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Introduction:
ELiX's Contribution to the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue*

Abstract

The introductory article of this *JELiX* volume gives a state of the art of cross-cultural and intercultural studies related to Europe. It then gives a forecast on the communicative aspects and European nations/countries discussed for this volume and presents the new method for data collection in most of the volume's contributions, namely the "semi-expert interview on communicative strategies" (SICS). This volume is the first to analyze the communicative behavior of all sorts of European languages with a uniform method.

Sommaire

L'article introductoire de ce volume de *JELiX* donne d'abord un aperçu de la recherche actuelle concernant les études culturelles et interculturelles sur l'Europe. Ensuite, il annonce les aspects communicatifs et les nations/ les pays européens qui seront abordés dans le cadre de ce livre et présente la nouvelle méthode pour l'obtention de données qui est à la base de la plupart des contributions de ce volume, à savoir le « semi-expert interview on communicative strategies » (SICS). Ce livre est le premier à analyser le comportement communicatif dans toutes sortes de langues européennes de manière uniforme.

Zusammenfassung

Der Einführungsartikel zu diesem *JELiX*-Band gibt einen Forschungsüberblick zu kulturübergreifenden und interkulturellen Studien zu Europa. Er gibt anschließend eine Vorschau auf die kommunikativen Aspekte und die europäischen Nationen/Länder, die in diesem Band diskutiert werden, und stellt die neue Methode zur Datengewinnung vor, die den meisten Beiträgen dieses Bandes zu Grunde liegt, nämlich das "semi-expert interview on communicative strategies" (SICS). Dieser Band ist der erste, der kommunikatives Verhalten in allen Arten europäischer Sprachen nach einer einheitlichen Methode analysiert.

1. Introductory Remarks

2008 was announced the EU's European Year of Intercultural Dialogue and the UNESCO's International Year of Languages. The editors of the *Journal for EuroLinguistiX (JELiX)* see this as a perfect opportunity to have a closer look at similarities and differences between the conversational behavior of Europeans and to offer a basis for suggestions to improve intercultural communication among Europeans.

Europe and *European* can be defined in different ways: in a political way (i.e. the EU countries), in a geographical way (i.e. the countries from the Atlantic to the Ural), or—and this is the definition that this volume of *JELiX* shall be based on—in a cultural way. In this latter sense[1] the features of language, religion, history and ethnic descent are the most basic criteria to define and characterize a civilization. *Europe* thus refers to those nations that are characterized by a minor Greek and a major Latin heritage (including the rules of law) and a tertiary Germanic heritage (from the 6th c.), the (West) Roman variant of Christian religion

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[1] Cf., e.g., Huntington (1996: 45ff.) and Schmidt (2000: 207ff.).

(and its developments during the Reformation and Counter Reformation), the use of the Latin alphabet, the separation of spiritual and secular power, societal pluralism and individualism, a common history of the arts (in their broadest sense) as well as a common history of education and formation (see, for example, the development of the universities in the Middle Ages or the relatively recent introduction of compulsory education). European civilization can thus be contrasted with Slavic-Orthodox, North American, Latin American, Islamic, Hinduistic, Japanese and Sinic civilization (possibly also African and Oceanic civilization).

For Europe, language means multitude of languages (whereas other civilizations seem to have one or two strong bracketing language(s), e.g. Arabic [which is also religious symbol], or believe that their languages are all dialects of one big language, e.g. Sinic civilization). Since linguistic diversity is an elementary feature of European civilization, it may be argued that homogeneity may on the one hand facilitate communication, but on the other hand may destroy an important identity factor (and maybe also a chance) for Europe. Most of the European languages belong to the Indo-European language family (with the Romance, Germanic, Celtic and (West) Slavic branches), but there are also Hungarian, Finnish and Estonian (Finno-Ugric language family) and Basque (an isolated language).

The articles of this volume of *JELiX* can be divided into three groups:
(a) eleven articles on speech acts and other pragmatic elements in European languages plus one synoptical article
(b) two articles on pragmatic components of a lingua franca for intercultural dialogues
(c) an article on language teaching policies for developing intercultural competences

The editors hope that with this volume they will advance cross-cultural and intercultural pragmatics in the realm of Eurolinguistics as they believe that this corroborates also to the development of Applied Eurolinguistics in the sense of Socioeconomic Linguistics (cf. Grzega 2005). Communicative behavior is part of culture, and cultural values and patterns have been proven to have impact on a community's economic performance (cf., e.g., Harrison/Huntington 2000).

2. Cross-Cultural Pragmatics

2.1. State of the Art

So far, most Eurolinguistic studies have dwelled on grammar and vocabulary; it is time that linguists also plough through the field of "euro-pragmatics" (cf. Grzega 2006: 193ff., Hinrichs 2006: 24, Hinrichs [in print]), especially since pragmatic differences and failures are less easy to detect than grammatical, phonetic or lexical mistakes. This was the trigger for starting the project ECSTRA (*European Communicative Strategies*). ECSTRA captures and analyzes the communicative style(s) of European nations/states/speech communities—especially as far as face[2]-threatening speech acts are concerned—and their role in acquiring "Euro-competence". There is quite a series of studies on cross-cultural pragmatics and cross-cultural communication. The University of Minnesota's Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition offers an annotated select bibliography of speech acts at http://www.carla.umn./speechacts/bibliography/index.html (with particular focus in the acquisition of pragmatic competence in foreign language learning and teaching). An MLA search for "speech acts" even yields 562 hits for European languages (the vast majority of which are on requests), but each of these studies discusses just a small number of languages (cf. Grzega 2006: 196). Even the *CCSARP*, the *Cross-Cultural speech Act Realization Project*

[2] The notion of face in the sense of 'image of oneself delineated in terms of approved social attributes' goes back to Goffman (1955). Brown/Levinson (1987) have more thoroughly expanded on face-threatening acts.

(cf. Blum-Kulka/House/Kasper 1989), collected data for merely eight—mostly non-European—cultures (American English, Australian English, Canadian French, Argentinian Spanish, Danish, [German] German, Hebrew). What we still need are comprehensive or parallelly designed individual studies that aim at an encompassing comparison of European speech communities[3]. This lack of studies may originate in the lack of adequate corpora of spoken language. But an intersection of communicative patterns over Europe also seems elementary for seeing a European identity (as communities define themselves also through language) and for developing a European communicative competence[4]. As a consequence, useful alternatives to natural data corpora have to be suggested.

It should be underscored that ECSTRA compares nations/states, not languages: after all, German communicative strategies are not the same as Austrian communicative strategies, French not the same as Walloon strategies etc. On this topic—conversational differences between nations of the same language—linguists have still left a lot to be desired[5].

2.2. Pragmatic Elements Analyzed in This Volume

ECSTRA's ultimate goal is to collect components for a European "language guide", with respect to a number of communicative situations. This shall allow readers to see contrasts and similarities between Europeans. Tied up to existing research results, the communicative tasks or speech acts that are analyzed in this volume of *JELiX* with the help of a questionnaire (cf. sample in the appendix and the explanation of the method in section 2.3) are:

(1) greeting, including greetings on the telephone
(The classical studies on telephone openings are those by Schegloff [1979] and Hopper [1992], but they just play a minor role for our study, which is only interested in the very first turn of a telephone conversation and in the question whether private and business phone openings differ.)

(2) addressing
(The method used here and explained further down takes into account the state of the art, vaguely reflecting the most important ideas since the fundamental work by Brown/Gilman [1960] and the approach by Ervin-Tripp [1974]. The aim is not to draw a full table of address term usage, but of comparing addressing behavior in selected speaker-hearer constellations. Mention should be made of the nowadays outdated, but diachronically useful bibliography by Braun/Schubert/Kohz [1986]. For the period after 1986, the MLA bibliography lists over 450 entries. However, there are no studies on the rules of pronoun use dealing with a great deal of the European languages—the books by Besch [1998], Spillner [2001] and Helmbrecht [2005] are very helpful, though.)

(3) small talk
(The phenomenon of small talk was for the first time delved into by Malinowski [1923], who calls it *phatic communion*—just like Jakobson [1960] a few decades later. The relationship between the interlocutors of phatic communion is normally not very close, it is frequently rather one of maximal distance. There are numerous studies on small talk; oft-quoted ones are those by Laver [1975] and Ventola [1979]. According to Laver, small talk has (a) initiatory function, or the function of avoiding silence, or (b) exploratory function (for getting able to categorize the interlocutor). Friends and relatives can small-talk rather freely, while strangers have to respect certain conventions

[3] Unfortunately, the interesting papers collected and edited by Hickey/Stewart (2005) are not based on the same data collection method and are not accompanied by any attempt of a synopsis either.

[4] The term *communicative competence* was first introduced by Hymes (1972b).

[5] Klaus P. Schneider and Anne Barron have begun to set up a bibliography of variational pragmatics, accessible at http://www.linguistics.uni-bonn.de/research/variational-pragmatics.html. However, some relevant entries are still missing, e.g. Ammon (1995), Muhr (1995), Brück (2002), Grzega (2003) for German national varieties and Saari (1999) for the Swedish national varieties.

in order to appear polite. Ventola distinguishes between (a) direct/personal topics (e.g. health, looks) and (b) indirect/situational topics (e.g. the weather, the latest news, the conditions of the communicative situation. Others see small talk as the most exclusive form of the politeness principle, which was first mentioned by Grice [1975] and then elaborated by Lakoff [1973]. Lakoff differentiates two maxims, viz. (a) the "politesse" maxim [which roughly equals Ventola's indirect topics] and (b) the "friendliness" maxim [which roughly equals Ventola's direct topics]. In addition to the issue of which topics are typical and which are tabooed in small talk, the questionnaire also asks for situations in which small talk is typical and in which it is tabooed.)

(4) giving, or making, arguments
(Some of the items incorporated here go back to descriptions by Kaplan [1972] and Kachru [1987].)

(5) inviting
(This part shall test the existence of ostensible invitations as described for the US by Isaacs/Clark [1990].)

(6) turning down an offer
(For turning down an offer, or refusing, we can resort to a study by Beebe/Takahashi/Uliss-Weltz [1990], who divide refusal strategies into (a) direct refusals, including both performatives like 'I refuse' and non-performatives like 'No', 'I can't', 'I don't like to'; 'I don't think so', (b) indirect refusals, such as statements of regret ('I'm sorry'), avoidance strategies (e.g. a postponement 'I'll think about it'), excuses, explanations ('I have a headache'), and (c) adjuncts to refusals, such as a statement of positive opinion or feeling ('I'd love to'), a statement of empathy, an expression of gratitude or appreciation and pause fillers ('well', 'uhm'), which was not included in the list as it is not the refusal *per se*.)

(7) ending a conversation
(The first work on the initiation of a talk was carried out by Schegloff/Sacks [1973]. There is also a study by Otterstedt [1993], but it is regrettably full of factual mistakes and can only be quoted with utter care. Another recent, but unpublished study is Kinnison [2001].)

These various speech acts are presented for nations from all parts of Europe by various linguists who are known as experts for these nations.

2.3. Methodology: State of the Art and This Volume

For speech act analysis, the discourse completion test (DCT) has become a frequent and accepted method for gathering data (first presented by Blum-Kulka/House/Kasper [1989]). In a DCT, informants, after being confronted with the description of a dialogic situation, have to complete a dialog.

> Example:
> You get off the train with a man you have just met on the train. He offers you a car-ride home, but you don't want to accept his offer as you are not sure about his intentions or expectations.
> You: .....
> The man: *OK, so have a nice day.*

However, this way the researcher only gets the most typical answer that comes to an individual's mind. The disadvantage, in my view, is that natural data is not necessarily stimulated if the test already provides a reaction by the interlocutor. A dialog construction questionnaire (DCQ), which has no rejoinder, seems therefore more adequate for eliciting natural dialog-sections. Another point of criticism, valid for both tests, is that we may get (proto)typical answers, but certainly not the whole spectrum of answers, and thus come to wrong conclusions about culture-specificity. Therefore, the meta-linguistic judgement test

(MLJT), or meta-pragmatic judgement test, was suggested by Olshtain/Blum-Kulka (1984), Chen (1996) and Hinkel (1997) as a supplementary method. In a MLJT, the most salient answers gathered in a preceding DCT are listed, and informants are asked to rank the adequateness of the answers.

Example:
You get off the train with a man you have just met on the train. He offers you a car-ride home, but you don't want to accept his offer as you are not sure about his intentions or expectations; so you prefer to walk home. Judge the appropriateness of the following utterances for this situation.
You: .....
The man: *OK, so have a nice day*.

Utterance	very appropriate	rather appropriate	rather inappropriate	very inappropriate
No, thanks.				
No, thanks. I'd like to take a walk now.				
No, thanks, my neighbor is going to pick me up.				
: :				

Here the main disadvantage is that the informant only has to judge a limited set of linguistic forms. Furthermore, the quantity and quality of informants will decide on how valuable general conclusions drawn from the results are.

Since criticism against production and multiple-choice tasks was also raised by others (cf., e.g., Geluykens 2007: 35f.) and since ECSTRA's aim is a more general and more abstract one, we have looked for a method that can reveal all acceptable answers and their "status" and their connotations in specific given situations. Reflecting the idea of ethnography (cf. Hymes 1972a) we came up with the idea of asking those people to serve as informants, or ethnographic assistants, who have to do with language professionally and consequently possess a certain "monitor" for communicative behavior (such as students of language, linguists, journalists). These ethnographic laypersons, better: ethnographic-linguistic semi-experts, have to give, with the help of a questionnaire, their introspective view of conversational aspects typical for their speech groups, as told from the perspective of someone who has to describe this to a foreigner. Informants are regarded as semi-experts due to their experience within, and observation of, the community. We would like to call the method that we have finally come up with a semi-expert interview on communicative strategies (SICS). This questionnaire can be filled out through a face-to-face interview or by informants on their own. While a discourse completion task (DCT) gives a situation and asks for one's typical behavior; a SICS gives typical situations and asks for possible and impossible behavior. The informant can both select from a list of communicative patterns and convey additional patterns. This way a SICS resembles more a metalinguistic judgment task (MLJT), but it requires from the informants reflection on a more abstracting and generalizing level. Tests with the first types of a SICS[6] have shown that it is necessary to respect the following points when creating a SICS:

(1) Informants have to be told very clearly that it is not their task to give their personal communicative preferences, but to give what they think their community would expect or do.
(2) Situations to be commented on have to be given in a way that there is the least possible chance that informants just answer "it depends", e.g. with wordings like "what do people typically say in this case if they don't know each other?".

[6] Cf., e.g., the student projects by Tom Constapel, Julia Haupt, Eva Ollenschläger and Tanja Roik, by Philipp Heinrich, and by Michael Kern (all available at http://www1.ku-eichstaett.de/SLF/EngluVglSW/schule.htm).

(3) It should be made clear to informants that they are to describe things as if corresponding with someone who is not a member of the speech community in question.

(4) It must be clear to informants and the researcher that this method cannot lead to simple yes-or-no categories. There is not only one single answer to a question. Questions ask for all possibilities in a certain context that the informants have observed. The SICS should be looked on rather as a notebook or diary than as a table with boxes to check; this is also why informants are encouraged to give additional information on the use of certain conversational structures.

(5) The main points of the directions for filling out the SICS should be repeated in due intervals, e.g. using the following form:

> [.... Again, we'd like to remind you that you may directly add your comments, pluses and minuses, *yes*'s and *no*'s above or next to the corresponding examples that are given in many of the questions, or you may answer on the line after the question. In order to distinguish between very typical, quite typical and not so typical, but possible answers, you should double-underline very typical answers and put not so typical answers into brackets. Try to answer the questions from the perspective of somebody who has to describe to a foreigner the typical linguistic behavior in his or her nation. Please indicate also when certain forms and features are especially typical of a certain social group, e.g. the elderly/people over 60, women, teenagers. Additional information is highly welcome.]

(6) This type of empirical research is qualitative rather than quantitative. The researcher must therefore interpret the answers in a cautious way, e.g. that a given linguistic pattern can be considered as accepted, normal or "polite" in a speech community if at least 50% of the informants classify it as at least "occasional". If the informants have to give answers that are not selected from a given list, then the researcher may consider them as common if at least 10% of the informants have come up with this same answer independently.

2.4. Nations/Countries Analyzed in This Volume

The SICS served as a tool to get information on the following countries, which were brought into articles by various authors. Unfortunately, during the project (which started in April 2008), several colleagues dropped out, which meant that some countries are now not represented (Portugal, Denmark, Sweden). Luckily, a vast range of European countries is still represented in our articles:

• Austria and Germany (by Joachim Grzega [p. 13ff.])
• Belgium and the Netherlands (by Annebeth Demaeght and Celine Depuydt [p. 23ff.])
• Italy (by Joachim Grzega [p. 35ff.])
• Spain (Castilian by Joachim Grzega [p. 41ff.], Catalan by Miren Urteaga Aldalur [p. 47ff.])
• Hungary (by Małgorzata Suszczyńska [p. 59ff.])
• Estonia (by Leelo Keevallik and Joachim Grzega [p. 80ff.])
• Finland (by Joachim Grzega and Jenni Turunen [p. 88ff.])
• Slovakia (by Joachim Grzega and Pavol Štekauer [p. 94ff.])
• Ireland (by Antoinette Regan [p. 101ff.])
• Romania (by Flavia Butu [p. 109ff.]).

Thus, we could gather information on rather "central" European countries (Germany, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy) and on rather "peripheral" European countries (Spain, Estonia, Hungary, Slovakia, Ireland) as well as on a "borderline" European country (Romania). We could gather information on northern Europe (Finland), southern Europe (Spain, Italy), western Europe (Ireland), and eastern Europe (Estonia, Hungary, Slovakia, Romania). We could gather information on countries speaking languages from all European language groups[7]: Germanic (German, English, Dutch, Swedish), Romance (Catalan, Spanish,

[7] Except for the Celtic group.

Italian, Romanian), Slavic (Slovak), and non-Indo-European (Finnish, Estonian, Hungarian).

Each article will try to relate the communicative picture of a nation to classical terminologies, such as Grice (1975), Hall (1976) and Brown/Levinson (1987). A synopsis article, "Elements of a Basic European Language Guide" is provided by Joachim Grzega [p. 118ff.].

3. Intercultural Pragmatics

With the synoptical article by Joachim Grzega, which includes characterizing Europe as a whole, we also get advice for intercultural communication within Europe. In addition, Joachim Grzega sheds light on the pragmatic side of the concept Basic Global English (BGE) [p. 134ff.], Rudolf-Josef Fischer presents Esperanto as a means of intercultural communication (and illustrates that Esperanto definitely goes beyond being "just" a language system) [p. 162ff.], and finally, Leonie Müßig discusses multilingualism concepts, which should also help to develop specific as well as general skills for intercultural communication [p. 180ff.].

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Appendix

Language Use Portrait

Dear Reader:

We need your help for the composition of a European language guide. Our question is: what are common communicative, or conversational, strategies in your nation? They are part of a project whose results will be available on http://www.eurolinguistix.com. Your information will help to find out how we can make communication among Europeans easier.

Filling out the entire questionnaire will take 20 min. roughly. You may directly add your comments, pluses and minuses, *yes*'s and *no*'s above or next to the corresponding examples that are given in many of the questions, or you may answer on the line after the question—especially if you have something new to add. In order to distinguish between very typical, quite typical and not so typical, but possible answers, you should double-underline very typical answers and put not so typical answers into brackets.

Try to answer the questions from the perspective of someone who has to describe to a foreigner the typical linguistic behavior in his/her nation.

Please indicate also when certain forms and features are especially typical of a certain social group, e.g. the elderly/people over 60, women, teenagers.

If you can add literal translations into English, whenever you have to note down phrases/expressions, we would be very grateful.

Additional information is also highly welcome.

Some personal data

Your Language ..... Your Sex.....Your Age.....
Your Nation .....
Region/City in Which You've Grown Up .....
Occupation: .....

Section A: Starting a Conversation

[We'd like to remind you that you may directly add your comments, pluses and minuses, *yes*'s and *no*'s above or next to the corresponding examples that are given in many of the questions, or you may answer on the line after the question. In order to distinguish between very typical, quite typical and not so typical, but possible answers, you should double-underline very typical answers and put not so typical answers into brackets. Try to answer the questions from the perspective of somebody who has to describe to a foreigner the typical linguistic behavior in his or her nation. Please indicate also when certain forms and features are especially typical of a certain social group, e.g. the elderly/people over 60, women, teenagers. Additional information is highly welcome.]

1. Most European languages distinguish between an informal address pronoun (e.g. G. *du*,

Fr. *tu*, Cz. *ty*) and a formal address pronoun (e.g. G. *Sie*, Fr. *vous*, Cz. *vy*).

(a) What are the address pronouns in your language? .....

(b) Say which address pronoun people typically use in your country with the following people:

- children to parents .....
- children to older relatives .....
- colleagues at work among each other .....
- employees to employer .....
- employer to employees .....
- pupils to teacher .....
- teacher to pupils .....
- people to administration officials .....
- business partners among each other .....
- clerks to customers in a store .....
- customers to clerks in a store .....
- people to strangers in the street .....

2. (a) How do people in your nation answer the telephone at home (e.g. *Hello*, "last name", "number")? .....

   (b) How do people in your nation answer the telephone at work (e.g. "name of company" + "your last name" + phrase such as *How can I help you?*) .....
   .....

Section B: Keeping Up a Conversation

[Again, we'd like to remind you that you may directly add your comments, pluses and minuses, *yes*'s and *no*'s above or next to the corresponding examples that are given in many of the questions or you may answer after the question. Try to answer the questions from someone's perspective who has to describe the linguistic behavior in his or her nation to a foreigner. Please indicate also when certain forms and features are especially typical of a certain social group. Additional information is highly welcome.]

3. (a) In what situations is small talk common, or even required, in your nation (e.g. on public transportation means, in stores, in waiting rooms, in waiting lines, during a meal ...)? .....

   (b) In what situations is it not common to start small talk, but to remain silent (e.g. in elevators, in the toilet ...)? .....

4. What are common small talk topics in your nation if you're not talking to a close friend or relative (e.g. (1) sports, hobbies, (2) traveling experiences, (3) American entertainment industry, (4) the weather, (5) recent scientific news, (6) recent political events, (7) general praise of domestic politics/politicians, (8) general complaint about politics/politicians, (9) a foreign interlocutor's language competence, ...)? .....

5. Especially if you compare your nation to other nations: what are taboo topics (= forbidden topics) in your nation if you're not talking to a close friend or relative (e.g. (1) religion, (2) politics, (3) money, (4) hobbies, ...)? .....

6. Are people in your country, before they start to say what they really want (e.g. a request, an offer), expected to

   □ (1) do more small talk in a private conversation than in a business conversation
   □ (2) do less small talk in a private conversation than in a business conversation
   □ (3) do as much small talk in a private conversation as in a business conversation

Section C: Being Nice in a Conversation

[Again, we'd like to remind you that you may directly add your comments, pluses and minuses, *yes*'s and *no*'s above or next to the corresponding examples that are given in many of the questions, or you may answer on the line after the question. In order to distinguish between very typical, quite typical and not so typical, but possible answers, you should double-underline very typical answers and put not so typical answers into brackets. Try to answer the questions from the perspective of somebody who has to describe to a foreigner the typical linguistic behavior in his or her nation. Please indicate also when certain forms and features are especially typical of a certain social group. Additional information is highly welcome.]

7. How do you, in your nation, typically present your opinion on a topic?
   □ (1) 1: you say your opinion – 2: you give reasons, citing other persons
   □ (2) 1: you say your opinion – 2: you give reasons related to the issue itself
   □ (3) 1: you give background information, citing others – 2: you say your opinion
   □ (4) 1: you give issue-related background information – 2: you say your opinion
   □ (5) bit by bit: 1: you say your opinion on aspect A – 2: you give reasons for this, citing others – 3: you say your opinion on aspect B – 2: you give reasons for this, citing others
   □ (6) bit by bit: 1: you say your opinion on aspect A – 2: you give issue-related reasons for this – 3: you say your opinion on aspect B – 2: you give issue-related reasons for this
   □ (7) 1: you present diverse opinions and argumentations – 2: you say your own opinion
   □ (8) other strategies: .....
8. If you get an invitation (e.g. to someone's home, to visiting an event) or an offer (e.g. when you need help), you can reasonably assume that this is
   □ (1) an honest offer
   □ (2) just a politeness phrase
   □ (3) .....

Section D: Getting Around Very Uncomfortable Topics

[Again, we'd like to remind you that you may directly add your comments, pluses and minuses, *yes*'s and *no*'s above or next to the corresponding examples that are given in many of the questions, or you may answer on the line after the question. In order to distinguish between very typical, quite typical and not so typical, but possible answers, you should double-underline very typical answers and put not so typical answers into brackets. Try to answer the questions from the perspective of somebody who has to describe to a foreigner the typical linguistic behavior in his or her nation. Please indicate also when certain forms and features are especially typical of a certain social group, e.g. the elderly/people over 60, women, teenagers. Additional information is highly welcome.]

9. If people want to turn down an offer or an invitation, what kinds of linguistic means are used to say "no" in a polite way in your nation? (You may add labels like "(rarely)", "(very frequently)", "(informally)" etc.)
   □ (1) a direct phrase that means "No, I don't feel like going there/doing X."
   □ (2) a vague excuse like "No, I don't have time." or "No, I have something else to do."
   □ (3) a phrase like "(I don't know yet) I'll let you know", though you will surely not contact the person again
   □ (4) a phrase like "I will have to think about it", though you won't surely contact the person again

□ (5) a concrete brief and true excuse (if there is one)
□ (6) a concrete brief and invented excuse (if there is no concrete true excuse)
□ (7) a concrete long and true excuse (if there is one)
□ (8) a concrete long and invented excuse (if there is no concrete true excuse)
□ (9) other means: .....

10. If people disagree with somebody else's opinion, what kinds of linguistic (and non-linguistic) means are used to say "no" in a polite way in your nation? (You may add labels like "(rarely)", "(very frequently)", "(informally)" etc.)
□ (1) a direct "No"
□ (2) never the word "No"
□ (3) a phrase like "(No), I disagree.", "(No), I have a different opinion."
□ (4) a phrase like "I think you have to think about this again."
□ (5) a phrase like "I think we have to think about this again."
□ (6) a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but I think that ..."
□ (7) a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but wouldn't you also think that ..."
□ (8) people just say nothing at all and remain silent
□ (9) people just shake their heads
□ (10) people just smile
□ (11) people just make a disapproving look
□ (12) other means: .....

Section E: Ending a Conversation

[In order to distinguish between very typical, quite typical and not so typical, but possible answers, you should double-underline very typical answers and put not so typical answers into brackets. Try to answer the questions from the perspective of somebody who has to describe to a foreigner the typical linguistic behavior in his or her nation. Please indicate also when certain forms and features are especially typical of a certain social group, e.g. the elderly/people over 60, women, teenagers. Additional information is highly welcome.]

11. (a) What do people say to show that they want to end a conversation?
□ (1) a simple "Ok, good-bye now"
□ (2) a phrase like "I want to go now"
□ (3) a phrase like "I have to go now, I have something else to do"
□ (4) a phrase like "It's already late now"
□ (5) a phrase like "I don't want to bother you any longer"
□ (6) a phrase like "We've already talked for too long"
□ (7) say what they have to do now (if there really is something)
□ (8) invent a reason
□ (9) other means: .....

(b) Does the other person...
□ (1) immediately let you go
□ (2) first try to persuade you to stay?

We thank you very much for your help!

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Joachim Grzega

A Few Notes on Conversational Patterns in Germany and Austria

Abstract

48 Germans and 38 Austrians have been asked on typical patterns for different situations. It can be observed that the set of communicative strategies that (west) Austrians consider typical is smaller than the Germans' set. But both Germans and Austrians are on the one hand rather reserved, on the other hand they abstrain from indirect strategies. Small talk is not very common, but if it is used the most typical topic is the weather; the majority of Germans also see talking about sports and hobbies as typical, the majority of Austrians rather talking (mostly negatively) about politics or politicians. Offers are meant literally in both countries. When Germans and Austrians want to turn an offer, they use a vague excuse like "No, I don't have time." or "No, I have something else to do.", give a concrete brief and true excuse or or a phrase like "I'll let you know", though they will surely not contact the person again, or, if need be, invent excuses. In order to express disagreement, Germans and Austrians use the pattern "Yes, I see what you mean, but I think that ..." and "Yes, I see what you mean, but wouldn't you also think that ...", Germans also the patterns "(No), I disagree.", and "No". When they want to end a conversation, Germans and Austrians typically say truthfully that they have something to do now (and maybe also what this is), Germans also use phrases of the type "It's already late now".

Sommaire

On a demandé à 48 Allemands et à 38 Autrichiens ce qu'ils comprenaient par des stratégies typiques dans certaines situations de communication. Les résultats montrent que la quantité de stratégies que les Autrichiens (occidentaux) considèrent typiques est moins large que celle des Allemands. Pourtant, tous les deux groupes, les Allemands ainsi que les Autrichiens, sont, d'un côté, très distants, de l'autre côté, ils sont plutôt directs et évitent des stratégies indirectes. Le Small Talk n'est pas très répandu, mais dès qu'il est pratiqué, on parle du temps; la plupart des Allemands regardent aussi les hobbies et le sport comme sujets typiques, la plupart des Autrichiens la complainte de la politique/des politiciens. Les offres sont à prendre littéralement. Quand les Allemands et les Autrichiens ont l'intention de décliner une offre, ils se servent d'une courte explication, comme « Non, je n'ai pas le temps » ou « Non, j'ai autre chose à faire » ou donnent une raison concise, courte et vraie ou une phrase telle que « Je te donnerai réponse un de ces jours » bien qu'ils soient sûrs de ne plus contacter l'autre, ou, à la rigueur, ils donnent aussi une raison inventée. Pour exprimer un désaccord, les Allemands et les Autrichiens recourent à la phrase « Oui, je comprends ce que tu veux dire, mais je pense que... » ou et « Oui, je comprends ce que tu veux dire, mais est-ce que tu ne penses pas aussi que... », les Allemands aussi aux formes « (Non), je ne suis pas de ton opinion » ou « Non ». S'ils veulent terminer une conversation, les Allemands et les Autrichiens disent selon la vérité ce qu'ils ont à faire maintenant ou disent vaguement « Il faut que j'y aille, j'ai autre chose à faire »; alternativement, les Allemands se servent d'expressions du type « Il est déjà tard ».

Zusammenfassung

48 Deutsche und 38 Österreicher wurden nach typischen Gesprächsmustern in verschiedenen Situationen gefragt. Es kann beobachtet werden, dass die Menge an Gesprächsmustern, die (West-)Österreicher als typisch ansehen, kleiner ist als die Menge der Deutschen. Doch sowohl Deutsche als auch Österreicher sind einerseits sehr distanziert, verzichten andererseits aber auf indirekte Strategien. Small Talk ist nicht sehr verbreitet, aber wenn er betrieben wird, dann ist das Wetter das typischste Thema; die Mehrzahl der Deutschen findet auch Sport und Hobbys typische Themen, die Österreicher eher das (meist negative) Diskutieren über Politik und Politiker. Angebote sind wörtlich zu verstehen. Wenn Deutsche und Österreicher ein Angebot ablehnen wollen, verwenden sie eine vage Begründung wie "Nein, ich habe keine Zeit" oder "Nein, ich habe etwas anderes zu tun" oder geben einen konkreten kurzen und wahren Grund oder eine Phrase wie "Ich gebe dir noch Bescheid", obwohl sie den anderen sicherlich nicht mehr kontaktieren werden, oder sie erfinden notfalls auch einen Grund. Um auszudrücken, dass man anderer Meinung ist verwenden Deutsche und Österreicher die Muster "Ja, ich verstehe, was du meinst, aber ich denke..." und "Ja, ich verstehe, was du meinst, aber meinst du nicht auch, dass....", Deutsche auch "(Nein), ich bin anderer Meinung" und "Nein". Wenn sie ein Gespräch beenden wollen, sagen Deutsche und Österreicher wahrheitsgemäß, dass und was sie jetzt zu tun haben, Deutsche auch Phrasen des Typs "Es ist schon spät".

1. Background

Based on existing literature of various kind, a first attempt of an encompassing contrast of communicative strategies, or speech-act realization patterns, was set up by Grzega (2006: 193-254). If you check the MLA, 150 studies on speech acts of the German language have already been published; the list doesn't seem complete, the large volume by Wagner (2001)[1] is missing, for instance. Despite this comparatively large number, many speech acts have not been investigated yet. Since 2008 is the European Year of Intercultural Dialog, this is the perfect opportunity to concentrate on such speech acts that still need analyzing. This study forms part of a larger project that aims at writing a European "language guide", dealing with a number of communicative situations that shall allow readers to see differences and similarities between Europeans. The communicative phases that are highlighted in this paper are addressing, answering the phone, small talk, giving arguments, making and turning down an offer, and ending a conversation.

Two methods have become classical in collecting empirical data for speech-act analysis: the *discourse completion task* (DCT) and the *metapragmatic judgement task* (MPJT) (cf. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989 and Hinkel 1997). In a DCT, informants, after being presented with the description of a dialogic situation, have to complete a dialog. However, this way the researcher only gets the most typical answer that comes to an individual's mind. Therefore, the metapragmatic judgment test (MPJT) has been invented as a supplementary method. In a MPJT all answers gathered in a preceding DCT are listed, and informants are asked to rank the adequateness of the answers. Both methods also require a large amount of informants. Since the *JELiX* editors' aim is a more general and more abstract one, they have designed an alternative data-eliciting method that also requires fewer informants than in a DCT and MPJT: the semi-expert interview on communicative strategies (SICS). Such an interview, in form of a questionnaire, asks informants not for their own personal communicative behavior and judgment, but for the typical linguistic behavior in their nation, as told from the perspective of someone who has to describe to a foreigner. Informants are regarded as ethnographic semi-experts due to their experience within, and observation of, the community. This will especially be true of people who have to do with language professionally (such as students of language, linguists, journalists); they should therefore be preferred as informants. While a DCT presents a situation and asks for one's typical behavior, the SICS presents typical situations and asks for possible and impossible behavior. The informant can both select from a list of communicative patterns and convey additional patterns. This way a SICS resembles more a MPJT, but it requires from the informants reflection on a more abstracting and generalizing level.

The following study also aims at contributing to the field of variational pragmatics by including informants from Germany and Austria and contrasting communicative patterns in these different national/regional varieties of German[2].

2. Data Collection

A sample of the SICS questionnaire can be found in the introductory article to this special

[1] Wagner describes the illocutionary features of 500 speech acts and presents 200 "scripts"; unfortunately, these "scripts" hardly reveal formal features and if they do, it is not said how prominent certain formal features are. The study is entirely qualitative.

