímáme jako odlišné. Samozřejmě, že tyto postoje jsou podvědomé, evidentně ale není zapotřebí příliš mnoho úsilí, aby vypluly na povrch. Rozdíly v názorech lidí s odlišným dialektovým zázemím mohou rychle sklouznout ke vzájemnému vysmívání se mluvě druhého, a člověk musí být obzvláště odolný, aby

mu tento výsměch neublížil. Kromě toho, shazování místního dialektu se lehce promění v shazování mluvčích, a noviny občas přinášejí zprávy o znepokojivých či katastrofálních následcích. Takové situace již přilákaly mnoho akademických studií, obzvláště sociolingvistických, ale povědomí o tomto problému je stále velmi malé.

Studium regionální lingvistické rozmanitosti tedy může nabídnout více než pouhý popisný zájem. Čím více víme o regionální rozmanitosti a změnách v používání angličtiny, tím více oceníme nápadnou jedinečnost každé variety kterou nazýváme dialektem, a tím méně pravděpodobně přijmeme ponižující stereotypy o lidech z ostatních částí země nebo světa. První nezbytný krok je nahrazení představy, že regionální varieta je "jen dialekt", protože postrádá prestiž standardního jazyka, a uvědomění si, že každý dialekt je zdrojem velké lingvistické komplexnosti a potenciálu. Není snadné si namluvit, že dialekt nebo akcent, který nemáme rádi nebo nemůžeme vystát, je varietou anglického jazyka, která si zaslouží respekt, a má stejné právo existovat jako varieta, kterou sami mluvíme. Ale jde o průlom požadovaný opravdu demokratickou dialektologií.

Mezinárodní a vnitrostátní

Je zcela jasné, že lidé tradičně přemýšlí o dialektech jako o čistě vnitrostátní záležitosti - vlastní k zemi, k níž patří. Historicky byl jazyk omezený na jednu zeměpisnou oblast - Britské ostrovy - a po staletí, až do doby vývoje městského obyvatelstva, byla jedinou formou regionální rozmanitosti, se kterou se většina obyvatel setkala, ta spojená se sousedními komunitami a příležitostnými návštěvníky ze vzdálenějších zemí. Dokonce, i když se začala angličtina stěhovat po světě (§7), pouze relativně malá část populace z každé země cestovala dostatečně daleko na to, aby byly celosvětové rozdíly v regionálních řečech zřejmé. To vše se změnilo, především v tomto století. Spojení rádia, televize a kina, společně s obrovským nárůstem cestovní mobility, přineslo všeobecné povědomí o tom, že anglické dialekty působí celosvětově. Studium místních dialektů

tak bylo doplněno o mezinárodní přístup k dialektologii - studium "světových angličtin".

Den v životě anglického jazyka

Co bychom našli, kdybychom ve stejný den posbírali po celém světě vzorky anglického jazyka, v nichž by se hovořilo na stejné téma? Byly by při redukci časových a obsahových rozdílů okamžitě patrné rozdíly založené na regionální rozmanitosti? Viděli bychom zcela zřejmě lingvistické rozdíly mezi Británií a USA, Austrálií a Kanadou, jižní Asíí a jihovýchodní Asíí, nebo mezi kteroukoliv jinou lokací, ve které tento jazyk zaujímá významné místo?

Při malém pokus to zjistit, bylo 6. července 1993 shromážděno 40 výtisků novin z celého anglicky mluvícího světa a výběr z toho, co obsahovaly, je zobrazen na těchto stránkách. Výsledky jsou zcela jasné, a svědčí o mimořádném vlivu a univerzálnosti psané standardní angličtiny. V obrovské většině případů není možné čistě na základě lingvistických podkladů a na první pohled určit, které noviny patří které zemi. Ve skutečnosti často musíme pátrat po typických lingvistických prvcích. Najdeme je, pokud nepolevíme - distinktivní výraz v odstavci 8 na straně 3 jedné novin, typicky americký nebo britský pravopis v paragrafu 11 na straně 2. Další spíše jazykové konsekvence vyplývají ze sdílených znalostí, které redaktoři u svých čtenářů předpokládají - nevysvětlené pojmy, předpokládaná zkušenost a přímé pojmenování věcí. Můžeme ale prohledat mnoho stránek předtím, než nalezneme něco, co můžeme nazývat typickým regionálním použitím gramatiky.

Zajisté najdeme více regionálních odlišností, pokud provedeme toto cvičení založené na mluveném jazyce, za použití rozhlasových vysílání a průzkumů veřejného mínění. Okamžitě uslyšíme mnoho fonologických rozdílů, segmentových i prozodických (§17), které identifikují regionální varietu. Spíše také narazíme na typickou gramatiku, především ve více neformálních varietách místní řeči. Bude zde také zřetelný nárůst

v množství místní slovní zásoby - opět především v neformálním kontextu. Nicméně taková studie potřebuje rozdílný prostředek prezentace, než jen stránky knížek. Pro současné účely v nás toto cvičení zanechává převážně pocit omezené ale zajímavé pestrosti, a především sjednocující síly standardního jazyka.

Dva modely

První rozhodnutí, které musí být učiněno při porovnávání vzorků psané angličtiny z celého světa, je, zda jde o angličtinu britskou či americkou - nebo nějakou směsici těchto dvou.

4 COMMENTARY

The main aim of this commentary is to compare and analyse the source text and the target text (the translation). The commentary is composed of two main parts, called the Macro Approach and the Micro Approach. The first part called the Macro Approach analyses the source text and the source book, its function, purpose and style, as well as the author of the source text and his intentions and reasons for writing it. The second part called the Micro Approach contains a commentary on the individual language phenomena from the source text and on the methods of translation.

4.1 The Macro Approach

This section is divided into five parts - the author, the source book, the source text, the target reader, and the style and language.

4.1.1 The author

David Crystal is a British linguist, academic, writer, editor, lecturer and broadcaster. Crystal is known for his studies in the fields of intonation and stylistics and also for association of linguistics with religion, education etc. Moreover, David Crystal also wrote and created numerous books and materials for children, students and the younger generations in general, making the knowledge of language more understandable, accessible and entertaining. [42]

His two best-known books about linguistics and language are *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language* and *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*. In addition, he published, co-authored and edited countless articles, books and studies from a wide range of topics related to linguistics and English language, and he also played an important role as a consultant, contributor or presenter on several radio and television programs and series. [43]

4.1.2 The source book

The target text of this thesis is a translated part of a book authored by David Crystal, which is the source book. The whole name of the book is *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*. It was first published in 1995 by Cambridge University Press. The encyclopedia is well recognized by linguists all around the world and is known as one of the most contributive works in the field of English language and linguistics. The book contains colored photos, pictures, illustrations, maps, tables, graphics, graphs and diagrams. The whole book is divided into six parts - The history of English, English vocabulary, English grammar, Spoken and Written English, Using English and Learning about English. This structure of the book has a certain logical order, but the reader can also refer to any particular part without missing previous context.

4.1.3 The source text

The selected part that is translated in this thesis starts with Part V, chapter 19 - Varieties of discourse and beginning of chapter 20 - Regional variation. It starts with an overview of the Part V of the book. Chapter 19 speaks about varieties and constructing of a discourse, microlinguistic studies, texts and its varieties and about language media - speech and writing. It then compare those media, as well as monologues and dialogues and their features and variations. Chapter 20 is a wide section devoted to regional variation and its usage, differences, classifying and particular dialects. This section is full of original sources and materials, such as headlines and articles from all around the English speaking world, detailed descriptions or maps.

4.1.4 The target reader

This book is intended for the linguists, experts, students but likewise for general public interested in linguistics, English language and its history and usage. Each group can look up a piece of required information.

Thanks to the readable and understandable language, the book is also suitable for foreign learners.

4.1.5 Style and language

The book is attractive and well-organized. It has a logical structure that is very user-friendly. However, it is divided into specific blocks, so the reader can look up the required information and start reading almost anywhere without missing the meaning. The whole book is colored and completed with pictures, photos, graphs and other media not only supplementing the written text, but also clarifying and demonstrating its thoughts.

The language is field-specific, with numerous terms from the field of linguistics. Yet almost all technical terms are explained in the text (and if not, they are searchable in the glossary), so even readers without any previous experiences or awareness about linguistics can understand it. The author also asks questions and answers them and uses examples from everyday life, which differentiates the book from other encyclopedias and makes it really entertaining and engaging.

4.2 The Micro Approach

4.2.1 Lexical level

Lexical cohesion

a) Repetition

The repetition of key words is essential for scientific texts. It helps co-create the cohesion and makes it easier for the reader to orient in the complex texts. The key words of the translated part are following:

- *variety - varieta*
- *variation - rozmanitost*

- *writing - psaní*
- *speech - řeč*
- *monologue - monolog*
- *dialogue - dialog*

b) Synonyms

Some of the words were replaced with synonyms within the text in order to preserve readability.

- *use, usage*
- *discourse, conversation, exchange*
- *regional, local*

c) Antonyms

Antonyms also occurred in the text.

- *dialect x standard language*
- *monologue x dialogue*

Terminology

The presence of terms is one of the characteristics of the scientific style. In the translated text there were frequently used terms from the field of linguistics. The examples are listed below.

- *phonology - fonologie*
- *graphology - grafologie*
- *gender - rod*
- *taxonomy - taxonomie*

- *textlinguistics - textová lingvistika*
- *hesitation noise - hezitační zvuk*
- *elliptical style - eliptický styl*
- *dialectology - dialektologie*

4.2.2 Morpho-syntactical level

Passive voice

There is a significant use of passive voice in order to preserve the impersonality of the text. [44]

Two options are available when translating the passive voice from English text into Czech language.

The passive voice construction from the translated text could be either present in the Czech translation:

- *Special attention **is paid** to the English used in religion, science, the law, politics, the news media, broadcasting, and advertising.*
- ***Speciální pozornost je věnována** angličtině používané v náboženství, vědě, právu, politice, sdělovacích prostředcích, ve vysílání a v reklamě.*

or the passive voice could be shifted into an active voice:

- *Sometimes the result is a use of English, or of a feature of English, which is highly distinctive and easily explained, as **is often encountered** in regional dialects and in some of the more institutionalized areas of language use, such as religion and law.*
- *Výsledkem je občasné použití angličtiny nebo některého rysu angličtiny, který je velmi výrazný a snadno vysvětlitelný, s čímž **se často setkáme***

u regionálních dialektů a v některých institucionalizovanějších oblastech užívání jazyka, jako je náboženství a právo.

Those two possibilities could be applied also in the plural form:

- *Written formulations, such as contracts, **are usually required** to make agreements legally binding.*
- *Psané formulace, jako například smlouvy, **jsou** obvykle **požadovány** k tomu, aby byla ujednání právně závazná.*

or in the other tenses:

- *In a small-scale attempt to find out, 40 newspapers **were collected** from all over the English-speaking world on 6 July 1993, and a selection of what they contained is shown on these pages.*
- *Při malém pokus to zjistit, **bylo** 6. července 1993 **shromážděno** 40 výtisků novin z celého anglicky mluvícího světa a výběr z toho, co obsahovaly, je zobrazen na těchto stránkách.*

Modal verbs

Modal verbs have their full meaning, but cannot stand alone without another lexical verb. Their sense is in modification of the meaning of the lexical verb. [45]

Modal verbs used in the text are expressing:

an ability

- *We **can** see how some of these cases arise by paying careful attention to definition.*

permission or possibility

- *Leaving aside the case of literary expression, which **can** be defended as either monologue or dialogue (p. 294), the notion that there **could** be monologue without an audience present at first seems somewhat unusual.*
- *In this approach, whole books **might** be written on the communicative role of a tiny aspect of language (such as the use of you know in conversations).*
- *There **may** also be variation in the timing of the language contributions relative to each other.*

restriction

- *Part V **cannot** give a comprehensive account of all that goes on under these headings, but a serious effort is made in the following pages to represent the range of approaches which exist, and to give an indication, through the examples, of the complexity which lies behind the apparently simple notion of ‘using English’.*

Conjuncts

The logical sequence of the sentences is essential. The mutual relation and dependence must exist, and is expressed via conjuncts. [46]

The translated text has a high frequency of the usage of *therefore*, *moreover*, *nonetheless*, *thus*, and *however*.

- *The next section (§21) **therefore** look at what is involved under this heading.*
- ***Moreover**, the status of the two mediums is not the same.*

- ***Yet** all of this **nonetheless** produces a perfectly normal, successful conversation.*
- ***However**, several types of dialogic situation depart from this norm in interesting ways.*
- *The study of regional linguistic variation has **thus** more to offer than purely descriptive interest.*
- *Such a study needs a different medium of presentation than the pages of a book, **however**.*

Conjunctions

Conjunctions are a word class functioning as a connector between sentences or sentence elements. In the text there occur conjunctions that join together compound sentences and conjunctions that join together complex sentences. [47]

In case of compound sentences, there is a high frequency of following conjunctions:

- *Next it identifies those varieties which are especially likely to break linguistic rules, **and** looks at the kind of deviance which emerges.*
- ***But** there are also several differences in language structure: the grammar and vocabulary of speech is by no means the same as that of writing, **nor** do the contrasts available in phonology (§17) correspond to those available in graphology (§18).*

In case of complex sentences there are several ways of showing the dependence of two sentences. The types of relations are:

conditional relation

- *Why should we say anything at all, **if** there is no one to hear what we say? Why write anything, **if** there is no one to read it?*

- *Indeed, virtually any object can be addressed **as if** it were a person.*

time

- ***After** a review of the differences between speech and writing and between monologue and dialogue, §20 looks systematically at these varieties, beginning with those which convey geographical information about the user: regional dialects.*
- *None of this applies **when** we begin to investigate the way English is used: we are faced immediately with a bewildering array of situations, in which the features of spoken or written language appear in an apparently unlimited number of combinations and variations.*
- *Examples of these situations include the dentist who carries on a conversation (even including questions!) **while** the listener's mouth is full of dental equipment, and the adult talking to a prelinguistic infant (or the mother talking to the baby in her womb).*
- *Historically, the language was restricted to a single geographical area - the British Isles - and for centuries, **until** the growth of urban populations, the only regional variation which most people would encounter would be that associated with neighboring communities and the occasional visitor from further afield.*
- *But we can search for many pages **before** finding something which we could call a distinctively regional use of grammar.*

causal

- *Recent years have seen considerable progress in the study of language in use, and the emergence of several paradigms of enquiry, **as** people probe the topic from different points of view.*

- *Lastly, there are cases where we can write as if an audience is present, **because** we know that at a later stage one will be.*

Text structure

Some English multiple sentences can be difficult to understand when translating into Czech. In some cases, the text or sentence structure can be preserved but simplified by changing the word order.