[2] Studies that have contrastively analyzed pragmatic differences between Autria and Germany are those by Glück/Koch (1998), Grzega (2000, 2001, 2003) and Muhr (1987/1990a, 1987/1990b, 1993, 1994, 1995, 2008).

issue of *JELiX* (Grzega/Schöner 2008). The questionnaire was distributed among German language students and language teachers and eventually filled out by 48 informants. The informants come from a vast range of regions, particularly from Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria, but also from Hesse, Lower Saxony, Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Northrine-Westphalia and Bremen. 32 of the informants were female, 16 were male. Their ages vary from 20 to 40, with an average of 24.6. Originally, a colleague offered to help me get questionnaire from Austrian informants. But since I had received not even one article by early November, I was compelled to produce a shorter version of the SICS to hand it out and work with it during a guest lecture in Innsbruck[3]; the other colleague could finally get a few copies of the full SICS from her students[4]. This way I received 29 plus 9 questionnaires. The informants came mainly from Tyrol and Salzburg, but also from Vorarlberg, Upper Austria, and Vienna, i.e. mainly from the western part of Austria—this has to be kept in mind when drawing any conclusions. 32 of the informants were female (84.2%), 6 were male (15.8%). Their ages vary from 20 to 63, with an average of 26.2.

3. Results

3.1. Section A: Starting a Conversation

As a general rule, like most other Europeans, Germans and Austrians have an informal pronoun and a formal address pronoun, a T-form and a V-form in Brown and Gilman's 1960 terminology, namely *du* (grammatically the 2nd person sg.) and *Sie* (grammatically the 3rd person pl.). The distribution of these pronouns according to the informants is like this:

(1) All German and Austrian informants agreed that children would use the T-form for their parents.

(2) Except for one German informant, all other German and Austrian informants agreed that children use T to address older relatives.

(3) All German and Austrian informants agreed that administration officials are typically addressed by V.

(4) Although there may be some exceptions among younger persons, clerks and customers use V to address each other in Germany; likewise, strangers in the street are normally given V. The latter holds also true for Austria. As far as conversations between clerks and customers are concerned, the 9 Austrian informants who completed the large version of the questionnaire saw this constellation as a typical V-V-situation

(5) Students typically address their teachers by V—according to 5 German informants, T can also occur at primary school. Teachers, in contrast, typically use T as long as the students are not 16-18 years old yet; from this age on, teachers might switch into V.

(6) Depending on the business and the size of a company, employers and employees as well as colleagues among each other, may sometimes use T, sometimes V—although it seems slightly more typical for employers and employees to use V, almost always reciprocally, while colleagues more typically use T among each other. The concrete figures of the German informants were as follows
   - colleagues at work among each other: 26 = T or V (54.1%), 21 = T (43.8%), 1 = V (2.1%)
   - employees to employer: 35 = V (72.9%), 13 = T or V (27.1%)
   - employer to employees: 30 = V (62.3%), 18 = T or V (37.8%)

   The Austrian figures are slightly different:
   - colleagues at work among each other: 7 = T (77.8%), 2 = T or V (22.2%)
   - employees to employer: 7 = V (77.8%), 2 = T or V (22.2%)
   - employer to employees: 7 = V (77.8%), 2 = T or V (22.2%)

[3] I would like to thank Wolfgang Pöckl for this opportunity.

[4] I would like to thank Gudrun Bachleitner-Held for collecting these additional questionnaires.

(7) With business partners it seems more typical to use V (33 German informants, 7 Austrian informants), but 14 German and 2 Austrian informants said that V or T is possible. Only 1 German informant claimed that T is typical.

In brief: Germans and Austrians are rather reluctant with the T-form.

In the reduced questionnaire for the Austrian informants, this question was not included, but from preliminary drafts of the SICS (where we had questioned people from Vienna, Lower Austria and Graz) we can conclude that Austrians (at least from Vienna, Lower Austria and Graz).

There is no uniform telephone opening[5] in German private situations, but "last name" (mentioned by 30 informants = 62.5%) is the most typical. 11 informants also gave "first name + last name"; 14 informants also consider a pure *Hallo?* as typical, but some may label it impolite (like 2 of the informants). A similar picture can be drawn on the basis of the 38 Austrian informants; five of them explicitly describe *Hallo?* as appropriate for mobile phones and "(first name +) last name" as appropriate for fixed lined network. A feature that was not too rare among Austrian informants and Germans from Bavaria (not in other parts of Germany) is the sequence "last name + first name". 6 Austrians (15.8%) and 4 Bavarians (23.2% of the Bavarian informants = 8.3% of all German informants) listed this option.

In business telephone openings, the pattern "company's name + last name + ((greeting) + phrase such as 'How can I help you?')" seem to be the most typical in both Germany and Austria.

3.2. Section B: Keeping Up a Conversation

Small talk can be understood as the elements of a conversation that are not the greeting, the closing and leave-taking phase and the proper motive for the conversation (cf. also Malinowski 1923, Laver 1975, Ventola 1979). As the SICS shows, there are not very clear rules for small-talking in Germany and Austria; small talk does not seem generally common. For no single situation is small talk considered typical by a majority of our informants. 21 of the German informants regard common meals (which was given as an option) as a typical small talk setting. The situation "party/reception" was added by 9 German informants. 13 of the Austrian informants regarded waiting rooms as typical small talk settings (on the other hand, waiting rooms were considered taboo areas for small talk by 4 Austrian informants), 11 Austrians ticked meals and 10 Austrians stores as typical small-talk situations. 5 Austrians added "the hairdresser" as a typical small-talk place; the situation "party/reception" was added by 4 Austrians.

This lack of rules is, in a way, also reflected by the question of taboo situations. For no single situation is small talk considered taboo in Germany. 22 German informants consider elevators and 20 Germans consider public toilets as taboo areas for small talk; 14 German informants have listed public transportation. The pciture is slightly different in Austria. Here, 24 of the 38 Austrian informants (63.2%) see toilets as taboo settings for small talk, 19 informants (50.0%) elevators; the other situations given are ticked by less than half of the informants.

The most prominent small talk topic of all—and 9 of the German informants have stated this explicitly—is the weather. 41 German informants (85.4%) and 35 Austrian informants (92.1%) considered this theme typical (or labelled it even very typical). Other topics considered typical for small talk by a majority of the German informants are sports (33 =

[5] The classical studies on phone conversations that many other studies relate to are the ones by Schegloff (1979) and Hopper (1992).

68.8%), hobbies (25 = 52.1%), and the general complaint about politics or politicians (24 = 50.0%). Topics given by more than half of the Austrian informants are the general complaint about politics and politicians (23 = 60.5%), discussions about the latest political news (19 = 50.0%) and travel experiences (19 = 50.0%). Apart from the topics listed 4 Austrians added "the latest gossip", another 4 "current topics in the media".

Clear taboo topics for Germans are salary and other money issues (35 = 72.9%). Only 2 Austrians listed salary as a taboo topic specifically, but 28 of them (= 73.7%) marked money as a taboo topic (5 of them even as a very typical one). The following topics were added by some Austrian informants: sex (9), dying/death (6), diseases (4)

There is also no rule in Germany for the percentage of small talk in private and business conversations. Half of the informants claim that Germans do more small talk in private conversations than in business conversations; the other half claims the opposite or that there is roughly the same percentage of small talk in private and in business conversations. This question was not included in the reduced version for the Austrian informants; but from the results of the 9 informants who filled in the complete version of the SICS we can safely assume that there will also be no clear picture given as this was already the case in the first two questions on small topic behavior.

3.3. Section C: Being Nice in a Conversation

How do Germans typically present their opinion on a topic? Luckily, the informants commented their selection of strategies for this speech act with the labels "very frequently", "frequently" (or unmarked), "sometimes" and "rarely". If we convert these labels into points from 4 to 1 and multiply them with the corresponding number of ticks, then we get the following picture (p. = points). According to the informants, the most typical strategy is "first you say your opinion, then you give reasons related to the issue" (150 points, 38 informants viewed this strategy as present at least occasionally).

This question was not included in the reduced version of the SICS for the Austrian informants. From the 9 informants who answered the full version of the questionnaire we would have to conclude that the two most typical strategies are "first you say your opinion, then you give reasons related to the issue" (18 points, 6 informants considered this strategy frequent) and "you present different opinions and arguments, then you give your own opinion" (16 points; 5 informants viewed this strategy as present at least occasionally). But more informants are needed to consolidate this.

In the next question, the informants were asked whether invitations or offers made by an interlocutor can reasonably be assumed to be honest or to be just a politeness phrase. With this question, the SICS aims at finding out about the presence of ostensible invitations (cf. Isaacs/Clark 1990) and similar phenomena. 40 Germans (83.3%) and 24 Austrians (63.2%) said that one can reasonably assume that an invitation or an offer can be taken literally, as an honest offer. However, this is not as fixed a rule in Germany as in Austria: 13 Austrians claimed it depends on the persons, while only 4 Germans said this (the decisive factors being the phrasing and the level of familiarity between the interlocutors).

3.4. Section D: Getting Around Very Uncomfortable Topics

Item #9 in the SICS says: "If people want to turn down an offer or an invitation, what kinds of linguistic means are used to say "no" in a polite way in your nation?"[6] If we convert the labels

[6] The MLA lists a University of Mississippi Ph.D. thesis, by Beckers (2000), comparing refusal strategies by

"very frequently", "frequently" (or unmarked), "sometimes", "rarely/not too often" into points from 4 to 1 again and multiply them with the respective number of ticks, then the picture of the most typical strategies in Germany is this:

points	persons seeing a pattern used at least "some-times"	
106	34	a concrete brief and true excuse (if there is one)
105	33	a vague excuse like "No, I don't have time." or "No, I have something else to do."
78	26	a phrase like "(I don't know yet) I'll let you know", though you will surely not contact the person again
76	25	a concrete brief and invented excuse (if there is no concrete true excuse)

Other strategies were viewed as "present at least sometimes" by less than half of the informants. So a vague excuse or a concrete brief and true excuse are clearly seen as the dominant, common, normal strategies to turn down an offer.

The results from the Austrian informants are these:

points	persons seeing a pattern used at least "some-times"	
83	27	a phrase like "(I don't know yet) I'll let you know", though you will surely not contact the person again
72	24	a vague excuse like "No, I don't have time." or "No, I have something else to do."
70	24	a concrete brief and true excuse (if there is one)
57	19	a concrete brief and invented excuse (if there is no concrete true excuse)

Other strategies were viewed as "present at least sometimes" by less than half of the informants. The difference to note between Germany and western Austria is that the strategy "Give a concrete brief and invented excuse (if there is no concrete true excuse)" is not a seen as a typical pattern (only 10 of the 29 informants view this as typical).

Item #10 consisted of the question "If people disagree with somebody else's opinion, what kinds of linguistic (and non-linguistic) means are used to say "no" in a polite way in your nation?" If we convert the labels "very frequently", "frequently" (or unmarked), "sometimes", "rarely/not too often" into points from 4 to 1 again and multiply them with the respective number of ticks, then we get the following picture of typical strategies in Germany:

Americans and Germans. However, only the abstract was available to me. The following observations are listed, amongst others, in the abstract: Germans vary their refusal strategies according to social distance rather than status (whereas Americans vary their refusal strategies according to social status rather than social distance); Germans use a third party for their explanations (whereas Americans rely on their own decisions for their explanations).

points	persons seeing a pattern used at least "some-times"	
143	40	a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but I think that ..."
121	39	a phrase like "(No), I disagree.", "(No), I have a different opinion."
69	23	a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but wouldn't you also think that ..."
68	23	a direct "No"

Other strategies were viewed as "present at least sometimes" by less than half of the informants.

The Austrian strategies seem less varied:

points	persons seeing a pattern used at least "some-times"	
86	28	a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but I think that ..."
62	20	a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but wouldn't you also think that ..."

Other strategies were viewed as "present at least sometimes" by less than half of the informants.

3.5. Section E: Ending a Conversation

As there are no useable cross-cultural pragmatic studies on closing conversations[7], the SICS questionnaire had particularly included also this part of a conversation: "what do people say to show that they want to end a conversation?". If we convert the labels "very frequently", "frequently" (or unmarked), "sometimes", "rarely/not too often" into points from 4 to 1 again and multiply them with the respective number of ticks, then we get the following picture of typical strategies in Germany:

points	persons seeing a pattern used at least "some-times"	
113	35	a phrase like "I have to go now, I have something else to do"
91	34	say what they have to do now (if there really is something)
80	26	a phrase like "It's already late now"

Other strategies were viewed as "present at least sometimes" by less than half of the informants.

If we take the same counting method for (western) Austria, then, again, we can note that the set of frequent strategies seems more limited:

[7] Unfortunately the study by Otterstedt (1993) is full of factual mistakes. The first study to analyze closing strategies is the one by Schegloff/Sacks (1973).

points	persons seeing a pattern used at least "some-times"	
85	28	a phrase like "I have to go now, I have something else to do"
69	22	say what they have to do now (if there really is something)

Other strategies were viewed as "present at least sometimes" by less than half of the informants.

After this question the next logical item was to ask for the interlocutor's reaction. 29 of the German informants (60.4%) considered it more typical that the other person lets you go, for 4 it was typical that the other person first tries to persuade you to stay, 15 informants claimed that both are possible and typical. This question was not included in the short version of the SICS given to most Austrian informants, but 8 of the 9 informants considered letting the other person go a typical reaction.

4. Summary

Germans are on the one hand rather reserved (there are a lot of situations where the V form is preferred, small talk is uncommon), on the other hand they are rather direct and abstain from indirect or, in Brown and Levinson's (1987) terminology, off-record strategies. The Gricean (1975) maxims of quality and manner seem particularly salient. If we want to turn these observations into a "pragmatic stage direction" for conversations with Germans, we could formulate it in the following way: "Be reserved, but when you say something be very explicit; when you want to turn down an offer, only lie if there is no true excuse."

Austrians, too, are rather direct and refrain from indirect, off-record strategies. The Gricean maxims of quality and manner seem particularly salient as well. A "pragmatic stage direction" for conversations with Germans could be formulated in the following way: "Give reasons for what you do without hurting the other. If need be, invent a reason."

In conclusion, we can say that in the speech acts contrastively analyzed (doing small talk, turning down an offer, expressing disagreement, closing a conversation) the set of typical communicative strategies that (west) Austrians use is smaller than the set that Germans use. Or put differently, (west) Austrian behavior is formally more strictly organized in these speech acts than German communicative behavior.

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On Some Speech Acts and Communication Patterns in Flanders and the Netherlands

Abstract

Differences in language use can occur not only between nations speaking different languages but also between national varieties of the same language. For this reason, we chose to conduct a study in both Flanders and the Netherlands. In Flanders, the Gricean maxims manner and quality are the most important. Small talk among strangers is not very common and if one gets an invitation it is more than likely a sincere offer. If one wants to end a conversation, the phrase "I have to go, I have something else to do" is most frequently used. Some more prudence is called for when an invitation is rejected: an excuse is expected. The Dutch tend to use a direct style as well. Small talk is not considered necessary and it is generally accepted to turn down an offer using the word "no". Expressing disagreement in the Netherlands can be done using the rather direct expression "No, I disagree". An invitation is considered to be a sincere one and if one of the interlocutors wants to end a conversation, the other immediately lets him/her go. Contrary to expectations, the results show that in Flanders and the Netherlands rather the same communication strategies are used.

Sommaire

Des divergences dans l'usage de la langue n'existent pas seulement entre les nations avec des langues différentes, mais aussi entre les variétés nationales d'une seule langue. C'est pourquoi nous nous sommes décidées à réaliser une étude en Flandre et dans les Pays-Bas. En Flandre, ce sont les maximes de la manière et de la qualité de *Paul Grice* qui sont les plus importantes. Le Small Talk avec des étrangers n'est pas d'usage et une invitation est à prendre sérieusement. Pour terminer une conversation, on se sert, la plupart du temps, de l'expression directe « Il faut que j'y aille, j'ai autre chose à faire ». Par contre, il faut faire attention dès qu'on décline une invitation, parce que dans ce cas-là, on attend une excuse. Dans les Pays-Bas, on se sert également d'un style direct. Le Small Talk n'y est pas d'usage non plus et une offre peut être refusée par un « Non » définitif. En cas d'unanimité, on peut se servir de la diction directe « Non, là, je ne suis pas d'accord ». Les invitations sont sérieuses et lorsqu'une personne voudrait terminer une conversation, on n'hésite pas à la laisser s'en aller. Contrairement à nos premières expectatives, les résultats laissent présager qu'en Flandre et qu'aux Pays-Bas, on se sert des mêmes stratégies communicatives.

Zusammenfassung

Unterschiede im Sprachgebrauch kommen nicht nur zwischen Nationen, in denen unterschiedliche Sprachen gesprochen werden, vor, sondern auch zwischen nationalen Varietäten einer Sprache. Deshalb haben wir uns dafür entschieden, eine Studie in Flandern und in den Niederlanden durchzuführen. In Flandern sind die Griceschen Maxime der Art und Weise und der Qualität am wichtigsten. Smalltalk mit Fremden ist unüblich und eine Einladung ist ernst gemeint. Um ein Gespräch zu beenden, wird meistens die direkte Phrase "Ich muss jetzt gehen, ich habe etwas anderes zu tun" benutzt. Mehr Vorsicht ist geboten beim Ablehnen einer Einladung, dann wird eine Entschuldigung erwartet. In den Niederlanden wird ebenfalls ein direkter Stil benutzt. Smalltalk ist ebenso unüblich und ein Angebot kann mit "Nein" abgelehnt worden. Bei Unstimmigkeit kann man den direkten Spruch "Nein, damit bin ich nicht einverstanden" benutzen. Einladungen sind ernst gemeint und wenn eine Person ein Gespräch beenden möchte, lässt man sie/ihn sofort gehen. Anders als erwartet weisen die Ergebnisse darauf hin, dass in Flandern und in den Niederlanden etwa die gleichen Kommunikationsstrategien benutzt werden.

1. Background

In this article, the results of semi-expert interviews on communication strategies (SICS) in Flanders and the Netherlands are presented. This SICS questionnaire was designed by the

JELiX editors (Grzega/Schöner 2008) as an alternative to the DCT and MPJT data-eliciting methods. In a semi-expert interview on communication strategies, the informants are not asked to describe their own personal linguistic behaviour, but to describe general communicative behaviour in their nation. The informants are people working professionally with language such as language students, journalists and translators. The SICS were divided into five sections: starting a conversation; keeping up a conversation; being nice in a conversation; getting around very uncomfortable topics and ending a conversation.

The object of this study is the language use in Flanders and the Netherlands. The official language in both cases is Dutch. As there are still misunderstandings about what language is spoken in Flanders (Flemish? Belgian? French?) a short overview on the Dutch spoken in Flanders, based on Willemyns/Daniels (2003) and on De Vries/Willemyns/Burger (2003), follows. Flanders is a region in Belgium that consists of the five northern provinces of Belgium: West Flanders, East Flanders, Flemish Brabant, Antwerp and Limburg. In this region, the official language is Dutch. The two other official languages spoken in Belgium are French and German. However, Dutch has not always been an official language in Belgium: Dutch acquired an official status in 1932. Before, the upper class spoke French and French dominated education and public life. This changed with the introduction of the law of 1932, by which Belgium was divided into two monolingual communities and Dutch became more important. To be able to fulfil this new role, the Dutch spoken in Flanders had to be standardized. At that time there were two movements: the particularistic and the integrationist movement. The first group wanted to develop a new standard from the regional dialect, the second group wanted to make the standard Dutch spoken in the Netherlands the norm. The latter group won the debate, so the standard from the Netherlands became the norm in Flanders.

Although the Dutch spoken in Belgium is the same language as the Dutch spoken in the Netherlands and follows the same norms, there are still quite a number of differences in vocabulary and pronunciation. That is why in linguistic research on Dutch the terms *Belgian Dutch* (*Belgisch Nederlands*) and *Netherlandic Dutch* (*Nederlands Nederlands*) can often be found (Vandekerckhove 2005: 380).

With this paper, we want to draw a comparison of pragmatics in Flanders and the Netherlands. Grzega (2006: 196) notes that pragmatic differences concern not only communities with different languages, but also communities with different national varieties of the same language, which has often been neglected by researchers. There has been a lot of attention in linguistic research for the differences and similarities in Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch phonology, vocabulary and grammar, but pragmatics have, to our knowledge, not yet been subject of investigation. We first discuss the results for Flanders, then the results for the Netherlands and at the end of our paper we turn our attention to the differences we found with the SICS questionnaires.

2. Data Collection

A sample of the SICS questionnaire can be found in the introductory article to this volume of *JELiX* (Grzega/Schöner 2008).

2.1. Contacting People and Distributing the Survey

As we carried out this investigation working from Germany, we decided that the best way to reach as many informants as possible was to make the survey accessible online. We used the website www.esurveyspro.com to create an online questionnaire.

Potential informants were contacted by e-mail. In the e-mail we explained briefly the background idea of eurolinguistics and the aim of our investigation and we inserted the link through which they could access the online questionnaire. We thought this way of working would offer us more filled in questionnaires than sending an e-mail with the questionnaire attached and having to ask the informants to send it back. Moreover, we put a message on various Internet forums that deal with the Dutch language and a call to fill in the questionnaire was published in an e-magazine that deals with Dutch.

2.2. Problems Encountered

The main problem encountered concerns the number of questionnaires that were filled in completely. For Flanders, 18 informants filled in the questionnaire completely, although 29 informants filled in the first section. For the Netherlands, more than 100 people looked at the online survey. 18 of them filled in the first section, but only eight people filled in the last section. Another problem is the range of age of the informants. The Flemish informants have an average age of 24, the Dutch informants are aged between 40 and 60.

Considering the answers given by the informants, we clearly noticed a lack of attention. Although the informants were asked to describe the linguistic behaviour in their nation, they often answered with "I would say...". Moreover, we noticed a form of conditioning in regard to the answers. To render some of the questions more understandable and more easy to fill in, examples of possible answers were given in the SICS. We noticed that a lot of informants answered only citing the already given examples and that there is very little input from their own. All this means that we should not treat the results of this investigation as detailled facts, but rather as general tendencies.

3. Results: Flanders

3.1. Starting a conversation

Dutch, like most other European languages, has an informal and a formal pronoun. *Je* and *jij* are the informal forms (the latter is the stressed form) and *u* is the formal form. 11 out of the 29 informants also mentioned the Flemish substandard forms *ge* and *gij* (the latter is again the stressed form), which become *u* in the object case. The forms *ge* and *gij* are seen as very formal in standard Dutch, they are for example used to address God or the Queen, whereas they have a neutral and informal connotation in Flanders.
In which situations do people use informal or formal forms?

1. All informants said that children address their parents with an informal pronoun (*je*, *jij*, *ge* or *gij*). Older relatives are also mostly addressed with the informal pronoun; only two informants noted that the formal pronoun is used in this situation.
2. All informants agreed that among themselves colleagues use the informal pronoun. It is also typical that employers use the informal form to address their employees, whereas employees address their employers mostly with the formal form, although 5 informants said that it depends on the workplace situation.
3. Pupils address their teachers typically with the formal pronoun, while teachers address their pupils typically with the informal pronoun.
4. People would typically use the formal form to address strangers in the street and administration officials. Clerks and customers would also address each other reciprocally with the formal form.
5. There was no agreement on how business partners address each other. 12 informants answered that in this case the formal pronoun would be used, whereas 12 others said

that business partners would use the informal pronoun. 5 informants noted that the choice depends on the situation.

When people answer the phone at home, they will most typically say *Hallo* or *Hallo met* + name. Only 3 informants noted that people do not use a greeting term and only say their name when they answer the phone. The most common telephone answering phrase in work situations is *Goedemorgen/middag* (good morning/afternoon) or *goedemorgen/middag* + personal name + company name.

3.2. Keeping Up a Conversation

In this section we asked the informants for typical small talk and taboo topics in their nations. Small talk can be considered as "a conventionalised and peripheral mode of talk" (Coupland 2000: 1). Two important questions arise when we want to use small talk. The first one is in what situations small talk is (not) common. The second question is what are safe topics in different nations. 20 informants answered the questions in this section.

First we asked the informants in what situations it is common to start small talk. Half of them answered that it is rather rare and unusual in Flanders to start small talk at all. It was often noted that there is a difference between the city and the country and the age of the people. Older people living in the country will start small talk more often than young people in the city. The suggestions for places where small talk is possible were very diverse, probably due to the fact that small talk in general is not very common. Some answers were: when queuing (4 informants); with family and neighbours (4 informants); and when something unexpected happens or when people are irritated about something (3 informants).

In everyday life small talk is rather uncommon. Situations where it is considered not usual to start small talk are for example: in waiting rooms (8 informants); while queuing for the toilet (6 informants); and in elevators (6 informants).

The most popular small talk topic is the weather. All informants agreed that this is a common and safe topic. Other possible small talk topics are: politics and general complaints (both 8 informants); the situation itself, e.g. when the bus comes too late (7 informants); sports (6 informants); local news (deaths, weddings,..), gossip and recent events (4 informants).

Taboo topics are salary (13 informants) and sexuality (13 informants). Further taboos are very personal matters (5 informants) as well as religion and drugs (both 3 informants). 3 informants noted down politics as a taboo topic. So politics can both be a safe and a taboo topic. We think that it depends on the way people talk about politics. If people talk about politics in small talk, it is most often with a certain disdain ("Oh those politicians, they are all the same…"). It is rather taboo, though, to talk about personal preferences in politics.

The informants were also asked if people in their nation use more small talk in a business conversation than in a private conversation. There was no clear line in the answers here. 9 informants said that people tend to use more small talk in a private conversation than in a business conversation, 7 said it is the other way round. 4 informants said that people use as much small talk in business conversations as in private conversations.

3.3. Being Nice in a Conversation

In this section the informants were first asked how people in Flanders typically express their opinion on a topic. 13 out of 18 informants said that most people would first give their

opinion on the topic and then give reasons for this related to the issue itself. In addition these two strategies were each chosen by 6 informants:

- Bit by bit: 1: you say your opinion on aspect A
  2: you give issue-related reasons for this
  3: you say your opinion on aspect B
  4: you give issue-related reasons for this
- 1: you present diverse opinions and arguments
  2: you say your own opinion

With the other question in this section, we wanted to find out whether an invitation is generally an honest offer or rather just a politeness phrase in Flanders. 16 out of the 18 informants said that when someone offers something, you can assume that this is a sincere offer.

3.4. Getting Around Very Uncomfortable Topics

In this section we asked which ways are used to turn down an offer and which ones to express disagreement in Flanders. We asked the informants what kinds of linguistic means are used to say "no" in their nation. 18 Informants answered this question. In the following table, it is shown how many percent of these 18 ticked a certain expression (the respondents could tick more than one answer):

Q: If people want to turn down an offer or an invitation, what kinds of linguistic means are used to say "no" in a polite way in your nation?	%
A vague excuse like "No, I don't have time." Or "No, I have something else to do."	83
A concrete brief and true excuse (if there is one)	61
A concrete long and true excuse (if there is one)	50
A concrete brief and invented excuse (if there is no concrete true excuse)	44
A phrase like "(I don't know yet) I'll let you know", though you will surely not contact the person again.	39
A direct phrase that means "no, I don't feel like going there/doing X."	33
A phrase like "I will have to think about it", though you won't surely contact the person again.	22
A concrete long and invented excuse (if there is no concrete true excuse).	17

One of the informants mentioned that it highly depends on how well you know the person whose offer you are turning down. The better you know them, the shorter and more truthful the excuse will be.

The next question was how people express their disagreement with somebody else's opinion in Flanders. This question was answered by 18 informants. The following table shows how many percent of these 18 informants chose a certain expression (they could tick more than one answer):

Q: If people disagree with somebody else's opinion, what kinds of linguistic (and non-linguisitc) means are used to say "no" in a polite way in your nation?	%
a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but I think that ..."	94
a phrase like "(No), I disagree.", "(No), I have a different opinion."	83
a direct "No"	50
a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but wouldn't you also think that ..."	44
people just shake their heads	33
people just make a disapproving look	28
people just say nothing at all and remain silent	22

a phrase like “I think you have to think about this again.”	17
never the word “No”	0
a phrase like “I think we have to think about this again.”	0
people just smile	0

This shows that people in Flanders are quite direct when they give their opinion. It is for example no problem to say “No, I disagree” when your opinion differs from your conversation partner’s opinion.

3.5. Ending a conversation

In this last section, people were asked how you typically end a conversation in Flanders, as ending a conversation is a potentially embarassing and face-threatening phase of a conversation. We asked the informants what people in Flanders would say if they want to end a conversation. Again, this was a tick-the-box question (it was possible to tick more than one box). 18 informants answered this question. In the following table is shown how many percent of them chose a certain expression:

Q: What do people say to show that they want to end a conversation?	%
a phrase like “I have to go now, I have something else to do”	83
say what they have to do now (if there really is something)	72
a phrase like “I don’t want to bother you any longer”	61
a phrase like “It’s already late now”	50
invent a reason	22
a simple “OK, good-bye now”	11
a phrase like “we’ve already talked for too long”	0
a phrase like “I want to go now”	0

We also asked the informants if the other person then immediately lets them go or first tries to persuade them to stay. 15 informants said that the other person immediately lets you go, 7 said that they will try to persuade you to stay.

3.6. Summary

If we summarise all these results for Flanders, we can say that people in the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium typically use a direct style. In Gricean terms (1975) the maxims of quality and manner are the most important ones. People do not tend to do much small talk with strangers. An invitation is normally a sincere offer and if you want to end a conversation, it is common to say: “I have to go now, I have something else to do”. Some more prudence is called for if you want to reject an invitation, in this case mostly an excuse is expected.

4. Results: The Netherlands

4.1. Starting a conversation

All Dutch informants gave the pronouns *je* and *jij* (plural: *jullie*) for informal situations and the pronoun *u* for formal situations. None of them mentioned the pronouns *ge* or *gij*, except for one person who mentioned that these are often used in Belgium but not in the Netherlands. A closer look at the distribution of these pronouns is asked for:

1. 11 out of 15 informants said that children would address their parents with an informal pronoun. 3 informants noted that it would depend on the family, one of them mentioned that religion plays a role here. In Protestant families, so the informants, the children use the formal pronoun to address their parents. One informant said that

children would avoid addressing their parents with a pronoun, they would for example say: "Mum, does Mum know where my keys are?"

2. There is no clear agreement among the informants about how children address older relatives. 3 persons noted that children in this situation would use the formal pronoun, 5 said that children would use the informal pronoun and according to 6 informants both are possible. Again one informant wrote that children would rather avoid using pronouns with older relatives, so they do not have to make the choice.
3. All informants agreed that colleagues among each other use the informal pronoun. Such an agreement, however, was not found for how employers and employees address each other, but the majority said that people would use the informal pronoun reciprocally or that it depends on the company people are working for.
4. All informants said that teachers address their pupils with the informal pronoun. How children address their teachers depends mostly on the school they are in.
5. All informants agreed that people use the formal pronoun to address administration officials. A majority of the informants said that the formal pronoun is also used when clerks address a customer in a store and when people address strangers in the street. How customers address a clerk in a store mostly depends on the kind of store.
6. Business partners will most usually address each other with an informal pronoun. But here again, it often depends on the company they are working for.

In sum, we can say that there is more variation allowed in the Netherlands than in Flanders.

The most common telephone openings at home are *Met* + name and first name + last name, for example *Jan Smit*. In business conversations, the name of the company is added: Name + company name and often a greeting phrase as well: *Hallo/goedemorgen/goedemiddag met* + name + (company name).

4.2. Keeping up a conversation

In this section small talk, also called phatic communion (Malinowski 1923), is in the focus. 11 informants answered the questions in this section. We asked the Dutch informants in what situations small talk is common or even required in their nation. The majority of them answered that it is never really required and that there is usually silence. It is not so common to start small talk at all. The situations in which you can use small talk are, according to the informants, waiting rooms, stores and while queuing. When we asked the informants when it is not common to start small talk, the large majority answered that small talk is not common in elevators and while waiting for the toilet. Two informants said that it is uncommon to start small talk before or after church service.

Common small talk topics are, according to the informants, the weather (9 informants); general complaints (5 informants) and the news (4 informants). One of the informants wrote that the most important convention is that you strike a decidedly negative tone, no matter what the subject is. So it is more usual to complain about something than to be positive. Taboo topics on the other hand are money issues (8 informants), sexuality and religion (both 5 informants) and very personal matters (2 informants). In Ventola's terms (1979) Dutch small talk topics are indirect.

The last question in this section concerned small talk in business conversations. We asked the informants if people are expected to do more, less or as much small talk in a private conversation as in a business conversation. However, there was no agreement among the informants about this. 4 informants said that people do more small talk in a private conversation, 4 said that people would do more small talk in a business conversation and 5 noted that people do as much small talk in a business conversation as in a private

conversation.

4.3. Being Nice in a Conversation

Here the informants were asked in which way the Dutch would typically present their opinion on a topic. There was one expression that was clearly ahead of all the others, namely: 1. you say your opinion - 2. you give reasons related to the issue itself. 7 informants out of 11 chose this expression. All other strategies were only ticked once.

With the second question in this section we wanted to find out if an invitation of a Dutchman is typically an honest offer or just a politeness phrase. A large majority (73 %) noted that this would be an honest offer. One of our informants even added: "The person making the invitation would be rather upset if you don't take [the invitation]. Generally, the Dutch only ACT nice when they MEAN nice".

4.4. Getting Around Very Uncomfortable Topics

In order to get to know how the Dutch handle uncomfortable topics without losing face, the informants were asked how an offer is turned down. The following table shows the linguistic means used in the Netherlands to express "no" and how many informants chose the various possible expressions. A total of nine informants answered this question, with the possibility of ticking more than one answer. The table shows how many percent of the informants chose a certain expression.

Q: If people want to turn down an offer or an invitation, what kinds of linguistic means are used to say "no" in a polite way in your nation?	%
A vague excuse like "No, I don't have time." Or "No, I have something else to do."	67
A concrete brief and invented excuse (if there is no concrete true excuse)	56
A phrase like "(I don't know yet) I'll let you know", though you will surely not contact the person again.	56
A concrete brief and true excuse (if there is one)	44
A direct phrase that means "no, I don't feel like going there/doing X."	33
A phrase like "I will have to think about it", though you won't surely contact the person again.	33
A concrete long and true excuse (if there is one)	11
A concrete long and invented excuse (if there is no concrete true excuse).	0

One informant added that an indirect phrase meaning "No, I don't feel like it" is used as well. One could for example say "I'm not sure if I like that" to turn down an offer or invitation.

Another way to find out how the Dutch get around uncomfortable topics, was to let them describe how disagreement is expressed in a polite way in the Netherlands. The following table shows how many percent of the 9 informants who answered this question chose the various possible expressions to express disagreement.

Q: If people disagree with somebody else's opinion, what kinds of linguistic (and non-linguisitc) means are used to say "no" in a polite way in your nation?	%
a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but I think that ..."	67
a phrase like "(No), I disagree.", "(No), I have a different opinion."	67
a direct "No"	44
a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but wouldn't you also think that ..."	33
people just shake their heads	22
people just say nothing at all and remain silent	22

a phrase like “I think we have to think about this again.”	22
people just make a disapproving look	11
a phrase like “I think you have to think about this again.”	11
people just smile	11
never the word “No”	0

One informant added that the way of expressing disagreement depends on how well you know the person you are talking with and that it also depends on the subject you are talking about.

The table shows that in the Netherlands disagreement is expressed in a rather direct way and that it is accepted to use the word “no”.

4.5. Ending a Conversation

Not to know how to end a conversation properly can be embarrassing for both interlocutors. The informants were asked to describe how the Dutch show that they want to end a conversation. The following table offers an overview with phrases that are most used. It is shown how many percent of the 9 informants who answered this question ticked a certain expression.

Q: What do people say to show that they want to end a conversation?	%
a phrase like “I have to go now, I have something else to do”	78
say what they have to do now (if there really is something)	67
a phrase like “I don’t want to bother you any longer”	56
invent a reason	44
a phrase like “It’s already late now”	33
a phrase like “We’ve already talked for too long”	22
a simple “OK, good-bye now”	22
a phrase like “I want to go now”	11

Moreover, we asked the informants whether the Dutch try to persuade the other to stay or if they immediately let go the other. 7 informants said that in the Netherlands you will immediately let go the person that wants to end the conversation, 3 informants answered that the other will try to persuade him/her to stay.

4.6. Summary

Summarising the results for the Netherlands, we can say that the Dutch tend to use a direct style in conversations. Small talk is not considered necessary and it is generally accepted to turn down an offer using the word “no”. Expressing disagreement in the Netherlands can be done using the rather direct expression “No, I disagree”. An offer or an invitation is considered to be a sincere one and if one of the interlocutors wants to end a conversation, the other immediately lets him/her go. This means that the maxims of quality and manner (Grice 1975) are the most important ones in the Netherlands.

5. A Comparison Between Flanders and the Netherlands

5.1. Starting a Conversation

There is a very clear distinction between Flanders and the Netherlands when it comes to the use of pronouns. In Flanders the substandard forms *ge* and *gij* are widely spread next to the standard forms *je*, *jij* (informal) and *u* (formal). According to the standard, the forms *ge* and *gij* are archaic and can only be used in solemn speeches and prayers (Cockx 2000: 141)

whereas they are neutral in Flanders and are often used in every-day live.

Research on this topic has been done by Koen Plevoets, Dirk Speelman and Dirk Geeraerts (2008) and by Reinhild Vandekerckhove (2005). The *Spoken Dutch Corpus* was investigated and the results of this project go even further than our findings. Plevoest/Speelman/Geeraerts (2008: 202) found out

> "on the whole that the Netherlands is more uniform than Flanders. Stylistic variation, for instance, is uniform in the Netherlands, whereas it comprises two dimenions in Flanders. The first axis was found to discriminate between colloquial and polite style, whereas the second axis distinguished spontaneous from monitored speech. Furthermore, there is little regional variation in the Netherlands, while the Flemish regions show profound differences. The social stratification in both countries is remarkably similar, however. [...]. In both countries, there is also a clear sex difference, in that women use the familiar forms, while men move between familiar and polite forms."

According to Vandekerckhove's results, there is no contrast between polite and informal forms in colloquial Belgian Dutch: *ge* and *gij* (*u* in object case) are used in Flanders both as informal and formal pronouns and there is no difference in Belgian Dutch between what Brown and Gilman (1960) called T-pronouns and V-pronouns (Vandekerckhove 2005: 383).

This contradicts our findings as all of our informants mention *u* and not *gij* to be the formal pronoun in Flanders. Also, only 11 out of 29 informants mentioned the substandard forms *ge* and *gij*. However, this contradiction can be explained by something Vandekerckhove (2005: 383-384) mentions: in written language, education and in the media, the northern based standard is still the norm. So in a lot of public domains the forms *je*, *jij* and *u* are still used and very common. The choice of the pronoun in Belgian Dutch depends therefore on the domain and the register of the conversation.

Also the question on telephone openings in this section showed a divergence between Flanders and the Netherlands. When people in Flanders answer the phone, the most common opening phrases are *Hallo* and *Hallo met + name* whereas in the Netherlands people always give a self-identification first, most common is just to say the name or the say *met + name*.

According to Lentz (1997: 94) a century ago the Dutch answerer opened the conversation by saying *Hello*, like in Flanders is still done today. He studied directories, books on etiquette and theatre plays and girls' books to be able to explain this change of pattern in the Netherlands. One of the main arguments for self-identification he found in directories: it saves time and thus also money. In the 1920s the Dutch telephone company introduced a minimal period for interurban connections free of charge: "The company did not charge interurban telephone calls in case of wrong connections, if both participants ended the connection immediately" (Lentz 1997: 103) . So it was for the callers more advantageous to know straight away who was on the phone, so they could hang up when there was a wrong connection.

5.2. Keeping Up a Conversation

In order to investigate how a conversation is kept up, the informants were asked to describe the behaviour concerning small talk in their nation. Both in Flanders and in the Netherlands, small talk is not considered to be necessary. Many of the informants even suggest that it is rather not done and that quite some people may feel bothered if small talk is started.

Both in Flanders and in the Netherlands the weather and general complaints are the most common small talk topics, whereas money (how much one earns) and sexuality are taboo topics.

5.3. Being Nice in a Conversation

With regard to being nice in a conversation, the informants were asked how opinions typically are given in their nation. Both in Flanders and in the Netherlands opinions tend to be given in the following way: you give your opinion and then you give reasons related to the issue itself.

5.4. Getting Around Very Uncomfortable Topics

In order to get a view on how to get around uncomfortable topics without losing one's face, we asked the informants to describe how an offer typically is turned down and how disagreement generally is expressed. Both in the Netherlands and in Flanders, a vague excuse like "No, I don't have time" or a concrete, brief and true excuse is accepted to turn down an offer. Expressing disagreement is in both nations generally done by saying "I see what you mean, but...". Using the expression "No, I disagree" is accepted as well both in Flanders and in the Netherlands.

The tables below offer an overview of how many percent of the informants of each group (F stands for Flanders, N for the Netherlands) chose a certain expression to be the most typical one to handle uncomfortable topics. There were 18 informants for Flanders and 9 informants for the Netherlands.

Q: If people want to turn down an offer or an invitation, what kinds of linguistics means are used to say "no" in a polite way in your nation?	**F** %	**N** %
A vague excuse like "No, I don't have time." Or "No, I have something else to do."	83	67
A concrete brief and invented excuse (if there is no concrete true excuse)	44	56
A phrase like "(I don't know yet) I'll let you know", though you will surely not contact the person again.	39	56
A concrete brief and true excuse (if there is one)	61	44
A direct phrase that means "no, I don't feel like going there/doing X."	33	33
A phrase like "I will have to think about it", though you won't surely contact the person again.	22	33
A concrete long and true excuse (if there is one)	50	11
A concrete long and invented excuse (if there is no concrete true excuse).	17	0

Q: If people disagree with somebody else's opinion, what kinds of linguistic (and non-linguisitc) means are used to say "no" in a polite way in your nation?	**F** %	**N** %
a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but I think that ..."	94	67
a phrase like "(No), I disagree.", "(No), I have a different opinion."	83	67
a direct "No"	50	44
a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but wouldn't you also think that ..."	44	33
people just shake their heads	33	22
people just say nothing at all and remain silent	22	22
a phrase like "I think we have to think about this again."	0	22
people just make a disapproving look	28	11
a phrase like "I think you have to think about this again."	17	11
people just smile	0	11
never the word "No"	0	0

5.5. Ending a Conversation

In order to complete a conversation successfully, one should know how to end it properly. We asked our informants how a conversation typically is ended and again the results for Flanders

and the Netherlands were very similar. In both cases, the most commonly used expressions are: "I have to go now, I have something else to do" or people say what they have to do.

5.6. Summary

The language used in Flanders and in the Netherlands is the same. This, however, does not necessarily have to mean that the conversation strategies used in both nations are the same. We, both being Flemish, expected that some major differences would come to show. This is because, in Flanders, the stereotypical Dutchman is seen as a person who is very direct, who can explain things very well, who might come over as being rude sometimes and who seems to know everything best. From this investigation, however, we have to conclude that Flemish and Dutch people behave in quite the same way concerning strategies used in the contexts we studied.

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A Few Notes on Conversational Patterns in Italian

Abstract

This study analyzes Italian address and small talk behavior as well as the realization patterns of the speech acts inviting/offering, turning down an invitation/offer, saying one's opinion, disagreeing, and closing a conversation. 19 Italians were questionned by way of a SICS (semi-expert interview on communicative strategies). It can be observed that Italians make a rare use of informal address pronouns first; in small talk, they talk about the weather and complain about politics and politicians. In conflict situations their actions seem to follow the principle "Don't beat around the bush; say what you think or want, but don't let the conflict be obvious for a very long time."

Sommaire

Cette étude analyse les stratégies d'addresse et de small talk ainsi que les stratégies de réalization des actes illocutifs d'inviter/offrir. On a demandé 19 Italiens à l'aide d'un SICS (semi-expert interview on communicative strategies). On peut observer que les Italiens utilisent le pronom d'adresse informal rarement d'abord; lors du Small Talk, ils parlent du temps et se complaignent de la politiques et des politiciens. Dans des situations de conflit leurs actions semblent suivir le principe «Ne tourne pas autour du pot; dis ce que tu pense ou veux, mais ne laisse pas évident le conflit pour longtemps.»

Zusammenfassung

Diese Studie analysiert das italienische Anrede- und Small-Talk-Verhalten sowie die Realisierungsmuster der Sprechakte Einladen/Anbieten, Einladungen/Angebote ablehnen, seine Meinung sagen, andere Meinung ausdrücken, ein Gespräch beenden. 19 Italiener wurden mit Hilfe eines SICS ("semi-expert interview on communicative strategies") befragt. Es lässt sich beobachten, dass Italiener das formelle Anredepronomen zunächst selten verwenden und dass sie im Small Talk über das Wetter reden und sich über die Politik und die Politiker beklagen. In Konfliktsituationen scheinen ihre Handlungen dem Prinzip zu folgen "Rede nicht um den heißen Brei; sag was Du denkst oder willst, aber lass den Konflikt nicht allzu lange offensichtlich erscheinen."

1. Background

Based on diverse literature of various kinds, a first picture of European communicative behvaior, or speech-act realization patterns, was drawn by Grzega (2006: 193-254). According to the MLA, there are roughly 30 studies on speech-acts realizations in Italian. This rather small number illustrates that many speech acts have not been investigated yet for Italian. Since 2008 is the European Year of Intercultural Dialog, this is the perfect opportunity to concentrate on such speech acts that still need analyzing. This study forms part of a larger project that aims at writing a European "language guide", dealing with a number of communicative situations that shall allow readers to see differences and similarities between Europeans. The communicative phases that are highlighted in this paper are addressing, answering the phone, small talk, giving arguments, making and turning down an offer, and ending a conversation.

Two methods that have become common in collecting empirical data for speech-act analysis are the *discourse completion task* (DCT) and the *metapragmatic judgement task* (MPJT) (cf. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989 and Hinkel 1997). In a DCT, informants, after being presented with the description of a dialogic situation, have to complete a dialog. However, this way the researcher only gets the utmost typical answer that comes to an informant's mind. Whether

the informant considered other patterns equally fine is not answered. Due to this, the metapragmatic judgment test (MPJT) was invented as a supplementary method. In a MPJT all answers gathered in a preceding DCT are listed, and informants are asked to rank the adequateness of the answers. With both methods researchers need a large amount of informants. Since the *JELiX* editors' goal is a more general and more abstract one, they have produced an alternative data-eliciting method that also requires fewer informants than in a DCT and MPJT: the semi-expert interview on communicative strategies (SICS). Such an interview, also in form of a questionnaire, asks informants not to give their own personal communicative behavior and judgment, but the typical linguistic behavior in their nation, as told by someone who needs to explain this to a foreigner. Informants are regarded as ethnographic semi-experts due to their experience within, and observation of, the speech community. This will especially concern people who have to do with language professionally (such as students of language, linguists, journalists); they are therefore preferred as informants. While a DCT sets a situation and asks for one's typical behavior, the SICS sets typical situations and asks for possible and impossible behavior. The informants can both select from a list of communicative patterns and convey additional patterns. This way a SICS is closer to a MPJT, but the informants have to reflect on a more abstracting and generalizing level.

2. Data Collection

A sample of the SICS questionnaire can be found in the introductory article to this special issue of *JELiX* (Grzega/Schöner 2008). The questionnaire was distributed among Italian language students and researchers and eventually filled out by 19 informants. The informants come predominantly from Lombardy, but also from Lazio, Tuscany, Veneto, and Campania. 17 of the informants were female, 2 were male. Their ages vary from 17 to 50, with an average of 23.4.

3. Results

3.1. Section A: Starting a Conversation

As a general rule, like most other Europeans, Italians have an informal pronoun and a formal address pronoun, a T-form and a V-form in Brown and Gilman's 1960 terminology, namely *tu* (grammatically the 2nd person sg.) and *Lei* (grammatically the 3rd person sg.). 4 informants also gave *voi* (grammatically 2nd person pl.) as an alternative for *Lei* (according to 2 of these informants, this is something used by the elderly). The distribution of these pronouns according to the Italian informants is like this[1]:

(1) All informants agree that children would use the T-form to address parents and older relatives.
(2) All informants agree that administration officials are typically addressed by V.
(3) Although there may be some exceptions, clerks and customers use V to address each other (only one informant, from Lombardy, claimed that customers would use T to address clerks); likewise, strangers in the street are normally given V.
(4) Strangers in the street are also addresed by V (unless the addressee is very young).
(5) Students typically address their teachers by V—according to 7 informants, T can also occur, predominantly at primary school. Teachers, in contrast, typically use T, although V may be used if the students are no longer underaged.
(6) Views on conventions between business partners and conventions between employers and employees are mixed. There is obviously no strict rule for these relationships—at least not on a supraregional level.

[1] Other studies on Italian address pronouns go back to the 1970's (Bates/Benigni 1977 & 1979).

In brief: teenagers and family members can be safely addressed by T, others are first more safely addressed by V.

The most typical answer when you pick up the receiver is *Pronto.* 'Ready.' (mentioned by 15 informants), maybe followed by an additional phrase such as 'Yes' or 'Who is speaking?'. In business telephone openings, mentioning the company's name is typical, while other elements such as last name, greeting and a phrase such as 'How can I help you?' seem to vary a lot (none of these is considered typical by a majority of the informants).

3.2. Section B: Keeping Up a Conversation

Small talk can be defined as the part of a conversation that are not the greeting, the closing and leave-taking phase and a "hard core" topic, or potentially face-threatening phase, of a conversation (cf. also Malinowski 1923, Laver 1975, Ventola 1979). Viewing the answers in the SICS's small talk is rather common among people who already know each other, but there seems only one truly typical small talk context, namely meals. The rest of the answers is very mixed; and so are the answers concerning taboo situations for small talk; as a matter of fact, there is not one single context mentioned by more than two informants; not even the contexts listed are seen as taboo situations by a majority of the informants (elevators by 36.8% and toilets by 42.1%). For no single situation is small talk considered typical by a majority of our informants.

The most salient small talk topic is the weather (17 informants = 89.5%). It was the only topic considered typical for small talk by a majority of the informants. Two others that come close to that is the general complaint about politics and/or politicians (9 = 47.4%) and talking about recent political events (8 = 42.1%). A clear taboo topic for Italians is religion. The other topics given were ticked by less than half of the informants, although money comes close with 9 informants (47.4%). 6 informants added sex as a taboo topic.

There is also no rule in Italy for the percentage of small talk in private and business conversations. 10 of the informants claim that Italians do more small talk in private conversations than in business conversations, 7 claim the opposite and 2 that there is roughly the same percentage of small talk in private and in business conversations.

3.3. Section C: Being Nice in a Conversation

How do Italians typically present their opinion on a topic? According to the informants, the most typical strategy clearly is "first you say your opinion, then you give reasons related to the issue" (15 informants [78.9%] viewed this strategy as typical).

The next item asked the informants whether invitations or offers made by an interlocutor can reasonably be assumed to be honest or to be just a politeness phrase. A clear majority of 14 informants said that one can reasonably assume that an invitation or an offer can be taken literally, as an honest offer. 3 more informants claim that it depends on the relationship. So ostensible invitations and offers (cf. Isaacs/Clark 1990) are not typical in Italian culture.

3.4. Section D: Getting Around Very Uncomfortable Topics

In item #9 of the SICS informants are asked: "If people want to turn down an offer or an invitation, what kinds of linguistic means are used to say "no" in a polite way in your nation?"[2] Luckily, some informants commented their selection of strategies for this speech act

[2] The act of turning down an invitation to a meal was also analyzed for Italian by Frescura (1997).

with the labels "very frequently", "frequently" (or unmarked), "sometimes" and "rarely". If these labels are converted into points from 4 to 1 and multiplied with the corresponding number of ticks, then we get the following picture (p. = points):

points	persons seeing a pattern used at least "sometimes"	
48	15	a phrase like "(I don't know yet) I'll let you know", though you will surely not contact the person again
34	11	a vague excuse like "No, I don't have time" or "I have something else to do."
34	11	a concrete brief and true excuse (if there is one)

Other strategies were viewed as "present at least sometimes" by less than half of the informants. So a vague excuse or a concrete brief and true excuse are clearly seen as the dominant, common, normal strategies to turn down an offer.

Item #10 consisted of the question "If people disagree with somebody else's opinion, what kinds of linguistic (and non-linguistic) means are used to say "no" in a polite way in your nation?" If we convert the labels "very frequently", "frequently" (or unmarked), "sometimes", "rarely/not too often" into points from 4 to 1 again and multiply them with the respective number of ticks, then we get the following picture of typical strategies in Italy:

points	persons seeing a pattern used at least "sometimes"	
53	17	a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but I think that ..."
39	12	a phrase like "(No), I disagree.", "(No), I have a different opinion."

Other strategies were viewed as "present at least sometimes" by less than half of the informants.

3.5. Section E: Ending a Conversation

As there are no valuable cross-cultural pragmatic studies on closing conversations, this part of the conversation was also included in the SICS questionnaire[3]: "what do people say to show that they want to end a conversation?". If we convert the labels "very frequently", "frequently" (or unmarked), "sometimes", "rarely/not too often" into points from 4 to 1 again and multiply them with the respective number of ticks, then we get the following picture of typical strategies in Italy:

points	persons seeing a pattern used at least "sometimes"	
38	13	say what they have to do now (if there really is something)
35	13	a phrase like "I have to go now, I have something else to do"

Other strategies were viewed as "present at least sometimes" by less than half of the informants.

[3] The first study to analyze closing strategies is the one by Schegloff/Sacks (1973). Aston alayzed closings in English and Italian service encounters.

After this question a logical thing to follow was to ask for the interlocutor's reaction. Only a slight majority of 10 informants (52.6%) considered it more typical that the other person lets you go, for 6 it was typical that the other person first tries to persuade you to stay, 1 said both are possible and 2 informants didn't answer the question.

4. Concluding Remarks

In Brown and Levinson's (1987) terminology Italians are rather bald-on record when it comes to uncomfortable situations or potential conflicts. This seems the way to respect especially the Gricean maxim (1975) of manner. If we want to transfer these observations into a "pragmatic stage direction" for conversations with natives of Italian in these situations, we could formulate it in the following way: "If there is an conflict in interests, don't beat around the bush; say what you think or want, but don't let the conflict be obvious for a very long time."

Of course, this principle is restricted to the speech acts analyzed. Held (2005: 303) observed that there is "a striking difference between written and spoken Italian politeness. The former is still trapped in formalities and formal routines unconsciously reflecting centuries-old scales and social hierarchies and their regulative impact [...]. The latter represents a mobile innovative area [...], in line with global trends toward orality."

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Joachim Grzega

A Few Notes on Conversational Patterns in European Castilian

Abstract

16 Spaniards speaking Castilian as their mother thongue have been asked on typical Castilian patterns for some conversational situations. The results show they choose address pronouns rather, though not exclusively on the basis of how frequently they meet an interlocutor. The most typical small talk topic is the weather. Taboo topics are salary and other money issues. When Castilian speakers want to give their opinion, they first say their opinion, then they give reasons related to the issue. Offers are meant literal. When Castilians want to turn an offer, they use a vague excuse like "No, I don't have time." or "No, I have something else to do." or a phrase like "(I don't know yet) I'll let you know", though they will surely not contact the person again. In order to express disagreement, they use phrases like "Yes, I see what you mean, but I think that ..." and "(No), I disagree / (No), I have a different opinion.". To show that they want to end a conversation, they use phrases of the types "I have to go now, I have something else to do", "It's already late now" or "I don't want to bother you any longer" or they invent a reason. In general, Castilians prefer mostly direct, bald on-record strategies. The Gricean maxims of quality and manner turn out to be especially salient. A "pragmatic stage direction" for conversations in European Castilian could be: "Avoid hurting the other, but say what you mean as directly and clearly as you can."

Sommaire

16 Espagnols de langue maternelle castillane ont été demandés quels modèles typiques il y avait pour certaines situations de conversation. Les résultats montrent que le choix des pronoms d'adresse dépend plutôt, même si pas entièrement, du fait s'ils voient leur interlocuteur régulièrement ou non. Le sujet de Small Talk le plus typique est le temps. Les sujets tabous sont le salaire et d'autres questions d'argent. Si les parleurs du castillan veulent donner leur opinion, ils la donnent d'abord et puis des raisons qui vont avec. Les offres sont à prendre littéralement. Quand les Castillans veulent décliner une offre, ils recourent à une excuse vague comme «Non, je n'ai pas le temps.» ou «Non, j'ai autre chose à faire» ou à une phrase «(Je ne sais pas encore) Je vous encore répondrai», même s'ils sont certains de ne plus contacter l'autre personne. Pour exprimer du désaccord, ils utilisent des phrases telles que «Oui, je vois ce que vous voulez dire, mais je pense que...» et «(Non), je ne suis pas d'accord / (Non), j'ai une autre opinion». S'ils veulent terminer une conversation, ils se servent d'expressions du type «Il faut que j'y aille, j'ai autre chose à faire», «Il est déjà tard» ou «Je ne veux pas vous ennuyer plus» ou ils inventent n'importe quoi pour expliquer pourquoi ils sont obligés de s'en aller maintenant. En général, les Castillans préfèrent, la plupart du temps, des stratégies directes. Les maximes gricien de la qualité et de la manière se montrent spécialement saillantes. Une «didascalie pragmatique» pour des conversations en castillan: «Evitez de faire du mal aux autres tout en disant ce que vous pensez vraiment - aussi directement et aussi tôt que possible.»

Zusammenfassung

16 Spanier kastilischer Muttersprache wurden zu typischen kastilischen Gesprächsmustern in einigen Situationen befragt. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die Anredepronomen eher, wenn auch nicht gänzlich, davon abhängen, wie oft man einen Gesprächspartner sieht. Das typischste Small-Talk-Thema ist das Wetter. Tabuthemen sind das Gehalt und andere Geldthemen. Wenn Kastilischsprecher ihre Meinung sagen wollen, sagen sie diese zunächst und führen dann damit zusammenhängende Gründe an. Angebote sind wörtlich zu verstehen. Wenn sie ein Angebot ablehnen wollen, verwenden Kastilischsprecher eine vage Entschuldigung wie "Nein, ich habe keine Zeit" oder "Nein, ich habe anderes zu tun" oder ein Wendung wie "(Ich weiß noch nicht). Ich geb dir noch Bescheid", obwohl sie sicher sind, dass sie sich nicht mehr melden werden. Um auszudrücken, dass sie anderer Meinung sind, verwenden sie Phrasen wie "Ja, ich sehe, was Du meinst, aber ich denke..." und "(Nein), ich bin nicht einverstanden / (Nein), ich bin anderer Meinung". Wenn sie ein Gespräch beenden wollen, bedienen sie sich Phrasen wie "Ich muss gehen, ich habe etwas anderes zu tun", "Es ist schon spät" oder "Ich möchte dich nicht länger stören" oder sie erfinden einfach etwas, um zu erklären, warum sie jetzt gehen müssen. Im Allgemeinen bevorzugen Kastilier meist direkte Strategien. Die Griceschen Maximen der Qualität und der Art und Weise sind besonders salient. Eine pragmatische Regieanweisung für Gespräche mit Kastiliern kann lauten: "Vermeide den anderen zu verletzen, aber sag das, was du denkst, so direkt und klar, wie du kannst."

1. Background

Based on existing literature of various kind, a first attempt of an encompassing contrast of communicative strategies, or speech-act realization patterns, was set up by Grzega (2006: 193-254). As to the Castilian language, the MLA lists roughly 130 studies on speech acts of the Spanish language (about 50 of them on European Spanish); however, the list doesn't seem complete, the articles by Hernández Flores (1999), Portolés Lázaro/Vázquez Orta (2000), Hickey (2005) and the volume by Placencia/Bravo (2002) are missing, for instance. In addition, there is separate website *Estudios del discurso de cortesía en español* (http://www.edice.org). Despite this comparatively large number of publications, many speech acts have not been investigated yet. This analysis contributes to a larger project on communicative situations that shall allow readers to see differences and similarities between Europeans. The communicative tasks that are investigated in this article are addressing, answering the phone, small talk, giving arguments, making and turning down an offer, and ending a conversation.

The study uses an alternative to methods that are seen as classical in collecting empirical data for speech-act analysis, the *discourse completion task* (DCT) and the *metapragmatic judgement task* (MPJT) (cf. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989 and Hinkel 1997). In a DCT informants get the description of a dialogic situation and have to complete a dialog. With this method, though, we only get the most salient answer that an informant thinks of. Therefore, the metapragmatic judgment test (MPJT) was designed as a supplementary method. In a typical MPJT all answers provided by a preceding DCT are listed, and informants are asked to rank the appropriateness of the answers. Both methods need to acquire a considerable number of informants. Since the *JELiX* editors' objective is a more generic one, they have created a data-eliciting method that requires fewer informants than a DCT or an MPJT: the semi-expert interview on communicative strategies (SICS). Such an interview (in written or oral form) has informants give not their own personal communicative behavior, but the typical linguistic behavior in their nation, as explained from the point of view of someone who has to describe this to a foreigner. Informants are perceived as ethnographic semi-experts due to their experience within, and observation of, the speech community. This will specifically be true of individuals who deal with language on a professional level (e.g. students of language, linguists, journalists); they are therefore preferred informants. Whereas a DCT presents a situation and asks informants for typical behavior, the SICS presents typical situations and asks for possible and impossible behavior. The informant can select from a list of communicative patterns and/or freely describe patterns. This way a SICS is more like a MPJT, but it requires that informants reflect on a more abstracting and generalizing level.

2. Data Collection

A sample of the SICS questionnaire is provided in the introductory article to this special issue of *JELiX* (Grzega/Schöner 2008). The questionnaire was given to Spanish language students and language teachers and eventually returned by 16 informants. The informants mainly come from Murcia, two are from Albacete, one from Cantabria. 12 of the informants were female, 11 were male. Their ages vary from 20 to 29, with an average of 22.3.

3. Results

3.1. Section A: Starting a Conversation

European Castilians, like most other Europeans, distinguish between an informal pronoun and

a formal address pronoun, a T-form and a V-form in the terminology by Brown/Gilman (1960). These pronouns are *tu* (grammatically the 2nd person sg.) and *Usted* (etymologically from *vuestra merced* 'your honor', agreeing with the 3rd person sg.). The usage of these pronouns according to the informants is like this:

(1) All informants agreed that children would use the T-form to address their parents[1].
(2) All but three informants agreed that children use T to address older relatives.
(3) All informants agreed that colleagues at work would use T to address each other. This seems to hold true for business partners as well (although 2 informants claimed that both pronouns are possible). The use of address terms between employer and employee is less clear-cut; here, the degree of individual variation is high.
(4) All informants but one agreed that administration officials are typically addressed by V.
(5) Although there may be some exceptions among younger persons, clerks and customers use V to address each other; likewise, strangers in the street are normally given V.
(6) As far as students' term of address for their teachers is concerned, both pronouns are possible. Teachers more typically use T to address their students (even if some teachers may also use V).
(7) Concerning the use of address terms of clerks and customers between each other as well as of strangers among each other, informants state that both are possible. There is slight tendency to favor V (the use of T being preferred by persons who are younger or who want to appear younger).

Brief: in Castilian Spain you normally use T with people you meet regularly and frequently. The power factor may come into play in "professional" hierarchies, though, and require individual rules (student-teacher, employee-employer).

The next section of the SICS dealt with telephone openings. There is no uniform European Castilian opening scheme[2] in private telephone conversations, but *Díga(me)* 'Speak (to me)' and *¿Sí?* 'Yes?' have turned out to be the most typical. The picture of Castilian business telephone openings is rather fuzzy, but, again, the element *Dígame* is very prominent. Phrases with the company's name are given 13 times. Elements like *¿En qué puedo ayudarle?* 'In what way can I help you?' are only noted down by 5 out of 16 informants.

3.2. Section B: Keeping Up a Conversation

Small talk can be roughly defined as the parts of conversation that are not the greeting, the closing and leave-taking phase and the proper motive for the conversation (cf. the definitions also Malinowski 1923, Laver 1975, Ventola 1979). The SICS reveals that in Castilian Spain rules for small-talking are not very clear. Not a single situation listed is considered a typical small talk situation by a majority of our informants. It must be underscored, though, that 8 informants declared elevators a typical small talk setting, so this must be widespread. Likewise, none of the situations given in the SICS is regarded as a small talk taboo situation by a majority of informants. However, 5 informants add "churches" as taboo areas for small talk.

As regards topics, all of the informants have explicitly given the weather as a small talk topic. Other topics are seen as typical for small talk by less than 25% of the informants. Politics is labelled a taboo topic by half of the informants; 7 informants have also given sex as a taboo topic; other taboo topics were ticked by less than half of the informants or added only once.

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[1] One informant mentioned that it is also possible to address father and mother with the pronoun of the 3rd person sg., viz. *el/ella*.

[2] The classical studies on phone conversations that many other studies relate to are the ones Schegloff (1979) and Hopper (1992).

There seems to be no clear rule in Castilian Spain for the portion of small talk in private vs. business conversations. 4 of the informants claim that Spaniards do more small talk in private conversations than in business conversations; 9 claim the opposite; 1 claims that there is roughly the same percentage of small talk in private and in business conversations.

3.3. Section C: Being Nice in a Conversation

How do Castilians typically formulate their opinion on a topic? Informants sometimes commented their choice of patterns for this task with the labels "very frequently", "frequently" (or unmarked), "sometimes" and "rarely". If these labels are converted into points from 4 to 1 and multiplied with the corresponding number of ticks, then the most typical strategy according to the results is: "first you say your opinion, then you give reasons related to the issue" (21 points, 7 informants viewed this strategy as present at least occasionally). The number of informants that see the remaining strategies listed "present at least sometimes" is less than 50 percent for each strategy.

In the next question, informants were supposed to say whether invitations or offers made by someone else can more typically be interpreted literally or as a pure politeness phrase. With this question, the SICS looks for the presence of ostensible invitations (cf. Isaacs/Clark 1990) and similar phenomena. 10 people said that one can reasonably interpret an invitation or an offer can be taken literal, as an honest offer[3]. But 3 said it depended on the persons, 1 said it depended on the phrasing.

3.4. Section D: Getting Around Very Uncomfortable Topics

Item #9 in the SICS says: "If people want to turn down an offer or an invitation, what kinds of linguistic means are used to say "no" in a polite way in your nation?" If we convert the labels "very frequently", "frequently" (or unmarked), "sometimes", "rarely/not too often" into points from 4 to 1 again and multiply them with the respective number of ticks, then the picture of the most typical strategies is this:

points	persons having ticked at least "sometimes"	
40	11	a vague excuse like "No, I don't have time." or "No, I have something else to do."
36	10	a phrase like "(I don't know yet) I'll let you know", though you will surely not contact the person again

The number of informants that see the remaining strategies listed "present at least sometimes" is less than 50 percent for each strategy.

Item #10 consisted of the question "If people disagree with somebody else's opinion, what kinds of linguistic (and non-linguistic) means are used to say "no" in a polite way in your nation?" If we convert the labels "very frequently", "frequently" (or unmarked), "sometimes", "rarely/not too often" into points from 4 to 1 again and multiply them with the respective number of ticks, then we get the following picture of typical strategies[4]:

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[3] The various forms of invitations and offers in Spanish (also in comparison to French) are described by Ruiz de Zarobe (2000, 2000/2001, 2004).

[4] On confrontations in arguments cf. Cordella (1996).

points	persons having ticked at least "sometimes"	
41	12	a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but I think that ..."
28	8	a phrase like "(No), I disagree.", "(No), I have a different opinion."

The number of informants that see the remaining strategies listed "present at least sometimes" is less than 50 percent for each strategy.

3.5. Section E: Ending a Conversation

Since there are no useable cross-cultural pragmatic studies on ending conversations[5], the SICS asked informants also on this part of a conversation: "what do people say to show that they want to end a conversation?". If we convert the labels "very frequently", "frequently" (or unmarked), "sometimes", "rarely/not too often" into points from 4 to 1 again and multiply them with the respective number of ticks, then we get the following picture of typical strategies:

points	persons having ticked at least "sometimes"	
42	13	a phrase like "I have to go now, I have something else to do"
31	10	a phrase like "It's already late now"
29	9	a phrase like "I don't want to bother you any longer"
23	7	invent a reason

The number of informants that see the remaining strategies listed "present at least sometimes" is less than 50 percent for each strategy.

After this question the logical item to follow was to check the interlocutor's reaction. There is no clear picture: 8 informants thought it to be more typical that the other person lets you go, for 5 it was more common that the other person first tries to persuade you to stay, 1 informant claimed that both are possible and common.

4. Summary

All in all, we can state that Castilian Spain prefers mostly direct, bald on-record strategies (in Brown and Levinson's [1987] terminology), although forms of negative and positive politeness and off-record strategies are used as alternatives as well. The Gricean (1975) maxims of quality and manner turn out to be especially salient. If we want to render these observations into a "pragmatic stage direction" for communications with people from Castilian Spain, we could express it in the following way: "Avoid hurting the other, but say what you mean as directly and clearly as you can."

[5] The book by Otterstedt (1993) contains, unfortunately, plenty of factual mistakes. The first study to analyze closing strategies is the one by Schegloff/Sacks (1973).