- *When we investigate how dialogues actually work, **as found in recordings of natural speech**, we are often in for a surprise.*
- *Když z nahrávek přirozené řeči zkoumáme, jak dialogy skutečně fungují, jsme často velmi překvapeni.*
- *These attitudes are usually subconscious, **of course**, but it evidently does not take much to bring them to the surface.*
- ***Samozřejmě**, že tyto postoje jsou podvědomé, evidentně ale není zapotřebí příliš mnoho úsilí, aby vypluly na povrch.*
- *In the vast majority of instances, it is impossible to tell at a glance which paper belong to which country **on purely linguistic grounds**.*
- *V obrovské většině případů není možné **čistě na základě lingvistických podkladů** a na první pohled určit, které noviny patří které zemi.*

Some English multiple sentences are so complex, that even though it is possible to translate them as a whole, it is usually better - when translating to Czech - to **divide them into two or more sentences** in order to simplify them.

- *Rather more often, we are faced with usage that is subtle and indeterminate, and which demands detailed and lengthy analysis before we can reach an understanding of what its purpose is and how it works, as is often found in social dialects and in some of the more creative areas of language use, such as humour and literature.*
- *Častěji se ale setkáváme s použitím, které je rafinované a neurčité, a které vyžaduje podrobnou a zdlouhavou analýzu, než dojde k pochopení toho, co je jeho účelem a jak funguje. Toto použití se často vyskytuje v sociálních dialektech a v některých kreativnějších oblastech použití jazyka, jako je humor a literatura.*

Questions

The author of the source text use questions to indicate what is he going to deal with in the following lines. They serve as opening for particular parts.

- *What would we find if we collected samples of the English language in use all over the world on the same day, talking about the same range of topics? With variations in time-scale and content reduced, would regional variety differences stand out immediately? Would we see clearly the linguistic differences between Britain and the USA, Australia and Canada, South Asia and South East Asia, or between any other locations where the language holds a prestigious place?*
- *Why should we say anything at all, if there is no one to hear what we say? Why write anything, if there is no one there to read it?*

Em dashes

Em dash is a formal punctuation mark used to enhance readability. [48]

- *The section opens with an international overview - a range of newspaper material illustrating a day in the life of the (written) English language.*

- *Monologue does not mean that a person is alone, as is typical of most authorial writing - the 'lonely profession', as it has been called.*
- *Only very special circumstances - wicked children passing secret messages in class; partners who are 'not talking' to each other; a jury foreman passing a verdict to a court official; someone who cannot speak or hear (and who is unable to use sign language) - would motivate the enormous trouble of writing down what we wish to 'say'.*
- *Historically, the language was restricted to a single geographical area - the British Isles - and for centuries, until the growth of urban populations, the only regional variation which most people would encounter would be that associated with neighboring communities and the occasional visitor from further afield.*

Quotation marks

There is a significant use of quotation marks in the translated text that has several meanings. These words or phrases in the quotation marks refers to:

methods

- *'bottom up' approach - přístup "zdola nahoru"*
- *'top down' - "dolů"*

previously mentioned words or phrases

- *'relatively'- "relativně"*
- *'to some degree' - "do určité míry"*

terms

- *'phonic substances' - "fónické substance"*
- *'graphic substances' - "grafické substance"*

- ‘pseudo-audience’ - “pseudopublikum”
- ‘pseudo-dialogues’- “pseudodialogy”
- ‘using English’ - “používání angličtiny”

overstatements

- ‘speech written down’ - “psaná řeč”
- ‘not talking’ - “nemluví”
- ‘say’- “říct”

4.2.3 Translation difficulties

In the process of translation, some translation difficulties occurred. The first difficulty, that needed to be clarified was making the decision about the words that are similar or same in form but have different meaning. The words that appear the most frequently through the whole text and are significant for understanding of the text are **variety** and **variation**. The understanding of these words is essential for understanding of the source text and also for correct translation.

The translation of the word **variety** in this context is *varieta*, which is a linguistic term. It is the only possible translation used in a whole text. According to Petr Mareš, variety is “(...) a set of language media with similar social, functional or territorial distribution (...)”. [49]

The translation of the word **variation** in this context is *rozmanitost* or *varianta*. The word variation, or fully linguistic variation, in the meaning of *rozmanitost*, is a linguistic term used to describe notion that “refers to regional, social, or contextual differences in the ways that a particular language is used”. [50] The word variation in the meaning of *varianta* means kind, sort or type of something.

Other difficulties that came out while translating were connected with words. It was sometimes not possible to translate a word (mostly verbs) literary or find any suitable synonym, because it would not carry the same meaning or would not sound natural in Czech language. In those cases, it was necessary to find a word with a different meaning but with the same impression in the target language.

- *Differences of opinion between people of different dialect backgrounds can quickly **lead** to mutual mockery of each other's speech, and one has to be particularly thick-skinned for this mockery not to hurt.*
- *Rozdíly v názorech lidí s odlišným dialektovým zázemím mohou rychle **sklouznout** ke vzájemnému vysmívání se mluvě druhého, a člověk musí být obzvláště odolný, aby mu tento výsměch neublížil.*
- *Conversely, people who **are separated** by distance in space or time, and who lack electronic means of communication (or the money to use them), have no alternative but to write to each other.*
- *Naopak lidé, kteří **jsou** od sebe **vzdáleni** v prostoru nebo v čase, a nemají elektronické komunikační prostředky (nebo peníze k jejich použití), nemají jinou možnost, než si navzájem psát.*
- *Of all the sociolinguistic and stylistic factors which promote variety in language use (p. 364), the one which people most commonly **enquire** about is geographical origin.*
- *Ze všech sociolingvistických a stylistických faktorů, které přispívají k rozmanitosti v užití jazyka (s. 364), lidi nejvíce **zajímá** zeměpisný původ.*

The author of this thesis also encountered a difficulty by this sentence:

- *'Aren't you nice', someone in a department store was overheard to say to a dress.*
- *"Vy jste ale hezoučké!", oslovil někdo podle svědků šaty v obchodním domě.*

The whole structure of the sentence had to be changed in order to sound naturally and carry the same idea and impression. Individual words could not be translated literally, for example the verb "overheard" had to be taken away, while preposition "podle" and noun "svědek" had to be added. The word order was also changed. A more expressive equivalent of *nice* had to be found in order to deliver the meaning of the sentence.

5 GLOSSARY

English	Czech
bewildering array	nepřehledná změť
clause	věta
compiler	kompilátor
comprehensive account	ucelený souhrn
daily business	každodenní život
detest	nemoci vystát
deviance	odchylka
dialectology	dialektologie
discourse	diskurz
elliptical style	eliptický styl
facilitate	usnadnit
gender	rod
graphology	grafologie
guttural	hrdelní
hesitation	zaváhání
hesitation noise	hezitační zvuk
incongruous	nepatřičný, nehodící se
indexer	indexátor
intermediary	prostředník
jocular	žertovný
juxtaposition	juxtapozice
legally binding	právně závazný
lexem	lexém
meticulous	přepečlivý
mutual mockery	vzájemný výsměch
ommiting	vynechání
paradigms of enquiry	výzkumné paradigma

English	Czech
phonology	fonologie
place in a sequence	umístit za sebe
pragmatics	pragmatika
prelinguistic	prelingvistický
prescriptivism	preskriptivismus
proliferating	rozzrůstající se
prosodic transcription	prozodická transkripce
risqué	choulostivý
sermon	kázání
shared coherence	sdílená koherence
simultaneously	současně
striking	nápadný
taxonomy	taxonomie
textlinguistics	textová lingvistika
utterance	výpověď
variation	rozmanitost
variety	varieta
ventriloquist's dummy	břichomluvecká loutka
vox pop interview	průzkum veřejného mínění

6 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this work was to create a translation of the text from the field of linguistics, supported by theoretical basics, with a commentary and a glossary. The text is translated from the English language into Czech and deals with linguistic overview on using English, specifically the varieties of discourse and regional variation.

Based on the translation theory outlined, the autor sought to deliver a faithful translation of the source text, followed by a Commentary and a Glossary.

The first part of the Commentary, called the Macro Approach, provides the general information about the author David Crystal and the source book *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*. The second part, called the Micro Approach, analyses the text from lexical and morpho-syntactical level.

There is a high frequency of linguistic terms in the source book, which is one of the main characteristics of its functional style. These words could have several meanings, so it was essential for the meaning of the text to find the correct equivalent in the target language.

In order to preserve the original intention of the text but sound natural, it was necessary to transform certain parts of the text. In some cases, a changed word order was sufficient; in other cases, the whole sentence was transformed. In the case of very complicated multiple sentences, the most acceptable solution was to divide the original sentence into two sentences.

Literal translation was not possible in some instances. Literal translation of a particular word from the source text would sometimes carry a different meaning. With the intention of faithful translation, the author found the suitable equivalents for those words.

The Glossary consists of the terms or concepts occurring in the source and the target text which may be difficult to understand or have several meanings. The Glossary provides individual translations of these words in the context of both texts.

This thesis could not be written without the use of specialized literature. Vocabularies contributed to the whole work, chiefly to the translation process. Furthermore, books from Dagmar Knittlová, Jiří Levý and Zlata Kufnerová helped to compile the theoretical part and commentary.

The text is intended for general public with interest in linguistics.

This thesis was a valuable experience for the author. The author has acquired new knowledge of translation as a scientific field and gained experience in translating specialized text from one language into another, particularly from English into Czech.

7 ENDNOTES

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23. Ibid., pp. 16 - 18
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50. Definition and Examples of Linguistic Variation. *ThoughtCo.com* [online].

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9 ABSTRACT

The objective of this thesis is the translation of a text from the field of linguistics with a commentary and a glossary.

The translated text is from the book *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language* written by David Crystal. The text is focused on using English, varieties of discourse and regional variation. It is a translation from English language into Czech.

The work is divided into two parts - a theoretical part and a practical part. The theoretical part contains the theory of translation, its typology from various perspectives, the role of a translator, the translation process and translation methods. It contains also information about technical functional style of scientific and popular scientific texts.

The practical part consists of the translation, commentary and glossary. The Commentary contains the Micro and the Macro Approach, which present general information related to the source text and the analysis of the text on lexical and morpho-syntactical level.

10 RESUMÉ

Hlavním cílem této práce je překlad textu z oblasti lingvistiky s komentářem a glosářem.

Překládaný text je z knihy *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language* napsané Davidem Crystalem. Text je zaměřený na použití angličtiny, variety diskurzu a regionální rozmanitost. Jedná se o překlad z angličtiny do češtiny.

Práce se dělí na dvě části - teoretickou část a praktickou část. Teoretická část obsahuje teorii překladu, její typologii z vícero pohledů, roli překladatele, překladatelský proces a metody překladu. Obsahuje také informace o odborném funkčním stylu vědeckých a populárně vědeckých textů.

Praktická část se skládá z překladu, komentáře a glosáře. Komentář obsahuje mikro a makro přístupy, které uvádějí obecné informace vztahující se k původnímu textu a analýzu textu z lexikální a morfo-syntaktické úrovně.

11 APPENDICES

11.1 The source text

PART V Using English

Parts II, III, and IV of this book investigate the structural properties of English: the inventory of elements in vocabulary, grammar, phonology, and graphology which are used to produce meaningful words and sentences. The study of these elements is relatively abstract: we can describe the way a sentence is constructed, or the semantic links between words, or the system of vowels and consonants, without having to say anything about who is using them, or when, or where, or why. Part V turns this approach on its head.

It begins by introducing the notion of discourse (§19), which includes the analysis of larger stretches of speech or writing than the sentence, as well as a study of the factors which facilitate linguistic interaction. This leads to the notion of texts – units of discourse which belong to particular social situations, and whose distinctive linguistic features identify a range of varieties in the language. After a review of the differences between speech and writing and between monologue and dialogue, §20 looks systematically at these varieties, beginning with those which convey geographical information about the user: regional dialects.

The section opens with an international overview – a range of newspaper material illustrating a day in the life of the (written) English language. It then looks in detail at the differences between and within American and British varieties of English, the two chief models of world language use. The three Celtic-influenced dialects of the British Isles are each examined, with particular attention paid to Scots, which has a much richer dialect literature, extending from the Middle Ages to the present, than any other variety of World English apart from Standard English itself. We then follow the same route as in Part I, complementing the historical perspective presented there with contemporary observations on the features of

English in Canada, the Caribbean, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. We look separately at pidgin and creole Englishes, and also at the emerging range of second language Englishes in India, Africa, South Asia, and elsewhere.

The more we study regional variation, the more we find we cannot make sense of it without taking social variation into account. The next section (§21) therefore looks at what is involved under this heading. It begins with a discussion of two important issues – prescriptivism and gender – which have been referred to at several other places in this book, and then reviews the chief occupational varieties, which provide the clearest examples of distinctive social uses of language. Special attention is paid to the English used in religion, science, the law, politics, the news media, broadcasting, and advertising. The chapter concludes with a brief look at restricted varieties of English, and at some of the new varieties which are emerging as a consequence of the electronic revolution.

Part V ends with an examination of the nature of stylistic deviance and the associated domain of personal linguistic identity. Four broad areas are covered in §22. It begins with an account of the proliferating world of word games, in both spoken and written English. Next it identifies those varieties which are especially likely to break linguistic rules, and looks at the kind of deviance which emerges. The field of verbal humour is found to play a central role in all of this, so the role played by different levels of language structure in jokes and other forms of jocular activity is separately examined. Part V then concludes with a similarly detailed review of the way the various levels of language structure can be used to guide our observation when approaching the most creative domain of language use: English literature.

◀ This sequence of photographs, taken by Jack Chambers in Toronto, anticipates several of the themes of Part V: there is evidence of distinctive regional variety (§20), occupational variety (§21), and creative usage (§22). Canadian identity is suggested by the unusual spelling combination of *tire* (US) and *centre* (UK), and

other Canadian expressions can be seen in the *Hydro* office (the publicly owned electricity company), the sign for *take out* food (not *take away*), and the *Kiss 'n' Ride* subway station (where one's spouse drops one off, and gives one a kiss before one takes the underground the rest of the way to work).