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Miren Urteaga Aldalur

Survey on Conversational Strategies in Catalan

Abstract

A semi-expert interview on communicative strategies (SICS) with 23 informants shows that Catalans use a semi-direct communicative style that may vary according to the following variables: whether the interlocutors know each other, the age of the interlocutors and social conventions. The age and social conventions are considered important variables when choosing the address-form; however, the switch from V-forms to T-forms is carried out relatively fast except in some conventionalised contexts. Small talk is regarded as reserved for conversations with acquaintances, not with friends or relatives; weather is the most common small talk topic and religion and politic are usually avoided. Catalans normally identify offers from people they do not know very well as "ostensible invitations". They turn invitations and offers down with a direct but respectful answer. Very direct and direct expressions are also used to give arguments, show disagreement or to end a conversation. As a conclusion, Catalans follow the maxim "Talk respectfully but not too much to strangers, meaty conversations are reserved to the family and real friends". In Grice's terms, Catalans respect the maxims of manner and quantity; in Brown & Levinson's terms, Catalans usually use bold-on-record strategies and positive politeness strategies.

Sommaire

Un « semi-expert interview on communicative strategies » (SICS) fait avec 23 personnes montre que les Catalans ont un style de communication demi-direct dépendant des variables suivantes : la connaissance et le degré de connaissance des interlocuteurs, leur âge et les conventions de la société. Ce sont l'âge et les conventions de la société qui sont considérés comme des variables importantes quand il s'agit de choisir la forme d'adresse ; pourtant, on passe assez vite des formes de V à des formes de T, avec l'exception dans quelques contextes conventionalisés. Le Small Talk est vu comme stratégie de politesse parmi les connaissances, pourtant pas parmi les amis et les proches, avec qui on parle, en règle générale, du temps, en évitant des sujets tels que la religion ou la politique. Les Catalans interprètent des invitations d'inconnus comme formule de politesse. Ils déclinent directement les invitations et les offres. De même s'expriment-ils de façon directe ou même très directe quand il s'agit de discussions, du désaccord ou de comment terminer une conversation. Pour conclure, on peut constater que les Catalans suivent la maxime suivante : « Parle avec du respect mais en quantité modérée avec des étrangers, car les conversations de fond sont réservées à la famille et aux amis. » En appliquant la terminologie de *Grice,* on peut dire que les Catalans respectent les maximes de la manière et de la quantité. En appliquant celle de *Brown & Levinson*, les Catalans utilisent généralement des stratégies de « bold-on-record » et de politesse positive.

Zusammenfassung

Ein "semi-expert interview on communicative strategies" (SICS), das mit 23 Befragen durchgeführt wurde, zeigt, dass Katalanen einen halb-direkten Kommunikationsstil haben, der von folgenden Variablen abhängt: ob sich die Gesprächspartner kennen und wie gut, das Alter eben dieser und gesellschaftliche Konventionen. Hierbei werden sowohl das Alter als auch die gesellschaftlichen Konventionen als wichtige Faktoren angesehen, wenn es um die Wahl der formalen Anrede geht, wobei jedoch relativ schnell die T-Form anstelle der V-Form verwendet wird, außer in einigen konventionalisierten Kontexten. Small talk wird als Höflichkeitsstrategie zwischen Bekannten, nicht aber zwischen Freunden und Verwandten angesehen, wobei hierbei normalerweise über das Wetter gesprochen wird und Religion oder Politik als Themen lieber vermieden werden. Katalanen interpretieren Einladungen von ihnen unbekannten Personen als Höflichkeitsfloskel. Einladungen und Angebote lehnen Katalnen mit einer direkten Antwort ab. Ebenso drücken sie sich in Diskussionen, wenn sie nicht zustimmen oder um ein Gespräch zu beenden, direkt oder sogar sehr direkt aus. Abschließend ist feststellen, dass Katalanen nach der folgenden Maxime leben: "Sprich respektvoll aber in Maßen mit Fremden, denn gehaltvolle Gespräche sind der Familie und den Freunden vorbehalten." In Gricescher Terminologie wären die Katalaner Menschen, die vor allem die Maxime von "manner" und "quantity" respektierten; nach Brown und Levison verwenden Katalanen in der Regel positive Höflichkeit und Bold-on-record-Strategien.

Resumen

Esta entrevista semi-experta sobre estrategias comunicativas (SICS) muestra que los catalanes al comunicarse usan un estilo directo que puede variar según el nivel de conocimiento de los interlocutores, su edad y las convenciones sociales. Al elegir un pronombre para referirse al interlocutor, la edad y las convenciones se consideran variables a tener muy en cuenta; sin embargo, el cambio de pronombres formales a informales se lleva a cabo relativamente rápido excepto en casos donde existe alguna tradición de usar un pronombre específico. El small talk se considera conversaciones de cortesía a mantener con conocidos, no con familiares y amigos; el tiempo es el tema de small talk preferido y en este tipo de conversaciones se evita hablar de religión y política. Los catalanes identifican como "ostensible invitations" las invitaciones provenientes de personas que no conocen muy bien y las rechazan con expresiones directas pero respetuosas. Las expresiones muy directas y directas también se usan para dar una opinión, mostrar desacuerdo o para terminar una conversación. En resumen, los catalanes siguen la máxima "habla a los extraños con respeto a los extraños, las conversaciones de verdad se tienen con la familia y amigos". En términos de Grice, los catalanes respetan las máximas de modo y cantidad; en términos de Brown y Levinson, usan estrategias de tipo bold-on-record y positive politeness.

1. Background

2008 is the European year of intercultural dialogue. As Europe is becoming more culturally diverse, intercultural dialogue has an increasingly important role to play in fostering European identity and citizenship. This project is related to the European year of intercultural dialogue and it is part of the ECSTRA project (European Communication STRAtegies) conducted by Joachim Grzega. This project is available on the ELiX Wiki via http://www.eurolinguistix.com. The main goal of this project is to collect components for a European "language guide", focusing especially on pragmatic differences and similarities between different languages and nations: greeting, addressing, small talk, giving arguments, making and turning down an offer and ending a conversation. This language guide could be used to improve communication not only between people speaking different languages, but also between people speaking the same language but coming from different nations. The importance of this projects lies in the fact that pragmatic mistakes often disturb communication more than grammar mistakes. However, in research and language teaching the focus is mostly on grammar and vocabulary, while the use of language is pushed into the background.

This project seemed a nice way to start analysing and describing the communication strategies used in Catalan, in the Spanish areas where Catalan is spoken. As part of the ECSTRA project, the semi-expert interview on communicative strategies (SICS) was the method used to gather the necessary data (cf. Grzega/Schöner 2008). The SICS interview is a questionnaire designed for being filled in by language and culture (semi-)experts who should adopt a general point of view: this means that the informants do not answer according to their personal behaviour but they describe acceptable behaviour in their nation in each of the situations that the questionnaire presents. This is a new way of analysing communicative strategies, since research carried out up to now asked for the personal behaviour of the informants. Asking about the typical and untypical behaviour without concentrating on the personal behaviour allows the researcher to gather more general data. The selection of the informants also helps on this aspect; as mentioned before, (semi-)experts on the language and culture of each community are the informants used in this project, e.g. philology students and language teachers, because of their professional skill to generalize and describe the most common behaviour.

Earlier studies on communication strategies in the Iberian Peninsula were based on linguistic structures out of context. However, researchers have incorporated into their analyses actual language use in specific contexts, examining speakers' interactions and their perceptions of politeness through recorded conversations, role plays or discourse completion tests (cf. Blum-

Kulka et al. 1986). Even if parts of their researches have also been carried out in Catalan speaking areas, these studies have focused on the Spanish language. However, it is interesting to mention that these studies "admit the existence of sociocultural variation" among the different Spanish varieties themselves due to different tolerance for directness in speech acts, different markers of tentativeness and different levels of mitigation in areas where other languages are also spoken (Iglesias Recuero 2001: 31). This points out the need to study separately the communicational strategies used in languages and the cultures in areas where other languages are spoken. Thus, this article tries to analyse the communicative strategies of the Catalan speaking communities.

The Catalan language belongs to the western Neo-Latin languages and is spoken in areas of four different states: Spain, France, Andorra and Italy (Casanovas 2005). In Spain it is spoken as a co-official language in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Valencia, it is spoken as a non-official language in parts of Aragón and Murcia. In Andorra Catalan is the only official language of the principality. It is also spoken as a non-official language in the county, or *département*, of Pyrénées Orientales in France. In the Italian city of Alguer Catalan is also spoken as a non-official language. Its social status and extension in the different communities varies a lot; therefore, there are places where it is in danger of disappearing, and places where it has a fairly high social status (Vallverdú 2007: 154). According to official data, 9,118,882 people speak Catalan, thus, this language occupies the 88th position in the Top 100 languages by Population Ranking made by Ethnologue (Generalitat de Catalunya 2008[1]). However, Catalan is still regarded as a minority language. As a minority language, much effort has been put into the language policies with the aim of normalising its use: the Language Normalisation Law (Llei de normalització lingüística) 1983 and the Language Policy Law (Llei de política lingüística) 1998 (Vallverdú 2007:152). Quite a lot has also been done with regard to lexicology and grammar description and prescription, considered as the two pillars of linguistics by some linguists like Yngve (1995: 50), but up to now not much has been done on communicative strategies. Thus, this project is one of the first research studies on the communication strategies used in Catalan.

2. Data Collection

2.1. Distribution of the Questionnaire

Different methods were used in the distribution of the SICS questionnaire in order to gather the data: a) some questionnaires were given to informants personally and they were asked to fill them in, b) an electronic version of the questionnaire was created using the surface available at www.esurveypro.com, c) personal and collective e-mails were sent with the questionnaire attached as a *.doc file and the addressees were asked to fill it in and send it back to me, d) announcements with the address of the electronic version and the *.doc questionnaire attached were posted in the home page of two Catalan speaking universities (www.upf.edu and www.ub.es), e) university professors were contacted and asked to forward it to their students, f) announcements with the address of the electronic version of the questionnaire were posted in three different forums on the Catalan: WordReference, Geogebra and Emagister[2].

In order to attract attention and keep the e-mail brief and to the point, the e-mails and postings were not longer than 15 lines, they were all written in Catalan and contained encouraging

[1] http://www20.gencat.cat/portal/site/Llengcat/menuitem.df5fba67cac781e7a129d410b0c0e1a0/vgnextoid=fe8c949b22741110VgnVCM1000000b0c1e0aRCRD&vgnextchannel=fe8c949b22741110VgnVCM1000000b0c1e0aRCRD&vgnextfmt=detall&contentid=65502b4d4bc87110VgnVCM1000008d0c1e0aRCRD

[2] The thread in Emagister is still available at http://foros.emagister.com/tema-projecte_europeu_destrategies_comunicative-13453-684306-1.htm

sentences such as “Help me to make Catalan popular throughout Europe!” The aim of distributing the questionnaire in different ways was to contact both informants I knew and informants whom I did not know. Furthermore, the different methods used, allowed gathering data from informants with different motivations as regards this research and language in general: some of the students who wrote back to me did so because their professors asked them to and did it as a compulsory task (this fact can be deduced from sentences such as “Professor X has told us to send this questionnaire filled in” written in their e-mails).

In the end 23 questionnaires were collected. It is not a high number taking into account the number of people that received some kind of announcement on the survey. Nonetheless, we must bear in mind that all the informants that filled the questionnaire in were native Catalan speakers who studied or were studying the Catalan, this may be presumed since, even if some did not specify their studies in the questionnaire, all the announcements claimed explicitly that the questionnaire should be filled in by native Catalan speakers who studied or were studying Catalan. Due to the fact that this questionnaire did not ask about their personal behaviour, but about the general or normal behaviour in their culture, their answers allow building up a first impression on conversation strategies in Catalan speaking areas. The informants come from different Catalan-speaking autonomous communities in Spain, but there is a stronger representation of the city of Barcelona and surroundings with 15 informants. 14 of the informants were females, 9 males and they were aged between 19 and 27, the average age being 22.5.

2.2. Problems Encountered

The most successful method to get questionnaires filled in was the personal e-mail with the attached questionnaire, since all the people contacted by personal e-mails were friends of mine and they filled in the questionnaire as a personal favour. On the other hand, the least successful method taking into account the number of people that it reached were the posts on university home pages: this method provided me with 7 completed questionnaires, but this is an insignificant number taking into account that the announcement must have reached every translation and philology student at the University of Barcelona and Pompeu Fabra University. The fact that my posts and e-mails were treated as spam has to be taken into account in order to explain this situation. The same reason may explain that not one answer ever arrived from institutions working on the Catalan language (except universities) or from people who received collective e-mails.

There were also problems derived from the questionnaire itself. The SICS questionnaire was distributed in English, and the language used seems to have affected negatively the data-gathering process. Even if the informants were explicitly told to feel free to answer the questionnaire in Catalan, all the questionnaires filled in were totally or partly answered in English. One can presume that informants felt uncomfortable filling in an English questionnaire in Catalan: some informants might feel insecure when reading/writing in English, the extra effort to be made might have pushed back a number of potential informants, or they might simply could have felt weird when they were asked about their Catalan conversational strategies in English. In some questionnaires the quality of the answers was not the best due to lack of attention or commodity: some questionnaires had no explanation to any of the answers provided, the electronic version of the questionnaire was visited by a higher number of people than the number of people who actually filled it in; among the informants who filled the electronic questionnaire in, not all of them answered it until the end; in those questions where examples of possible answers were provided, a relevant number of informants limited their answers to the examples underlining them or citing their number, this makes the interpretation of the results easier, but might well also

leave out some original answers. These are all practical aspects worth mentioning since they should be taken into account in further research projects.

3. Results

3.1. Addressing

All the informants distinguished the common address pronouns in Catalan and explained the differences between them. Grzega (2006: 217) points out as a characteristic of the European cultural area the existence of a grammatical duplicate of informal and formal pronouns. In Catalan there exist 3 different address pronouns; two of them fit perfectly in Brown and Gilman's 1960 classification of T-form and V-forms: *tú* and *vostè*. The first one is the informal address pronoun and the latter one is the informal address pronoun, which is grammatically a third person singular pronoun. Apart from these two, there exists a third one: *vós*. Some of the informants described it as more informal than *vostè* while others put it between *tú* and *vostè*. The reason for this disagreement seems to be a historical change of its use. According to the description of the Catalan pronouns of the Institute of Catalan Studies (Institut d'Estudis Catalans 2002[3]), the official organisation that regulates the use of the Catalan language, *vós* is the traditional V-form even if the form *vostè* has almost completely supplanted it. Therefore, this research will regard both *vostè* and *vós* as V-forms. Even if the pronoun *vós* can be used in everyday language, it is mainly used in very formal and written contexts (like legal/administrative documents) and in contexts that in the past were considered formal and nowadays are considered informal, for example, as some informants have pointed out for this project, conversations with elder relatives. One of the informants described its use with these clarifying words: "a pronoun that was used to express respect to someone you already knew, but it was never used with a stranger. I still use it with my grandparents, but there is very few people who use it and it's getting lost". It seems to be the case that on the one hand, some informants perceive this pronoun as an informal pronoun because it is also used to address family members; on the other hand, other informants perceive this pronoun as a very formal pronoun because it is used in legal/administrative documents.

The Institut d'Estudis Catalans (2002) makes reference to another formal address pronoun, namely the first person plural: *nos*. This pronoun is considered very formal and usually used only by politicians, royal people and translation of popes' speeches; so it is not used in everyday language.

These are analyses of answers gathered in Item #1 of the questionnaire:

- Nowadays children address their parents with the informal pronoun *tú*. Some informants point out that adults in their 40s and 50s and older still address their parents using the pronoun *vós*. This is an example of a context of use that the pronoun *vós* has lost over time.
- Most of the informants agreed that children also address older relatives with the informal pronoun *tú*. However, some point out that depending on the age of the addressed relative the pronouns *vostè* and *vós* could also be used (e.g. *vós* - children to grandparents, but not to aunts and uncles; *vostè* – same context for people in their 40s or 50s to address their older relatives).
- According to the impressions collected, colleagues at work would use the T-form *tú* to address each other, since they are supposed to know each other.
- The T-form is seen as a preferred form by an employee to his or her employer by a slight majority of the informants; but in cases where no personal relationship exists between the two of them, the form *vostè* is also seen as quite common.

[3] http://www.iecat.net/institucio/seccions/Filologica/gramatica/default.asp

- When an employer addresses an employee, he or she usually follows the same criteria: *tú* is the most common pronoun except in cases where there is no personal relationship.
- Nowadays children usually address their teachers using the T-form; the V-forms (especially *vostè*) can also be used depending on the age of the teacher and on the rules of the school itself (e.g.: private schools).
- Nowadays teachers usually address their pupils using the T-form, however, the V-form can also be used depending on the rules of the school. In general, pupils and teachers usually use the same pronoun to address each other.
- When referring to administration officials the formal pronoun *vostè* is usually chosen.
- Among business partners most of the informants see the choice between the formal *tú* and the informal *vostè* as depending on how well the partners know each other.
- Clerks always use the V-form *vostè* to address customers.
- Customers always use the V-form *vostè* to address clerks. Shops and stores seem to be a prototypical context where the V-form is used.
- People address strangers in the street with the pronouns *tú* or *vostè* depending on the age of the addressee, but the T-form is seen as generally more frequent.

It is also worth pointing that in a conversation the interlocutors use the same pronoun to address each other (except for the pronoun *vós,* which is restricted to some specific contexts and, if spoken, is only used by the younger interlocutor to address the older interlocutor) and that no titles are used in any of the contexts described. As a conclusion, the social position of the interlocutors or the level of formality of the conversation does not seem to be a variable to choose between the different pronouns. Instead, the variables to be taken into account are the following: the tradition of certain pronouns in specific situations, whether the interlocutors know each other or not and the age of the addressee.

3.2. Answering the Telephone

As Hopper (1992) pointed out, different cultures sometimes use different telephone-answering expressions. Item #2 tries to analyse the expressions used when answering the telephone in different contexts.

After checking the answers provided by the informants, it could be said that there is no fixed form to answer the phone at home; in this part of the questionnaire I got 8 different forms that could be used in this context: *Digui?/ Digui'm?/ Si?/ Qui demana?/ Mani'm?/ Qui és?/ Qui hi ha?/ Si digui?*. However, some forms seem to be more popular than others, the most cited ones are *Digui?* and *Sí?*; these expressions literally mean "Tell me?" and "Yes?". Another very frequent form is *Mani'm?* which literally means "Order me?". It is worth mentioning that the forms containing a verb are inflected in the third person singular, this means that the non-expressed pronoun is *vós* or *vosté*, the formal addressing pronouns.

On the other hand, when asked about telephone-answering methods in a completely different context, the informants provided totally different answers. In the workplace there are strict rules as regards how to answer the telephone. After comparing the answers provided, this is the resulting formula to answer the phone at work: name of the company + greeting + name of the person speaking + offer phrase. According to some informants, mentioning all the components or only some would depend on the type of job, so sometimes only the name of the company and the name of the person would be expressed. However, all the informants agreed in two points: that the name of the company should be said first, and that the order shown in the formula should be respected. According to the study by Prunés and Solé Cardamons 2002, that the Direcció General de Política Lingüística (Office of Language

Policy) has published as official information, Catalan is not very extended in the economic sector; however, since the Language Policy Law was passed it has become more and more popular. Nowadays the task where Catalan has most presence in the economy sector is exactly phone calls: in Catalonia 66.1% of the phone calls are answered in this language (Prunés/Solé Carmadons 2002[4]). However, this sector has adopted English terminology and international conventions (Rovira 2005: 249). Our project seems to verify that conventional expressions to answer the phone have been translated almost word-for-word into Catalan.

If we compare both strategies, we can see that both strategies follow the "distribution rule for first utterances" introduced by Schegloff (1968: 378): *the snawerer speaks first.* Then, the caller is supposed to answer, following an *ababab* conversation sequence formula. In a private context the expressions are "skewed" in the direction of the caller-identification problem, since the answerer expects the caller to identify him or herself; this is the second observation of telephone identification methods made by Schegloff (1979: 65); on the other hand, the way phone-calls are answered at work indicates that in this case the answerer's objective is to be recognised by the caller.

3.3. Small Talk

Small talk is regarded as a polite conversation about trivial and uncontroversial matters. Small talk has received sporadic treatment in linguistic literature, starting with the seminal work of Malinowski (1923), who defined "phatic communion" as "a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words". More recent works have further characterized small talk by describing the contexts in which it occurs, topics typically used, and even grammars which define its surface form in certain domains (cf. Laver 1975, Cheepen 1988, Schneider 1988), this kind of information is being used to build conversational guides like the ECSTRA project or to create conversational interface agents **(**Blickmore, T. / Cassell, J. 2005[5]**).** For this article we will consider small talk as a conversation, or comments, expressed with the objective of starting a conversation or to put off a comment of a wish or similar (Grzega 2006: 226). This project tries to characterise small talk in Catalan speaking areas by describing the context where it occurs, topics typically used and taboos.

On item #3 informants had to point out the places or contexts where small talk is usually carried out; the most typical places to engage in small talk seem to be the elevator (9 informants), and public transport (8 informants). On the other hand, no informant mentioned that small talk is carried out during a meal (example provided in the question), instead, 3 informants explained that "small talk is not done during a meal because you usually eat with people you know". This shows that in Catalan speaking communities small talk is not done with friends, relatives or people one knows well, or at least that these conversations are not regarded as small talk. On the other hand, 11 informants agreed that the toilet is not a common place to start small talk, no other place was mentioned by more than 5 informants; thus, the toilet is the prototypical place where it is more common to remain silent.

In item #4 all the informants agreed that weather is the most common small talk topic; 12 informants also mentioned sports. The other topics proposed, politics, travelling or family for example, seem to be quite common as well, but the informants that mentioned these topics made clear that the topic one chooses depends on how well one knows the other person. On the other hand, according to the results of item #5, religion and politics seem taboo topics in Catalan speaking communities (mentioned by 12 informants) as well as money (mentioned by 8 informants). Some stated that there is no taboo topic as long as you know how to handle the

[4] http://www6.gencat.net/llengcat/noves/hm02tardor/catalana/cecot.pdf
[5] http://www.lcc.gatech.edu/~mateas/nidocs/BickmoreCassell.pdf

issue; talking about religion without making any critic or criticising politicians in general is accepted according to the explanations of 3 informants.

Item #6 shows another interesting result: 18 informants agreed that in private conversations less small talk is done than in business conversations. This might be linked to the fact that small talk is not regarded as a usual conversation type to do with people one knows from before, as some explained on item #3.

3.4. Giving Arguments

Since presenting arguments in a conversation can be done differently in different cultures, item #7 tries to analyse the strategies that are usually used in Catalan. Each informant was able to choose one or more options among the possible answers provided; thus, in the end I got 54 positive marks, or ticks, among all the informants. In order to interpret the results, I counted each positive answer as a point. The most frequent strategy to give arguments happened to be the following one:

1: you say your opinion – 2: you give reasons related to the issue itself

This option got 22 positive points, the 41% of the total amount of points. The other points are distributed quite evenly among the other answers. Having chosen this answer hints that in the Catalan culture direct strategies are the most typical ones used when giving arguments.

However, some informants commented that the strategy would depend on the context and the level of closeness to the addressee. This comment happened to be the most frequent comment made on all the questions, and it is linked to the idea of *confidança*. This term, mentioned by many of the informants in some of their comments, points out that the closeness to others is exactly what allows people to speak and act freely and openly with others, showing the individual as integrated into the group. Similar conclusions on politeness have been drawn in researches on Spanish (Hickey 2005: 318-329).

3.5. Making and Turning Down an Offer

Question #8 of the questionnaire aims at analysing how invitations are perceived in Catalan speaking areas. With the introduction of the term "ostensible invitations" Isaacs/Clark (1990) made clear that there are invitations which are intended to demonstrate politeness or friendliness, without any intention of making a real invitation.

10 of the informants said that one would reasonably interpret an invitation or an offer as an honest invitation; 6 admitted one would reasonably interpret this invitation as a politeness phrase; and the other 7 stated one would reasonably interpret it as an honest invitation or a politeness phrase depending on the person making the offer. The two latter groups show their awareness of the fact that there are invitations that are made as polite or friendly expressions. This shows that even if most of the informants said they would interpret an invitation as an honest invitation, the informants that at least consider the possibility of an invitation to be an "ostensible invitation" are more (58%). This shows that in Catalan speaking areas there are invitations made just to show friendliness and politeness.

The next item in the questionnaire tries to find out the most frequent or common means used to turn down an offer or an invitation in a polite way. This item presents 8 possible answers and a 9th line where the informants may suggest another method used to turn an invitation down. The question of the item in the paper and *.doc version of the questionnaire also presented a suggestion of how the informants should present their answer: it suggested answering using grades as in a Likert scale and/or indicating whether it is informal or formal.

However, the use of modal verbs in this explanation seems to have misled some of the informants: 13 informants who answered the questionnaire in paper or in *.doc format did not follow this request. Most of them marked the most frequent means by simply underlining it or putting it in bold. As a result, only 10 informants gave information on the frequency of one or more examples. No other mean was proposed on the 9th open question. Due to the different nature of the answers provided, I used a two-step method to interpret the data:

- In order to draw a general picture from all the questionnaires, the answers were classified as positive (answers that indicated that method is used regardless of their frequency or context) or negative (answers marked with a "no"; unmarked answers or answers marked with "never"). This allowed classifying the data as if it was a YES/NO questionnaire. Each positive answer counted as 1 point whereas negative answers were counted as 0 points. Thus, the sum of the points of each example indicates the **acceptability** or **plausibility** of use indicated by the informants.
- In order to analyse more precisely the **frequency** of use of the methods that got a positive answer, the answers with frequency references were analysed. Four frequency-levels were built and each level was converted into points from 4 to 1: very frequent: 4 points; frequent: 3 points; sometimes: 2 points; rare: 1 point (Attention: only 10 questionnaires used here; among these, most did not have a frequency reference in every example. Thus, after adding all the points for each strategy, I calculated a ratio of points divided by the number of commentators for each strategy.

	Acceptability	**Frequency**
(2) a vague excuse like "No, I don't have time." or "No, I have something else to do."	20	3.4
(3) a phrase like "(I don't know yet) I'll let you know", though you will surely not contact the person again	19	3.6
(6) a concrete brief and invented excuse (if there is no concrete true excuse)	14	3.1
(5) a concrete brief and true excuse (if there is one)	12	3.3
(4) a phrase like "I will have to think about it", though you won't surely contact the person again	12	3.4
(1) a direct phrase that means "No, I don't feel like going there/doing X."	12	1.3
(7) a concrete long and true excuse (if there is one)	12	1.3
(8) a concrete long and invented excuse (if there is no concrete true excuse)	9	1.1

The level of frequency and acceptability show that, on the one hand, patterns (2) and (3) are the most plausible and the most frequent ones; on the other hand, patterns (1), (7) and (8) are the least plausible and least frequent ones.

3.6 Expressing Disagreement

A threat to a person's s face has been called **face-threatening act**. **Face**, a term introduced by Goffman (1967), refers to the image people want to present about themselves. Face can be positive or negative: **positive face** is the desire of all speakers to be approved of by their listeners, while **negative face** is the desire of all speakers to be unobstructed in their autonomy.

The next item of the questionnaire tries to explain how a face-threatening act is handled. In order to do so, the questionnaire presents a situation where a speaker has to express his or her disagreement. Disagreement indicates a contradiction or negative evaluation of a person's

face; thus, expressing disagreement can threaten the receiver's positive face. Due to the fact that the answers provided in this item presented the same problems as in item #9, the same two-step method to interpret the data was used. Again in this case, the frequency is calculated from the information provided by a small number of informants (9 informants), which, at the same time, did not give this information for each example.

	Acceptability	**Frequency**
(1) a direct "No"	14	2.0
(3) a phrase like "(No), I disagree.", "(No), I have a different opinion."	14	3.1
(6) a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but I think that ..."	12	3.3
(7) a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but wouldn't you also think that ..."	12	2.4
(11) people just make a disapproving look	11	2.0
(9) people just shake their heads	10	1.2
(8) people just say nothing at all and remain silent	9	1.3
(10) people just smile	9	1.8
(2) never the word "No"	8	3.0
(4) a phrase like "I think you have to think about this again."	4	1.4
(5) a phrase like "I think we have to think about this again."	3	3.1

As the table shows, strategies (1), (3) and (6) are the most plausible and frequent ones; strategies (4) and (5) are the least chosen ones (even if the 2 of the 3 informants that chose strategy (5) marked it as frequent). This clearly shows that direct answers are preferred when expressing disagreement. However, some informants pointed out that the strategy used would depend on the relationship or *confidança* with the interlocutor, meaning that the allowance to speak more freely shows also integration.

3.7 Ending a Conversation

An expression used to show one's wish to end a conversation could also be seen as another threat to the receiver's positive face. In this case the SICS questionnaire provides certain possible patterns that could be used to show that you want to end a conversation and asks the informant to choose and comment on the most usual one in his or her culture. This item formulates the same kind of question as in item #9 and #10, and again, the same problem occurs: most of the informants did not make any kind of comment, and the ones that did, did not comment on every example provided. Thus, the same analysis-method as in item #9 and item #10 was used.

	Acceptability	**Frequency**
(3) a phrase like "I have to go now, I have something else to do"	16	3.1
(4) a phrase like "It's already late now"	13	3.5
(5) a phrase like "I don't want to bother you any longer"	12	3.3
(7) say what they have to do now (if there really is something)	12	2.6
(8) invent a reason	9	1.3
(1) a simple "Ok, good-bye now"	7	2.5
(6) a phrase like "We've already talked for too long"	7	1.5

(2) a phrase like “I want to go now”	4	1.0

In this case the acceptability and frequency numbers indicate that strategy (3) an (4) would be the most preferred over the other strategies; again, we are facing a quite direct expression. On the other hand, (6) and (2) are the least preferred ones; some informants pointed out that these same examples are “rude”. It must also be said that according to the few informants who provided comments on this question I draw the following conclusion: the closer you are to the person, the more direct you can be without any fear of being impolite. Thus, this shows again that Catalans show closeness and integration—linked to positive politeness—by using direct strategies.

Finally, item #10 analyses the reaction the informant expects after saying the sentence or sentences on item #9. Two possible answers were provided: “the other person immediately lets you go” and “the other person tries to persuade you to stay”. 17 out of 23 informants chose the first one; 5 informants marked both as possible but marked the second one as “rare” or made comments such as “only pests”; only one informant chose the second option. This shows that in Catalonia the answers chosen in item #9 are seen as direct or key-expressions and that the addressee is expected to act according to it.

4. Summary

Taking into account the data gathered for this project, we could say Catalans follow the maxim “Talk respectfully but not too much to strangers, meaty conversations are reserved to the family and real friends”; as shown in the analysis of different questions, directness is also a quality of common conversations in Catalan. In Grice’s terms, Catalans respect the maxims of manner and quantity, being brief but clear; in Brown and Levinson’s terms, Catalans usually use bold-on-record strategies and negative politeness.

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Some Communicative Strategies in Hungary

Abstract

The paper examines Hungarian communicative strategies on the basis of written responses to a semi-expert interview on communicative strategies (SICS), a questionnaire that was distributed to 40 Hungarian students of the University of Szeged, southern Hungary. The communicative strategies and contexts examined in the study included pronouns of address, conversational openings and closings, small talk and taboo topics, presenting an opinion, turning down an offer or invitation and expressing disagreement. Each of the examined contexts revealed complex patterns of language use (e.g. two V-forms of Hungarian pronominal address), which on the one hand were constrained by linguistic and social norms, on the other hand were subject to negotiation in context. Age, status and social distance proved to be primary contextual factors, still, they could be overwritten by other, more 'local' contextual parameters such as degree of friendship or affect, length of interpersonal context, a common goal or shared experience. The informants' assessments concerning appropriateness, frequency or typicality of particular communicative strategies threw light not only on contextual constraints but also on how they are linked to face-orientation and politeness in Hungarian.

Sommaire

L'article analyse des stratégies communicatives hongroises se basant sur les réponses donnés par écrit dans le cadre d'un «semi-expert interview on communicative strategies» (SICS), un questionnaire qui a été distribué à 40 étudiants hongrois de l'Université de Szeged, dans le sud de l'Hongrie. Les stratégies et les contextes communicatifs analysés comprenait les pronoms d'adresse, des ouvertures et des fermetures de conversation, du Small Talk, et des sujets tabous, la présentation d'une opinion, le déclin d'une offre ou d'une invitation et l'expression du désaccord. Chacun des contextes examinés a révélé des modèles complexes de l'usage de la langue (soit pour le vouvoiement deux termes d'adresse pronominale hongroise), qui, d'un côté, ont été restreints par des normes linguistiques et sociales qui, de l'autre côté, ont été sujet à la négociation dans le contexte. L'âge, le statut et la distance sociale se sont avérés comme des facteurs contextuelles primaires, mais ils pouvaient toujours être remplacés par des paramètres contextuels plus « locaux », tels que le degré d'amitié, la longueur du contexte interpersonnel, l'impression, un but commun ou l'expérience. Le jugement des personnes interrogées en ce qui concerne l'adéquation, la fréquence ou la récurrence de certaines stratégies communicatives n'ont pas seulement mis en lumière des contraintes contextuelles, mais aussi la manière dont elles sont reliées avec l'orientation vis-à-vis de l'interlocuteur et avec la politesse en hongrois.

Zusammenfassung

Der Aufsatz analysiert ungarische Gesprächsstrategien auf der Basis von geschriebenen Antworten auf ein "semi-expert interview on communicative strategies" (SICS), ein Fragebogen, der an 40 ungarische Studierende der Universität von Szeged im Süden Ungarns verteilt worden ist. Die analysierten Kommunikationsstrategien und -kontexte umfassten die Anredepronomen, Gesprächseröffnungen und -beendigungen, Small Talk, Tabuthemen, Meinungsäußerungen, Angebotsablehnungen und das Ausdrücken von Meinungsverschiedenheit. Jeder der untersuchten Kontexte hat komplexe Verwendungsweisen von Sprache aufgedeckt (z.B. zwei V-Formen unter den ungarischen Anredepronomen), welche einerseits durch sprachliche und soziale Normen bestimmt waren, andererseits um Kontext ausgehandelt werden konnten. Alter, Status und soziale Distanz erwiesen sich als die primären kontextuellen Faktoren; dennoch konnten sie von "lokaleren" kontextuellen Parametern wie Grad der Freundschaft, Länge des interpersonalen Kontexts, Affekt oder gemeinsame Ziele und Erfahrungen überdeckt werden. Die Einschätzung der Informanten bezüglich Angemessenheit, Frequenz oder Typikalität bestimmter kommunikativer Strategien warf nicht nur auf kontextuelle Zwänge Licht, sondern auch darauf, wie diese mit Gesichtsorientierung und Höflichkeit im Ungarischen zusammenhängen.

0. Introduction

Although a lot has been published in the field of cross-cultural pragmatics, studies were often limited in scope, focusing on one or two types of speech acts or discourse strategies (cf. Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). The written semi-expert interview on communicative strategies (SICS) compiled by the editors of the present journal is an attempt, within the limitations of the questionnaire instrument, to essentially broaden the scope of researched phenomena within a single study both in quantitative and qualitative terms. Not only a wider spectrum of communicative linguistic behaviors can be examined but also participants' assessments of their own choices can be investigated across cultures and languages.

In the following, I will first present the information concerning the participants and the data-collecting procedure and then proceed to analyze the data according to the sections and tasks of the SICS interview.

1. The Participants and the Data-Collecting Procedure

There were 40 Hungarian university students participating in my study, 23 females and 9 males, the average age being 23. All of them were English majors at Szeged University, Hungary. The majority (87.5%) came from small and middle-size towns, 2 participants came form Budapest, the capital of Hungary, and 3 subjects came from small villages. The majority (87%) were born on the territory of contemporary Hungary (mainly on the Southern Great Plane and in Central Hungary, see Table 1 below) and 5 participating students came from the territories of Romania and Serbia, both countries with large Hungarian minorities. I have included their responses in my study, as Hungarians from outside Hungary are members of the multicultural community in Szeged. All the participants whose tests were included in the study declared that Hungarian was their mother tongue. Table 1 below summarizes the data concerning the participants' place of origin.

Participants' place of origin	**No.**	**%**
HUNGARY	**35**	**87,5%**
Southern Great Plain (*Dél-alföld*)	22	55%
Northern Great Plain (*Észak-alföld*)	3	7,5%
Southern Transdanubia (*Dél-Dunántúl*)	3	7,5%
Central Hungary (*Közép-Magyarország*)	6	15%
Central Transdanubia *(Közép-Dunántúl*)	1	2,5%
OUTSIDE HUNGARY	**5**	**12,5%**
Transylvania (*Székelyföld*), Romania	1	2,5%
Subotica, Vojvodina, (*Szabadka, Vajdaság*), Serbia	4	10%

Table 1

I distributed the SICS questionnaire personally and drew the students' attention to the instructions provided by the authors. Some students filled out the questionnaire in class; others took it home and brought it back some time later. Some tests had to be discarded as they were filled in incompletely or it turned out that the mother tongue of the participants was not Hungarian. The students varied in how detailed their responses were and how much they were able to provide metacomments on the examined contexts. Thus, while interpreting the findings reported in the following sections we should take under consideration that limitation of the data-collecting procedure.

2. Section A: Starting a Conversation

The data collected with help of the SICS questionnaire (task one, section A) allow me to focus mainly on Hungarian address pronouns, although the Hungarian system of address manifests itself also in second person verb forms, nominal address forms and in greetings (Reményi 1994: 85-86). Thus, the discussion below presents only one element of a complex system of linguistic means Hungarians use in addressing conversational partners.

While on the whole, the binary T/V distinction of informal vs. formal forms of address applies to Hungarian and is known as *tegezés/magázás* (T-form usage/V-form usage), many Hungarian linguists (Deme 1999, Domonkosi 2002, Dömötör 2005, Szili 2007) prefer the term *tegezés/nemtegezés*, that is, the T-form/non-T-form usage for the simple reason that the Hungarian addressing system has two distinct V pronouns, the less formal *maga* and the more formal, polite and respectful *ön,* as well as the *tetszik*-construction[1], a V-pattern that signals distance and respect and in certain context may also display respectful intimacy. The usage of T/non-T forms is highly sensitive to contextual factors such as age and gender and shows some variability when used by Hungarians living outside the boarders of present-day Hungary[2]. The T/V distinction has always been in the focus of Hungarian linguists' attention[3] and has been investigated from various perspectives, including its historical origin, on-going changes, politeness values and correctness of usage, particularly from the perspective of *nyelvművelés*[4] or language cultivation.

In the following section I will present the findings concerning the usage of T-form *te* and V-forms *maga* and *ön*.

2.1. Formal and Informal Pronouns of Address in Hungarian: Data Analysis

All my participants identified *te*, *maga* and *ön* as Hungarian pronominal forms of address, *te* as the T-form, *maga* and *ön* as two V-forms respectively. The Hungarian T-form, *te* was characterized as informal, direct and close, to be used with friends, family members, classmates, colleagues, acquaintances and young, friendly university teachers. It was considered flattering when used to signal partnership and equality in status but it could easily become condescending when used in contexts requiring formal address.

The two V-forms, *maga* and *ön* were described as formal (*maga* less formal than *ön*) and as forms to be used in institutional, official or business situations. While *ön* was characterized as polite and respectful, the address pronoun *maga* was rendered as less polite, sometimes even disdainful, and having the potential of generating undue distance between S and H. Some

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[1] As a main verb, *tetszik* takes a dative predicate:

Ez tetszik nekem.
This$_{NOM}$ appeal/like$_{3SG}$ me$_{DAT\ 1SG}$
'I like it'

As an auxiliary, t*etszik* (only 3 person, SG or PL) appears in polite V expressions:

Hogy tetszik lenni?
How like$_{3SG}$ be$_{INF}$
'How are you?'

[2] Domonkosi (2002: 38) mentions earlier research according to which Hungarians in *Vajdaság* (Voivodina, Serbia), *Felvidék* (Upper Hungary, Slovakia) and *Erdély* (Transylvania, Romania) use *maga* more frequently than in Hungary.

[3] Domonkosi (2002) provides a very thorough overview of the Hungarian literature on the Hungarian address forms and their usage.

[4] A critical discussion of Hungarian language cultivation research in a broader sociolinguistic context of present-day Hungary is presented in Kontra (2006).

participants also commented that in its polite usage *maga* was more frequent and more typical of older people, and represented an older, more traditional language norm.

In the SICS interview the participants were also requested to choose proper forms of address in various contexts defined in terms of different social roles of S and H. Figure 1 and Table 2 summarize the results.

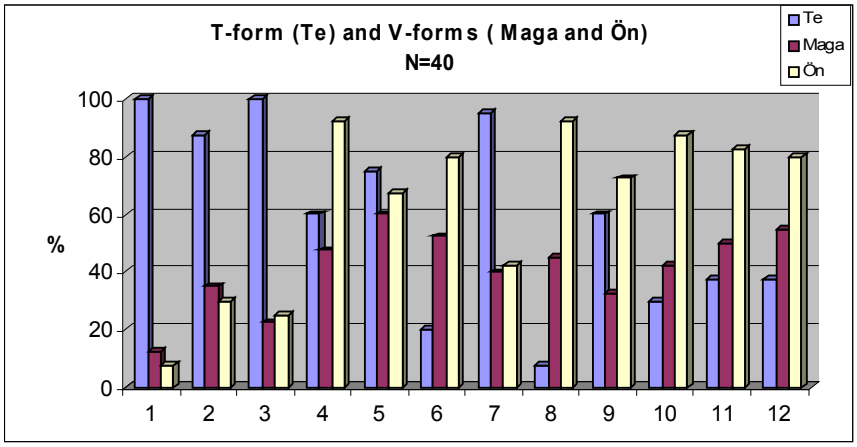

Figure 1

	TE	MAGA	ÖN
	%		
1.Children to parents	100	12.5	7.5
2. Children to older relatives	87.5	35	30
3. Colleagues at work	100	22.5	25
4. Employees to employer	60	47.5	92.5
5. Employer to employees	75	60	67.5
6. Pupils to teacher	20	52.5	80
7. Teacher to pupils	95	40	42.5
8. People to administration officials	7.5	45	92.5
9. Business partners among each other	60	32.5	72.5
10. Clerks to customers in a store	30	42.5	87.5
11. Customers to clerks in a store	37.5	50	82.5
12. People to strangers in the street	37.5	55	80

Table 2

As can be seen in Figure 1 and Table 2, the addressee's identity greatly determined the choice of address form. The informal pronoun *te* was most often chosen as an appropriate address term in the 'children to parents', 'children to older relatives' and 'colleagues at work' dyads.

All the participants chose *te* as an appropriate address form in the 'children to parents' context. Some students commented that using *maga* with parents was common in the past and now it is used mostly by the older generation, although it may vary from family to family. It was also mentioned that nominal forms of address such as *Anya* 'Mum' and *Apa* 'Dad' were more typical in that context.

The participants also selected informal *te* for the 'children to older relatives' situation, although formal address terms also appeared in that context. Some participants wrote that *maga* was used to more distant older relatives and was characteristic of rural areas. The informal *te* was more common with closer older relatives and was used by young children.

The respondents generally observed that the closeness of relationship determined the address choice and that nominal forms of address were very common in that context.

The informal *te* was also very commonly selected as an address term in the 'colleagues at work' setting. My subjects claimed that in that context the choice of address forms mostly depended on the nature of interpersonal relationship although hierarchy and local workplace norms of address usage were also important. Another factor that emerged was age, although the participants' opinions differed on that issue. Some claimed that age hardly mattered, while others wrote it was of great importance: *te* was appropriate among same-age colleagues, while where there was age difference, younger persons were expected to use *maga* or *ön* when addressing their older colleagues. It was also of importance how long colleagues had worked together and had known one another and whether they both had agreed on mutual, reciprocal T-form usage or not.

The 'employees to employer' situation displayed strong preference for the formal and respectful *ön*, although *te* and *maga* were also used. The participants mentioned several contextual factors such as the nature of relationship, degree of friendship, workplace hierarchy and how long the interactants had worked together. Age functioned in a similar manner as among colleagues. The informal *te* was said to occur if the employee and the employer happened to be friends and when they both agreed to use the reciprocal *te.*

Interestingly, the 'employer to employees' situation did not display strong preference for any of the address forms, that is, *ön*, *maga* and *te* were almost equally expected. The participants referred to the nature of relationship as the main factor, and mentioned age, workplace hierarchy, mutual agreement and other situational components that had emerged in the 'employees to employer' context as well. Some remarked that nowadays the T-form was becoming more and more frequent but if an employer respected his/her employee s/he would use V-forms of address.

For the 'pupils to teacher' context, not surprisingly, the participants most often selected the formal and respectful *ön*, then *maga*, while there were hardly any instances of the informal *te.* Some participants commented that *te* was possible when the teacher was very young and the addressor was a university student. It was also mentioned that in the pupil-teacher interaction nominal address forms were very common, like *tanárnő/tanár úr* 'teacher$_{Fem}$/Mr teacher'.

In the 'teacher to pupils' dyad the most commonly chosen address form was *te*. Still, many subjects commented that *te* was used mainly in primary and secondary schools while at the university teachers used the formal *maga*. Also, the teacher's age was a factor: young university teachers addressed their students with *te*, while older teachers used *maga* or *ön*.

In the 'people to administration officials' situation the use of *ön* was strongly recommended, *maga* was less frequent, and *te* was almost absent. There was only one comment added to this context and it said that informal use of pronouns might happen when participants were less than 30 years of age.

As for the 'people to administration officials' setting, *ön* and then *maga* were the participants' primary choices, the informal *te* option being almost completely ignored. There was just one remark made: when addressors were under 30 it was more usual to opt for informal address.

According to my participants, all three address forms were appropriate for business partners, *ön* and *te* being more frequent than *maga.* It was often mentioned that the choice of address form depended on how friendly the relationship was and on how long business partners had

known one another (*te* was used when they knew each other for a long time, *ön* when only briefly). Age was just as important: younger business partners used *ön* to the older ones and *te* was used to same-age partners and as a result of mutual agreement.

The participants selected *ön* as the most appropriate address pronoun for the 'clerks to customers in a store' context. Many subjects commented that the choice of address in that setting depended on age: young clerks used informal address terms, in particular to same-age young customers, while older clerks preferred *ön*. It was also observed that now in many places clerks were oficially required to use *ön* when addressing their customers.

In the 'customers to clerks in a store' dyad the pattern appeared to be similar. The prevalent choice was *ön* and the main contextual factor was age. Young customers would use T-forms to young clerks, and V-forms (mainly *ön*) to older clerks. Young age was defined as being 20 to 30 years of age. It was also mentioned that using *ön* was a matter of formality and proper form.

The last context examined in that section of the SICS questionnaire was how to address strangers in the street. The greatest number of participants selected *ön*, although *maga* and *te* were also frequent choices. The major factor that informed the participants' choices was again age. Young strangers (20 to 30 years of age) could be addressed with the informal *te* while adults should receive either of the V-forms, *ön* or *maga*.

2.2. Answering the Telephone

Telephone conversations constitute a distinct type of communicative behavior that is subject both to technological and social constraints. In telephone conversation studies special attention has been paid to telephone openings as they display a number of structural features[5] (Schegloff 1979, 1986), which are subject to cross-cultural variation (Sifianou 1989, Houtkoop-Steenstra 1993). The SICS questionnaire examines the second turn of conversational openings, the recipient's response to the caller's summons (the telephone ring). The recipient's response is examined in two setting: at home and at work.

2.2.1. How Hungarians Answer the Telephone at Home

The participants provided 71 examples of telephone responses when answering the telephone at home, which represent three patterns:

<u>Answer form (+ Answer form)</u>

This was the most common response pattern (46.5% of all responses) in the data. Altogether there were three expressions that functioned as answer forms: *Halló?; Igen?* 'Yes?'; *Tessék!* 'Please!', used individually or combined. There were two ways in which the participants combined the answer forms: *Halló, tessék!* 'Hallo, please!' and *Igen, tessék!* 'Yes, please!' No other combination patterns were provided.

<u>Answer form + Family Name apartment</u>

In this pattern (24.5% of all responses) the answer form was followed by the noun phrase consisting of self-identification (a family name) and the word 'apartment'. The most common

[5] Schegloff (1986) proposed four core opening sequences: summons-answer, identification/recognition, greetings, and "how are you" or initial inquiries sequence. Actual telephone openings often do not strictly follow that pattern and do not contain all its elements.

answer form was *Halló*, as in *Halló, Nagy lakás!* 'Hallo, Nagy apartment!'. The remaining answer forms, *Tessék, Szabó lakás!* 'Please, Szabó apartment!' and *Igen? Kovács lakás.* 'Yes? Kovács apartment.' were less frequent.

There were two examples where two answer forms were used: *Halló, tessék, Nagy lakás.* 'Hallo, please! Nagy apartment' and *Igen, tessék, Szabó lakás.*' Yes, please. Szabó apartment'. There was just one instance where self-identification was used without an answer form: *Bíró lakás!* 'Bíró apartment'.

Answer form + Recipient's Full Name

This pattern (28.2% of all responses) consisted of an answer form and the recipient's full name as self-identification, e.g. *Tessék, Szabó Andrea.* 'Please, Szabó Andrea.', sometimes extended to *Tessék, Szabó Andrea vagyok!* 'Please, Szabó Andrea (I) am!'. The most frequent answer form was *Tessék!* 'Please!', *Halló* was used much less and there was only one instance of *Igen* 'Yes'.

2.2.2. How Hungarians Answer the Telephone at Work

The responses to that part of the questionnaire displayed more complex patterns. The participants provided 50 examples and used five different components. According to the frequency of their occurrence these are: institution's name (86%), answer form (56%), 'Can I help you' sequence (56%), recipient's full name (38%), and greetings (22%).

The elements were combined, the majority of the examples using three different components. The answer forms, which were almost exclusively used in this context, were *Halló* and *Tessék!* 'Please!', there were just three instances of *Igen* 'Yes'. The Hungarian version of the 'Can I help you' sequence was *Miben segíthetek?* (literally: 'In what can I help you?') and the greeting form was *Jó napot kívánok!* 'I wish you a good day'.

Many component combinations or patterns emerged. In order to systematize them I divided the examples into two main groups: those, which contained the 'Can I help you' sequence, and those, which did not. The 'Can I help you' sequence is an element that is explicitly oriented to the institutional character of the response, as it is absent from telephone openings at home, and it displays institutional etiquette and politeness. It was interesting to observe that it co-occurred with another politeness strategy—greetings, which were almost completely absent from the group of responses that did not contain the 'Can I help you' sequence.

2.2.2.1. Responses Containing the 'Can I help you' Sequence

The 'Can I help you' group (56%, 28 examples out of 50) represented a rich repertoire of different patterns. Nine responses in this set contained greetings and had the following structures:

Greetings + institution's name + 'Can I help you?' (4 examples)

Jó napot kívánok, XY ügyfélszolgálat, miben segíthetek?

'I wish you a good day, XY customers' service, can I help you?'

Greetings + 'Can I help you?' (2 examples)

Jó napot kívánok, miben segíthetek?

'I wish you a good day, how can I help you?'

(Answer form) + greetings + institution's name + recipient's full name + 'Can I help you?' (3 examples)

(Halló), Jó napot kívánok, XY vállalat, Kovács Timea vagyok, miben segíthetek?

(Hallo), I wish you a good day, XY Company, I am Kovács Timea, can I help you?

The patterns with the 'Can I help you?' sequence but without greetings were the following:
Institution's name + recipient's full name + 'Can I help you?' (6 examples)
XY vállalat, Szabó Andrea (vagyok), miben segíthetek?
'XY Company, (I am) Szabó Andrea, can I help you?'
Answer form + institution's name + 'Can I help you?' (5 examples)
Tessék/Halló, XY vállalat, miben segíthetek?
'Please/Hallo, 'XY Company, can I help you?'
Institution's name + 'Can I help you?' (4 examples)
Megyei Korház, miben segíthetek?
'County Hospital, can I help you?'
Answer form + institution's name + recipient's full name + 'Can I help you?'
(2 examples)
Tessék/Halló, XY ügyfélszolgálat, Szabó Andrea (vagyok), miben segíthetek?
'Please/ Hallo, XY Customers' service, (I am) Szabó Andrea, can I help you?'
Answer form + recipient's full name + 'Can I help you?' (2 examples)
Tessék, Barna Imre vagyok, miben segíthetek?
'Please, I am Barna Imre, can I help you?'

2.2.2.2. Responses Not Containing the 'Can I help you?' Sequence

In my data there were 22 examples (44%) that did not contain the 'Can I help you' sequence. The patterns were the following:
Answer form + institution's name (8 examples)
Halló/Tessék, XY Kft.
'Hallo/Please, XY Company'
Institution's name + answer form *tessék* (6 examples)
Megyei Korház, tessék!
County Hospital, please!
Institution's name (+ recipient's full name) (5 examples)
Marketing Iroda (Magyar Attila).
'Marketing Office (Magyar Attila).'
Answer form + greetings (2 examples)
Halló, Jó napot kívánok.
'Hallo, I wish you a good day'
Answer form + answer form (1 example)
Igen, tessék.
'Yes, please'

Although the participants did not comment on these patterns, the responses containing the 'Can I help you' sequence can be considered both more 'professional' and, at least formally, more polite. Naturally, the absence of the 'Can I help you' sequence does not automatically mean that such a response is impolite or rude. Still, the institution's name + answer form *tessék* pattern, e.g. *Megyei Korház, tessék!* may sound quite overbearing as the post-positioned *tessék* functions less as an answer to the summons and more as a firm request to provide an account of the reason for calling. The participants' own assessments would be the most relevant source of information on that issue.

3. Section B: Keeping up a Conversation

3.1. Situations in Which Small Talk Is Common

In their responses to that part of the SICS questionnaire the Hungarian participants mentioned a number of contexts where small talk was likely to occur. The most frequent sites and places, mentioned by almost every respondent, were those related to waiting, the most frequent being waiting rooms at the doctor's office or in other public institutions, and waiting lines in shops and stores, where people could engage in small talk with other shoppers (but not with the personnel). There were some participants for whom a typical site of small talk was the hairdresser's. Very many respondents mentioned public transport, mainly trains, buses and bus stops. Yet another place that was referred to quite a few times was a university corridor, where students engaged in small talk before exams or while waiting for their classes.

Some participants commented that in Hungary it was neither expected nor typical of strangers to engage in small talk, the exception being older people, in particular older women, who were said to frequently initiate small talk, for instance at a bus stop or on a train. Engaging in small talk very much depended on a situation, in particular on whether the persons involved shared any common experience or problem. For instance, small talk was likely to occur when people waiting in line or in an office had to wait longer than expected, or when a person was a regular customer or visitor to the place. Otherwise people would not be interested in other people's affairs and small talk among strangers would be avoided. On the other hand, small talk was expected among acquaintances in the majority of contexts, and it felt awkward if it did not happen.

3.2. Situations in Which Small Talk Is Not Common

From the SICS list my participants selected mainly public toilets and elevators as places where small talk was to be avoided. Many other places were also mentioned such as churches, public libraries, banks, theatres, cinemas, museums and the teacher's office, when students were waiting for their turn to sign their indexes. Small talk was also unwelcome during certain public events or activities, such as concerts, funerals, seminars, lectures, national ceremonies or law court trials. My participants also commented that people usually kept silent in places where they stayed only for a short while and were among strangers.

The ambivalent nature of remaining silent in the presence of others was also addressed. For instance, remaining silent in an elevator often felt awkward. People remained silent and avoided small talk when they were in a crowd, with little or no space around them, e.g. when there were no seats on public transport and passengers had to stand close next to each other. It was also observed that small talk was to be avoided when the other person was noticeably busy, for instance when s/he was listening to music, watching a film, taking notes in class. In such situations it was not awkward to refrain from talking. Small talk should also be avoided when it created inconvenience, for instance, while at the post office, a person should not engage in a conversation with an office clerk while other people were standing in a line behind him/her. Finally, it was observed that small talk used to be avoided during a meal but nowadays it was not the case any more.

3.3. Common Small Talk Topics

My participants selected a number of small talk topics from the SICS list that could be addressed when talking to strangers, the most frequent being weather, recent political events,

general complaints about politics and politicians, traveling experiences and sports and hobbies. American entertainment industry and general praise of domestic politics and politicians were rarely selected and recent scientific news and foreign interlocutor's language competence were mentioned as hardly possible.

The participants added quite a few new small talk topics to the SICS list. By far the most common among them was a group of 'complaint' topics, such as complaints about health care, public transport, weather, politics, standards of living or the condition of Hungarian economy. Quite a few participants also mentioned that everyday annoyances, grievances and wrongs that people suffered could readily be small talk topics. A number of participants further mentioned family, children and friends as well as recent events from family life. Individual participants also added sport (also in the form of a complaint, for instance about Hungarian football), current TV shows, local and world news, school, memories from the past (typical of the older generation), music, economic situation, prices and poverty, all that depending on a situation and shared experiences (for instance, a particular topic would emerge while traveling or waiting at the doctor's office).

3.4. Taboo Topics

The participants selected three topics from the list, which they considered taboo: (1) money, earnings and S's financial situation, (2) religion, and (3) politics, political views and convictions. Other taboo topics were sex life and sexuality; bodily things and bodily fluids; private, personal topics concerning one's life, problems or preferences; death; divorce; alcoholism (in the family); racism and ethnic and minority conflicts; any views that were not generally accepted. It was also mentioned that among friends and relatives there were no topics that would be strongly taboo.

3.5. Amount of Small Talk

The responses to that part of the SICS questionnaire do not lead to clear conclusions as the participants were divided almost half to half between choosing the first (more small talk in private conversation than in a business conversation) and the second (less small talk in private conversation than in a business conversation) option, very few respondents selecting the third possibility (do as much small talk in private as in business). There were only three comments added but they did not throw light on the participants' motivations. One person commented that in a private conversation it was required to ask about the other person's well-being before making a request, another person wrote that the presence of small talk before requests and offers depended on how well the persons knew each other and the third respondent simply admitted that he had no idea how to respond as he lacked the experience.

The only conclusion that can be drawn is that the participants assumed there was a difference between a private and a business conversation concerning the amount of small talk used as a mitigating or facilitating device prior to requests or offers, but did not have a clear idea what the difference was. Taking under the consideration the fact that my participants were students and only few of them worked at the same time as teachers, it seems they lacked the life experience to provide reliable answers to that part of the questionnaire.

4. Section C: Being Nice in a Conversation

In this section of the SICS interview the participants were asked two questions: how they would typically present their opinion on a topic and whether they would assume that the

invitation or the offer they received was sincere or merely a politeness phrase.

4.1. Presenting Your Opinion

In their responses to that question, the greatest number of participants (75%) selected option 2, that is, first you give your opinion, and then you give reasons related to the issue itself. Commenting on that option some participants wrote that it was a frequent way of presenting one's opinion and that giving reasons showed your opinion was well grounded. Option 1 (first you give your opinion then you give reasons, citing other persons) was also quite often chosen (42.5%), although there was a remark that citing others gave an impression as if S wanted to presented others' opinion as his or her own. Options 4, 5, 6 and 7 were selected by roughly 30% of the participants each. Least favored was option 3 (first you give background information citing others and then you present your opinion) as it was selected only by 17% of the respondents. Some participants did not choose any option but merely gave their comments. There were three participants who in the 'other means' part of this section expressed their view that one could express his or her opinion without giving any reasons at all or would give reasons only when necessary.

In their assessments some participants wrote that all the patterns of giving arguments were possible, it all depended on how well S knew the topic and how well educated or polished s/he was. Options 3 and 4, where S's opinion was preceded by background information or by citing others, were associated with the university or scientific debates. A similar comment was made about option 7 (first you present diverse opinions and argumentations and then you say your own opinion). On the other hand, options 1 and 2 were more typical of 'general' debates' or discussions with friends or relatives.

4.2. Assessing an Invitation or an Offer

In their answers, 72.5% of the participants considered invitations and offers as sincere. Only 17.5% of the respondents assumed they were just polite phrases. Many participants commented that it depended on who made an offer or an invitation and on the relationship between the persons: if it was a close friend then most probably the invitation was sincere, if it was a stranger or an official person then it was uncertain how to take it. The linguistic form, a tone of voice and non-verbal signs were also very important. If an invitation or an offer came spontaneously then it was sincere, if S hesitated then it was out of politeness or necessity. One participant (who chose option 1) wrote that there should be 'no kidding' about such matters. Another person commented that if one did not want to help the other, s/he should not offer or invite. An interesting remark was made by a Hungarian female from Romania: in her opinion a Hungarian in Hungary invited someone only when s/he really wanted, while a Hungarian from Transylvania invited also because it was a correct thing to do.

5. Section D: Getting Around Very Uncomfortable Topics

In this section of the questionnaire the participants were asked how to say 'no' in a polite way on two different occasions: when turning down an invitation or an offer and when disagreeing with someone else's opinion.

5.1. How to Turn Down an Offer

Refusals have received a lot of attention in sociopragmatic and cross-cultural research. Empirical studies have demonstrated that language users developed a rich repertoire of strategies to cope with the face-threatening potential of refusals.

Beebe/Takahashi/Uliss-Weltz (1990), the study that is the major contribution to the research on refusals, classified refusal strategies into

(1) direct refusals, in the form of performative expressions such as 'I refuse', non-performative direct refusals or expressions of negative willingness, ('No, …'; 'I can't'; 'I won't'; 'I don't think so'),
(2) indirect refusals, such as statements of regret ('I'm sorry'), excuses, reasons or explanations ('I have a headache'), statements of an alternative, promises of future acceptance, avoidance strategies (e.g. a postponement 'I'll think about it') and many others, and
(3) adjuncts to refusals, such as a statement of positive opinion or feeling ('I'd love to'), a statement of empathy, an expression of gratitude or appreciation and pause fillers ('well', 'uhm').

In real-life refusals the strategies did not occur in isolation but were combined, the choice depending on a context.

Szili (2004) examined Hungarian refusals with the help of a discourse completion test on a sample of 220 Hungarian adults and secondary school students, using Beebe's coding system. She found that direct, performative refusal was generally avoided; the most common strategies were non-performative refusals, excuses and expressions of regret, although other strategies also occurred in more specific contexts.

Applying Beebe's coding categories to eight refusal strategies listed in the SICS questionnaire we can say that they exemplify the category of a direct, non-performative refusal ('No, I don't feel like going there/doing X') and two types of indirect strategies: excuses, varying in the degree of explicitness or vagueness, and avoidance strategies ('I don't know yet, I'll let you know'; 'I will have to think about it'). Below I discuss the participants' choices and assessments concerning the refusal strategies in the SICS questionnaire.

<u>A direct phrase that means "No, I don't feel like going there/doing X"</u>
Half of the participants (50%) selected this direct, non-performative expression of refusal. Many respondents commented it was used informally, among close friends, relatives and intimates. Many also claimed that it was rare, being limited to close relationships only. Among Hungarian examples the most common was the following utterance type: (*Nem), (most) nincs kedvem.* '(No), (now) I don't feel like it'. Two participants combined it with an apology or statement of regret, e.g. *Nem, ne haragudj, de ehhez most nincs kedvem.* 'No, I'm sorry, but I don't feel like doing it now', which supports Szili's (2004) findings.

<u>A vague excuse like "No, I don't have time" or "No, I have something else to do"</u>
Very many participants (75%) selected a vague excuse as a form of refusal. The majority commented it was used very frequently. Two participants commented that this strategy was used with strangers rather than with friends. Some claimed that an apology should be added to make a vague excuse polite. Typical examples were the following: *Nincs időm/Nem érek rá.* 'I don't have time' and *Más dolgom van.* 'I have something else to do', also with an additional apology: *Ne haragudj, de más dolgom van.* 'I'm sorry but I have something else to do'.

A phrase like "(I don't know yet) I'll let you know", though you will surely not contact the person again.
The postponement strategy was very popular among my participants as 78% chose it as a way of turning down an offer or an invitation. Most of the respondents claimed it was frequent or very frequent. One participant commented that it was used when S wanted to imply that H should not call S again. Another person argued that S should call the inviter back, even if s/he planned to turn down his/her invitation or offer. There were many examples provided, the frequently recurring expression being *Még nem tudom.* 'I don't know yet', almost always combined with another postponement strategy, for instance: *Még nem tudom, később még kereslek/de majd jelentkezem.* 'I don't know yet, I will call you later/but I will call on you later'.

A phrase like "I will have to think about it" though you won't surely contact the person again.
This type of postponement strategy was chosen by fewer participants (58%); still, many subjects commented that it occurred very frequently. The examples were the following: *Még gondolkodom rajta.* 'I am still thinking about it', *Még át kell gondolnom.* 'I will still have to think about it', *Majd meglátom* 'I will see'. One participant provided a longer response that additionally contained a statement of positive opinion or feeling: *Nagyon szeretnék ott lenni, de nem biztos.* 'I would love to be there but it is not certain'.

A concrete brief and true excuse (if there is one)
A concrete and true excuse, an indirect way of turning down an invitation or an offer, was selected by 55% of respondents. Many of them wrote that this strategy was used very frequently although there were some who claimed it was rare. Interestingly, there were also remarks that the addressee should be a close friend or a relative. One of the participants wrote that this strategy was typical of friends as it would be a burden for strangers with whom we would rather use a vague excuse.

A concrete brief and invented excuse (if there is no concrete and true excuse)
This option was selected only by 30% of the participants and as to its frequency, the assessments were rather divergent: there were those who commented it was used very frequently, but there were others who claimed it was rare. One person mentioned that it was used with strangers.

A concrete long and true excuse (if there is one)
Roughly 25% of the subjects selected a long and true excuse, as a way of turning down an invitation or an offer and the prevailing comment was that it occurred rarely. One participant commented it was typical of talkative people only. No examples were provided.

A concrete long and invented excuse (if there is no concrete and true excuse)
This option was selected by very few participants (15%) and the recurring comment was that it was rare or very rare. No examples were provided. One participant commented that, just as in the case of a concrete, long and true excuse, it was typical of talkative people only.

Other means
There were four participants who provided their own examples. They all used combined strategies and all the examples contained elements that were oriented to H's positive face needs (Brown/Levinson 1987). The first example, which according to the participant represented a frequent refusal type in the participant's experience, was the following: *Most nem, köszönöm, inkább majd legközelebb.* 'Not now, thank you, perhaps next time'. The strategies used were a direct refusal (non-performative), expression of gratitude and a vague promise of future acceptance, which could also be interpreted as an avoidance strategy. The

next example, *Jó lenne, de sajnos nem megy.* 'It would be nice, but now unfortunately it cannot happen', consisted of a statement of positive feelings, an expression of regret (syntactically embedded) and a direct, non-performative refusal. The third, incomplete example, *Szeretnék, de ....*'I'd like to but …' began with a statement of positive feelings, the conjunction *de* 'but' projecting some other strategy (for instance excuse) that would invalidate the interpretation of 'I'd like to' as an acceptance. Finally, the fourth example was provided in English: *I wish I could come and didn't have so much to do. Maybe next time.* Just like in the previous examples, the strategies included a statement of positive feelings, excuse and a vague promise of future acceptance, which could also be interpreted as an avoidance strategy.

Some participants also commented on contextual parameters of refusals. Thus, the form of a refusal depended on the nature of relationship and on how 'big' the rejection was (which partly depended on the 'weightiness' of an invitation or an offer). If it was something unimportant then a short answer was fine. One person wrote that a direct refusal was in itself impolite and it was necessary to mention a reason (true or invented) why an invitation could not be accepted in order to make a refusal weaker. Another person argued that people were quite unlikely to say things like 'Sorry, I don't want to go, I'm not in the mood', even in situations where the answer had to be given immediately. In such cases interlocutors would rather make the acceptance of an invitation or an offer dependent on their partner's plans or job-related commitments.

Summing up, the participants' comments suggest that Hungarian refusals require more than one strategy, need face-work and are strongly dependent on multifaceted contextual parameters.

5.2. Disagreeing with Someone Else

Disagreements, just as refusals, are considered face-threatening (Brown/Levinson 1987: 70) and potentially impolite. They depend for their content and structure on the previous conversational turn and often display features of conversational 'dispreferred' seconds.

Pomerantz's (1992) major study on agreements and disagreements with assessments demonstrated that disagreements were structurally complex, mitigated and delayed as "conversants orient to their disagreeing with one another as uncomfortable, unpleasant, difficult, risking threat, insult, or offence" (Pomerantz 1992: 77). A typical turn shape for disagreements (when agreements were invited or expected) incorporated a number of delay devices such as repair initiators ('no talk' or silence, hesitations, requests for clarification, partial repeats), 'oh' or 'well' prefaces and agreement tokens ('Yes but'), all of them postponing disagreement components within a turn.

Georgakopoulou (2001) examined Greek disagreements in informal conversations between young people and found that in her data disagreements did not have the structure of prefaces and/or delays followed by an overt disagreement (as was the case in the Pomerantz's data) but were systematically implied and indirectly managed with the help of rhetorical strategies or persuasive, argumentative devices (Georgakopoulou 2001: 1881-1896) such as (a) specific turn-initial markers like 'let me tell you something', (b) stories used as analogies for the debated issues, and (c) questions repeating the previous turn or exploring possible outcomes or consequences of stated premises. Georgakopoulou concluded that the form of disagreements could not be explained by such *a priori* concepts like politeness or formality but that it was shaped by contextual exigencies such as the participants' close-knit relations, the activity type, interactional goals and the local norms of argumentation which, in the case of her Greek data, favored a collaborative perspective-building (Georgakopoulou 2001:

1881). Thus, disagreements as highly culture-specific are best studied in their natural surroundings.

The SICS task asked the participants to choose from a number of verbal and non-verbal strategies that could potentially function as conventionalized means of expressing S's disagreement with someone else's opinion. Among the verbal strategies, there were two direct and unmitigated ones, a direct "No" and a phrase like "(No), I disagree", "(No), I have a different opinion" and a number of indirect strategies that in the context of situation could imply that S was of a different opinion than the other participant. Below I review the responses of my Hungarian subjects to the provided options.