19 · VARIETIES OF DISCOURSE

There is a major qualitative difference between studying the components of English structure (as presented in Parts II, III, and IV) and studying the domains of English use. The structural properties of the language are many and complex, but at least they are finite and fairly easy to identify: there are only so many sounds, letters, and grammatical constructions, and although there is a huge vocabulary, at least the units (the lexemes, p.118) are determinate and manageable. None of this applies when we begin to investigate the way English is used: we are faced immediately with a bewildering array of situations, in which the features of spoken or written language appear in an apparently unlimited number of combinations and variations. Sometimes the result is a use of English, or of a feature of English, which is highly distinctive and easily explained, as is often encountered in regional dialects and in some of the more institutionalized areas of language use, such as religion and law. Rather more often, we are faced with usage that is subtle and indeterminate, and which demands detailed and lengthy analysis before we can reach an understanding of what its purpose is and how it works, as is often found in social dialects and in some of the more creative areas of language use, such as humour and literature.

Recent years have seen considerable progress in the study of language in use, and the emergence of several paradigms of enquiry, as people probe the topic from different points of view. Some linguists favour a 'bottom up' approach, studying the way sentences combine into larger units of discourse, and focusing on the role played by specific features of language in facilitating successful interaction. In this approach, whole books might be written on the communicative role of a tiny aspect of language (such as the use of *you know* in conversations). Other linguists work 'top down', beginning with a broadly defined category – such as an area of knowledge (science, politics), a social situation (gender, class), or a communicative genre (poetry, joke) – and examining the range of linguistic features which are found within it. Every conceivable kind of academic enquiry can be found, such as heavily illustrated descriptions of data samples, meticulous statistical or experimental analyses of individuals and groups, ambitious taxonomies, and highly abstract theoretical outlines. The various branches of linguistics that investigate the topic, such as sociolinguistics, stylistics, discourse analysis, pragmatics, and textlinguistics, present a remarkable range of methodologies and emphases. Part V cannot give a comprehensive account of all that goes on under these headings, but a serious effort is made in the following

pages to represent the range of approaches which exist, and to give an indication, through the examples, of the complexity which lies behind the apparently simple notion of 'using English'.

GOOD MORNING, GOOD MORNING!

An apparently simple greeting or leave-taking can hide some quite subtle conventions of use. The chief daily greetings (*Good morning/afternoon/evening/night*), along with their regional and colloquial variants (such as Australian *G'day*, informal *'morning*, intimate *night-night*), do not function in identical ways.

• *Good morning* is conventionally used just once between any pair of people. If A meets B for the first time in the office at 9 o'clock, it would be appropriate for each to say *Good morning*. If A meets B again at 9.05, the greeting is not exchanged a second time. Indeed, B would find it distinctly odd if A were to repeat *Good morning*, and might even be upset or puzzled (if A were the boss, did he/she notice me? if B were the boss, is A trying to gain my attention for some reason?). However, the same constraint does not apply to *Good night*. If A meets B on leaving the office at 6 o'clock, then both are likely to say *Good night*. But if A forgets something, returns to the office to get it, and meets B again five minutes later, both may use the exchange again without a problem.

• Consciously deviant uses exist. There are circumstances where *Good morning* may be said in the afternoon, such as when someone sleeps in very late, and arrives in front of the family when mid-day is long gone. Correspondingly, *Good afternoon* can be said in the morning, such as by a sarcastic boss to a late-arriving employee. *Good night* can be said at any time of day, if someone seems about to fall asleep (spoken

HELLO, GOOD EVENING, AND WELCOME!

This predictable greeting from British media personality David Frost became a catch phrase in the late 1960s. As a result, it was often used outside its original time frame – the only case the author has encountered of *good evening* being used in the morning.



POTTY THING TO SAY

The Duke of Dunstable, having read all he wanted to read in *The Times* and given up a half-hearted attempt to solve the crossword puzzle, had left the terrace and was making his way to Lady Constance's sitting-room. He was looking for someone to talk to, and Connie, though in his opinion potty, like all women, would be better than nothing....

He reached his destination, went in without knocking, found Lady Constance busy at her desk, and shouted 'Hoy!'

The monosyllable, uttered in her immediate rear in a tone of voice usually confined to the hog-calling industry of western America, made Lady Constance leap like a rising trout. But she was a hostess. Concealing her annoyance, not that that was necessary, for her visitor since early boyhood had never noticed when he was annoying anyone, she laid down her pen and achieved a reasonably bright smile.

'Good morning, Alaric.'

'What do you mean, good morning, as if you hadn't seen me before today?' said the Duke, his low opinion of the woman's intelligence confirmed. 'We met at breakfast, didn't we? Potty thing to say. No sense in it.' (P. G. Wodehouse, *Service with a Smile* (1961), Ch. 2.)

either by the tired one or by an observer). *Good evening* seems to be the most conventional of all the daily greetings, with hardly any likelihood of hearing it used at other times of day.

• *Good morning*, *Good afternoon*, and *Good evening* may be used as we arrive or as we depart, within the appropriate time frame; but *Good night* can be used only as a leave-taking. Similarly, only the first three can be used as an opening acknowledgement,

such as when we arrive at a hotel or telephone a switchboard; even in the middle of the night, *Good evening* or *Good morning* will be used, never *Good night*. On one international television sports link-up, the commentator welcomed the worldwide viewing audience with the words *Hello, good evening, good afternoon, good morning, wherever you are*. He did not use *Good night* – which would have been an open invitation to viewers to switch off!

CONSTRUCTING A DISCOURSE

When we construct a piece of connected speech or writing, whether in monologue or dialogue (p.294), we are constantly tapping the lexical and grammatical resources of the language to find ways of making our composition flow fluently while at the same time expressing the nuances we wish to convey. The examples on this page illustrate some of the remarkable range of devices which exist for this purpose, and which most adults use and respond to with unselfconscious ease.

57 WAYS OF SAYING NO

Yes and **no** are among the most commonly used words in the language, but they are often insufficient to capture the various degrees of affirmation or disinclination which we may wish to communicate by way of a response. The prosodic features of the language (intonation, in particular) play an important role in adding nuances to these words (p.248), but our social survival requires linguistic competence in a much more extensive repertoire of responses. Here is a selection of alternatives for **no**, used as a response to a request for, say, the loan of some object. They express a range of emotions from embarrassed reluctance to forthright antagonism.

Inarticulate

Ah
Oh

Apologetic/ Uncomfortable

Alas
Can't help
Do me a favour
Give over
I'm afraid...
Sorry
Unfortunately

Evasive

Any other time...
Ask Arthur
'Bye
Must run
Not right now
Talk to me later
The thing is...
What a pity

Definite (with negative word)

No can do
No chance
No go
No way (José)

Never (in a thousand years)
Not in a million years
Not on your nelly
I should say not

Definite (no negative word)

Are you serious?
Drop dead
Fat chance
Get lost / knotted / stuffed...
God forbid
Hard cheese
I'd rather die
Impossible
Over my dead body
Push off
See you in hell first
Tough titty
Unthinkable
You must be joking
You've had it

Excuses

If it were up to me
I'm right out
It's more than my job's worth
It's not in my hands
Love to, but...

Euphemisms/Clichés

Chance would be a fine thing
Closed for business
Correspondence closed
If wish were father to the deed
Je regrette, mais...
Not my department
Not my remit
The editor regrets...
The umpire's decision is final
Would that it were possible

Parents begin to teach their children to read between the lines in this way at an early age. Here are some of the negative responses used by parents to a request by their 4-year-old for another biscuit.

You've just had one.
It'll be tea time soon.
Ask Daddy.
I haven't heard the magic word yet.
This is saying no without saying no.

THE QUEEN OF SHEBA, AND OTHERS



A scene from the British TV series *Yes, Prime Minister* showing the characters Prime Minister James Hacker (left, played by Paul Eddington) and Cabinet Secretary Sir Humphrey Appleby (Nigel Hawthorne).

Some of the most acute observers of the discourse rules of the language are comedians and humorists. Bending and breaking these rules is a comic's stock-in-trade. Here is a list prepared by British newspaper columnist Miles Kington in an honest effort to help tourists and students of English improve their ways of expressing disbelief in each other.

Oh?
Oh, really?
Well.
Well, well.
Well, I never.
Is that so?
How very interesting.
How very, very interesting.
Is that a fact?
Who'd have thought it?
You don't say?
Tell me more.
Be that as it may.
With the greatest respect...
That's all very well, but...
I beg leave to differ.
On the other hand...
Is it not possible that...?
If you say so.
I'll believe you – thousands wouldn't.
Well, I'll be...
Well, I'll be damned.
Well, I'll be horns-woggled.
You must be joking.
I have my doubts.
I begin to wonder.
Credibility gap ahead.
A likely story.
A tall tale.
I smell a rat.

Says you.
Some hope.
Pull the other one.
Tell that to the Marines.
Do you think I was born yesterday?
What do you take me for – a fool?
Think I'm wet behind the ears?
Are you trying to teach your grandmother to suck eggs?
Give us a break.
And I'm the Queen of Sheba.
Are you taking the Michael?
Are you extracting the urine?
And pigs can fly.
I should cocoa.
Liar liar, pants on fire!
Same to you, with knobs on.
You're talking through your hat.
You're putting me on.
You're winding me up.
Horsefruit, sailor!
Moonshine!
Baloney!
Fiddlesticks!
Stuff and nonsense!
Codswallop!
What a load of cobblers!
Tosh!
Balderdash!
Mullarkey!
Go and take a running jump!
Get lost!
If you believe that, you'll believe anything.
I bet you say that to all the girls.
That'll be the day.
Don't give me that.

You're asking me to swallow...?
You're going out on a limb here.
You would say that, wouldn't you?
Well, I'm not saying you're wrong.
Well, stranger things have happened at sea.
These are deep waters, Watson.
Much work still needs to be done on this theory.
While in no way doubting the essential veracity of what you say, I am not sure that this is the best moment to announce it, and it might be as well to put it on the back burner for a while, so I am going to recommend that you stall for a time by announcing a public enquiry, or a select committee hearing, or any of the usual delaying tactics, before we ask the media and the public to swallow a lie of quite this enormity...
Are you not being economical with the truth?
...with the actualité?
I can see what you're getting at.
I can see what you're trying to say.
I can see the point.
I see...
I understand...
I'm sure you're right...
Yes, sir...
Yes, Minister...
Yes, Prime Minister...
Of course, Your Majesty...

MICROLINGUISTIC STUDIES

There is only one way to establish the exact function of the various elements which contribute to the organization of discourse, and that is to subject a substantial amount of linguistic data to a microlinguistic analysis. In the case of spoken discourse (p. 291), a recording of reasonable acoustic quality needs to be made, then transcribed with maximum attention to detail, paying particular attention to its pauses, interruptions, false starts, hesitations, and other such features. Ideally, a full prosodic transcription should be included (p. 248), though the level of specialized training required to hear prosodic effects accurately means that this is not always a practical option. Each instance of a particular item of interest is noted – the word *well*, the hesitation noise *er*, the clause *you see* – and its context examined to establish what role it may be playing at that point in the discourse. An immediate intuitive response to the item can be sharpened by manipulating the data in various ways, such as omitting the item to see how this affects the meaning or acceptability of the utterance, or contrasting it with another item. By comparing a large number of instances, the aim is to arrive at an informative classification of uses, and to develop a theory of the organization of discourse which can then be tested against other kinds of utterance. After more than a decade of research, there are now several theoretical frameworks which have emerged in this way.

A SAMPLE TRANSCRIPTION

A few lines illustrating the potential complexity of a discourse transcript, including prosodic features (from J. J. Gumperz, 1982, p. 105). Note the way the speech of the two speakers (B and A) is laid out so that the points of overlap can be clearly seen. For further illustration of intonation contrasts, see p. 248.

B: yeh but / sometimes I get wonderin' whether /	[overlapping speech
it's all related // cause	... relatively long pause
A: but ultimately it is / right //	/ minor boundary marker
I mean everybody started out / people who were in	// major boundary marker
nineteen hundred /	ˋ low falling tone
they did everythin' / right //	ˋ high falling tone
B: yeh but that's then / that's not now / now	ˊ falling rising tone
A: but ultimately it	ˋ rising falling tone
they it ... / so it's all spread out now //	ˊ level tone
	ˊ upward pitch register shift
	ˊ high secondary stress
	ˊ low secondary stress
	ˊ (doubled mark) extra loud
	acc accelerated tempo
	dec decelerated tempo

DISCOURSE DIRECTION

Some items play a particular role in controlling the direction of movement within a discourse. They signal such broad organizational features as topic identification, change, and exemplification, and such logical relationships as topic contrast and reinforcement. It is never possible to present a truly simple account, as several items have 'fuzzy' meaning (p. 169), and analytical categories (such as evaluating and summarizing) are not always easy to apply consistently. Nonetheless, several studies have provided useful first approximations.

One such approach focuses on lexical phrases (p. 163), recognizing eight types of what it calls *macro-organizers*. These are seen to operate at two levels: *global* features determine the overall shape of the discourse; *local* features mark changes of direction operating in a more restricted way.

Global macro-organizers

Topic markers: let's look at X; what do you think of X?; have you heard about X?; let me start with X

Topic shifters: by the way; let's move on to Y; that reminds me of Y; this is off the subject, but Y

Summarizers: in a nutshell; that's about it; in effect; to cut a long story short; what I'm trying to say is Z

Local macro-organizers

Exemplifiers: in other words; for instance; to give an example; it's like A

Relators: nonetheless; however; and also; it has to do with B; it's the same with B

Evaluators: I think/don't think that C; as far as I can see; seems to me; I'm absolutely certain

Qualifiers: the catch is; it depends on D; that's true but D; this doesn't mean that D

Asides: where was I?; I guess that's beside the point; I'm getting ahead of myself here

The following extract from a meeting between a teacher (T) and a student (S) to talk about a thesis shows the use of several of these organizational features. This exchange is typical of a discourse where serious business is being transacted, and where care needs to be taken (notwithstanding the informal style) with the manipulation of meaning. There are far fewer such features in the more loosely structured language of everyday conversation.
(After J. R. Nattinger & J. S. DeCarrico, 1992.)