A direct 'No'

A direct 'No' was chosen by roughly 25% of the participants. The examples provided to illustrate how to say 'No' directly in Hungarian were the following: *Nem így van!* 'This is not like that', *Ez nem igaz!* 'It's not true' and *Nincs iagazad!* 'You are not right'. Many respondents commented that a direct 'No' was rare and more typical of informal contexts; some added it was impolite, rough and unpolished. One of the responding students stated that although we might say 'no' directly, we usually tended to explain why. On the whole, it seems that a plain 'No' was not considered to be the best option to express disagreement with another person's opinion and its occurrence was subject to contextual constraints.

Never the word 'No'

Only 8% of the participants selected this option. There were some who speculated on the benefits of using 'No'. One of the respondents commented that there were instances when it was better to express your opinion without beating round the bush, although two participants constrained it more to personal relationships. Another person explained that saying the word 'No' should not be avoided by all means, as it made the answer clear and unambiguous. Still, if we wanted to be polite we needed to explain or give reasons why we said "No".

A phrase like '(No), I disagree', '(No), I have a different opinion'

The option including the performative verb 'to disagree' and an explicit statement of difference of opinion was quite a popular choice, favored by 60% of the participants. Still, the assessments of the frequency of that option were divergent. Some claimed that this type of disagreement occurred frequently; others stated just the opposite – that it was rare. There were comments that such forms of disagreement were typical of formal situations, like a lecture or a seminar, and that they were used by very direct people or in equal relationships. Only two persons called this option acceptable and polite. Among the Hungarian examples provided by the participants, the most common were *Nem értek (veled) egyet.* 'I disagree (with you)' and *Más véleményem van.* 'I have a different opinion'.

A phrase like 'I think you have to think about this again '

This type of disagreement is indirect and it implies that the opinion expressed by the other person is problematic, for some reason not acceptable, and in need of revision and correction. Roughly 23% of the participants selected this option and their assessments were quite unanimous: this form of disagreement was rare and not typical. Some added it sounded chiding, like teaching the other his lesson, and it was offensive. Hungarian examples were provided, e.g. *Ezt gondold még át.* 'Think it over', *Ezt még át kellene gondolnod.* 'You still should think it over' and the systematic absence of the 'I think' component made these expressions of disagreement quite direct, if not peremptory.

A phrase like 'I think we have to think about this again'

Only 13% of the respondents selected this option and the majority of those who commented

on it considered it rare, formal, not typical, and even offensive. No Hungarian examples were provided.

A phrase like 'Yes, I see what you mean, but I think that …'
This pattern contains elements that postpone or delay the expression of disagreements, such as the token agreement 'Yes' and the empathic 'I see what you mean', which displays politeness and considerateness towards others. It was the most favored option of all—70% of the respondents selected this pattern and the majority of the participants commented that it was a very frequent, polite or even very polite way of expressing disagreement, used in close and equal relationships, with friends and relatives. One participant wrote that accepting the opinion of the other person (probably having in mind the 'I see what you mean' component) signaled tolerance and should be appreciated. There were quite a few Hungarian examples of this pattern, like *Értem, mire gondolsz/ amit mondasz, de én úgy gondolom/ szerintem* ... 'I understand what you think/what you are saying but I think/in my opinion …'. It is important to observe that in the Hungarian examples the initial 'Yes' token was absent.

A phrase like 'Yes, I see what you mean but wouldn't you also think that …'
About 48% of the participants selected this option. There were very many comments; most of them assessing the response type as frequent or very frequent (although there were some who claimed it was rare) and one person commented it was polite because it offered the other person an opportunity to express his/her views. Altogether, three examples were provided, the pattern being: *Értem, mire gondolsz, de nem gondolod, hogy* ... 'I understand what you mean but don't you think that …'. Again, the initial token 'Yes' was missing.

People just say nothing at all and remain silent.
As Jaworski (1993: 34) observes, silence is a component of many communicative situations and a tool of communicative expression. It can be used to convey disapproval, to signal conflict but also to signal politeness by being indirect or leaving options. In sum, "it does both good and bad in communication" (Jaworski 1993: 24). The participants also reflected on the ambiguous nature of silence in interaction. Roughly 37% of the participants marked this option in the questionnaire but none of them claimed it was a polite way of disagreeing with the other person's view. There was little consensus concerning the frequency of this strategy – more people claimed that silence as disagreement was rare, but there were some who claimed it was frequent or even very frequent. Some respondents mentioned that silence as disagreement was impolite or rude, should not be used with close friends or relatives but is possible with complete strangers. A few longer accounts, explanations or commentaries were provided, according to which responding with silence to other person's opinion meant that:

- S (who uses silence) considers H's contribution worthless and not deserving a commentary; such silence is uncomfortable for H
- S shows negligence and lack of considerateness for H
- S considers H too stubborn to be persuaded
- S does not want to offend H and wants to avoid conflict
- S lacks self-confidence
- S wants to remain an outsider to the situation
- S does not want to share his/her opinion with H

Summing up, it appears that for my Hungarian respondents saying nothing was a response that was very rich in implicit meanings and often ambiguous.

People just shake their heads.
Shaking head, a non-verbal expression of disagreement, was selected by 30% of the participants and the most common remark was that it was rare or occurred only sometimes. A couple of respondents mentioned it was impolite or even impermissible to use. One

participant wrote that it could be used when S disagreed very much with the other's opinion but had no opportunity to express it verbally. To sum, shaking one's head was not a polite way of expressing one's disagreement.

People just smile
This option was selected by 43% of the respondents, but again, it was considered rare and not polite. A couple of comments evaluated it as a possible, even frequent response in informal situations but others considered it impolite or highly improper, implying arrogance and conveying the message that S did not even assume that his/her conversational partner could be right. Summing up, smiling as a strategy to express disagreement was not considered appropriate.

People just make a disapproving look.
35% of the participants marked this option in their questionnaires. Many agreed that a disapproving look would occur with strangers in informal situations and not with close acquaintances, and that it was impolite, arrogant and meant a complete rejection. Concerning frequency, more participants claimed it occurred only sometimes or rarely but there were few who claimed it was quite frequent.

Other means
In this part of the questionnaire the participants provided their examples and added various comments. One person wrote that if the topic was politics it was better not to express one's disagreement in order to avoid a potential argument. Another respondent commented that expressing disagreement depended on a situation and power relations, for instance, an employee would not oppose their employer but remain silent. As for other means to express disagreement, someone mentioned a shrug combined with the facial expression meaning 'I don't want to argue with you now'. There were also some verbal examples provided, all of them containing face-saving and mitigating components such as a token agreement: *Igen, de jó lenne* ... 'Yes, but it would be good …', an expression of appreciation: *Jó ötlet, de szerintem az is fontos, hogy* ... 'A good idea but I think it is also important to …', or hedges like *talán* 'perhaps'.

6. Section E: Ending a Conversation

6.1. Ending a Conversation in Hungarian

Due to the turn-taking mechanism conversational closings involve at least four turns of discourse and consist of the preclosings and the terminal exchange sequences (Schegloff/Sacks 1973). As conversational endings are face-sensitive, there are many politeness strategies that emerge in the preclosing section, for instance expressions of appreciation 'It was nice talking to you' or excuses, for instance 'I really have to go'.

The SICS questionnaire offers some of those options. The expression 'Ok, good-bye now' is a turn of the terminal exchange while the remaining expressions belong to the pre-closing sequence, that is, the participants would need yet another sequence to terminate their conversation.

Below I present my participants' responses to the options provided in the questionnaire.

A simple 'Ok, good-bye now'
About 25% of my participants selected this option, some assessing it as frequent in informal situations with friends, while others claiming they would never use it. One person observed

that people usually gave a reason why they had to leave. The Hungarian version of this expression was *Na jó/OK, (akkor) szia!* 'Good/OK, good-bye (then)'.

A phrase like 'I want to go now'
This phrase was very negatively evaluated. Only 10% selected it and very many respondents claimed they would never use it, as it was impolite. Still, one person wrote it was used sometimes with parents and another added it could be used in a very informal situation. The only example that was provided, *Mennem kell!* 'I have to go', was not the exact counterpart of the English gloss provided in the SICS questionnaire.

A phrase like 'I have to go now, I have something else to do'
Very many respondents (75%) chose this option although some of them found the 'I have something else to do' component impolite and suggested it should be preceded with an apology. Still, many assessed the phrase as typical, informal and to be used with friends. The Hungarian counterpart as provided by the subjects was *(Most) mennem kell, annyi/más/sok dolgom van.* 'I must go (now), I have so many/different/a lot of things to do'.

A phrase like 'It's already late now'
About half of the subjects (53.5 %) chose this phrase; some participants assessed it as informal and there were some who claimed it was rare. There were quite a few examples provided, like *Már későre jár!* 'It's already getting late!' *Hú, már ennyi az idő?* 'Oh, is it so late?' *Hogy elszaladt az idő!* 'The time has passed so quickly!'. It is important to observe that the examples were not merely neutral statements of fact but expressed an emotion of surprise, which increased the mitigating potential of these expressions.

A phrase like 'I don't want to bother you any longer'
This phrase was very often selected (72.5%) and a number of participants commented that it was frequently used, informal, typical, polite or even over-polite. Many examples were provided, the common pattern being *Nem (is) akarlak (tovább) feltartani/ zavarni.* 'I don't (even) want to hold you up /disturb you (any longer)'.

A phrase like 'We've already talked for too long'
This phase was rarely chosen (10%) and there was one remark that it was used when talking to a teacher or an elderly person. The Hungarian example was *Már így is túl sokáig beszéltünk.* 'We have talked for too long anyway'.

Say what they have to do now (if there really is something)
Many participants (70%) selected this option and characterized it as informal and frequent. The participants provided a few examples, for instance (*Sajnos) most mennem kell (a gyerekért).* '(Unfortunately) I have to go (to fetch my child').

Invent a reason
37.5 % of the subjects opted for this strategy. Some of them claimed it was rare, others wrote it was frequent and typical. Some participant commented that it was used in situations that were difficult and that an invented reason functioned as a white lie in order to avoid hurting the other person. The only provided example was the following: *Ne haragudj, de most mennem kell.* 'I'm sorry but I have to go now'.

Other means
The participants provided many examples of how they would end a conversation. All of them contained face-oriented strategies, such as an expression of hope or wish for a future meeting with H and a wish of something pleasant or good for H, as in *Na jól van, jó legyél, akkor*

majd holnap találkozunk. 'OK then, be good, we'll see each other tomorrow then'; *Majd beszélünk, hívjál majd.* 'We will talk later, call me then'; *Na, jól van, akkor sok sikert ...hez/ jó szórakozást ...hez.* 'OK then, I wish you a lot of success in …/have a lot of fun … ing'. One participant commented that in formal situations mostly the rank decided who should initiate a conversational ending and let the other person go.

6.2 How Others React to Attempts to End a Conversation

The final issue was whether the other person would immediately let S go or whether they would try and persuade him/her first. Interestingly, the difference between the two choices was not very big as 57.5% selected the first option and 47.5% chose the second.

Concerning the first option, some participants claimed that it occurred with friends who understood why S had to go or when the other participant also wanted to take leave. Some examples of letting the other off the hook were provided, for instance *Persze, menj csak, nekem is mennem kell.* 'Sure, off you go, I also have to go', or *Hát, rendben, akkor majd találkozunk.* 'Well, all right, so we will meet some time later'.

The second option was explicitly linked with politeness. The participants wrote that it was used because of politeness, to show good manners and to demonstrate that we enjoyed the other person's company. Many participants stated that it depended on a situation and on the relationship between the parties (age, sex, degree of familiarity, being in a hurry, etc.). There were also some examples of what to say when we wanted to make the other stay, for instance *Biztos, hogy már menned kell?* 'Are you sure that you have to go?' *Ó, van még idő.* 'Oh, there is still time'.

7. Summary of Findings

A brief summary of the main findings may be useful in order to get an overall picture of what can be known at that stage about Hungarian communicative style.

Section A: Starting a Conversation demonstrated that Hungarian T/non-T system of address is, on the one hand, highly sensitive to and determined by multiple contextual factors, such as age or degree of familiarity, on the other hand, it almost always can be subject to negotiation between interactants. Although the participants did not explicitly comment on the difference between two V-forms, *maga* and *ön*, it was *ön* that was assessed as polite and much more often selected in contexts requiring politeness. These findings support earlier research on two V-forms in Hungarian. Responses to telephone calls displayed a wide range of available patterns, the workplace responses being more complex and more explicitly oriented to the requirements of politeness. Although further research is needed, the 'Can I help you' phrase in institutional telephone calls most probably emerged only after the change of political regime in Hungary and its use can be limited to certain types of institutions.

The analysis of **Section B: Keeping Up a Conversation** showed that small talk was most common in situations related to waiting and traveling on public transport, in other words, it happened in such places or during such events where strangers were engaged in some common activity or experience. The fact that very many places and events were mentioned where small talk was not expected is complementary with the remarks in the data that in Hungary it is not most typical of strangers to engage in small talk. It seems that in case of strangers keeping distance is often expected and the distinction between familiar and unfamiliar participants is important for Hungarian speakers. It is interesting to observe that both the list of common small talk topics and the list of taboo topics are very rich in content,

with some overlap in topics concerning politics. Further research in that area may be useful to explore such issues as cultural values or attitudes.

The responses to **Section C: Being Nice in a Conversation** revealed that in Hungarian presenting your opinion most often follows a simple argumentative pattern: 'first you give your opinion, and then you give reasons related to the issue' although the participants were quite aware of the importance of various contextual factors. Also, the vast majority of the participants claimed that in Hungarian an invitation or an offer were uttered and interpreted as sincere and not merely polite.

In **Section D: Getting Around Very Uncomfortable Topics**, many SICS refusal patterns were selected with high frequency, with the exception of long and invented excuses. In the participants' comments the most often mentioned factors were social distance (friends vs. strangers) and the perceived politeness of given strategies. Some participants added politeness elements to their responses, such as an apology or thanks. As for disagreements, an abrupt 'No' was rarely chosen and was assessed as quite impolite, although a direct disagreement (e.g. 'I disagree') was evaluated as acceptable. Implicit disagreements, such as 'I think you have to think about this again', were rarely selected and they were assessed as not typical of Hungarian speakers. Also, remaining silent was considered too ambivalent and impolite. It seems that politeness, facework or indirectness were more expected or required in case of refusals, while disagreements were expected to be performed more directly.

Responses to **Section E: Ending a Conversation** showed that when saying good bye longer and face-oriented formulas were preferred to short, abrupt ones. It seems that the most authentic closing formulas were given in the 'other means' part of the task. My Hungarian participants found it equally appropriate to let their interlocutor go and to try to persuade him/her to stay, although both choices were context-bound and only the second option was linked to politeness.

8. Concluding Remarks

The study of Hungarian communicative style with the help of a written semi-expert interview on communicative strategies (SICS) has provided interesting insights into the participants' choices, preferences and motivations. On the one hand, it was possible to identify those communicative strategies that were most preferred in particular contexts; on the other hand, it appeared there were hardly any communicative strategies that were rendered as absolutely impossible.

There was often no perfect agreement among the participants concerning the usage of particular communicative strategies, which supports the view that linguistic communities are not homogeneous and that speakers have their own idiosyncratic norms of usage. Still, it may have partly resulted from little contextual information in the SICS questionnaire: different participants 'filled in' the missing context differently and activated different contextual constraints.

The participants' responses as well as their metacomments and assessments displayed the importance of external norms and demonstrated that age, status and social distance were powerful factors constraining linguistic choices. Still, the norms could often be subject to negotiation, in particular when other interpersonal dimensions were evoked such as affect, degree of friendship, length of contact or sharing a common goal. Also, the examples provided by the participants demonstrated very strongly the need for and the importance of face-oriented strategies and politeness. To sum, linguistic choices were systematically adapted

to communicative needs of participants in context.
Further research that would target different social groups and use natural data would be needed to verify the results of the present study.

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A Few Notes on Conversational Patterns in Estonia

Abstract

Informants of a semi-expert interview on communicative strategies (SICS) have shown that Estonians use a communicative style that could be termed "fact style". This is shown in the addressing behavior, where the informal address pronoun is used only after a lengthy period of time (except with relatives). It can also be observed that Estonians do not practice small talk with strangers very much and rather prefer silence, even in business situations. There is no general agreement on accepted and unaccepted small talk topics. In argumentative contexts, Estonians typically firstly say their opinion and secondly give reasons related to the issue. If someone offers help or makes an invitation, this is sincere and not just a politeness formula. To turn down an invitation or offer Estonians predominantly use a vague excuse or a concrete brief and true excuse. To show disagreement the pattern "Yes, I see what you mean, but I think that ..." is very frequent. The quite direct phrase "I have to go now, I have something else to do" is the salient phrase to initiate the end of a conversation. In sum, Estonians pursue the maxim "Don't talk too much, but if you have or want to talk, say it truthfully and directly." In Grice's terminology: the maxims of manner and of quality are highly respected; in Brown and Levinson's terminology: Estonians would rather favor bald on-record strategies over other strategies.

Sommaire

Grace à des informants d'un "semi-expert interview on communicative strategies" (SICS) on peut montrer que les Estoniens se servent d'un style de communication que l'on pourrait dénoter "style de faits" ou "style factitif". Ceci s'expresse dans la manière de s'adresser à autrui en utilisant le pronom formel "vous"; le pronom d'adresse informel n'est utilisé qu'après une assez longue période (exception faite des conversations avec des parents). On peut également observer que les Estoniens ne font pas beaucoup de "small talk" avec les personnes étrangères, même lors des situations professionnelles. Il n'y a pas de conventions en ce qui concerne l'acceptabilité ou l'inacceptabilité des sujets de "small talk". Dans les contextes argumentatifs, les Estoniens ont tendance à d'abord présenter leur opinion et ensuite les arguments relatifs au sujet. Si quelqu'un vous offre de l'aide ou vous invite chez soi, ceci est sincère et non pas seulement une formule de politesse. Si un Estonien ne veut pas accepter une invitation ou une offre, il donne, généralement, soit une vague excuse, soit une concrète excuse brève et vraie. Pour exprimer que l'on est d'un autre avis, le type "Oui, je comprends ce que tu me dis mais je pense que..." est très prominent. La phrase "Il faut que je parte maintenant, j'ai autre chose à faire", phrase assez directe, est la phrase saillante quand on veut initier la fin de la conversation. En somme, les Estoniens respectent la maxime "Ne parle pas trop, mais si tu dois ou si tu veux parler, dis-le de manière sincère et directe." Utilisant les termes de Grice: ce sont les maximes de manière et celle de la qualité que les Estoniens respectent le plus; avec Brown/Levinson: les Estoniens préfèrent des stratégies "bald on-record" à d'autres stratégies.

Zusammenfassung

Mittels "semi-expert interviews on communicative strategies" (SICS) kann dargestellt werden, dass Esten sich eines Gesprächsstils bedienen, der als "Tatsachen-Stil" bezeichnet werden könnte. Dies zeigt sich im Anredeverhalten, da man zum informellen Anredepronomen außerhalb des Familien- und Verwandtenkreises erst nach langer Zeit übergeht. Es lässt sich auch beobachten, dass Esten mit Fremden kaum Small Talk betreiben, sondern Stille bevorzugen, selbst in Geschäftssituationen. Es gibt keine allgemein gültigen erlaubten oder unerlaubten Small-Talk-Themen. In argumentativen Kontexten sagen Esten typischerweise zunächst ihre Meinung und liefern dann themenbezogene Gründe. Wenn jemand Hilfe anbietet oder eine Einladung ausspricht, ist dies ernst gemeint und nicht nur eine Höflichkeitsfloskel. Um eine Einladung oder ein Angebot abzulehnen, verwenden Esten hauptsächlich eine vage Entschuldigung oder eine konkrete knappe und wahrheitsgemäße Entschuldigung. Um eine andere Meinung auszudrücken, ist die Formel "Ja, ich verstehe, was du meinst, aber ich denke, dass..." sehr prominent. Die recht direkte Formel "Ich muss jetzt gehen, ich habe etwas anderes zu tun" ist die bevorzugte Phrase, um das Ende eines Gespräches einzuleiten. Das Gesprächsverhalten von Esten lässt sich fassen in der Maxime "Rede nicht zu viel, aber wenn Du reden musst oder willst, sage etwas wahrheitsgemäß und direkt." Mit Grice gesprochen: es werden die Maxime der Art und Weise und die Maxime der Qualität geschätzt. In der Terminologie von Brown/Levinson: Esten ziehen "bald on-record"-Strategien anderen Strategien vor.

1. Background

Based on existing literature of various kind, a first attempt of an encompassing contrast of communicative strategies, or speech-act realization patterns, was set up by Grzega (2006: 193-254). It also included some remarks on the communicative behavior in Estonia. Since 2008 is the European Year of Intercultural Dialog, since broad cross-cultural contrasts on a common data-eliciting basis are absent[1], and since empirical studies on Estonian speech acts are still not that frequent[2], this is the perfect opportunity to continue to fill this gap. This study forms part of a larger project that aims at writing a European "language guide", with respect to a number of communicative situations that would allow readers to see contrasts and similarities between Europeans. The communicative tasks or speech acts that we will shed light on are addressing, answering the phone, small talk, giving arguments, making and turning down an offer, and ending a conversation.

As an alternative to the two methods that have become common in collecting empirical data for speech-act analysis, the *discourse completion task* (DCT) and the *metapragmatic judgement task* (MPJT) (cf. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989 and Hinkel 1997), a new method is used. In a DCT informants, after being presented with the description of a dialogic situation, have to complete a dialog. However, this way the researcher only gets the most typical answer that comes to an individual's mind. Therefore, the metapragmatic judgment test (MPJT) has been invented as a supplementary method. In a MPJT all answers gathered in a preceding DCT are listed, and informants are asked to rank the adequateness of the answers. Both methods also require a large amount of informants. Since the *JELiX* editors' aim is a more general and more abstract one, they have designed an alternative data-eliciting method that also requires fewer informants than in a DCT and MPJT: the semi-expert interview on communicative strategies (SICS). Such an interview, in form of a questionnaire, asks informants not for their own personal communicative behavior and judgement, but for the typical linguistic behavior in their nation, as told from the perspective of someone who has to describe it to a foreigner. Informants are regarded as semi-experts due to their experience within, and observation of, the community. This will especially be true of people who have to do with language professionally (such as students of language, linguists, journalists); they should therefore be preferred as informants. While a DCT presents a situation and asks for one's typical behavior, the SICS presents typical situations and asks for possible and impossible behavior. The informant can both select from a list of communicative patterns and convey additional patterns. This way a SICS resembles more a MPJT, but it requires from the informants reflection on a more abstracting and generalizing level.

2. Data Collection

A sample of the SICS questionnaire can be found in the introductory article to this special issue of *JELiX* (Grzega/Schöner 2008). The questionnaire was translated into Estonian and distributed to philology students in Estonia by Mari Mets and Kristiina Praakli. We got back 8

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[1] The Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) included "only" 6 languages (cf. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989).

[2] But see, e.g., on terms of address the contribution by Keevallik 1999, on family and peer conversations the contributions by Tulviste, De Geer and their partners [Junefelt/Tulviste 1997, De Geer/Tulviste 2002, Tulviste et al. 2002, De Geer et al. 2002, Tulviste/Mizera/De Geer 2004, De Geer/Tulviste 2005], on student-teacher interaction the contribution by Strandson 2007, on internet communication the contribution by Kuldnokk 2002, on sales encounters the contribution by Vellerind 2000, on phone conversations the contributions by Rääbis 2000 & 2001 & 2004 & 2007, Keevallik 2005, Eskor 2007, as well as on a more general level Kivik 1998.

questionnaires, which were not all filled out completely, though. This is definitely not a large number. However, due to the fact that the questionnaire does not ask for people's personal behavior, but for what they as linguistically trained people can observe as normal, or normative, in their speech community, we can already try to draw a first sketch of Estonian speech-act realizations—especially since the informants come from different regions of the country. Seven of the informants were female, one was male; their ages varied from 22 to 30.

3. Results

3.1. Section A: Starting a Conversation

As a general rule, Estonians avoid addressing someone by his or her name (cf. Keevallik 2005: 206ff.). The choice of pronoun is therefore the most important indicator of the relationship between the two interlocutors. Like most other Europeans, Estonians have an informal and a formal address pronoun (a T-form and a V-form in Brown and Gilman's 1960 terminology), and like many other Europeans, Estonians take the pronoun of the second person plural as their formal pronoun. Thus, they make a distinction between *sina* (T-form) and *teie* (V-form). What about the distribution of these pronouns?

(1) All informants agreed that children would use the T-form to address their parents.
(2) It is also quite usual that children address older relatives by T, but two informants also noted that sometimes V is used.
(3) When addressing administration officials, people use V.
(4) Depending on personal agreements, the reciprocal/symmetrical use of T and V can be observed for the other situations asked for in the questionnaire, i.e.
   - colleagues at work among each other
   - employees to employer
   - employer to employees
   - pupils to teacher
   - teacher to pupils
   - business partners among each other
   - clerks to customers in a store
   - customers to clerks in a store
   - people to strangers in the street

   However, people might take a comparatively long period of time before they agree to switch to T-forms (cf. also Keevallik [1999, 2005: 205ff.]). But there are also indications that universal T has started to spread (cf. also Laanem 1999, Keevallik 2005: 206).

In addition to this, there were some fixed 3rd person address forms such as *proua* 'Mrs.', *preili* 'Miss' and *härra* 'Mr.', mostly used in service encounters. These could be seen as a post-Soviet feature consciously used to mark a definite break with the 'comrade' but it has almost disappeared by now.

As to telephone openings[3] in private situations, *Jaa* 'Yeah!' and *Halloo!* are common. Using the name is unusual (cf., e.g., also Rääbis 2000, Keevallik 2005: 207) and so is the use of the phone number[4]. Sometimes, the pattern "first name + 'listens'" is used. Telephone calls in business situations are normally answered with the name of the company. Depending on the position and function of the person called, the first name and/or last name may be added. When the function of the person called is rather one of "customer service", then the pure first

[3] The classical studies on phone conversations that many other studies relate to are the ones by Schegloff (1979) and Hopper (1992).

[4] The use of names is generally infrequent; even among family members kinship terms are preferred (e.g. 'my child' (cf. Keevallik 2005: 208)).

name seems to be preferred after the name of the company.

We have also asked our Estonian informants how they answer the mobile phone. The most common phrase is *Jaa!* 'Yeah!'. Sometimes *Hallo* is used. The loan phrase *Ciao* can be heared among the younger generations. Additional elements may be the first name plus "listens". If you recognize the number, you may also immediately address the caller by his or her first name with a format greeting + name. If it is an unfamiliar number you use first plus last name.

3.2. Section B: Keeping Up a Conversation

This section focussed on small talk behavior. By small talk we understand everything that is not the greeting, the closing and leave-taking phase and the proper motive for the conversation (cf. also Malinowski 1923, Laver 1975, Ventola 1979). In what situations is small talk common, or even required, in Estonia? There seem to be no very strict, unanimous rules. Half of the informants find small talk common "during a meal (when at the same table)", three mentioned "on public transportation means (when the ride takes several hours)". Other suggestions were made only once or twice. With the reverse question, in what situations it is not common to start small talk (but to remain silent), there was not any common answer either: four people claimed that it is not common in the elevator, three said that it is not common in public toilets (unless there is a long line). All other suggestions were made only once or twice. In general, though, it can be observed that, in contrast to many other Europeans, Estonians do not practice small talk with strangers very much and rather prefer silence. There is no general obligation to do small talk at all, not even in business situations (therefore also the answers as to the degree of small talk in private and business conversations varied). In communication, Estonians obviously focus more on content than on relationships (cf. also Keevallik 2005).

Regarding the things to talk about in small talk, we again find no generally accepted habits. The following topics were considered as adequate for small talk by the majority of the informants: the weather and politics/politicians. Other topics were only mentioned by a minority of the informants. Considering the informants additional comments, it can be said that Estonians rather prefer topics related to the situation, not so much topics related to their person (unless the topic connects both interlocutors).

As there are no norms for the selection of topics, there are also no norms for the avoidance of topics. Even the topics suggested in the SICS questionnaire—religion, politics, money, hobbies—were not unanimously mentioned as taboo topics. Money was mentioned by 5 and religion by 3 informants, but some hedged their answer with a "maybe, possibly".

3.3. Section C: Being Nice in a Conversation

According to the majority of the informants, Estonians typically present their opinion on a topic by firstly saying their opinion and secondly giving reasons related to the issue itself. 6 informants found this strategy present in Estonia, although one person termed it rare. In addition, each of the following strategies was thought present in Estonia by two of the informants:

- 1: you say your opinion – 2: you give reasons, citing other persons
- 1: you give background information, citing others – 2: you say your opinion
- 1: you give issue-related background information – 2: you say your opinion
- bit by bit: 1: you say your opinion on aspect A – 2: you give issue-related reasons for this – 3: you say your opinion on aspect B – 4: you give issue-related reasons for this

In a further question, the informants were asked whether invitations or offers made by an interlocutor can reasonably be assumed to be honest or to be just a politeness phrase. With this question, the SICS aims at finding out about the presence of ostensible invitations (cf. Isaacs/Clark 1990) and similar phenomena. All informants agreed that if someone offers you help, this offer is sincere; all but one informant also said that if someone invites a person, the addressee can interpret this as a true invitation.

3.4. Section D: Getting Around Very Uncomfortable Topics

Item #9 in the SICS read: "If people want to turn down an offer or an invitation, what kinds of linguistic means are used to say "no" in a polite way in your nation?" Luckily, the informants commented their selection of strategies with the labels "usually" (or unmarked), "quite often", "sometimes" and "rarely". If we convert these labels into points from 4 to 1 and multiply them with the corresponding number of ticks, then we get the following picture (p. = points):

25 p.	a vague excuse like "No, I don't have time." or "No, I have something else to do."
24 p.	a concrete brief and true excuse (if there is one)
15 p.	a phrase like "I will have to think about it", though you won't surely contact the person again
13 p.	a phrase like "(I don't know yet) I'll let you know", though you will surely not contact the person again
9 p.	a concrete brief and invented excuse (if there is no concrete true excuse)
9 p.	a concrete long and true excuse (if there is one)
6 p.	a direct phrase that means "No, I don't feel like going there/doing X."
4 p.	a concrete long and invented excuse (if there is no concrete true excuse)

So a vague excuse or a concrete brief and true excuse are clearly seen as the dominant, common, normal strategies to turn down an offer.

Item #10 showed the question "If people disagree with somebody else's opinion, what kinds of linguistic (and non-linguistic) means are used to say "no" in a polite way in your nation?" If we convert the labels "usually" (or unmarked), "quite often", "sometimes", "rarely/not too often" into points from 4 to 1 again and multiply them with the respective number of ticks, then we get the following results:

32 p.	a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but I think that ..."
22 p.	people just make a disapproving look
22 p.	a direct "No"
21 p.	people just shake their heads
21 p.	people just say nothing at all and remain silent
17 p.	a phrase like "(No), I disagree.", "(No), I have a different opinion."
14 p.	a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but wouldn't you also think that ..."
12 p.	people just smile
5 p.	never the word "No"
3 p.	a phrase like "I think you have to think about this again."
2 p.	a phrase like "I think we have to think about this again."

One informant also added the phrase "Are you sure that...?" as a strategy. However, viewing our informants' answers, we can state that the pattern "Yes, I see what you mean, but I think that ..." is clearly seen as predominant in Estonia to voice disagreement. For the five strategies getting 22 or 21 points, we can say that they are used at least among some social groups in Estonia. As to the strategy of just smiling, there is an interesting disagreement, since 2 people considered this form as usual, 2 informants as rare, and 1 person even stated that this strategy is never used. This strategy must therefore be interpreted as very group-restricted.

3.5. Section E: Ending a Conversation

Since there are no specific useable cross-cultural studies on ending a conversation[5], the SICS questionnaire had particularly included also this part of a conversation—if people do not know how to close a conversation, this could also be embarassing for one of the interlocutors, or even both. Therefore the SICS raised the question "what do people say to show that they want to end a conversation?". Here the only label beside the default label was the label "rarely". If we interpret the unmarked answers as "usual" again and count this as 2 and if we count "rarely" as 1, then we get the following results:

16 p.	a phrase like "I have to go now, I have something else to do"
13 p.	say what they have to do now (if there really is something)
12 p.	a phrase like "I don't want to bother you any longer"
11 p.	a simple "Ok, good-bye now"
8 p.	a phrase like "We've already talked for too long"
6 p.	invent a reason
6 p.	a phrase like "It's already late now"
2 p.	a phrase like "I want to go now"

Transferred into words this means that all informants agreed that the quite direct phrase "I have to go now, I have something else to do" is the predominant phrase to initiate the closure of a conversation. One informant added that this is only said if it is actually true. All the patterns that got 13, 12 and 11 points seem frequently used. One informant remarked that a phrase expressing "I don't want to bother you any longer" is used especially on the phone.

After this question the next logical item was to ask for the interlocutor's reaction. Here the answers were very mixed—3 people said the other person lets you go immediately, 4 said the other person would first try to persuade you to stay. It should be noted, though, that four of the informants gave special comments, saying that the reaction depended on the interlocutor, the situation and the topic. So there seems to be no general form in this slot of the script.

4. Summary

Taken all observations into account the communicative "stage direction" that Estonians seem to cling to could be rendered like this: "Don't talk too much, but if you have or want to talk, say it truthfully and directly." These observations agree with what has already been illustrated also with other speech acts, e.g. the rare use of compliments (cf. Keevallik 2005: 209). In Grice's terminology the maxims of manner and of quality are highly respected; in Brown and Levinson's terminology Estonians would rather favor bald on-record strategies and negative politeness strategies over other strategies. Estonians use a communicative style that could also be termed "fact style".

[5] Unfortunately the study by Otterstedt (1993) is full of factual mistakes. The first study to analyze closing strategies is the one by Schegloff/Sacks (1973).

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A Few Notes on Conversational Patterns in Finland

Abstract

7 Finnish informants were queried in a semi-expert interview on communication strategies. Apart from addressing and telephone greetings, informants were asked on small talk, giving arguments, making and turning down an offer, and ending a conversation. From this the conclusion can be drawn the basic principle in Finnish conversations is "Keep it short and simple". Finns seem to keep turns in conversation short, they even seem to keep the whole conversation as short as possible. The choice of strategies seems rather driven by formal than by semantic motives.

Sommaire

7 Finlandais ont été interrogés dans le cadre d'un « semi-expert interview on communicative strategies » (SICS). Outre l'adresse et la salutation au téléphone, les personnes interrogées ont été interrogées sur le Small Talk, l'argumentation, la pronociation et la déclination d'une offerte et sur la fin d'une conversation. On peut en conclure que le principe principal d'une communication finnoise est le suivant : « Reste bref et simple ». Les Finlandais semblent préférer les conversations les plus courtes que possible. Le choix des stratégies dépend plutôt de motives formelles que de motives sémantiques.

Zusammenfassung

7 finnische Informanten wurden mittels eines "semi-expert interview on communication strategies" befragt. Neben Anrede und Telefongrußformel wurden die Informanten zu Small Talk, Argumentieren, Aussprechen und Ablehnen von Angeboten und Beenden eines Gesprächs befragt. Daraus kann die Schlussfolgerung gezogen werden, dass das Grundprinzip finnischer Gespräch ist: "Halte es knapp und einfach". Finnen scheinen Gesprächsanteile und sogar das ganze Gespräch so knapp wie möglich zu halten. Die Wahl von Kommunikationsstrategien erfolgt eher aus formalen denn aus semantischen Motiven heraus.

1. Background

A first cross-cultural pragmatic description of Europe was composed by Grzega (2006: 193-254). It was predominantly based on existing literature and also included some remarks on communicative patterns in Finland. With 2008 being the European Year of Intercultural Dialog, with the virtual lack of broad cross-cultural contrasts on a common data-eliciting basis[1], and with the low number of empirical studies on Finnish speech acts[2], this is a good occasion to continue to fill this gap in the studies of language use. This study is part of a larger Euro-pragmatic project that shall elucidate contrasts and similarities in the communicative behavior of Europeans. The communicative aspects that we will deal with are addressing, answering the phone, small talk, giving arguments, making and turning down an offer, and ending a conversation.

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[1] The Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) included "only" 6 languages (cf. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989) (among these only 3 European languages, viz. British English, Danish, German).

[2] We only find the following studies published in English: on requesting behavior the contributions by Yli-Jokipii (1996) and Peterson (2004), on answering Yes/No questions the contributions the studies by Sorjonen (1999, 2001), on complimenting the study by Ylänne-McEwen (1993), on face attack in public speeches the contribution by Muikku-Werner (1994), on classroom directives the study by Dalton-Puffer and Nikula (2006), on family and peer conversations the contributions by Tulviste, De Geer and their partners [Tulviste et al. 2002, De Geer et al. 2002, Tulviste/Mizera/De Geer 2004].

As an alternative to the common ways of collecting empirical data for speech-act analysis, the *discourse completion task* (DCT) and the *metapragmatic judgement task* (MPJT) (cf. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989 and Hinkel 1997), the *JELiX* editors have designed an alternative data-eliciting method that also requires fewer informants than in a DCT or MPJT: the semi-expert interview on communicative strategies (SICS). Such an interview has informants not note down their own personal communicative behavior and judgement, but what they see as typical linguistic behavior in their nation. Informants are regarded as semi-experts due to their experience within, and observation of, the community. This is particularly true of people dealing with language professionally (such as students of language, linguists, journalists); they are therefore preferred as informants. Whereas a DCT introduces a situation and asks for the informant's typical behavior, the SICS presents typical situations and asks for possible and impossible linguistic formulas in the informant's nation. The informant can both choose from a list of communicative strategies and/or give additional strategies. This way a SICS is more like a MPJT, but the informants are forced to reflect on a more abstracting and generalizing level.

2. Data Collection

A sample of the SICS is available in the introductory article to this special issue of *JELiX* (Grzega/Schöner 2008). The questionnaire was distributed to linguistic semi-experts in Finland[3]. We got back 7 questionnaires (by 5 women and 2 men, between 24 and 62 years old). This is definitely not a large number. However, due to the fact that the questionnaire does not ask for people's personal behavior, but for what they, as linguistically experienced people, can view as typical in their speech community, we can already cautiously draw a first picture of Finnish speech-act realizations.

3. Results

3.1. Section A: Starting a Conversation

Like most other Europeans, Finns have an informal and a formal address pronoun (a T-form and a V-form according to Brown and Gilman's 1960 nomenclature). They differentiate between *sinä* (also *sä* in colloquial speech)/*se* and *te*. The form *sinä* (or more colloquial *sä*) is the pronoun of the 2nd sg., *se* is a pronoun of the 3rd sg. ('it'), *te* is the form of the 2nd pl. Two informants also mentioned *hän*, actually a pronoun for the third person singular ('he, she'), as a possible formal address pronoun in some dialects. How are these pronouns distributed?

(1) All informants agreed that children would use the T-form to address their parents and elder relatives.
(2) All informants agreed that colleagues would use T among each other.
(3) In exchanges between employers and employees both T and V seem common.
(4) Teachers always use T to address their students. And this is frequently done reciprocally, i.e. students also address their teacher with T. However, one informant claimed that V is also common.
(5) When addressing administration officials, people use V.
(6) Both T and V are used, but T is slightly more dominant also in the other situations asked for in the questionnaire, i.e.
    - business partners among each other
    - clerks to customers in a store
    - customers to clerks in a store

[3] We would like to thank Helena Kangasharju for her support in distributing the SICS.

- people to strangers in the street

In a way, you use T with all people you meet on a daily basis. In general, however, according to Yli-Vakkuri (2005), it is more common to avoid direct reference to an addressee; instead, many Finns use a "4th person", or stress on the topic of conversations, e.g. a Hamburger waitress's question *Syödäänkö täällä vai tuleeko tää mukaan?* '[Will the food be] eaten here or [will it be] taken away?'.

Concerning telephone openings[4] in private contexts, saying one's last name or first plus last name and the pattern "At [family name], [first name] speaking" are common. In business contexts the only required element seems one's own name, but using the company's name in addition to that is also very typical. To a certain degree an additional phrase of the type "How can I help you?" is used, too. The choice of the formula will depend, e.g, on a company's rules and on the position of the person answering the phone.

3.2. Section B: Keeping Up a Conversation

Section B of the SICS focussed on small talk. Small talk can be understood as all phases of a talk that are not the greeting, the closing and leave-taking phase and the proper motive for the conversation (cf. also Malinowski 1923, Laver 1975, Ventola 1979). In what situations is small talk common, or even required, in Finland? There seem to be no clear-cut rules that the community has agreed on. It is only agreed that small talk is never required. This confirms Yli-Vakkuri's observation (2005: 201): "Finns are seldom the first to speak in unfamiliar company"; however, "there is a clear distinction between the Eastern Finnish spontaneous and the Western Finnish reserved speech culture". With the reverse question, in what situations it is not common to start small talk (but to remain silent), there wasn't any common answer either.

Regarding the things to talk about in small talk, all informants agreed that the weather is a common small talk topic. The following topics were considered as adequate for small talk by at least 5 of the informants: (recent) political events, general complaint about politics/politicians, American TV programs. A typical taboo topic for small talk is money—at least according to 5 of the informants.

The distribution of small talk in business and private conversations is a little unclear. For 6 informants small talk is at least not more prominent in private talk than in business talk.

3.3. Section C: Being Nice in a Conversation

According to 6 informants, Finns typically present their opinion on a topic by firstly saying their opinion and secondly giving reasons related to the issue itself. Five informants said you just say your opinion without any further elaboration on that.[5]

In the next question, the informants were queried if invitations or offers made by someone can reasonably be interpreted as honest or as a simple politeness phrase (e.g. as an "ostensible invitation" [Isaacs/Clark 1990]). The informants' estimation didn't lead to a clear picture: 6 claimed that you can reasonably interpret this as an honest offer, 5 said that it is more typically just a politeness phrase.

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[4] The classical studies on phone conversations that many other studies relate to are the ones by Schegloff (1979) and Hopper (1992).

[5] For a study of argumentative strategies vs. non-argumentative structures in dyadic computer chat dabates cf. Laurinen/Marttunen (2007). The result of the study is that most students embedded short collaborative semi-oral utterances in their written arguments to provoke and scaffold the debate.

3.4. Section D: Getting Around Very Uncomfortable Topics

The next question in the SICS asked for the kinds of linguistic means that are used to say "no" in a polite way if people want to turn down an offer or an invitation. Mostly, the informants commented their selection of strategies with the labels "very frequently", "frequently, often, usually" (or unmarked), "sometimes" and "rarely". If we convert these labels into points from 4 to 1 and multiply them with the corresponding number of ticks, then we get the following picture (p. = points):

points	persons having ticked at least "sometimes"	number and type of strategy listed in the SICS
23	7	(2) a vague excuse like "No, I don't have time." or "No, I have something else to do."
18	6	(3) a phrase like "(I don't know yet) I'll let you know", though you will surely not contact the person again
18	6	(4) a phrase like "I will have to think about it", though you won't surely contact the person again
17	6	(5) a concrete brief and true excuse (if there is one)
12	5	(7) a concrete long and true excuse (if there is one)

No other pattern was categorized as at least "sometimes" by at least 5 informants. So a vague excuse is clearly the dominant, common, normal way to turn down an offer.

Item #10 consisted of the question of what kinds of linguistic (and non-linguistic) means are used to say "no" in a polite way if people disagree with somebody else's opinion. If we convert the labels "very frequently", "frequently, often, usually" (or unmarked), "sometimes" and "rarely" into points from 4 to 1 again and multiply them with the respective number of ticks, then we get the following results:

points	persons having ticked at least "sometimes"	number and type of strategy listed in the SICS
24	7	(1) a direct "No"
18	6	(6) a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but I think that ..."
17	6	(3) a phrase like "(No), I disagree.", "(No), I have a different opinion."
17	6	(8) people just say nothing at all and remain silent
16	7	(9) people just shake their heads
15	5	(11) people just make a disapproving look

No other pattern was categorized as at least "sometimes" by at least 5 informants. The preference of the quite direct answers do not confirm Yli-Vakkuri's (2005: 201) claim that Finns "seldom start arguing or disagreeing with other's opinion; rather, they acquiesce, remain silent or change the subject".

3.5. Section E: Ending a Conversation

As there are no useable cross-cultural studies on ending a conversation, the SICS

questionnaire particularly raised the question "what do people say to show that they want to end a conversation?". If we convert the labels "very frequently", "frequently, often, usually" (or unmarked), "sometimes" and "rarely" into points from 4 to 1 again and multiply them with the respective number of ticks, then we get the following results:

points	persons having ticked at least "sometimes"	number and type of strategy listed in the SICS
23	7	(3) a phrase like "I have to go now, I have something else to do"
21	7	(4) a phrase like "It's already late now"
20	7	(7) say what they have to do now (if there really is something)
17	5	(5) a phrase like "I don't want to bother you any longer"
14	6	(8) invent a reason

No other pattern was categorized as at least "sometimes" by at least 5 informants.

The SICS also asked for an interlocutor's reaction to the initiation of this last phase of a conversation. The more typical and more unmarked behavior—according to 5 informants—is that people normally let you go.

4. Summary

In sum, we can state that the basic principle in Finnish conversations is "Keep it short and simple". People seem to keep turns in conversation short, they even seem to keep the whole conversation short. The choice of strategies as categorized by Brown and Levinson (1987) seems rather driven by formal than by semantic motives. In Grice's (1975) terms, manner seems to be the most prominent maxim.

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Survey on Some Speech-Acts in Slovakia

Abstract

With the help of 47 informants of a semi-expert interview on communicative strategies (SICS) it can be shown that Slovaks pursue the conversational maxim "Say something only, if it can be interpreted literally. Violate this maxim only if it otherwise meant a big face loss to your interlocutor". This is reflected in Slovaks' rare use of small talk, avoidance of personal small talk topics, the brief, but literally meant strategy "I don't have time" to turn down invitations/offers and the short, but literally meant expressions for disagreement, "I see what you mean, but I think that..." and "I have a different opinion." Furthermore, Slovaks give their opinion and then give reasons related to the issue (not because of certain persons). In addressing the informal pronoun is used only after a lengthy period of time (except with intensive relationships like with parents and with colleagues). We can thus also state that, in Brown and Levinson's terms, Slovaks favor negative politeness and bald on-record strategies and that, in Grice's terms, Slovaks concentrate on the maxim "Be brief" (manner) and hardly violate the maxim "Be truthful." (quality).

Sommaire

Avec l'aide de 47 personnes dans un "semi-expert interview on communicative strategies" (SICS)" on peut montrer que les Slovaques respectent la maxime "Dis quelque chose seulement si l'interlocuteur peut le prendre littéralement. Ne faille à cette maxime que si autrement cela signifiait que ton interlocuteur perdrait sa face." Ceci se reflète dans le rare usage du small talk, dans l'évitement de thèmes personnels dans le small talk, dans la stratégie brève, mais littéralement interprétable "Je n'ai pas le temps" pour refuser à des invitations/offres, dans les stratégies brèves, mais littéralement interprétables "Je comprends ce que tu veux dire, mais je pense que..." et "Je suis d'autre avis." De plus, les Slovaques disent leur opinion et puis donnent des arguments relatifs au sujet (et non à des personnes). Pour s'addresser à quelqu'un, les Slovaques n'utilisent le pronom impersonnel qu'après une assez longue période (sauf dans les relations intenses comme avec les parents et les collègues. On peut donc dire que, suivant la terminologie de Brown/Levinson, les Slovaques préfèrent les stratégies de "negative politeness" et de "bald on-record" et que, suivant la terminologie de Grice, ils se concentrent sur la maxime "Sois bref" (manière) et ne faille guère à la maxime "Sois fidèle à la vérité" (qualité).

Zusammenfassung

Mit Hilfe von 47 Informanten eines "semi-expert interview on communicative strategies" (SICS) kann gezeigt werden, dass Slovaken der Konversationsmaxime folgen "Sag etwas nur, wenn man es wörtlich interpretieren kann. Verletze diese Maxime nur, wenn sie sonst zu einem großen Gesichtsverlust deines Gesprächspartners führte." Dies spiegelt sich darin wider, dass Slovaken folgende Strategien fahren: selten Small Talk, keine persönlichen Themen im Small Talk, die kurze, aber wörtlich zu interpretierende Strategie "Ich habe keine Zeit", um Einladungen/Angebote abzulehnen und die kurzen, aber wörtliche zu interpretierenden Strategien "Ich verstehe, was du meinst, aber ich denke..." und "Ich bin anderer Meinung", um auszudrücken, dass man nicht einer Meinung ist. Darüber hinaus sagen Slovaken ihre Meinung und geben dann sachbezogene Gründe (keine personenbezogenen). In der Anrede wird das informelle Pronomen erst nach einer längeren Zeitspanne verwendet (außer bei intensiven Beziehungen wie Eltern und Arbeitskollegen). Wir können somit sagen, dass Slovaken, nach der Terminologie von Brown/Levinson, Strategien der "negative politeness" und des "bald on-record" verwenden und sich, nach der Terminologie von Grice, auf die Maxime "Sei kurz" (Art und Weise) konzentrieren und kaum die Maxime "Sei wahrheitsgemäß" (Qualität) verletzen.

1. Background

Based on a diverse set of existing qualitative and quantitative works, Grzega (2006: 193-254) drew a first cross-cultural picture of communicative strategies, or speech-act realization

patterns, in Europe and other civilizations. This also encompassed some notes on the communicative customs in Slovakia. This year, 2008, is the European Year of Intercultural Dialog. This seems an ideal occasion to start to fill a gap, as empirical studies on Slovak speech acts are nearly inexistent (there are the studies on directives by Nizníkova 1992, on salutations by Ferencík 1992 and on talk show strategies by Ferencík 2002, but Slovakia was not included in the politeness volume edited by Hickey/Stewart 2005 either[1]). This contribution is part of a larger project whose goal is to compose a European "language guide", illustrating a number of communicative situations that would enable readers to see differences and similarities within Europe. The communicative tasks or speech acts that we deal with are addressing, answering the phone, small talk, giving arguments, making and turning down an offer, expressing disagreement and ending a conversation.

In (western) linguistics two methods have become common in collecting empirical data for speech-act analysis, one is called *discourse completion task*, or *discourse completion test*, (DCT) and was developed by the group that worked on the *Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project* (CCSARP) (cf. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989), the other one is termed metapragmatic judgement task/test (MPJT) and was designed as a supplement to a DCT by Olshtain/Blum-Kulka (1984), Hinkel (1997), and others.

However, for this special issue of the *Journal for EuroLinguistiX* and for the larger project *European Communicative Strategies* (ECSTRA), the editors have designed a method they call *semi-expert interview on communicative strategies* (SICS). Such an interview, presented as a questionnaire, does not aim at getting informants' own communicative behavior and judgement, but at getting the typical linguistic behavior in the informants' nation. Informants are viewed as semi-experts due to their experience within, and observation of, the speech community. This will particularly be valid for people who deal with language on a professional level (such as students of language, linguists, journalists); they are therefore preferred as informants. Whereas a DCT presents a situation and asks for one's typical behavior, a SICS presents typical situations and asks for typical and untypical behavior. The informant can select from a list of communicative patterns as well as provide additional patterns. This way a SICS resembles more a metapragmatic judgement task (MPJT), but the informants need to reflect on a more abstract and general level.

2. Data Collection

A sample of the SICS questionnaire can be found in the introductory article to this special issue of *JELiX* (Grzega/Schöner 2008). The questionnaire (in its English version) was distributed to instructors and students at the English Department of the University of Košice, Slovakia's second-largest city. 47 questionnaires were returned (by 16 instructors and 31 students). They were filled out by 41 women and 6 men; they come from various regions, mostly from eastern Slovakia, predominantly Košice and Prešov; the informants' average age is 24.1 years (31.4 years for the instructors, 20.3 years for the students).

3. Results

When a certain strategy is seen as typical by at least 90 percent, this allows to present the

[1] Hickey/Stewart (2005) do include a study on Czech though, but, as the authors, Nekvapil and Neustupný (2005), realize themselves, things cannot be automatically transferred to Slovak. They cite Berger (1995), e.g., that "Czech differs from neighbouring languages, including Slovak, in requiring with the polite *vy* '$you_{pl.}$' a singular past participle [or past tense] (when the referent is singular), while other languages (apart from Upper Sorbian) require the plural, whether the referent is singular or plural." (Nekvapil/Neustupný 2005: 251). However, in colloquial speech many Slovak speakers also use the singular past tense form with *vy* as a formal pronoun to address one person.

respective strategy indeed as (proto)typical for the entire nation. In other cases, there seem to be group-related restrictions.

3.1. Addressing

Like most other European languages, Slovak has an informal and a formal address pronoun, namely *ty* and *vy* (a T-form and a V-form in Brown and Gilman's 1960 terminology). So, like in many other European languages, the formal pronoun is the pronoun of the 2nd person plural. The use of the 3rd plural *oni* as a formal address strategy is now outdated or restricted to rural areas. What does the distribution of these pronouns look like[2]?

1. Except for some very traditional families, T is normally used by children to address their father or mother.
2. To address older relatives, the use of *vy* (or in some cases *oni*) is much more prominent; a slight majority of the informants thought that the most typical address pronoun for addressing older relatives is *vy*, but a large number wrote that both could be used and that the choice of pronoun would depend on whether the family is traditional, on how big the age difference is and on how close the relationship is.
3. In contrast to older relatives, colleagues at work more typically use a T form at work, but the majority of informants wrote that both pronouns are common.
4. Unless personally agreed on otherwise, employees and employers address each other (reciprocally) by V.
5. V is also the most typical first choice when you address administration officials, among business partners (unless you are already close), and between customer and clerk (always unless you already know these people as close friends). V is also typical when you meet strangers in the street; but according to 9 informants you also find T, particularly, according to 6 of these 9 informants, among young people.
6. Informants almost unanimously noted that pupils address their teachers by V. Teachers, however, according to 61.7 percent of our informants, would use both T and V. 9 informants said that teachers would start addressing learners by V at high-school level, 2 informants wrote that this starts at university level, and 1 informant wrote that at high-school level there is individual choice between T and V.

3.2. Answering the Telephone

Viewing our informants' answers for openings telephone conversations[3], we can state that there is no fixed nation-wide pattern, but the use of *Haló* 'Hello', *Prosím* 'please; lit.: I ask', and the last name or a combination of these is typical, or wide-spread, in private telephone conversations. In business telephone conversations, *Dobrý deň* 'lit. Good day', the company's name and a phrase expressing 'How can I help you?' are additional potential elements when picking up the receiver in Slovakia. But again, there are no clear preferences.

3.3. Small Talk

What is "small talk" or, as Malinowski (1923) put it, phatic communion? The relation between participants in phatic communication is normally not a close one, but one of maximal distance. According to Laver (1975) small talk can have three functions: (a) avoiding silence,

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[2] The first in-depth study on the distribution of address terms was carried out by Ervin-Tripp (1974), who presented her results in the form of a "switchboard". In the following section we have tried to present the results of our study, which did not encompass all kinds of relationships, in the form of 6 summarizing observations, which seemed also more reader-friendly to us.

[3] The two classical, frequently quoted studies on telephone openings are the ones by Hopper (1992) and Schegloff (1979). They shall be listed here for the sake of completion, but are of no direct relevance to this contribution.

(b) initiating the conversation (in order to come to the actually targeted topic at a later point of time), or (c) exploring (in order to be able to "categorize" one's interlocutor). While friends can engage in small talk quite freely and deliberately, strangers have to respect certain constraints in order to be considered polite. Ventola (1979) distinguishes between topics that are direct/personal (e.g. health, looks) and those that are indirect/impersonal/situational (e.g. the weather, the latest news, the circumstances of the communicative situation). In sum, we could say that small talk is everything that is not part of the greeting phase, the leave-taking phase and the actual target topic of the conversation.

What is the situation like in Slovakia? The results are very diversified with regard to the first question: "In what situations is small talk common, or even required?". Not a single situation was named by over 50 percent of the informants. The explanation for this is evident through several additional remarks. Six times informants wrote that small talk is nowhere required in Slovakia, six informants wrote that small talk is not common, four more wrote that small talk is not common with strangers, five people wrote that it is predominantly elderly people that use small talk and one said that it is rather used in rural areas. This makes it clear why there are no salient small talk situations. And this also explains why there are no salient answers for the next question: "In what situations is it not common to start small talk?". In reference to Laver (1975) we could then say that if small talk is not common with strangers, the exploratory function is virtually absent in Slovak small talk. Even if no single answer to these two questions was named by more than half of the informants, it might nonetheless be interesting to list those situations that were given by more than a third of the informants:

1. According to at least one third of the informants, small talk is common in waiting rooms and during a meal.
2. According to at least one third of the informants, small talk is not common at the toilet.

The very diversified picture continues with the other questions on small talk. "What are common small talk topics in your nation if you're not talking to a close friend or relative?" Only one topic was given by more than half of the informants (74.5%), namely the weather. Still more than one third of the informants gave recent political events and the general complaint about politics/politicians as widely acceptable topics for small talk. The only topic that was considered taboo for small talk by more than 50 percent of the informants (63.8%) is salary. At least one third claimed religion and politics to be tabooed in small talk. In Ventola's terms, Slovak small talk topics are indirect.

The results of the Slovak informants do not draw a clear picture of the last question either, "Are people in your country, before they start to say what they really want (e.g. a request, an offer) expected to do more small talk in a private conversation than in business conversations or the other way around or dedicate about the same amount of time to each one?"

3.4. Giving Arguments

It has been an oft-repeated observation that different cultures pursue different argumentative styles[4]. The questionnaire gave a number of strategies that can be observed in different speech community for presenting one's opinion. There is only one strategy that over 50 percent of the informants would regard as typical: first, you say your opinion, second, you give reasons related to the issue itself. All other strategies were ticked not even by a third of the informants.

[4] The first to contrast argumentative writing styles—in connection with language teaching—was Kaplan (1966). Although his observations consisted in the juxtaposition of merely one written argumentative paragraph for each language comparison, his scheme was later reproduced in many textbooks on cross-cultural communication.

3.5. Making and Turning Down an Offer

Since Isaacs/Clark (1990) utterances whose locutionary force is an invitation, but whose illocutionary force is just an expression of friendliness, are known as "ostensible invitations". Item #8 of the SICS questionnaire aimed at finding out whether such invitations and, on a more general level, offers exist in Slovakia. Although not totally excluded, the more typical assumption that you can make is that the offer is to be taken literal—this is the opinion of over two thirds of the informants (32 people). Interestingly, one informant noted down that formerly such an offer was honest, but that now people are becoming more polite and less honest in Slovakia.

Item #9 in the SICS asked for what kinds of strategies people use if they want to turn down an offer or an invitation in a polite way. Many informants commented their selection of strategies with the labels "very frequent/very common", "frequent/common" (or unmarked), "sometimes/not too frequent" (only marked as restricted to certain contexts only, e.g. informally, formally, younger people) and "rare". If we convert these labels into points from 4 to 1 (with uncommented ticks treated equal to the label "frequent/common") and multiply them with the corresponding number of ticks, the highest possible amount of points a strategy could get is 188. Only one strategy received clearly over 50 percent of possible points, viz. the strategy "a vague excuse like 'No, I don't have time' or 'No, I have something else to do'"; 31 informants, i.e. nearly two thirds, considered this strategy frequent or very frequent. (It may also be noteworthy to say that the second most prominent strategy was "a phrase like '(I don't know yet) I'll let you know' though you will surely not contact the person again"; this strategy received 73 points and was classified as frequent or very frequent by 26 informants, i.e. 51.1 percent).

3.6. Expressing Disagreement

The next item in the SICS was about shedding light on strategies to express the following face-threatening act: "If people disagree with somebody else's opinion, what kinds of linguistic (and non-linguistic) means are used to say 'no' in a polite way in your nation?" Again, we are lucky that informants added a lot of comments on frequency and contexts, which allows us to convert the labels "very frequent/very common", "frequent/common" (or unmarked), "sometimes/not too frequent" (only marked as restricted to certain contexts only, e.g. informally, formally, younger people) and "rarely" into points from 4 to 1 again and multiply them with the corresponding number of ticks. The highest results were achieved for phrases of the type "Yes, I see what you mean, but I think that..." (110 points; considered frequent or very frequent by 32 informants, i.e. over two thirds of the informants) and for phrases of the type "(No), I disagree./(No), I have a different opinion" (90 points; considered frequent or very frequent by 26 informants, i.e. a little more than half of the informants).

3.7. Closing a Conversation

Since there are no relevant cross-cultural studies on closing a conversation[5], the SICS questionnaire had consciously encompassed this part of a conversation—if people do not know how to end a conversation, this could also lead to embarrassment for one of the interlocutors, or even both. Therefore the SICS asked "what do people say to show that they want to end a conversation?". The most salient strategy seems to be a phrase meaning 'I have to go now, I have something else to do'. After the conversion of labels from "rare" to "very

[5] Unfortunately the book by Otterstedt (1993) abounds with factual mistakes. The first study to dwell on closing strategies was carried out by Schegloff/Sacks (1973).

frequently" into points from 1 to 4, this strategy receives 91 points from our informants; 37 of informants, i.e. 78.7 percent, regarded this strategy as frequent or very frequent.

4. Summary

If we want to wrap our observations in Brown and Levinson's terminology, then Slovaks can be said to favor negative politeness and bald on-record strategies. In Gricean terms, Slovaks focus very much on the maxim of manner ("Be brief.") and hardly violate the maxim of quality ("Be truthful."). In other words: Slovaks seem to follow the maxim "Say something only, if it can be interpreted literally. Violate this maxim only if it otherwise meant a big face loss to your interlocutor".

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Antoinette Regan

Current Conversation Patterns in the Republic of Ireland

Abstract

Twelve informants who completed a SICS questionnaire demonstrated that although Irish people still favour a combination of negative and positive politeness, as well as off-record communicative strategies, bald-on-record strategies are also becoming more frequently used. Irish greetings tend to be quite inventive and are often used only in Ireland. Small talk in Ireland is frequent; however, many informants indicated that it is most likely to occur in older generations. A popular small talk topic in Ireland is politics. Although it is a topic which is viewed as a taboo in many other nations, in Ireland it is acceptable to discuss the topic openly. It is unlikely that if one rings an Irish household that the person who answers the telephone will answer with more than just *Hello?*. If you receive an invitation from an Irish friend, it is unlikely that this is more than just a polite phrase unless time and date are specified. At the end of a conversation one is most likely to hear an off-record response such as "I don't want to bother you any longer". However saying what one has to do now (if there really is something) or a phrase like "I have to go now, I have something else to do" are bald-on responses which are becoming more frequent. In Grice's terms the Irish come closest to the maxim of quantity, make your contribution as informative as possible without it being overly informative.

Sommaire

L'analyse des réponses données par douze personnes ayant rempli un SICS-questionnaire a montré que même si les Irlandais préfèrent toujours une combinaison de politesse négative et positive ainsi que des stratégies communicatives du type *off-record*, les stratégies du type *bald-on-record* deviennent de plus en plus fréquentes. Les salutations irlandaises ont tendance à être plutôt inventives et souvent ne sont utilisées qu'en Irlande. Le Small Talk est fréquent en Irlande ; pourtant, beaucoup de gens ont indiqué qu'il était le plus répandu parmi les générations vieilles. Un sujet typique du Small Talk en Irlande, c'est la politique. Même s'il est un sujet qui est considéré comme tabou dans beaucoup d'autres pays, en Irlande, il est accepté d'en discuter librement. Il n'arrive que rarement que, si on appelle un Irlandais à la maison, celui-ci dise plus que « Hello ? ». Si on reçoit une invitation d'un ami irlandais, il est peu probable que ce soit autre chose qu'une formule de politesse, sauf si l'autre donne l'heure et la date spécifiques. A la fin d'une conversation, on peut s'attendre à une réponse *off-record,* telle que « Je ne veux pas vous ennuyer pendant plus longtemps ». Cependant, il devient plus usuel de dire ce qu'on a à faire maintenant (si on a vraiment quelque chose à faire) ou de dire simplement « Il faut que j'y aille, j'ai autre chose à faire », ce qui seront donc des réponses de *bald-on*. En appliquant la terminologie de *Grice*, les Irlandais sont le plus proches de la maxime de quantité : donne autant d'informations que possible sans être trop informatif.

Zusammenfassung

Die Auswertung der Antworten von zwölf Informanten, die einen SICS-Fragebogen ausfüllten, zeigten, dass, obwohl die Iren immer noch eine Kombination aus negativer und positiver Höflichkeit sowie off-record-Strategien bevorzugen, bald-on-Strategien immer häufiger gebraucht werden. Irische Grußformen sind oft originell und werden meistens nur in Irland gebraucht. Small Talk ist in Irland sehr häufig, wobei die meisten Informanten darauf hinweisen, dass er am häufigsten bei den älteren Generationen vorkommt. Ein beliebtes Small-Talk-Thema ist die Politik. Während es in anderen Ländern oft als Tabu-Thema gesehen wird, ist es in Irland voll akzeptabel das Thema offen zu diskutieren. Es ist unwahrscheinlich, dass bei einem Anruf ein Ire sich mit mehr als *Hello?* meldet. Wenn man eine Einladung von einem irischen Freund bekommt ist es unwahrscheinlich, dass dies mehr als eine Höflichkeitsfloskel ist, außer, wenn der andere eine genauere Zeit und ein genaueres Datum gibt. Am Ende einer Unterhaltung hört man oft eine *off-record*-Erwiderung wie "Ich will dich nicht länger stören". Allerdings sind auch Erwiderungen wie "Ich muss noch etwas machen" (wenn es wirklich der Fall ist) oder "Ich muss los, ich habe noch zu tun" Strategien, die immer häufiger gebraucht werden. Innerhalb der Begriffe von Grice sind die Iren der Quantitätsmaxime am nächsten: Gestalte deinen Redebeitrag so informativ wie möglich, ohne dass er zu viele Informationen enthält.

1. Background

Traditionally, studies in relation to the lexicon, morphology and syntax of Irish English are plentiful; however, up until 2005 studies into conversational strategies and politeness norms in Ireland were much less frequent.

The first study in relation to either of these topics was on politeness in Ireland and was carried out by Jeffrey L. Kallen in the early 1990's. The conclusions and results of his studies were published in *Politeness in Europe*, edited by Leo Hickey and Miranda Stewart (2005). In his article, titled "Politeness in Ireland: 'In Ireland, It's Done Without Being Said", Kallen stated that in order to comprehend "the full characterisation of Irish politeness [one] must consider the contradiction between the competing demands of silence as a face need, which will tend to favour negative politeness strategies, and the demands of what I term hospitality and reciprocity, usually favouring positive politeness." (Kallen: 2005: 131). Kallen also referred to the frequency of usage of off-record strategies in relation to politeness in Ireland (Kallen: 2005: 130-143).[1]

Similar to this current *JELiX* project, *Politeness in Europe* also presented data in relation to a number of European countries. However it differed given the fact that each study was conducted using a different research method and focusing upon different aspects of politeness. For this reason the usage of a consistent method, i.e. *semi-expert interview on communicative strategies* (SICS) questionnaires, ensures that the comparison of data in the current handbook is an easier task. Also the current project focuses not on speech acts, more specifically: 1. greeting, 2. addressing, 3. small talk, 4. making an argument, 5. making and turning down an offer and 6. ending a conversation.

A second publication, this time focusing exclusively on Ireland, is *The Pragmatics of Irish English*, edited by Anne Barron and Klaus Schneider (2005). Although politeness norms and communication in Ireland are discussed, it does not deal with the issues of small talk or ending a conversation. This study will bridge this gap and enable us to compare the current situation in Europe, not only in different countries, but also in different nations, more effectively.

Raymond Hickey also refers to aspects of the "Pragmatics of Irish English" briefly in his publication *Irish English* (Hickey 2007). In 2006 Anne Barron published an article titled *Requesting in Irish English and English English: A Study of Intra-Lingual Regional Pragmatic Variation*, in which she carries out a cross-cultural pragmatic analysis of Irish English and English English (Barron: 2006). This was followed in 2008 by an article titled *The Structure of Requests in Irish English and English English*. In this article, as in the previous one, Barron once again attempts to differentiate between Ireland and England as regards language in use and what is considered polite in both countries. (Barron: 2008: 35). The study concluded "Irish English and English English requests to be remarkably similar on the level of the strategy chosen." (Barron: 2008: 56). She also refers to the "high level of autonomy in the Irish and English cultures, a characteristic which necessitates attention to the negative face of the hearer." Barron concludes that the only significant difference between Irish English and English English in relation to requests is "a more indirect request in Irish English". In one particular situation accessed it was seen that "Irish English head-act requests are characterised by a higher level of internal mitigation and a lower level of up-grading than the English head-acts." (Barron: 2008: 56). Barron also draws on the conclusions of Kallen's

[1] The terms *on-record strategies*, *off-record strategies*, *positive politeness* and *negative politeness* are used in Brown and Levinson's sense (1987).

research (as referred to above), which show Irish English "to be generally indirect." (Barron: 2008: 57-58).

Barron states the fact that this is one of the first studies in relation to the comparison of the differences as regards the pragmatics or language usage of Irish English and English English and that studies in this field to date are "rather limited" (Barron: 2008: 35). She also states that as the scope of this current study is quite narrow it is difficult to draw a precise conclusion as regards exactly how similar or different the pragmatics of Irish English and English English may be and "that further research is needed to confirm or refute these generalised tendencies." (Barron: 2008: 59).