	T: What I wanted mainly to talk about was your part on the review of the literature.	Topic marker
	It seems to me that here you just list things, that here you list all this stuff you read, but you don't really discuss it.	Evaluator
Clarification	S: Huh? I'm not sure what you mean. I do discuss it... see, in this part here, I talk about it.	
	T: Well, you sort of do. Here, you say that these theories are the leading ones, in the current literature these are important.	Qualifier
	However, that's not all you need to say here, you need to say that these are competing theories, or at least that they are different theories, and also you need to say which you choose to base your study on. Not only that, you have to say why you support that one... you need to say why. OK? Do you see?	Relator
Comprehension check	S: Yeah, I guess so. OK I'll try.	
Accepting response	T: OK so (level intonation) you need to do more than just list these and tell that they're important, you need to discuss them more and say why you're basing your study on a certain one. OK, now (falling intonation)... I also wanted to talk to you about your hypotheses. I don't think they are written well enough, they're not quite clear enough. How about 1 and 4? They seem to me to contradict each other.	Topic shifter
	S: Oh yeah, that isn't what I mean... I guess maybe they do, I guess so.	Topic shifter
	T: OK so (level intonation) you need to state each one more clearly...	Evaluator
		Exemplifier
		Evaluator
		Summarizer
		Summarizer

OH YES?

Oh is surprisingly frequent in conversation, whether formal or informal, but pinning down its function proves to be extremely difficult. It has little by way of a dictionary meaning which we can hold on to. *Oh!* on its own, as a minor sentence (p. 216), is relatively straightforward: it is an exclamation, expressing a strong emotion whose exact value depends on the choice of intonation and facial expression (p. 248). What is less obvious is why we use *oh* to begin an utterance – sometimes followed by a brief pause, sometimes not.

Does he like opera?
Oh maybe he's too young.

Here the word does not have any exclamatory force. It may be said with very little emphasis, often quite rapidly. In such circumstances it seems to be more like an introductory particle. The question is, what function does this particle have?

In a detailed study of *oh* and related words (e.g. *well*, *so*, *now*, *y'know*), American linguist Deborah Schiffrin argues the case for a discourse function, identifying several types of context in which it commonly occurs. (All the following examples are taken from her recordings of informal conversation, with a summary of preceding context in square brackets, where needed. Transcription conventions are unchanged.

A colon marks a lengthened syllable.)

Correcting oneself

I think it was in seventeen: fifteen, or seventeen fifty five. I'm not sure when. Eh: oh I'm wrong. Seventeen seventeen.

Correcting someone else

[How about 'Death of a Salesman'?]

A: Well that was a show, sure.

B: **Oh** that was a movie too.

Requesting clarification

A: Is there anyone you would uh: talk about–

B: **Oh** you mean outside?

Request for elaboration

A: Does she come here or:

B: No we go out to lunch, mostly, I stop over there.

A: **Oh**, where do you like to go?

Suddenly remembered question

Oh listen, I forgot to ask you...

Knowledge re-orientation

A: How can I get an appointment t'go down there t'bring my son on a tour?

B: **Oh** I didn't even know they gave tours!

Unanticipated information

Oh I didn't know that.

Display of recognition

A: We ate at the—we ate at the: eh that Shanty?

Seafood Shanty?

B: **Oh** yeh, I've heard that's good.

Receiving new information

A: Hey, Henry, your girlfriend's here!

B: [from living room]

Oh yeh?

Marking an intense reaction

[Girls' High still has a reputation.]

A: But, like it did?

B: **Oh** yes. Girls' High is still rated. Y'know Girls' High is rated higher than Central.

Some of these uses are easy to recognize, such as the *oh* of surprise (*Oh yeah!* = 'Gosh I never knew that') or beligerence (*Oh yeah!* = 'You wanna make trouble?') or the *oh* of strong intensity (*Oh really?*, *Oh God!*, *Oh c'mon!*); others require more reflection before we can consciously identify the nuance; but all of the proposed categories occur with some frequency, and any spontaneous conversational exchange of some length will provide copious examples.

Why oh?

Is it possible to find a generalization which will apply to all of these *oh*-using contexts? Schiffrin believes that they are all instances of a single phenomenon – a signal that speakers are preparing to shift their orientation to take account of the information they have just received. We use *oh*, in other words, when we become aware that our knowledge is in a state of change, and are prepared to take the new knowledge on



board. It may be a reformulation of what we already know, or brand new information; it may come from other people in the conversation or from within ourselves. Either way, we find ourselves faced with the task of replacing one piece of information by another, and the *oh* tells our listener that we are ready to carry this out.

The use of *oh* therefore has an important role in discourse interaction. Like *well*, and certain other response words, it signals the nature of our participation in the dialogue. It lets our interlocutor know that we are actively paying special attention to the point which has just been made. It also shows that we are aligning our-

selves towards the other's point of view. To leave *oh* out can make an utterance sound immediately more abrupt or argumentative. It should therefore be plain why we use *oh* so often in informal (friendly) conversation. The whole point of a conversation is to tell each other things. The state of knowledge of each participant is therefore continually changing. *Oh* marks the points where speaker and hearer are jointly focusing their attention on matters of real concern, where the information content is in the process of change. *Oh* is, in short, a marker of information management.

(After D. Schiffrin, 1987, Ch. 4.)

PLEASE

The most interesting property about *please* (apart from its 'magical' social role in persuading others to cooperate) is its discourse function. From a structural point of view, *please* is unique.

- It is not easily assigned to any word class: grammars tend to call it an adverb (p. 211), but it is like no other adverb. It cannot, for example, be modified by *very*: we can say *very kindly*, but not **very please*.
- It can act as a minor sentence in its own right:

A: Would you like some tea?
B: Please.

- When functioning within a sentence, it is not constrained by the syntactic type (p. 218). It may

occur with statements (*I'd like some pudding, please*), questions (*May I have some pudding, please?*), commands (*Give me some pudding, please*), and moodless clauses (*Pudding, please*).

• It has no easily stateable dictionary meaning. If we were to try to define the 'meaning' of *please* at all, it would have to be in terms of what it *does* – to persuade someone to do something.

Are there any sentences, then, where we may not say *please*? That there are many such constraints can be seen from the following:

- He ate more pudding, please.
- I promise you can have some more pudding, please.
- Would you like some more pudding, please?
- Do you want to come to a party, please?

- Give me more pudding or I'll hit you, please.
- I think you're beautiful, please.

These sentences are, respectively, a narrative statement, a promise, an offer, an invitation, a threat, and a compliment. *Please* cannot be used with such sentences, but only with those which are interpretable as a request. The point is not simply a matter of common sense, as can be seen from the errors made by non-native learners of English, who often produce sentences similar to the unacceptable ones above.

In short, *please* is an item whose function is entirely defined by its role in discourse – and moreover, in discourse of a very particular kind (requesting). More than any other word in English, it is a discourse-identifying feature. (After M. Stubbs, 1983, Ch. 4.)

TEXTS AND VARIETIES

The notion of 'using English' involves much more than using our knowledge of linguistic structure (such as the features described on pp. 286–9) to create and interpret sequences of sentences and conversational interactions. It also involves being aware of the range of situations in which English can be used in a distinctive and predictable way, and of the possibilities available to us when we wish to produce or respond to creative uses of the language.

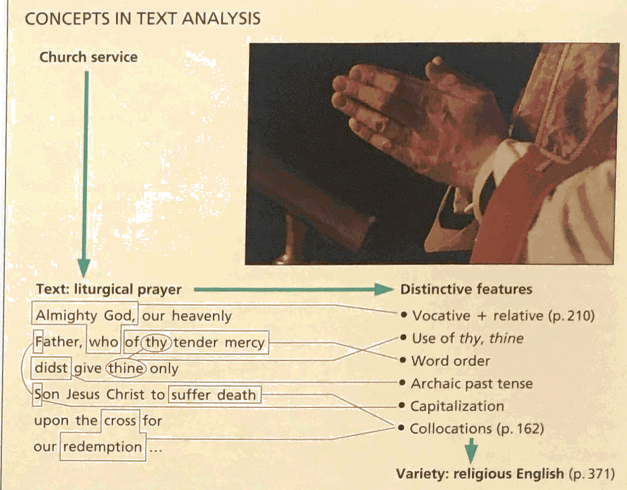
These situations are enormously varied, and not always easy to define, but we can begin to make sense of them by looking at the communicative products, or *texts*, with which they are associated, and at the linguistic features which define these texts' identity. Prayers, posters, road-signs, lectures, sports commentaries, novels, speeches, interviews, and recipes are all texts, by this account. They each have a particular communicative purpose – easier to state in relation to a road-sign than a novel, perhaps, but a communicative purpose nonetheless. They are also relatively self-contained units of discourse, whether spoken or written, and each to some degree has a definable linguistic identity.

Qualifications such as 'relatively' and 'to some degree' are important, because not all texts have boundaries which are equally easy to identify, or use language which is equally distinctive: for example, the boundaries of written texts are typically more determinate than spoken ones, and (within speech) most sermons have a much clearer beginning and end than most conversations. But when investigating uses of English, it is usually practicable to work with a hierarchy of the following notions: *situations* give rise to *texts*, and texts make use of sets of *distinctive linguistic features*. A particular set of these features, representing a category of text, is known as a *variety*. To take just one example: *O living God* is a distinctive feature (a vocative with *O*, p. 220) of a *prayer* text which is found in a *religious* situation: it is therefore a feature of the variety of *religious language*.

Sociolinguistic and stylistic features

The features which identify a variety are not features of the language as a whole, occurring anywhere the language is spoken or written, in all possible social situations. Variety features depend on the presence of certain factors in the social situation. Classifications of these factors vary, but it is possible to group them into two general types, which give rise to what are here called *sociolinguistic* and *stylistic* features.

- *Sociolinguistic features* relate to very broad situational constraints on language use, and chiefly identify the regional and social varieties of the language (e.g. Canadian, Cockney, upper-class, educated).



They are relatively permanent, background features of the spoken or written language, over which we have relatively little conscious control. We tend not to change our regional or class way of speaking as we go about our daily business, and usually do not even realize that it is there.

- *Stylistic features* relate to constraints on language use that are much more narrowly constrained, and identify personal preferences in usage (poetry, humour) or the varieties associated with occupational groups (lecturers, lawyers, journalists). They are relatively temporary features of our spoken or written language, over which we do have some degree of conscious control. We often adopt different group uses of language as we go through our day (e.g. family, job, religion, sports), and frequently change our speaking or writing style to make a particular effect (as when we put on an accent while telling a story, or play with language in an informal letter, p. 402).

The following pages illustrate many uses of English, manifested in a selection of texts associated with both spoken and written varieties of the language. Chapters 20 and 21 deal with sociolinguistic variation, chiefly of a regional and social kind. Chapters 22 and 23 deal with stylistic variation, with particular reference to occupational and personal factors. But we begin with a review of two very general dimensions which must always be taken into account when considering the characteristics of a language variety: the chosen medium of communication (speech vs writing), and the type of participation involved (monologue vs dialogue).

SPEECH AND WRITING

Spoken and written language display a number of important differences, over and above the obvious distinction in physical form – that speech uses the medium of ‘phonic substance’, typically air-pressure movements produced by the vocal organs, whereas writing uses the medium of ‘graphic substance’, typically marks on a surface made by a hand using an implement. These differences are chiefly to do with language use, arising out of the fact that speakers and writers are operating in fundamentally different communicative situations. But there are also several differences in language structure: the grammar and vocabulary of speech is by no means the same as that of writing, nor do the contrasts available in phonology (§17) correspond to those available in graphology (§18).

Writing is sometimes thought to be little more than ‘speech written down’. Speech, correspondingly, is often judged by its closeness to writing (p. 236). Neither position is valid. The two mediums, though historically related, function as independent methods of communication. There are few circumstances where

we are faced with a genuine choice between speaking or writing. Normally, whenever two people are in earshot, they speak to each other. Only very special circumstances – wicked children passing secret messages in class; partners who are ‘not talking’ to each other; a jury foreman passing a verdict to a court official; someone who cannot speak or hear (and who is unable to use sign language) – would motivate the enormous trouble of writing down what we wish to ‘say’. Conversely, people who are separated by distance in space or time, and who lack electronic means of communication (or the money to use them), have no alternative but to write to each other.

Moreover, the status of the two mediums is not the same. Written formulations, such as contracts, are usually required to make agreements legally binding. Historical documents, ancient inscriptions, original manuscripts, first editions, sacred writings, and other such material are given a kind of respect which is rarely accorded to speech (though archives of recorded sound are beginning to introduce a balance). Above all, written English provides the standard that society values, and its relative permanence and worldwide circulation have given it a very special place within the life of the community (p. 110).

TWO ELECTRONIC EXCEPTIONS TO THE RULE

Speech is normally interactive – but not when talking to a telephone answering machine, where we have to produce a monologue while pretending it is a dialogue (p. 294). This is not something which comes easily to most people – though abilities improve with practice.

Writing is not an interactive medium in the same way as speech, because of the delay in getting the written message to the reader; and in many kinds of writing there is little expectation of a reply (none at all, *pace* the other sense of ‘medium’, when the writer is dead). But the advent of electronic mail and the fax machine have altered the time parameters dramatically. Questions and answers fly around the world now which are very similar to those that would be used if the participants were talking to each other (p. 390).

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SPEECH AND WRITING

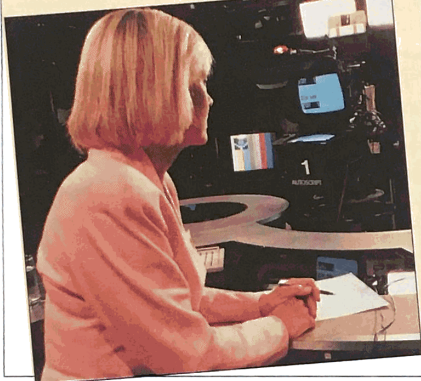
- Speech is time-bound, dynamic, transient. It is part of an interaction in which both participants are usually present, and the speaker has a particular addressee (or several addressees) in mind.
- The spontaneity and speed of most speech exchanges make it difficult to engage in complex advance planning. The pressure to think while talking promotes looser construction, repetition, rephrasing, and comment clauses (p. 229). Intonation and pause divide long utterances into manageable chunks, but sentence boundaries are often unclear (p. 214).
- Because participants are typically in face-to-face interaction, they can rely on such extralinguistic cues as facial expression and gesture to aid meaning (feedback). The lexicon of speech is often characteristically vague, using words which refer directly to the situation (*deictic* expressions, such as *that one, in here, right now*).
- Many words and constructions are characteristic of (especially informal) speech. Lengthy coordinate sentences are normal (p. 226), and are often of considerable complexity. Nonsense vocabulary (p. 130) is not usually written, and may have no standard spelling (*whatchamacallit*). Obscenity may be replaced by graphic euphemism (*f****). Slang and grammatical informality, such as contracted forms (*isn't, he's*) may be frowned upon.
- Speech is very suited to social or ‘phatic’ functions, such as passing the time of day, or any situation where casual and unplanned discourse is desirable. It is also good at expressing social relationships, and personal opinions and attitudes, due to the vast range of nuances which can be expressed by the prosody and accompanying non-verbal features.
- There is an opportunity to rethink an utterance while it is in progress (starting again, adding a qualification). However, errors, once spoken, cannot be withdrawn (the one exception is when a sound engineer performs wonders of auditory plastic surgery on a tape-recording of nonfluent speech); the speaker must live with the consequences. Interruptions and overlapping speech are normal and highly audible.
- Unique features of speech include most of the prosody (p. 248). The many nuances of intonation, as well as contrasts of loudness, tempo, rhythm, and other tones of voice cannot be written down with much efficiency.
- Writing is space-bound, static, permanent. It is the result of a situation in which the writer is usually distant from the reader, and often does not know who the reader is going to be (except in a very vague sense, as in poetry).
- Writing allows repeated reading and close analysis, and promotes the development of careful organization and compact expression, with often intricate sentence structure. Units of discourse (sentences, paragraphs) are usually easy to identify through punctuation and layout.
- Lack of visual contact means that participants cannot rely on context to make their meaning clear; nor is there any immediate feedback. Most writing therefore avoids the use of deictic expressions, which are likely to be ambiguous. Writers must also anticipate the effects of the time-lag between production and reception, and the problems posed by having their language read and interpreted by many recipients in diverse settings.
- Some words and constructions are characteristic of writing, such as multiple instances of subordination in the same sentence (p. 70), elaborately balanced syntactic patterns, and the long (often multi-page) sentences found in some legal documents. Certain items of vocabulary are never spoken, such as the longer names of chemical compounds.
- Writing is very suited to the recording of facts and the communication of ideas, and to tasks of memory and learning. Written records are easier to keep and scan; tables demonstrate relationships between things; notes and lists provide mnemonics; and text can be read at speeds which suit a person's ability to learn.
- Errors and other perceived inadequacies in our writing can be eliminated in later drafts without the reader ever knowing they were there. Interruptions, if they have occurred while writing, are also invisible in the final product.
- Unique features of writing include pages, lines, capitalization, spatial organization, and several aspects of punctuation. Only a very few graphic conventions relate to prosody, such as question marks and underlining for emphasis. Several written genres (e.g. timetables, graphs, complex formulae) cannot be read aloud efficiently, but have to be assimilated visually.

MIXED MEDIUM

The distinction between the medium of speech and the medium of writing at first sight seems clear-cut: either things are written or they are spoken. In practice, the situation is considerably more complex. When we choose to use either one of these mediums, the reason for our choice may require us to bear in mind the existence of the other, and that then influences the nature of the language we use. The figure below summarizes the chief alternatives which are likely to produce distinctive styles of spoken or written English, and the text illustrates some typical situations under each heading.

TELEPROMPTING

A television presenter facing a teleprompter, also called (from the manufacturers' names) an *autocue* or *autoscript*. The text is typed on rolls of transparent material, and projected as large type, enabling the presenters to read it. It is so positioned that they can see it while facing the camera, conveying the illusion of direct speech to the viewer. Any style of text can be used – informal or formal, monologue or dialogue.



SPEECH

If we choose to speak, we may intend our utterance to be heard immediately. This is the normal state of affairs. But there are several interesting alternatives.

- We may intend our utterance to be heard at a later point in time, as when we use a telephone answering machine (p. 291).
- We may intend that what we say should not be heard, as when we speak *sotto voce* ('under our breath'). There are of course two further options here: the genuine *sotto voce*, which our listener does not hear, but which nonetheless makes us feel better for having said it; and the pseudo *sotto voce*, which we intend our listener to hear (usually for jocular purposes). Unintentionally overheard *sotto voce* can lead to trouble for the speaker, though this depends on non-linguistic factors (such as the relative physical build of speaker and listener).
- We may intend our utterance to be written down. If so, there are two further possibilities: we may leave the task of representing what we say to the listener, thus speaking in a relatively 'natural' way (as in some magazine interviews or police statements); or we may speak 'carefully', instructing the writer to ignore non-fluencies and errors (as in letter dictation).

WRITING

If we choose to write, we normally intend that what we have written should be read; and the norm, at least since late classical times, has been for the recipient to read silently. Here too there are several alternatives.

- We may choose to write with the intention that what we have written should be read aloud. If so, we must make a further choice. We may write in such a way that our end-product, when read aloud, will sound like written language. It will be relatively formal and controlled. Those who prepare the text for radio news-readers fall into this category. Alternatively, we may write in such a way that the end-product will not sound scripted, as in those who write material for radio and television drama. The latter are not always successful, of course.
- We may choose to write with the intention that only some of what we have written should be read aloud, the rest being ignored. An example of this rather unusual situation can be found in a radio channel's continuity studio, where information of potential interest to the listener (e.g. about the weather, traffic delays) is continually coming in on a television screen or being passed to the presenter in note form. The presenter selects what there is time to incorporate into the running order of the programme. The material arrives in a variety of styles, often highly elliptical, reflecting the ongoing rush of the live broadcast situation.

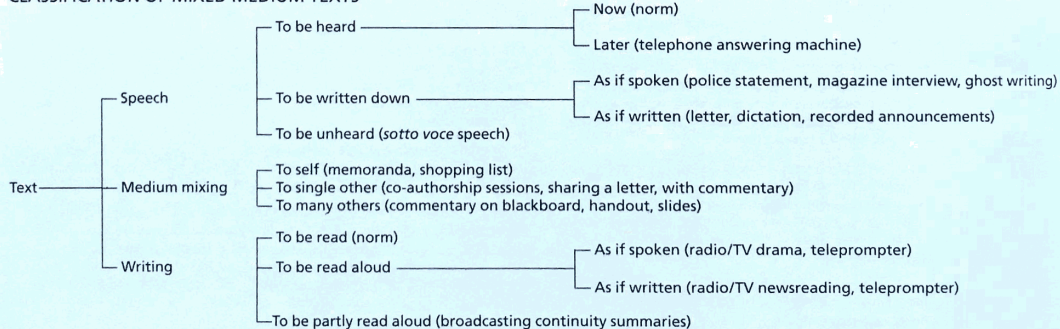
MIXING

There remain a few situations where speaking and writing are mutually dependent: the language used is partly made up of speaking/listening activities and partly of reading/writing activities, in proportions that are sometimes difficult to disentangle. There are three chief possibilities, depending on the nature of the addressee.

- We may address ourselves in this mixed way, as when we compile a shopping list simultaneously questioning ourselves about what we want while writing down some of what we say.
- We may address a single listener, as when people work together in a co-authorship situation, jointly poring over a text (an academic paper, a sitcom script) and each contributing suggestions to it.
- We may address a group of listeners, as when a teacher is using the blackboard, keeping up a running commentary to a class while doing so.

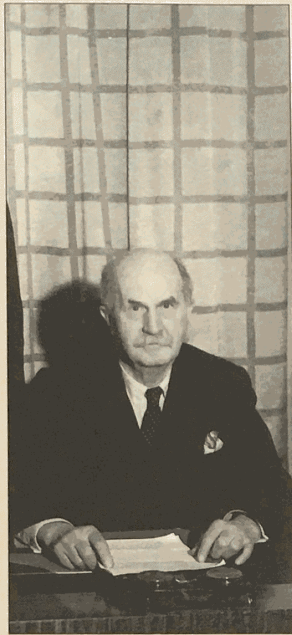
In such cases, an audio recording would tell only half the story, as would a photograph of the written work. Both mediums jointly work together to produce a successful use of language.

CLASSIFICATION OF MIXED MEDIUM TEXTS



HOW TO LECTURE

Sir Lawrence Bragg (1891–1971), joint Nobel prize-winner with his father at the age of 25, and later Cavendish Professor of Experimental Physics at Cambridge. As resident professor at the Royal Institution (1953–66) he inaugurated the weekly 'schools lectures' for children, and became widely known for the clarity of his own lecturing style. He wrote a number of papers on the topic of lecturing (following in the tradition of Michael Faraday, who was also much interested in the subject, p. 87), and his remarks provide a relevant perspective on the different roles of spontaneous vs scripted speech. His comments on the nature of transcribed spontaneous speech are echoed elsewhere in this book (p. 214).



not talk. I must write it out,' I am tempted to ask, 'Then why lecture? Why not send a written account to your friends and let them read it comfortably at home, instead of dragging them all out to a lecture hall to listen to your reading the very same thing?'

We come back, it seems to me, to the essential feature of a lecture which justifies bringing the lecturer and his audience together. It is the emotional contact between lecturer and audience. If a lecturer has to find his words as he speaks, he will be automatically restrained from going too fast because he is thinking along with his audience. Every lecturer knows the trick of watching a few sympathetic faces in the audience and of judging (by noting their

response) whether he has been successful in making his points or whether he must put things another way. A lecturer who reads is earthbound to his script, but the lecturer who talks can enjoy a wonderful feeling of being airborne and in complete accord with his audience. It is the greatest reward of lecturing.

Footnote

It is my experience that when I have to read a literal transcript of one of my lectures I am quite appalled, even when I have felt that the actual talk was rather a good one. The account taken from the tape-record is ungrammatical, with jerky unfinished sentences and repetitions, and one blushes to read it. I have found that most of my colleagues have had the same experience. There may be some speakers whose language is impeccable in written form, but I am not convinced that the polished talk is necessarily the best. A talk can be 'craggy' and yet very effective, just as a bust in which the artist has thumbbed on irregular chunks of clay is often a far more brilliant likeness than one which is carefully smoothed to the finest detail. It is more 'live' just because it leaves more to the imagination it excites.

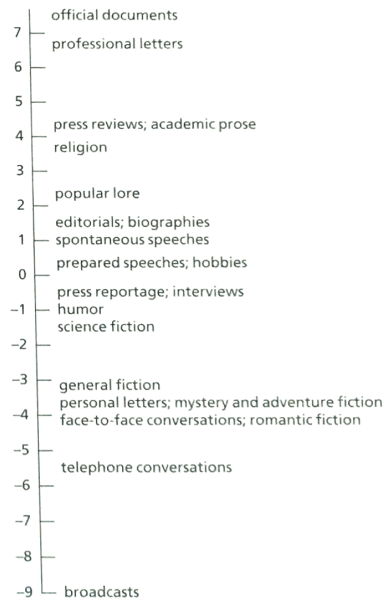
Advice to Lecturers

I feel so strongly about the wrongness of reading a lecture that my language may seem immoderate. I think it is a dreadful thing to do, something out of keeping with all that a lecture should mean. The spoken word and the written word are quite different arts. Though the reader can pause and go back to a passage he has found difficult, the listener cannot do so and may lose the thread of the argument. It is boring in a written account to be repetitious; it is right in a spoken account to put a key idea in several ways to make sure the audience has grasped the point. When a man writes out his lecture he inevitably writes it as if it were to be read, not heard. The ideas follow each other too fast. It is, of course, far easier for the lecturer to read than for him to 'think on his feet' by constructing his sentences on the spot, because he can frame his sentences at his leisure. I realize that many lecturers read their material from a feeling of modesty, thinking they will give a poor rendering if they have no script. While appreciating their reluctance, I am sure they are wrong. I feel that to collect an audience and then read one's material is like inviting a friend to go for a walk and asking him not to mind if you go alongside him in your car. It is easy for the lecturer to deliver well-considered mrounded phrases, but the audience has to follow and to think. If someone says, 'I dare

OVERLAPS BETWEEN SPEECH AND WRITING

The differences noted between speech and writing on p. 291 are best thought of as trends rather than as absolute distinctions. For example, while it is true that a great deal of speech depends on a shared context, and thus uses many situation-dependent expressions (such as *this/that, here/there*), it is not true of all speech. A spoken lecture is usually quite self-contained, except when it refers to hand-outs or board diagrams. On the other hand, such written material as office memos and personal letters regularly depend on a shared context. 'Follow that!', begins one informal letter. 'Have you got one for me too?', begins another.

It is therefore very likely that there are few, if any, absolute differences between speech and writing, and that no single parameter of linguistic variation can distinguish all spoken from all written genres. Rather, the range of potentially distinguishing linguistic features provides a 'pool' of resources which are utilized by spoken and written genres in various ways. The different genres of speech and writing always seem to overlap in the way they use a particular linguistic variable. For example, using the criterion of explicitness of reference mentioned above, one study showed that, while written genres do tend to have high scores (i.e. their reference is less situation-dependent) and spoken genres have low scores (i.e. their reference is more situation-dependent), there were several exceptions. Some kinds of spoken language (public speeches and interviews) had relatively high scores, whereas some kinds of written language (types of fiction, in particular) had relatively low scores. It might be thought that, in a diagram such as the one below, which represents the scores obtained on a single scale, all the written varieties should be above zero and all the spoken varieties below. In practice, an overlapping situation obtains. (After D. Biber, 1988.)

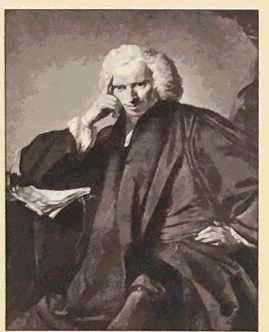


MONOLOGUE AND DIALOGUE

A factor which fundamentally influences the linguistic character of a use of language is the number of participants involved in the activity. Theoretically, the distinction is clear-cut: there is monologue, in which only one person is involved in the linguistic act, and there is dialogue, in which (typically) two people are involved. We would also expect there to be a close correspondence with the two categories of medium (p. 291): monologue is associated with the activities of writing and reading, and dialogue with speaking and listening. As with so many of the theoretical distinctions presented in this book, the outline is broadly correct, but there are several cases where the distinctions become blurred or overlap, and it is these which provide some of the most interesting examples of the way we use language.

We can see how some of these cases arise by paying careful attention to definition. Monologue does not mean that a person is alone, as is typical of most authorial writing – the ‘lonely profession’, as it has been called. It refers rather to an activity in which the language producer does not expect a response, even though an audience may be present (and even though that audience may, from time to time, respond, as in the heckling which can accompany a political speech). In a monologue, the language is conceived as a self-contained presentation. By contrast, it is of the essence of dialogue that the participants expect each other to respond, and it contains many linguistic features which enable this to happen (most obviously, question forms). The interesting cases, accordingly, are those where the situation imposes special demands or constraints upon the speaker/writer, and interferes with the normal expectations of response.

Not all writers believe that their occupation is a monologue. Laurence Sterne (1713–68) certainly did not: Writing, when properly managed, (as you may be sure I think mine is) is but a different name for conversation. (Tristram Shandy, 1760–7, Book I)



SPOKEN MONOLOGUE

A great deal of spoken monologue is written English read aloud, as in this example of the Queen's speech at the opening of Parliament – a case where the expectation of response is as near to a theoretical zero point as it is possible to get. (To emphasize the fact that this is spoken language, the transcription makes no use of capital letters. Units of intonation (p. 248) are shown by /; short pauses by ; and longer pauses by - , - and --. For the full transcription, see D. Crystal & D. Davy, 1969, p. 234.)



my government / . reaffirm their support / . for the defence of the free world / - the basic concept / . of the atlantic alliance / -- and they will continue to play their full part / in the north atlantic treaty organization / - and in other organizations / for collective defence / -- they will review defence policy / - to ensure / by relating / our commitments / . and our resources / - that my armed forces / . are able to discharge / their many tasks / overseas / - with the greatest effectiveness . and economy /

WRITTEN DIALOGUE

Questionnaires and registration forms are classically dialogic in form, their whole purpose being to elicit a response. They represent, however, a rather unusual kind of dialogue, with one participant asking all the questions. The extract is taken from the application form enabling people to register under the UK Data Protection Act (1984).

WRITTEN MONOLOGUE

This page.

8.2 Sources and Disclosures

If this section, tick the appropriate boxes to describe to category A - The sources from which you register they will (categorize any of the data you have described in section 6.2 as follows: B - The person or persons to whom you intend to disclose these data. (Should you wish to tick one or more of the categories marked with an asterisk (*) please give further details in the space provided at the end of page 5)

Individuals or Organizations directly identified with the data

The Civil Service (including) 0181	Legal practitioners 0197
Academy, Institute, Joint Term, Studies 0192	Foreign correspondents 0198
Other members of the House of Commons 0193	Doctors, dentists, other health workers 0199
Employers - civil, naval or maritime 0194	Those who have written about workers 0199
Employment agents 0195	Other employers/agents 0199
Collegiate business associations 0196	Landlords 0199

Others - please describe here

Individuals or Organizations directly identified with the data

Members including employers 0201	Children's services, voluntary bodies 0202
Other companies in the same group 0202	Suppliers, owners of public services 0203
Freightage agents 0203	Persons having authority or control in relation to 0203
Resident, customers, clients or donors in relation to 0204	Teachers 0203

Others - please describe here

Organizations or Individuals (General Categories)

Central Government	Local Government
Home Office 0205	Education authorities 0207
Civil Service 0206	Housing authorities 0208
Other & Welfare, Learning Centre (OFC) 0207	Local Councils/Authorities 0209
Department of Education & Science (DES) 0208	Health Authorities/Trusts 0210
Department of Health 0209	Quangos/Trusts 0211
Department of Employment 0210	Other local government 0212
Home Office 0211	
Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Defense 0212	Other Public Bodies
Other central government authority 0213	Other public bodies not elsewhere specified 0213
Other central government authority 0214	Foreign governments or authorities 0214

SPOKEN DIALOGUE

Everyday informal conversation is the archetypal case of spoken dialogue. (Transcription conventions are the same, with the addition of punctuation to show a question, and the use of parentheses to show a response that does not interrupt the speaker's flow. For the full transcription, see D. Crystal & D. Davy, 1975, p. 65.)

A: but er... you're teaching - erm at a grammar school / aren't you? /
 B: yes / yes /
 A: well what do you think about sex education / - do you think that er it er I mean... there's been a great hooaha about it /
 (B: m /)
 A: recently / hasn't there? / and erm - er about a film that was made / and so on /
 B: mhm / -
 A: well what are your views on it? / -
 A: I find that - with so many of these problems / . marriage / sex education / . as soon as you try and make it . a sort of formal lesson / - the whole thing falls flat / -
 B: m /

UNEXPECTED FEATURES OF DIALOGUE

When we investigate how dialogues actually work, as found in recordings of natural speech, we are often in for a surprise. We are used to seeing dialogue in contexts where the language has been carefully crafted, such as the script of a play or the conversations in a language teaching textbook. Such dialogues may be very effective for their purpose, but they are usually a

long way from what can happen in everyday conversation. The stereotype is that people speak in complete sentences, taking well-defined turns, carefully listening to each other, and producing balanced amounts of speech. The reality is that people often share in the sentences they produce, interrupt each other, do not pay attention to everything that is said, and produce a discourse where the contributions of the participants are wildly asymmetrical. Yet all of this nonetheless produces a perfectly normal, successful conversation.

THE STEREOTYPE

A page from Book 1 of a successful course for foreign learners of English, launched in 1968. The controlled nature of the dialogue appeals to the non-native learner; but there is still a considerable distance between this style of interaction and real conversational English. The writers of the course would be aware of this – it is only Book 1, after all – but it is surprising how many people think that real conversation is like this all the time.

In the whole of this section, which continues for another half a dozen exchanges, Martin speaks 11 times and Jillian 10; he produces 207 words, and she 211. It is a perfectly balanced conversation. There are no interruptions, or speaking at the same time, and the two participants respond carefully to each other. Notwithstanding the content of this passage, their relationship seems safe enough.

Contrast the response pattern of the following extract of dialogue from the author's four-member household around the dinner table, on one of the rare occasions when all were present. The participants are a father (D), a mother (M), a boy (Ben, aged 16), and a girl (Lucy, aged 18):

- D (to Lucy): Are you going out this evening?
 (to which Lucy 'replies')
 L: Where did I put my green skirt?
 (to which Ben 'replies')
 B: Pass the salt, Luce.
 (to which M 'replies', talking to D)
 M: She can never find that skirt.
 (to which Lucy 'replies', to herself)
 L: I think I put it in the wash.
 (to which D 'replies', talking to Ben)
 D: There you are. (and passes the salt)

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JULIAN There. There's your father, his wife, his brother and his sister. Good. Hey, Martin, who are those?

MARTIN Oh, yes. This old woman is my grandmother, and here's her husband, my grandfather. These are very old pictures. Put them on a new page, Jill.

JULIAN Very well. Now we have your grandfather and grandmother on this page and their son and daughters on that page.



MARTIN Oh, look at this, Jill.
 JULIAN Wait a minute. I'm still writing. Now, what is it?

MARTIN Here's that old photograph of us. You are practicing tennis and I'm holding your arm. Here, look. It's a very bad photograph of me. Throw it away.

JULIAN Don't be silly, Martin. Give it to me, please. Yes, it is a bad picture of you. Why are you opening your mouth? But it's a very good photograph of me. No, don't throw this away. But who's this, Martin? Look at the girl in this photograph. Who is she? Martin, you aren't looking at her, Martin, your face is red.

MARTIN Oh, I'm sorry, that's Margaret.

JULIAN She's very pretty. Is she your cousin?

MARTIN Er, no. She's an old friend. Put her on a new page in the album,



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THE REALITY

In many dialogues, the point of conversational turn (when one person stops talking and another one starts) often does not coincide with the end of a sentence. Rather there is a shared expectation that both people will be involved in completing the sentence. This is only likely to be frequent between people who know each other well, and in such circumstances the participants may be totally unconscious that it is happening at all. Twins, for example, regularly complete each other's sentences in this way. Conversely, it can be extremely irritating to be talking to an acquaintance who tries to complete your sentences when you are perfectly capable of finishing them off yourself.

The following extract was based on some of the features observed by US linguist Gene Lerner in a 1991 study of what he called 'sentences in progress'. It is somewhat artificial, in that the various non-fluencies which characterize normal spontaneous speech have been omitted, and the piece has been written to illustrate several features in a short space; but all of the sentence-completing features shown here reflect those which have been observed in naturalistic recordings, and provide a notable contrast with the finished conversational turns of most stage and textbook dialogues.

- A: ...so he was talking about sentences in progress.
 B: Sentences in?
 A: Progress. It's where one person starts, and another
 B: Oh yes, I see, chips in and finishes it off. I know what you mean. I've got a friend who's always doing it. You're making a point, and then he comes in and finishes it off for you. Uncanny, sometimes, how he's able to anticipate exactly
 A: What you're going to say. I know. Some people are almost – almost –
 B: Obsessive
 A: Yes, obsessive about it. It's as if they can't stop. I must say I find it very irritating. But Lerner's paper isn't about the obsessive types. He's suggesting that joint sentence formulation is quite common in everyday informal conversation, and that there are certain syntactic strategies which promote this kind of collaboration between speakers,
 B: Such as...
 A: Well, starting a sentence with an if-clause, for instance, especially if you're being a bit hesitant, thinking something out as you go along...
 B: The other speaker is likely to chip in and finish it off
 A: And the first speaker is happy enough for this to happen, because the point is made, and
 B: Even better, the other person is making the point for him,
 A: Which is what any conversationalist is happy to have happen. After all, what's a conversation about otherwise, if it isn't about getting your point of view across?
 B: And rapport.
 A: And?
 B: Rapport. R A P
 A: P O R T. Oh yes, rapport, of course.
 B: Because when you're in an informal situation like that, I imagine this kind of thing isn't by any means restricted to just one pair of utterances. I guess you could keep going more or less
 A: More or less indefinitely.
 B: Indefinitely, yes.

MONOLOGUE VARIATIONS

There are two possible situations in which someone may choose to engage in a monologue, whether

spoken or written: there may be an audience present, or there may be no audience. In each case there are several interesting variations which lead to linguistically distinctive texts. Few have received in-depth stylistic investigation.

Audience present

With an audience present, the likelihood is that the medium will be speech (p. 291), and interruptability provides an interesting basis for classification. Many spoken monologues presented to an audience are in principle uninterruptable (other than by non-linguistic responses, such as applause). Examples include a very formal speech (p. 294), a lecture, and a sermon (in conservative religious traditions). On the other hand, there are several such situations which do permit interruption. The preachers facing many US black congregations are reinforced in their rhetoric by responses from their listeners, and often adopt a questioning style in order to elicit them (p. 371). Political speeches, likewise, regularly play to the audience in this way (p. 378).

An interesting category is the case of an audience which is present but in no position to respond (a 'pseudo-audience'). Examples of these situations include the dentist who carries on a conversation (even including questions!) while the listener's mouth is full of dental equipment, and the adult talking to a prelinguistic infant (or the mother talking to the baby in her womb). It is a moot point whether such events are best described as monologue or dialogue.

Audience absent

Leaving aside the case of literary expression, which can be defended as either monologue or dialogue (p. 294), the notion that there could be monologue without an audience present at first seems somewhat unusual. Why should we say anything at all, if there is no one to hear what we say? Why write anything, if there is no one there to read it? Both speech and writing, however, provide interesting cases where monologic activities do take place.

Speech activities

There is little scientific data on the point, but evidently people do speak to themselves. The author has it on good authority that academics have been known to talk through solutions to their problems while alone (e.g. in the bath). There is also the common case of another kind of pseudo-audience – this time, where no human being is present – though it is debatable whether such uses might not better be called 'pseudo-dialogues'.

There are, for example, people who talk to plants (and who are ready to give reasons for doing so). There are also people who talk to their car – often to condemn it for malfunctioning. Indeed, virtually any object can be addressed as if it were a person. 'Aren't you nice?', someone in a department store was overheard to say to a

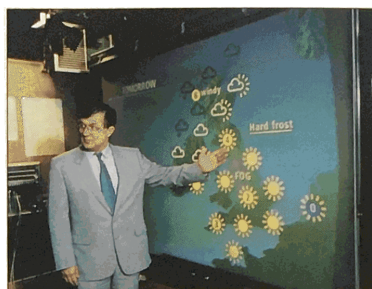
dress. (Whether we include animals within this category, or in the same category as the infants mentioned above, presents a further topic for debate.)

Writing activities

Here too we have the unusual possibility of addressing ourselves. The diary is the classic instance. Other examples include making notes while preparing a talk, and note-taking while listening to a talk being given by someone else. That notes are written for the benefit only of the note-taker is evident if ever we try to use another person's material – a situation which will be familiar to any student who has missed a class and tried to catch up in this way. The note-taker's selection of information will have been made with reference to what the writer already knows, and this, along with the elliptical style that comes with writing under a time constraint, limits the possibilities of shared coherence.

Pseudo-audiences for monologic writing activities are also rather unusual. Written examination answers are probably the clearest instances. There has been a dialogue in one direction (the examiner has asked the student a question), but the reply is a monologue (for the student has no expectation of a response – except indirectly, in the form of a grade). Some party-games also provide pseudo-audiences for written language. In one such game, participants each write a sentence about someone else in the room and drop their contributions (anonymously) into a hat. The sentences are then pulled out randomly in pairs and placed in a sequence. In a children's party, the enjoyment comes from the juxtaposition of incongruous activities (such as *Michael has got a new rabbit – Jane's feeling hungry*). In adult parties, rather more risqué incongruities can transpire.

Lastly, there are cases where we can write as if an audience is present, because we know that at a later stage one will be. Activities here include preparing a handout for a talk, writing an essay for a tutor, or indexing a book. Indexing has sometimes been described as a task where the compiler is trying to anticipate every possible query about content which future readers of the book might have. Indexers are in effect trying to provide answers to a host of unasked questions – an interesting reversal of communicative priorities. They therefore need to work as if their audience is present – though, without knowing who this audience will be, and without receiving any feedback as to whether their judgments have been successful, the task is a difficult one, requiring exceptional communicative commitment.



FORETELLING

There is also the possibility that we may speak as if an audience were present. This can be writing-based, as when we practise a speech before giving it, or an actor rehearses lines, or it can be unscripted, as in the case of talking to an answerphone (p. 291). Television weather-forecasting is probably the most famous example of this second category. The visual material is prepared in advance, but during the broadcast the spoken commentary is spontaneous – with a close eye on the clock, which dictates exactly when the forecast must end. At the BBC, each broadcast has to finish exactly on time, because eight seconds before the forecast ends the next programme starts to run – and cannot be stopped. Woe betide the unfortunate forecaster who launches into a long subordinate clause just before that point is reached. No other form of spontaneous language use presents a speaker with so many constraints in such a short time.

This extract, from a day in a weather-forecaster's life, hints at the difficulties.

- 8.00 am: Start drawing up symbols maps for the first British Isles forecast which is a detailed forecast for the southern region. Is it going to rain in Margate and not in Brighton? Is it going to be colder to the north of London than in Sussex?... Draw maps for the 9am national broadcast which could be of as little as fifteen seconds duration.
- 8.30: Engineers arrive to switch on camera...
- 8.40: Place drawn electronic maps in order to be shown in the bulletin and copy them onto slide file.
- 8.45: Switch on lights, put in earpiece by which the network director communicates during the broadcast. Get dressed and ready for broadcast. Make sure the countdown clock is working. (We work on a system whereby a digital clock appears on the camera lens counting the seconds down.) Practice broadcast.
- 8.56.50: South-east broadcast starts – clock counts down.
- 8.59.20: Cue me to do the broadcast – has to finish exactly at 8.59.50 to link back to the national news at 9am.
- 9.00: National news followed by first broadcast for the British Isles, lasting just fifteen seconds.
- 9.04: Switch off lights and prepare maps for 10am broadcast...

(From Bill Giles, *The Story of Weather*, 1990, p. 97.)

DIALOGUE VARIATIONS

One way of classifying dialogues is to examine their symmetry – to see whether the participants are co-equally involved. There may also be variation in the

timing of the language contributions relative to each other. The norm is for there to be two participants, who speak in sequence (but with a certain amount of expected overlapping, p.288). However, several types of dialogic situation depart from this norm in interesting ways.

Symmetrical dialogue

It is possible for people to use language simultaneously, giving the impression of dialogue, but probably with little meeting of minds. If two groups of protesters, both carrying placards expressing their views, were to confront each other, the juxtaposition of written texts would produce a kind of dialogue, but one in which all 'utterances' were on display at the same time.

In speech, any simultaneity is likely to be unintelligible – but this does not stop it happening, as is regularly heard in public political confrontations. Dinner parties also bring up some interesting cases, where a person might end up contributing to two conversations at the same time – introducing remarks into each in sequence, but listening to both at once. It is something which succeeds only when one is either very sober, or very drunk.

A further variation is for a dialogue to depend on a third party, or intermediary. A common example is in foreign-language interpreting and translation, where A has to communicate with B via C. Within a single language, there are also well-known situations where one person (or group) communicates with another via an 'official spokesperson', or (in an apparently rather different domain) a ventriloquist's dummy.

An interesting variant is for a dialogue to be generated using the utterances of a third party. A loud-voiced person in a restaurant may cause a

couple at another table to provide their own responses (*sotto voce*) to what is said, creating their own ongoing dialogue stimulated by the outsider's utterances. In François Truffaut's Oscar-winning film, *Day for Night (La Nuit Americaine, 1973)*, two of the film crew are seen passing a television set which happens to be showing a quiz game about films. They stop to watch, and try to answer the questions ahead of the participants on the screen. They talk to each other while reflecting on their answers, engaging in a dialogue which is, once again, dependent on a third party.

Asymmetrical dialogue

These are the most unusual dialogues of all, as they take place with only one person apparently present. The qualification 'apparently' is important, because of course what happens is that the participant is imagining someone else to be present. In some cases, the missing person is the one who should start the conversation – as in the case of a seance, where people sit waiting for someone to talk to them. In other cases, the missing person is the one who should respond, as when we call uncertainly into the darkness 'Is there anyone there?', and hope that we really are engaged in a monologue after all.

Letters to the press or a radio station perhaps also fall into the asymmetrical category, given that there is only a remote chance that they will

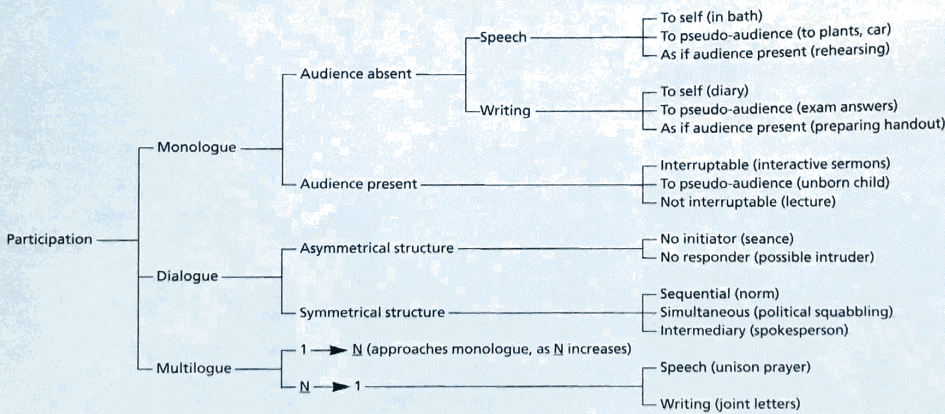
be used. In such cases we are trying to make a contribution to a dialogue over which someone else has control. If we do manage to get our contribution published or read out, there is no contribution published or read out, there is no way of knowing whom we shall end up 'talking to'. Editors and programme presenters are adept in making dramatic juxtapositions of letters in this way.

MULTILOGUES?

If A speaks to one person, it is a dialogue. If A speaks to several people at once, or if several people speak to A at once, the term dialogue hardly seems appropriate. Insofar as each exchange is separate from the others, we might interpret such a conversation as a series of 'mini-dialogues'. But when there is genuine unison, something else seems to be going on – a 'multilogue'?

In speech, such situations can be found in churches (unison prayer), public meetings (*We want Bill!*), sports grounds (*Come On The Royals!*), and pantomimes (*OH yes he is!*). In writing, unison communication appears in petitions and jointly signed letters. Indeed, in the last case, it is even possible to find several groups of people communicating at once with each other, as when several joint letters to the press, taking different positions, are published side by side.

CLASSIFICATION OF MIXED PARTICIPATION TEXTS



20 • REGIONAL VARIATION

Of all the sociolinguistic and stylistic factors which promote variety in language use (p. 364), the one which people most commonly enquire about is geographical origin. The fact that speech, in particular, can convey such a clear answer to the question 'Where are you from?' exercises a peculiar fascination, and the terms *dialect* and *accent* are a normal part of everyday vocabulary. We readily notice regional differences in the way people talk, and although we may be unable to describe these differences other than in the most vague and impressionistic terms ('guttural', 'musical', 'lilting'), we have no difficulty in responding to them intuitively, laughing at dialect jokes, enjoying dialect literature and folklore, and appreciating the point of dialect parodies (p. 410).

At the same time – and this is the paradox of dialect study – we find it easy to make harshly critical judgments about ways of speaking which we perceive as alien. These attitudes are usually subconscious, of course, but it evidently does not take much to bring them to the surface. Differences of opinion between people of different dialect backgrounds can quickly lead to mutual mockery of each other's speech, and one has to be particularly thick-skinned for this mockery not to hurt. Moreover, disparagement of regional speech readily transmutes into disparagement of the speakers, and newspapers occasionally report disturbing or even catastrophic consequences. Such matters have attracted a great deal of academic study, especially by sociolinguists, but there is still little popular awareness of the problems.

The study of regional linguistic variation has thus more to offer than purely descriptive interest. The more we know about regional variation and change in the use of English, the more we will come to appreciate the striking individuality of each of the varieties which we call dialects, and the less we are likely to adopt demeaning stereotypes about people from other parts of the country, or of the world. An essential first step is to replace the notion that a regional variety is 'only a dialect', because it lacks the prestige of the standard language, with the realization that every dialect is a source of great linguistic complexity and potential. It is not easy to persuade ourselves that a dialect or accent which we dislike or detest is a variety of the English language which deserves as much respect, and has just as much right to exist, as the variety we speak ourselves. But this is the breakthrough demanded by a genuinely democratic dialectology.

ACCENT AND DIALECT

Throughout this book, and especially in this chapter, a systematic distinction is drawn between regional *accent* and regional *dialect*.

- A regional *accent* refers to features of *pronunciation* which convey information about a person's geographical origin. Examples:
bath /bʌθ/ ('short a') vs *bath* /bɑːθ/ ('long a')
hold /həʊld/ vs *old* /əʊld/ ('dropping the aitch')
thanks /θʌŋks/ vs *thanks* /fʌŋks/ ('no th')
- A regional *dialect* refers to features of *grammar* and *vocabulary* which convey information about a person's geographical origin. Examples:
They real good vs *They are really good*
Is it ready you are? vs *Are you ready?*

I'll visit in the fall vs *I'll visit in the autumn.*

- Speakers who have a distinctive regional *dialect* will have a distinctive regional *accent*; but the reverse does not necessarily follow. It is possible to have a regional *accent* yet speak a *dialect* which conveys nothing about geographical origin, as in the case of Standard English (p. 110). Regional *dialects* are also typically associated with a range of regional *accents* – some much 'broader' than others. Within a country, there may be a *prestige* or *neutral* *accent* which conveys no information about geographical background. The most famous example occurs in Britain, with the *accent* that has long been called *Received Pronunciation*, or *RP* (p. 365). From an international point of view, of course, *RP* is distinctively regional – perceived as the archetypal *British* *accent*, and satirized accordingly.

The Daily Express 28 Mar 1962

Is an accent so wrong?

YES, IT TAKES COURAGE TO BE HONEST

BLACKSMITH Harry Speight died a victim of dialect snobbery. He killed himself at 70 because he was ashamed of his Yorkshire accent when he went to live in the South, it was said at the inquest.

His new neighbours are not to be blamed for his death. Responsibility lies partly at least at the door of those who still propagate the theory that a Northern accent is somehow "common," a Southern twang correct.

Newspaper headlines (especially in Britain) often focus attention on the problems which can be caused by differences of regional accent and dialect.

REGIONAL ACCOMMODATION

When people with different regional (or social) backgrounds meet, there is a tendency for their speech patterns to become more alike, or *converge*. This process, known as *accommodation*, can be observed in all aspects of language structure, but is especially noticeable in accents. Some people cannot stop themselves unconsciously picking up the accent of the person they are talking to. Less noticeably, when people encounter others with whom they wish to maintain a distance, their language tends to become less alike, or *diverge*. There have been several experimental studies which clearly show both convergence and divergence in action, and which demonstrate the way we unconsciously associate regional variation with psychological and social traits.

In one such study, Anglo-Welsh listeners (p. 334) were asked to rate a dialogue involving two suspects with Welsh accents who were being interrogated by a policeman with an RP English accent. (All roles were being played by actors.) The actors then altered their accents, in one case adopting accents that were *more* like RP (a convergence strategy), in the other case adopting accents that were *less* like RP, and more broadly Welsh (a divergence strategy). The content of the interviews was kept the same throughout. At

no point, of course, was the attention of the listeners drawn to the accent changes: as far as they were concerned, they were listening only to the content of what was being said.

The results were clear-cut. The listeners evaluated the subjects differently, depending on which accent strategy was being employed. In terms of social attractiveness and nationalistic identity, the suspects were rated much more favourably when their accents diverged from that of the policeman. They were also rated as less guilty in this condition, and felt to be deserving of a milder sentence. On the other hand, the divergence condition also attracted some negative ratings, in terms of such factors as intelligence.

This kind of finding is typical of accommodation studies involving regional accents. It seems there is a real danger that we will rate unfavourably people whose accents diverge from our own, and certain groups of people seem especially at risk. For example, it is now well established that immigrant children who are a minority in a school classroom risk being rated as less intelligent or poorer learners. 'He even sounds thick' illustrates the stereotype. Needless to say, there is no correlation whatsoever between regional speech distinctiveness and level of intelligence. (After J. Bourhis, reported in H. Giles, *et al.*, 1991.)

INTERNATIONAL AND INTRANATIONAL

It is inevitable that people traditionally think of dialects as a purely intranational matter – local to the country to which they belong. Historically, the language was restricted to a single geographical area – the British Isles – and for centuries, until the growth of urban populations, the only regional variation which most people would encounter would be that associated with neighbouring communities and the occasional visitor from further afield. Even when English began to move around the world (§7), only a relatively small propor-

tion of the population of each country would travel widely enough for global differences in regional speech to be apparent. All this has changed, especially in the present century. Radio, television, and cinema links, coupled with a vast increase in travelling mobility, have brought a universal awareness that English dialects operate on a world scale. The study of local dialects has thus come to be supplemented by an international approach to dialectology – the study of ‘world Englishes’.

REGIONAL TAGS

Although dialects operate both intranationally and internationally, the features which signal regional identity come from the same stock of structural resources. Thus it is not unusual to find the same construction being used in dialects associated with different parts of the world, though not always with the same function. The tag question (p. 218) is one such item.

In Standard English, tag questions agree with the main verb of the clause: in its chief functions, the tag verb changes from positive to negative or vice versa (or adds a corresponding form of *do*), and there is agreement in tense, number, and person. Typical examples are

They're outside, *aren't they?*
It's a Porsche, *isn't it?*
You didn't resign, *did you?*

There are also several other possibilities, expressing a range of attitudes and emphases (e.g. *They're going, are they?*). And there are distinctive falling and rising uses of intonation (p. 248), permitting a contrast between interrogation and direction ('Are you asking me or telling me?').

Invariant tags

In several parts of the world, typically where English is spoken as a second language, an invariant tag construction has arisen – the same form being used regardless of what happens in the preceding clause. Such invariant tags are standard in many languages (e.g. *n'est-ce pas* in French), and their use now seems to be growing in regional varieties of English as a second language, probably because an invariant form avoids the syntactic complexity of the tag construction in the standard language. All the following examples of usage have been observed.

An invariant *is it*, sometimes alternating with *isn't it*, is quite common:

You didn't see him, is it? (Zambia)
You are coming to the meeting, isn't it? (South Asia)
They do a lot of work, isn't it? (Wales)
She's gone to town, is it? (South Africa)
You check out now, is it? (Singapore)
You don't mind, is it? (Malaysia)

He has arrived, isn't it? (Papua New Guinea)
You are tired, isn't it? (West Africa)

An invariant *not so* (compare German *nicht wahr*) is less common, but found in widely separated areas.

He will come tomorrow, not so? (West Africa)
Your children are still schooling, not so? (South Asia)
They're outside, not so? (Papua New Guinea)

This is similar to the use of *no* as a tag, here seen under the influence of Spanish:

Those men were still singing, no? (SW USA, Pueblo)

Such forms are similar to the use of tag words, such as *eh* or *right*, which also show regional variation (p. 342).

Variant tags

Variant tags also diverge regionally, but are more likely to be found within a first language community, where the problem of syntactic complexity is not really an issue (as the constructions are early acquired by children).

He took his car, did he no? (Scotland)
You can't do it, can't you not? (Tyneside)
We never be out, do we? (Ireland)
I'm old enough to get in, amn't I? (Ireland, Scotland)

In addition, there are variations which stem from changing patterns of usage, as one dialect comes to influence another. The use of *ought* and *shall* as tags, for example, is characteristically British, and is avoided in US English. On the other hand, US usages are increasingly heard in the UK.

We ought to help, oughtn't we? (chiefly UK)
We ought to help, shouldn't we? (US, and some UK)

It should perhaps be added that *ain't* is not a regionally distinctive form: it is heard all over the English-speaking world. Its non-standard status arises from social and educational factors (p. 362).

FUNCTIONAL DIFFERENCES

Sometimes it is the function of a tag question which differentiates dialects. In one study of British and American English, *peremptory* and *aggressive* uses of tags are identified as being characteristically British. These have a function which is the opposite of that normally associated with tag questions. Instead of inviting the listener to join the conversation, they freeze the person out. Their force depends on the way they are said. The following utterance (B), spoken mildly, with a low falling tone, is just a slight put-down; spoken more emphatically and with a level tone, it is unpleasantly rude:

A: When will the train arrive?
B: We'll know when it gets here, won't we.

One such use has become a catch phrase, used when someone publicly denies alleged wrong-doing. It originated during a British political scandal of the 1960s (the 'Profumo affair'), when Mandy Rice Davies, told in court that Lord Astor had denied her allegations, remarked: 'Well he would, wouldn't he'.

The aggressive tag is usually spoken more forcefully, and is used after a statement whose truth or falsity the listener could not possibly know. Because the tag implies that 'everyone should know this', the addressee is made to feel an idiot. It is, in effect, a reprimand. Although formerly associated with working-class London speech, the usage is now widespread, but still chiefly British. Examples are taken from British TV series:

A: What are you doing here?
B: I came to finish those letters, didn't I. (*Coronation Street*, 1987)

A: [to a young man on the phone] Is that your brother?
B: It's my dad, innit. (*Eastenders*, 1986)

A: You need to go to your local police.
B: I've done all that, haven't I. (*Bergerac*, 1986)
(After J. Algeo, 1988.)

NO?

You are coming back on Friday, aren't you? Come back a day earlier, so you can attend Joshi RDC's farewell. He's retiring, no, at the end of the month.

This example, from Upamanyu Chatterjee's novel *English*, August (1988) shows a distinctive use of a particle *no*, which resembles a tag question. It is used thus elsewhere in the novel:

Each of us has his own view of others, no.

However, as a standard tag is used just beforehand, in the first example, *no* cannot be simply a tag. The word seems to be acting more as a marker of emphasis and social solidarity. In most cases it does not require an answer, because the speaker assumes the listener shares the same beliefs. (After J. D'Souza, 1991.)

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

What would we find if we collected samples of the English language in use all over the world on the same day, talking about the same range of topics? With variations in time-scale and content reduced, would regional variety differences stand out immediately? Would we see clearly the linguistic differences between Britain and the USA, Australia and Canada, South Asia and South East Asia, or between any other locations where the language holds a prestigious place?

In a small-scale attempt to find out, 40 newspapers were collected from all over the English-speaking world on 6 July 1993, and a selection of what they contained is shown on these pages. The results are quite clear, and testify to the outstanding power and universality of the concept of written Standard English. In the vast majority of instances, it is impossible to tell at a glance which paper belongs to which country on purely linguistic grounds. Indeed, we often have to hunt for distinctive linguistic features. We will find them, if we persist – a distinctive lexical item in paragraph 8 on page 3 of one paper, a distinctive US or UK spelling in paragraph 11 of page 2. There will be rather more linguistic consequences arising out of the shared knowledge which editors assume in their readers – concepts unexplained, backgrounds assumed, and terms introduced without gloss. But we can search for many pages before finding something which we could call a distinctively regional use of grammar.

We would certainly find more regional differentiation if we carried out this exercise based on the spoken language, using radio broadcasts and 'vox pop' interviews. We would then hear immediately the many phonological differences which identify regional variety, both segmental and prosodic (§17). We would be much more likely to encounter distinctive grammar, especially in the more informal varieties of local speech. And there would be a marked increase in the amount of local vocabulary – again, especially in more informal contexts. Such a study needs a different medium of presentation than the pages of a book, however. For present purposes, the exercise leaves us with the overriding impression of limited but intriguing diversity, and above all of the unifying power of the standard language.



Emotional fans chase singer's hearse

By CLIFFORD LO

SREAMING fans broke through police barriers yesterday as the hearse carrying Wong Ka-ku, lead vocalist of rock band Beyond, left the Hongkong Funeral Home in Quarry Bay.

More than 3,000 distraught fans packed the pavements, tram stops and a footbridge outside the funeral parlour in King's Road, yelling "Ka-ku" and singing the band's songs.

"Although Ka-ku isn't here, we hope he can hear our voices and see how we miss him. So we kept yelling his name and singing some of their songs to express our love and support," a 14-year-old girl said.

Another said "We love Ka-ku forever and his spirit will always remain in our hearts."

Wong, 31, died of a cerebral haemorrhage last Wednesday, six days after he fell from a stage set during a television programme rehearsal in Japan.

There were about 70 police officers, including 40 from the police tactical unit, to control the crowds and traffic yesterday.

But as the hearse left, some fans broke through barriers and chased the vehicle along King's Road between the junctions of Java Road and Healthy Street East.

Fans began to gather at the funeral parlour on Sunday and

by yesterday morning, there were about 1,500 outside. The number had risen to 3,000 by noon.

Inside the parlour, walls were covered by scarves, flowers and wreaths – many carrying the words "A great loss of talent".

Music and radio industry figures, including pop star Aaron Kwok, Fu-sung, attended the funeral along with the other members of the band – among them Wong Ka-keung, the late singer's brother.

After a Buddhist ceremony, the coffin was taken to the Chinese permanent cemetery in Junk Bay.

RTHK will screen a half-hour tribute to Wong tomorrow on TVB Jade.

In Japan, there will be a memorial ceremony at a Tokyo temple at the weekend.

It was announced on Sunday that a fund would be set up in commemoration of Wong's contribution to the development of rock music in Hongkong.

A full house attending a memorial concert at the Ko Shan Theatre was told the fund would help pay for budding rock musicians to produce albums.

Money would be raised through the sale of commemorative T-shirts, albums and pictures, and a re-screening of the award-winning film *Cinema*, in which Wong had a role.

WHERE DID THIS STORY APPEAR?

Is it possible to tell from the language alone the country in which this article appeared on 6 July 1993? The picture, the name of the dead singer may suggest that we are somewhere in the Far East, but there are millions of people of Chinese ethnic origin in several Western countries, reporters with Chinese names are not unknown in the West, and it is possible that the singer had a cult following anywhere.

A close look at some of the assumptions made by the writer would give us some clues. He assumes we know such places as King's Road and Junk Bay, and what RTHK is. The paper's use of British

spelling (*parlour, programme*) and vocabulary (*pavements, tram, US sidewalks, streetcar*) adds a pointer to a British-influenced part of the world (p. 306). But apart from these hints, there is nothing to help us. This article could have been found in many English language newspapers of the same genre, in several parts of the world.

Knowing that the item appeared as the lead article on the front page of the paper would probably settle the matter. Only a Hong Kong paper would be likely to give such prominence to such an item. And, indeed, the paper was the Hong-Kong published *South China Morning Post*.



THE TWO MODELS

One of the first judgments to make, when comparing samples of written English from around the world, is whether the language is British or American English – or some mixture of the two.

The front page of the *Atlanta Constitution* shows several signs of American English. There is a spelling clue in *behavior* (col. 1) and lexical clues in *levee* and *yard* (in the caption – 'garden' in British English). There is a minor grammatical feature in the caption and the political report – *Monday for on Monday* – as well as an instance of *toward* (British *towards*). Local knowledge is required to interpret *EDT* ('Eastern Daylight Time').

The business page of *The Plain Dealer*, from Cleveland, Ohio, shows further instances. There is spelling distinctiveness: *single-/-* (pp. 305, 441) in *fueled* (top summary), *traveling* and *traveler* (main article). And there is lexical distinctiveness in the headline (gas, British English *petrol*) and lead article: *gasoline, self-serve stations* (British *self-service stations*), and *cents*.

WEATHER
Partly cloudy
Today's high: 97
Overnight low: 73
Weather report, B8
News Index, A2

BRAVES SCORE
Braves 9, Marlins 7 / DI

LIVING



Women & Advertising

Getting real: Madison Avenue is trying to add some realism to its ad portrayals of women. C1

PLUS
Dairy dilemma: Are drugs aimed at aiding digestion of dairy products just milking money from consumers? C1

High risk: Agonies of adolescence trigger dangerous behavior in young women. C4

NEWS

An ancestral disease spurs an Adairman to delve into mysteries surrounding Virginia mountain folk. A3

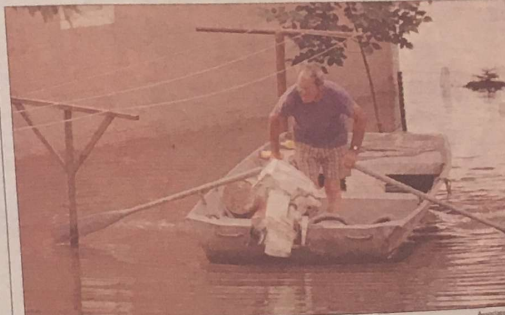
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

TUESDAY, JULY 6, 1993

50 CENTS

FLOODING ON THE MISSISSIPPI

Is there any end in sight?



Ducking to avoid his clothesline, Cale Coss of LeClaire, Iowa, navigates his yard Monday as the Mississippi River rose to its highest level since 1965. Such scenes were common in Iowa, Illinois and Missouri, where levees broke and National Guardsmen were called in to help with sandbagging. And with another rainy week ahead, many river towns fear that they haven't seen the worst. See article, Page A8.

President upbeat for summit

Deficit plan gives U.S. new clout, Clinton says

President Clinton and his top aides appeared optimistic Monday as they prepared for the week's seven-nation economic summit, declaring that Mr. Clinton's domestic policies have strengthened his hand.
Mr. Clinton, on his way to Tokyo for the annual meeting of the so-called Group of Seven nations, said his steps toward cutting the U.S. budget deficit, lowering trade barriers and stimulating their economies. The president meets today with the summit host, Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa. The summit itself – involving the leaders of Japan, Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Canada and the United States – begins at 2:30 p.m. Wednesday (1:30 a.m. Wednesday EDT).
Mr. Clinton said his predecessors faced a crisis at earlier economic summits about doing to contain the U.S. deficit. "Four years ago, deficit is missing up the whole works," he said. "I can't see any leaders hold previous precedents." Don't let us change what we should be.

THE PLAIN DEALER

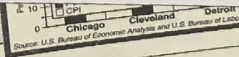
OHIO'S LARGEST NEWSPAPER Cleveland, Tuesday, July 6, 1993

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The REI North Coast Report

Growth in per capita income
Between 1985 and 1990, Cleveland's per capita income grew by a 36.9% growth rate. Chicago had the greatest difference between income growth and CPI increase by 14.6%. However, fueled by a 36.9% growth rate, Chicago had the greatest difference between income growth and consumer price increases of any Great Lakes metropolitan area.
ANALYSIS BY REI: The Center for Regional Economic Issues, Weatherhead School of Management, CWRU



BUSINESS

TUESDAY, JULY 6, 1993

- SMALL BUSINESS/2-E
- BUSINESS PEOPLE/3-E
- MCCORMACK ON MANAGEMENT/5-E

BUSINESS BRIEFS

INTERNATIONAL
FIRMS APPROVED: Vietnam has licensed several big U.S. firms including Citicorp, General Electric Co and Philip Morris Cos. Inc. to set up representative offices, a trade official said yesterday. The authorizations last week brought to 12 the number of U.S. firms allowed to operate in Vietnam.

With gas cheap, Americans driving

By AGIS SALPUKAS
NEW YORK TIMES
With gasoline cheap and plentiful and expected to stay that way through the summer, Americans who put off trips during the economic doldrums of the last few years are hitting the road again.
The American Automobile Association, based on a survey of 1,500 drivers, predicted last week that travel during the Fourth of July weekend would be up 4% from the same holiday weekend in 1992, with 40 million Americans planning to make trips of 100 miles or more.
The survey also found that more people planned to stay in motels this year: 43% planned to stay in motels this year, up from 37% a year ago. Only a quarter said they planned to stay with relatives, down from the third last year.
Few drivers seemed worried about the growing dependence of the United States on foreign oil, which is at an all-time high. About half the oil consumed in the United States in recent months has been from foreign sources.
The dependence on imported oil has jumped this year, up 22% in May over the comparable month last year, according to the American Petroleum Institute, a trade group based in Washington.
Of total consumption of 17.1 million barrels a day, imports made up an average of 8.4 million barrels in May. Imports accounted for 49% of the oil consumed in May, up from 47% in May of last year.
Nationally, the average price for self-serve regular unleaded gas was \$1.12 a gallon last week, down 6.1 cents from a year ago, according to the automobile association.
Prices, which have begun to drop recently, are approaching the low levels that prevailed before the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq in August of 1990.
for the automobile association. "They shop for vacations much like they shop for a TV or for clothes," he said.
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