All of these works have been published since 2005 showing us that studies as regards the pragmatics of Irish English and politeness in Ireland are growing. However, up until now there has still been a notable gap in relation to research into small talk and closing a conversation. In this current project we attempt to close this gap.

2. Data Collection

In order to collect data the SICS questionnaire (as published in this edition of *JELiX* [Grzega/ Schöner 2008]) was edited (some additional questions were added) and uploaded onto the *Surveypro*[2] website. The use of this software enabled the author to reach a wider audience, as she was not living in Ireland at the time this study was carried out. E-mails were forwarded to professors, as well as current and former language students at the University of Limerick, the National University of Ireland Galway (NUIG) and Trinity College Dublin. EFL teachers at language schools across the country were also contacted. These groups were specifically targeted as they were considered to be in the best situation to access the current situation as regards communicative strategies in Ireland. The contents of the e-mail explained the project and requested that the recipient fill in the questionnaire. The questionnaire was accessible by clicking on a link to the *Surveypro* site, which opened the relevant questionnaire for the informant. There was a rather low overall level of response from professors and students alike, but the answers received allow us to draw a first picture nevertheless.

Twelve questionnaires were fully completed, twenty-one partially. For the purpose of this analysis, and in order to make use of all collected data, the relevant information from all twenty-one surveys has been used. The average age of informants was twenty-three, the youngest informant being twenty-one, the eldest twenty-eight. Although this means that the informants may show a bias in favour of the younger generation, it also makes for an interesting comparison to Kallen's results from the early 1990's (2005), as we can see new trends emerging within the younger generation who would not have been accessed in the previous study. 58% of the informants were male, the remaining 42% female. 53.84% of informants were students, 15.38% EFL teachers, 11.53% journalists, 11.53% other and 3.8% (which corresponded to one) lecturer and non specified teacher. There were no informants from Dublin, the capital, rather the majority of informants came from the west, south-west and south-east of the country i.e. primarily the counties of Cork, Galway, Kerry, Kilkenny and Waterford.

Conversation patterns in Irish *Gaelic* have been excluded from this survey as firstly it proved difficult to contact native Irish speakers with a linguistic background, and secondly due to the apparent lack of existing literature as regards the communicative strategies used by native speakers of Irish. As Irish is spoken by such a small percentage of the population of the Republic of Ireland (one percent of the population is considered fluent in the Irish language

[2] *Surveypro* is a free website where one can upload surveys, which can then be simply accessed by a URL.

(Hickey: 2007: 364) which when one considers that the population of Ireland is just over 4.2 million, we see how few people actually speak Irish on a daily basis. This population is also dispersed throughout the island of Ireland with little interaction between the various *Gaeltacht* (Irish speaking) communities. As virtually all of these 42,000 native Irish speakers are bilingual, the author believes that it would be fair to assume that the communicative strategies used by Irish speakers would be the same if not extremely similar to that of speakers of Irish English. This is furthered supported by the fact that Irish English is influenced by the structures used in the Irish language. For example in the Irish language there are no direct translations for *yes* and *no*. Instead if one asks for example:

Q.: *An bhfuil tú ag dúl go dtí an siopa?* = Are you going to the shop?

The most likely response is:

A.: *Tá mé* = I am

or

Níl mé = I am not

This is just one example of what could be interpreted as an indirect response or an off-record strategy, whereas it is simply indirect due to the syntax of the Irish language. Such a response is commonly heard not only from native speakers of Irish but also by Irish English speakers.

3. Results

3.1. Addressing

As there is no pronominal distinction between formal and informal addressing in English, I at first considered omitting this question from the online questionnaire. However, I then considered the informal *ye* pronoun and in fact 30% of informants referred to this pronoun in their response. In Ireland, the form *ye* (or *youse* in local Dublin English) is commonly used to refer to *you* second person plural (Hickey 2007: 314).

At this point, I believe that it is also necessary to point out that addressing others by their first name has become extremely common in Ireland while addressing others by *Sir, Madam(e), Mr., Mrs., Ms.,* etc. is now only common in quite formal situations. In actual fact "highlighting social differences in an exchange is generally frowned upon. Where there is an undeniable social cline between interlocutors the one with the higher social status may down-tone his/her parts of the exchange and background his/her social position." (Farr/O'Keefe [2002: 42], quoted in [Hickey 2007: 373]).

3.2. Greeting

Irish people tend to be quite inventive when it comes to greetings and the following are greetings which were given by informants and are commonly uttered in informal situations[3]

(1) 50% - Hey!
How's it going?
Hi!
What's the craic?
How are you?
Howreya? [ˈhaəjə]

(2) 42% - Well!

It is common in Ireland to use *How are you?* or *How's it going?* simply as a greeting and not as a question. In response to a question such as *How are you?*, an answer such as *Grand!, Fine, Not so bad, Could be worse* (Kallen: 2005: 130-143) is usually given and even expected, however it is not acceptable to tell strangers or casual acquaintances how you are

[3] Note: All informants mentioned several possible terms of greeting.

really feeling or to go into detail in relation to health complaints. Kallen refers to this as "understatement" (Kallen: 2005: 134). *Well!* is often uttered, an abbreviated form of *Well, how are you?*. Similarly, *Howreya* [ˊhaəjə] is the reduced form of *How are you?* (Hickey: 2007: 371) and is commonly used by young and old alike. *What's the craic?* is also frequently used, however more so by the younger generations. The word *craic* is an Irish word which refers to "fun, good time, enjoyment on a social occasion, typically in a pub" (Hickey 2007: 364).

3.3. Small Talk

The following are the most common small talk topics in Ireland with people who are neither friends nor relatives:

100% - weather
80% - politics
80% - sports

Weather is a common topic of conversation across Europe (Grzega 2006: 226) and Ireland is no exception. Politics on the other hand is a topic which in many other countries is considered a taboo (Grzega 2006: 227). In Ireland discussing politics is not only acceptable but also extremely common. Discussions about politics generally involve complaining about national politics and politicians. "Well, you know, Fine Gael[4] aren't capable of governing the country."[5] (Hickey 2007: 375), "I'd say that within Fine Gael there'll be a row about that."[6] (Kallen 2005: 136). It is quite common to give one's political opinion or preference as well as openly supporting or opposing a particular political party, even when talking to strangers. So, in Ventola's (1979) classification, the Irish do not abstain from using more personal/direct topics.

Although only referred to by one informant, I think that it is necessary to mention that there is another small talk strategy which is very common in Ireland. This is the practice of finding a common ground with an Irish stranger by finding common friends or acquaintances you may have. It starts by asking what part of the country the other person comes from, where they studied, where they work, etc. As Ireland is quite a small country, it is probable that you will have at least one common friend or acquaintance with the person with whom you are talking. The following comment was made by an informant referring to this particular practice: "… next would be where you are from in the country; try to figure out if you both know somebody - this is usually the case. For example, if somebody says they are from Dingle in Co. Kerry, it is common for the other person to say, 'I know _____ from Dingle, do you know them?' and usually they do." Raymond Hickey refers to this phenomenon in his publication *Irish English* saying that in Ireland "Interaction is largely consensual and much emphasis is based on personal acquaintance. If this is not present, as in official exchanges, then patterns of interaction are favoured which would be typical of acquaintances or friends" (Hickey 2007: 371-372). He continues by saying that "a particular aspect of Irish social behaviour: when two Irish strangers meet in an unofficial context they search for a common acquaintance, or at least a common experience. On more than one occasion the author has found that the non-Irish in a company have been startled by the attempts on his part and that of another Irish person to find some common link on first meeting." (Hickey 2007: 372).

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4 Fine Gael is the main opponent of the political party currently in government, Fine Fail, and such a comment from a Fine Fail supporter would be quite common.

5 (WER, M50+) Taken from the ICE [= International Corpus of English].

6 Taken from the ICE.

Small talk is most common when:

80% - waiting
70% - queuing
40% - public transport and shops

Many people distinguished between queuing and waiting and many informants pointed out that small talk while queuing in a bank is the exception as it is neither common nor is it to be recommended (perhaps this is to do with the fact that discussing money is a taboo.) Traditionally, small talk on public transport is common. However, many informants also stated that this is more likely to happen with older generations, who, as was pointed out, practice more small talk in general:

Informant 1: "A lot of middle-aged and older people would initiate small talk, more so than the younger generation."

Informant 2: "Teenagers are less likely to make small talk. Older people are more inclined to make small talk…"

Small talk is uncommon in the following situations:

70% - elevators
50% - toilets
30% - bank

Taboo topics include:

80% - sexuality
70% - religion
50% - money
40% - health issues/sickness

Sexuality, religion, bodily functions and pain (Grzega 2006: 240) are also international small talk taboos.

3.4. Answering the Telephone

As regards answering the telephone at home, all informants said that it is most common to answer simply with *Hello?*. We can conclude that in Ireland it is not common to give first name or family name when answering a private telephone as not one informant referred to this possibility in the survey.

At work the following combinations are the most frequently used:
Hello + own name/name of company/department
Hello + (own name) speaking + *How can I help you?*
Hello + name of company + own name + *How can I help you?*

3.5. Making and Turning Down an Offer

When receiving an invitation (e.g. to someone's home, to an event) or an offer (e.g. when you need help):

- 53.85% of the informants said that you can expect this to be an honest offer
- 15.38% said that it is only a polite phrase

However, I believe that the most interesting and perhaps relevant results in this case are the answers given by 30.77% of informants in the category of "other". Informants responded that in Ireland it really depends on how well you know the other person and that unless an exact time and date is specified and the person shows visible enthusiasm as regards their invitation, you can assume that it is simply just a polite phrase and not in fact a genuine offer.

In relation to turning down an offer, a direct response is once again quite unlikely. For the less direct strategies themselves, there is no clear picture.

- 20.69% of informants said that a vague excuse like "No, I don't have time." or "No, I have something else to do."
- 17.24% said a phrase like "(I don't know yet) I'll let you know", though you will surely not contact the person again.
- 13.79% chose a phrase like "I will have to think about it", though you won't surely contact the person again.

3.6. Making an Argument

As regards making an argument in relation to ones' own opinion, in Ireland the following would be the most common strategies:

20.00% = first, you say your opinion;
second, you give reasons, citing other persons

20.00% = first, you say your opinion;
second, you give reasons related to the issue itself

13.33% = first, you give background information, citing others;
second, you say your opinion

13.33% = first, you present diverse opinions and argumentations;
second, you say your own opinion

In response to this particular question we can see that there is no strong bias in favour of one particular politeness strategy over another.

3.7. Expressing Disagreement

As regards giving opinions and arguing in Ireland, there is a strong preference for negative politeness and off-record communicative strategies. This is evident from the following results:

26.47% = a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but I think that ..."

20.59% = a phrase like "Yes, I see what you mean, but wouldn't you also think that ..."

8.82% = people just say nothing at all and remain silent and people just make a disapproving look.

A direct "No" or "I think you have to think about this again" is virtually unheard of (each response was ticked by one informant only).

3.8. Ending a Conversation

For initiating the end of a conversation the answers of the informants do not reveal a clear picture. 26.09% claimed that people use a rather indirect strategy, namely a phrase like "I don't want to bother you any longer"; 34.78% said that people use rather direct strategies, namely

21.74% = people say what they have to do now (if there really is something)

13.04% = people say a phrase like "I have to go now, I have something else to do"

It is also interesting to note that, while 57.14% of informants say that the other person will immediately let you go, 42.86% say that the other person will firstly try and persuade you to stay. So again, there is no clearly preferred strategy.

4. Summary

As Kallen concluded in his studies based on data gathered in the early 1990's (Kallen 2005:

130), now in 2008 we can also conclude that off-record strategies, plus an unusual combination of negative and positive politeness, are the most common politeness strategies employed in Ireland. This is seen in relation to turning down an offer, where a direct response is quite unlikely and also as regards expressing disagreement, where one see's that there is a strong preference for negative politeness (apart from off-record communicative strategies). The reason for this Barron argues could be "the high level of collectivism in Irish society" as well as "the lower level of assertiveness in Ireland, or what Kallen (2005a) terms silence." (Barron: 2008: 58) However, simultaneously, we can see from the results of "Ending a Conversation" that there is a slight shift taking place, whereby in some instances bald-on strategies are also becoming acceptable. In Grice's terms the Irish come closest to the maxim of quantity, make your contribution as informative as possible without it being overly informative.

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A Survey on Some Communicative Strategies in Romania

Abstract

Using a semi-expert interview on communicative strategies (SICS), filled out by 30 informants, it can be shown that the use of communicative strategies in Romania is characterized by extremes. This is reflected in the quick shift from the formal address pronoun to the informal address pronoun, often based on emotional decisions rather than specific rules. With regard to small talk behaviour, one may notice a variety of topics and situations which show that Romanians engage quite fast in casual conversations and do not avoid talking about personal matters. While sex is the big taboo, immediately followed by religion, the money topic has an uncertain status. In argumentative contexts, Romanians prefer to say their opinion first and then give reasons related to the issue itself. An invitation or an offer to help is generally supposed to be an honest one. Turning down an offer would rather have an indirect style, while a phrase like "No, I disagree" is the most common way for saying "no". However, smiling as a disagreement is frequent as well. In Grice's terminology: any of the maxims can be violated. In Brown and Levinson's terminology: bald-on and off-record strategies can alternate in communication.

Sommaire

Au moyen d'un *semi-expert interview on communicative strategies* (SICS), complété par 30 personnes, on peut voir que l'usage de stratégies communicative est caracterisé d'extrêmes. Ceci est reflété par le changement rapide du pronom d'adresse formel au pronom informel, fondé souvent plutôt sur des décisions émotionnelles que sur des règles spécifiques. En ce qui concerne le comportement lié au small talk, on peut noter une variété de sujets et situations qui montrent que les Roumains s'engagent assez facilement dans des conversations habituelles et n'évitent pas à parler des choses personnelles. Tandis que le sexe est un grand tabou, suivi de près par la religion, l'argent a une statut contradictoire. Dans les contextes d'argumentation, les Roumains préfèrent de préciser d'abord leur opinion et fournir ensuite des arguments liés au sujet. Une invitation et une offre sont généralement à interpréter comme sincère. Tandis que les stratégies indirectes prévalent lorsqu'on doit refuser une offre, manifester son désaccord est formulé par une phrase telle que " Non, je contredis " sur un sujet (même si le sourire comme marque du désaccord est aussi largement rencontré). Dans la terminologie de Grice: les Roumains peuvent violer toutes les maximes. Dans la terminologie de Brown et Levinson: les stratégies du type *off-record* sont préférées et les stratégies *bald on-record* sont également fréquentes.

Zusammenfassung

Mit Hilfe eines *semi-expert interview on communicative strategies* (SICS), das von 30 Informanten ausgefüllt wurde, kann gezeigt werden, dass der Gebrauch von Kommunikationsstrategien in Rumänien von Extremen geprägt ist. Das zeigt sich etwa im schnellen Wechsel vom formellen zum informellen Anredepronomen, der oft von eher Emotion denn von spezifischen Regeln bestimmt wird. Bezüglich Small Talk kann man eine Vielzahl an Themen und Situationen ausmachen, die zeigen, dass Rumänen schnell ungezwungene Gespräch beginnen und auch nicht persönliche Themen vermeiden. Während Sex ein großes Tabuthema ist, gleich vor Religion, hat das Thema Geld einen unsicheren Status. Bei Argumentationen bevorzugen Rumänen, erst ihre Meinung und dann themenbezogene Gründe zu geben. Eine Einladung und ein Angebot können im Allgemeinen wörtlich verstanden werden. Ein Angebot ablehnen erfolgt eher im indirekten Stil, während eine Phrase wie "Nein, ich stimme nicht überein" Art typischste Nein zu sagen ist. Doch Lächeln als Zeichen der Meinungsverschiedenheit ist ebenfalls häufig. In Gricescher Terminologie: alle Maximen können verletzt werden. In der Terminologie von Brown und Levinson: es lässt sich ein Wechsel von "bald-on" und "off-record"-Strategien feststellen.

1. Background

Taking into consideration previous studies and existing data, Grzega (2006:193-254) drew a first contrastive picture of communicative strategies, or speech-act realization patterns in different civilizations. Since 2008 is the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue and since Romanian conversational behaviour has not been in the scope of linguists so far[1], this would be a good opportunity to fill a gap. The present study also contributes to a larger project which aims at tracing a general European communicative behaviour, or "language guide", which would further point out differences and similarities across nations. The communicative tasks or speech acts analysed in this survey are addressing, answering the phone, small talk, argumentation, making and turning down an offer, expressing a disagreement, and ending a conversation.

In order to elicit the production of speech acts, two methods have been frequently employed in pragmatics research so far: the *discourse completion task/test* (DCT) and the *metapragmatic judgement task/test* (MPJT) (cf. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989 and Hinkel 1997). In a DCT the informants are asked to complete dialogues connected to various situations. The disadvantage in this case is the fact that the answers provided represent the most typical individual behaviour. Therefore a MPJT was designed as a supplementary method to DCT: the informants are provided with a list comprising all the answers from a DCT and a new selection is made based on their salience. Both methods require a large number of informants.

The *semi-expert interview on communicative strategies* (SICS) has been designed for this issue of *Journal for EuroLinguistiX* (JELiX) by the editors. This type of questionnaire aims at collecting representative data for the typical linguistic behaviour of a nation. It presents typical situations which have to be evaluated by the informants: they may select one or more of the provided communicative patterns, as well as provide further ones. People who deal with language on a professional level are preferred as informants for the accurateness of the observations. Since they analyse and use the language in the same time, the informants are called *semi-experts.*

2. Data Collection

The introductory article to this special issue of *JELiX* (Grzega/Schöner 2008) presents also a sample of the SICS questionnaire. The questionnaire (in its English version) was distributed via e-mails among students and graduates of philology (mainly from the University of Bucharest), some of whom also work as translators. The informants were allowed to answer either in English or in Romanian. 30 questionnaires were received back, filled out by 2 men and 28 women, aged between 22 and 33 (average age: 25.9). The regions the informants come from are diverse, Muntenia (Southern Romania) being the best represented.

3. Results

3.1. Section A: Starting a Conversation

With regard to address pronouns, Romanian follows the same pattern as most European languages by displaying the formal/informal pair (after Brown/Gilman 1960: a V- form and a T- form). The formal pronoun in this case, mentioned by all the informants, is the compound *dumneavoastră/* (reg./coll.) *dumnevoastră* (> *domnia voastră* 'your Majesty'), used both for

[1] In the past many studies of this type were carried out in the field of dialectology. Some more recent ones deal with pragmatics and conversational behaviour on a rather theoretical level.

one and for several addressees[2]; the informal one is *tu* (singular)/*voi* (plural).

Other formal pronouns in Romanian are: *dumneata(le), dumitale, mata(le).* Their degree of formality varies: while *dumneata* can be close to *dumneavoastră*, *dumitale* and *mata(le)* are restricted to certain geographical areas, registers or age groups. Moreover, these pronouns are usually used in a pejorative way or as address terms in an argument.

A special place should be attributed to the third person pronoun *dânsul* (m.)*/dânsa*(f.). The grammars record it as an informal pronoun equivalent with *tu*, and sometimes placed on a lower level than this one, as in some regions it is used when referring to inanimates. However, nowadays it is often used as a formal pronoun and it was also mentioned as such by the informants.

The distribution of these pronouns according to our informants is as follows:

- According to 83.3% of the informants, children use the T-form when addressing their parents. However 30.0% mentioned also the V-forms *mata(le)/dumneata*, but mainly as restricted to rural areas or to elder people (talking to their parents). 2 informants wrote down *dumneavoastră*. When addressing other relatives, both forms can be used, depending on the kinship and on the emotional relationship. There are no fixed rules as to in which circumstances one or the other form should be used. The address pronouns for relatives can also change with age (T-form used by children, V-form used by teenagers).
- The relation pupil-teacher is usually a T-V one (pattern given by all the informants). In very rare cases, a pupil may use the T-form when addressing a teacher (mainly to young teachers who explicitly ask for this.).
- At work, the address pronoun is T among colleagues. The relation employer-employee is a V-V at first, but can very soon become a T-T, in case it is permitted by the age. It is also possible that the employer uses T-form and the employee V-form, never the other way round. Business partners use V-form until otherwise agreed.
- In rather official and neutral situations, such as people-administration officials or clerks-customers, the V-form is used, although in the latter case T-form can also be accepted, depending on the age and sex.
- The address term for strangers is generally V, except for cases when people have the same age or address to somebody who is younger or just consider that it is appropriate to use T (this decision is rather an emotional one).

The patterns for answering the telephone at home in Romania are *Alo/Da(, vă rog)!* 'Hello/Yes(, please)!', or *Alo, da!* 'Hello, yes!', without any further hint (such as name, address, or phone number), the person who called being expected to introduce oneself. Elderly people might use sometimes: *Alo! Casa X (family name)* 'Hello! House X'. According to some of the informants, the mobile phone is answered with *Da* 'Yes', *Spune* 'Say it!', *Salut* 'Hi', *Ce mai faci?* 'How are you?' or other familiar variants. At work the answering formulae are: (*Alo* 'Hello'/*Bună ziua!* 'Good afternoon!') (+ name of company) (+ one's first/last/full name) (+ 'What can I do for you?'). The order may vary and, as suggested by the brackets, any of the elements can be omitted so that almost any combination should be possible (one informant indicated only full name of the person).

[2] While *dumneavoastră* requires a verb in plural, the other formal pronouns are used only with the verb in singular and only for one addressee. Grammars register the form *dumitale* as the Genitive-Dative for *dumneata*, but speakers often use it in Nominative (the same holds for *mata – matale*).

3.2. Section B: Keeping Up a Conversation

This section deals with small talk behaviour. Small talk can be defined as anything which is not part of the greeting or leave-taking phase; neither does it represent the very point of the conversation. The term was first coined by Malinowski (1923), who called this "phatic communion" (the same term is used in Jakobson 1960). Laver (1975) pointed out three functions of small talk: 1. avoiding silence; 2. initiating the conversation in order to get to the target topic later; 3. exploring (the interlocutor). Depending on the relation between the interlocutors, certain rules have to be taken into account. Further on, Ventola (1979) distinguishes between direct/personal topics (e.g. health, appearance) and indirect/impersonal ones (e.g. weather, latest news)

The questions grouped under this heading received the most productive answers. Most of the informants agreed upon the fact that small talk in Romania is quite "big talk": it appears very frequently, in the most diverse situations, it can have different additional functions (information, advice, confession, argument) and it may very often have a personal character. One informant described it as being "a function of the personality or of the emotional state" and, as a consequence, normal in any situation.

In what situations is small talk common or even required in your nation? 23.3% of the informants considered small talk in Romania as being common (almost) everywhere. The highest percentage, though, found trains or long distance public transportation means as most common places for small talk (66.6%); two informants mentioned also train stations.

Other small talk situations which were mentioned by more than half of the informants are:

- waiting lines (60.0%); according to 4 of the informants small talk in this situation is mainly represented by complaints and arguments; one informant explained the phenomenon as being a communist inheritance
- during meals (56.6%); 4 informants evaluated this situation as being required or "almost a necessity"
- in waiting rooms (53.3%); 10 informants specified the doctor's waiting room.

Acording to at least a third of the informants small talk is also likely to appear on public transportation means (33.3%). 23.3.% wrote it is common in stores, 36.6% said it is common to engage in small talk with clerks or shop-assistants as well. As a general rule small talk is always regarded as being normal, but the quantity may vary: in public transportation means for shorter distances, such as buses, or in stores, it might only consist of asking for information or of very short remarks. This situation varies with age, being more frequent at elderly people. Only two informants found small talk common in the street and 3 others mentioned the elevator. 4 persons mentioned also the working place as a common situation for small talk.

Further comments were made about the degree of necessity ("required only if you need something", "not required anywhere", "quite frequent, but not always necessary"), as well as about conditions for and functions of small talk ("to avoid awkward silence", common "wherever people must spend a great deal of time together" and not common "in places where people very briefly encounter each other" or "in narrow places").

In what situations is it not common to start small talk, but to remain silent? The answers to this question come to supplement the ones above, as many of the informants (43.3%) pointed out, in different ways, the fact that there is no such thing as uncommon places or situations for small talk in Romania; it might only happen that "the quantity is lower and the volume as

well" or that communication between different age groups would not be so efficient.

Yet, sometimes it is better to keep silence: out of the items already provided by the questionnaire as such possible places, only "the toilet" was mentioned by more than half of the informants (53.3%); however, a considerable percentage of the persons (40.0%) noted down '(in the)church'. Further additional items mentioned by the informants as places where silence should prevail are: in hospitals (26.6%), in the proximity of death/dead people (23.3%), in official situations or in the proximity of official persons (23.3%). One informant considered small talk as being uncommon in the street, with strangers. Bus stops, public transportation means and waiting lines were mentioned at this point as well, as places where small talk could only be short and objective (asking for information, short remarks); if longer, it might be an argument. One of the informants added a comment as a conclusion, which I am quoting here: "But even there [church, toilet] people would find a solution to get out of silence."

What are common small talk topics in Romania if you're not talking to a close friend or relative? In comparison with other European nations, where the weather seems to be the favourite small talk topic, Romanians prefer to talk about themselves and their life: compared to the weather, which was mentioned by 56.6% of the informants and which is often used as a mere start for a conversation or as a passage to the life story topic, the latter one acquired a percentage of 83.3 of the answers and it seems to be one of the most frequent and productive types of small talk. Included here are topics such as: talking about one's personal problems, one's children, house, animals or harvest (if living in the countryside), about deaths in the family. Of the same type are discussions about health (diseases, doctors and remedies) and about religious things (priests, miracles, prayers, pilgrimages to churches, religious festivities). Asking for and giving advice (about doctors, treatments, recipes, reliable priests) represents an important part of the talk in this case. According to 5 of the informants life story talks are most likely to occur while waiting to visit a doctor or during longer journeys by train.

Further small talk topics are:

(1) traffic and local administrative problems (70%)
(2) sports, hobbies and entertainment such as books, movies, music (66.6%, out of which more than half for sports). Football is preferred among sports (explicitly mentioned by 46.6%)
(3) travelling experiences (50%). Often this topic is related to unemployment and work abroad (possibly part of the life story topic); otherwise it might refer to services offered by travel agencies or to travels connected to studies
(4) politics and politicians; complaints, frequently combined with mockery, are preferred to praise (46.6% and 10% respectively)
(5) jobs and unemployment (46.6%)
(6) prices and the living standard (46.6%)
(7) recent political events (43.3%)
(8) other people's problems, natural disasters, accidents (36.6%), often as presented by mass media ("which emphasizes all the bad luck in the world", as one informant commented)
(9) food and cooking (36.6%)
(10) entertainment industry (23.3%) (*Telenovelas* obtained the majority of votes in this case.).

Out of this list, the items # (1), (5), (6), (8), and (9) were not provided as examples in the questionnaire, being added by the informants. For item # (1) it is worth specifying that all informants (but 4) live in Bucharest, the capital city.

Education/studies and scientific news were mentioned by only two informants each. "Speaking about a foreign interlocutor's language competence" as a possible topic was labelled four times with 'no', while all the other informants simply didn't mention it. Further on it received one comment saying that it would most likely occur in order to praise or support a foreigner, or even to encourage him/her to talk.

Based on the informants' answers one can also draw some clear lines between genders and ages:

- While men talk about football, women like to talk about *telenovelas* and to identify their own life with their stories. Exchange of recipes, religious talk and other people's problems are also topics favoured by women. One informant mentioned weather as a female topic as opposed to football as a male topic.
- Hobbies and entertainment (movies, books, music) are reserved to the youth, while life story, religious and medical issues would rather occur among elder people, although it is not a general rule. Criticizing the younger generation and complaining are also favoured by the elderly.

What are taboo topics in Romania if you're not talking to a close friend or relative? With 76.6% of the answers, sex is by far the top taboo topic for Romanians. 4 persons added that vocabulary connected to sex could also be taboo (including the word *sex* itself). 36.6% of the informants explicitly mentioned taboos concerning sexual orientation.

According to 46.6% of the informants another taboo topic is religion. It represents a conversational taboo especially if one does not share the general religious orientation (i.e. Christian) or has a different religion (i.e. not Christian) or no religion. The situation may upset not only the other persons, but also the one who breaks the taboo (who consequently might have to listen to long morals or to religious advice).

Embarrassing things (such as farting, burping, smelly feet) and physical shortcomings were also mentioned as taboos (by 4, respectively 3 of the informants). Delicate family or personal matters were considered taboos by 4 of the informants and marital status by 1. One (male) informant mentioned feelings. There were also 3 informants who stated that nothing would be forbidden in a discussion.

The money issue seems to be very controversial, being regarded as a common topic as well as a taboo one (53.3% and 43.3%, respectively). Moreover, as part of the life story, some topics can lose their taboo value, so that discussions about money or even physical shortcomings are accepted.

With regard to the quantity of small talk in private conversations as compared to business conversations the answers provided do not help with drawing a clear picture.

3.3. Section C: Being Nice in a Conversation

How do Romanians typically present their opinion on a topic? Out of the seven argumentative styles offered by the questionnaire, only one was found typical by more than 50% of the informants: first you say your opinion, and then you give reasons related to the issue itself. This strategy was ticked 18 times, twice labelled as "very typical".

Presenting one's opinion bit by bit (opinion on aspect A, issue-related reasons for this, opinion on aspect B, issue-related reasons for this) was found typical by 30% of the informants (10 times ticked, once labelled as "very typical"). Giving issue-related background

information and then saying your opinion was only ticked by 20% of the informants, but two times it was evaluated as very typical.

The next question aimed at detecting possible "ostensible invitations" (as defined by Isaacs/Clark 1990). In Romania, an invitation or an offer for help can generally be assumed to be an honest offer, according to 73.3% of the informants. However, a considerable percentage (30%) thinks that it depends on different factors: the circumstances, the persons and their relations, the way the invitation/offer is formulated (if it does not contain sufficient details or if the persons are not close enough, then it might well be just a politeness phrase).

3.4. Section D: Getting Around Very Uncomfortable Topics

Informants were then asked about the linguistic means one would use in order to say "no" in a polite way in Romania. They commented their selection of strategies with the labels "very frequent/very typical", "frequent", "sometimes/maybe/less frequent" (or marked only as restricted to certain contexts, such as "informally/formally/only among friends"), and "rarely". If we convert these labels into points from 4 to 1 and multiply them with the corresponding number of ticks (where uncommented ticks were treated equal to the label "frequent"), the highest possible amount of points a strategy could get is 120. The first three most common strategies are:

- a vague excuse like "No, I don't have time" or "No, I have something else to do", which received 76 points. It was also considered as being "very frequent" by 46.6% of the informants
- a phrase like "(I don't know yet) I'll let you know", though you will surely not contact the person again, with 59 points
- a concrete brief and invented excuse (if there is no concrete true excuse), with 59 points.

"A direct phrase like 'No, I don't feel like going there/doing X'" was labelled as "informal" (or "among (close) friends/relatives" by 9 informants (30.0%) and as "untypical" by 2.

The same behaviour holds for the way people disagree with somebody else's opinion in a polite way. Neither "saying a direct 'no'" nor "never saying 'no'" was recognized as a disagreement pattern by the informants (they received only 17, respectively 6 points). In this situation people would most likely utter phrases such as:

(1) "No, I disagree/I have a different opinion" (64 points). This phrase can also be softened by means of intonation or by smiling
(2) "Yes, I see what you mean, but I think that ..." (57 points)
(3) "Just smiling" (31 points).

It is worth noticing that, although the first two most common strategies are direct, the third one is indirect.
"Never saying the word 'no'" received only 6 points (every time labelled with "rare").

According to the informants' commentaries, some of the strategies can be used in certain circumstances:

- between strangers or in order to obtain a benefit: saying nothing and remaining silent
- only between close friends: a direct "no"
- informal or used by elder people: disapproving look.

Section E: Ending a Conversation

What do people say to show that they want to end a conversation? This question aims at building up a basis for an intercultural leave-taking scheme, as there are no relevant studies on

this topic yet.

The answers were difficult to interpret because different informants used different types of labels: some used the frequency scale, others the age groups or the genders and some others mixed both. That's why it is more relevant to present here the first three most salient strategies for ending a conversation (the points were calculated in the same way as above):

(1) say what they have to do now (if there really is something) (54 points)
(2) a phrase like "I don't want to bother you any longer" (51 points)
(3) a phrase like "I have to go now, I have something else to do" (48 points).

A phrase like "I want to go now" received only 7 points and was evaluated twice with "no" and once with "no, never". It was also labelled with "between strangers" (once), "teenagers" (once) and with "rare" in all the other cases. Women seem to prefer phrases like "It's already late now", "I don't want to bother you any longer", while men would rather use "Ok, good-bye now", "I have to go now, I have something else to do" (each of them with two votes for women, respectively men; unfortunately not all the informants indicated as to which social groups certain strategies are typical). According to one of the informants, a phrase like "It's already late now" is just a signal for the end, but it needs to be repeated and accompanied by stronger formulae, while after saying "I have to go now, I have something else to do" the person usually goes on talking for a while; a phrase like "I don't want to bother you any longer" can also mean that the speaker would like to continue the conversation.

The last question aims at finding out the interlocutor's reaction when one ends the conversation. 66.6% of the informants think that the interlocutor would first try to persuade you to stay (labelled 4 times with "very typical"). According to 3 persons, this is done out of politeness and according to 1 informant, also out of care for the interlocutor. Yet 1 further informant considers it to be typical for the countryside, while immediately letting the person go at the end of the conversation would be typical in the city. Another person commented: "'Getting rid' of Romanian interlocutors is easier said than done; so, in order for you to 'get away' as soon as possible, you have to try harder and state your intention at least three times."

4. Summary

To sum it up, the use of communicative strategies in Romania tends to be contradictory. In Grice's terms, Romanians are liable to violate each of the maxims: in a small talk, they would rather respect the maxim of quality than the ones of quantity and manner; in case of a refusal, quality would not count that much any more; however it would be respected in case of a disagreement and for making an invitation. For saying 'no' or ending the conversation the maxim of relevance is not always respected. In Brown and Levinson's terminology: positive politeness is preferred in more uncomfortable situations, while bald-on and off-record strategies can be used alternatively.

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Elements of a Basic European Language Guide*

Abstract

This articles is a synopsis of the preceding articles, which were all based on the same method, but which focussed on an individual European country or language. The article describes European communication strategies, or characteristics, in 14 points, e.g. (1) Europeans typically use the informal pronoun to address their parents and their everyday colleagues at work, but they typically use the formal pronoun for administration officials; (2) the most typical small talk topic is the weather; (3) when making an argument, Europeans first give their opinion and then give reasons related to that; (4) to express disagreement Europeans prefer the strategy "I see what you mean, but I think..."; (5) if they want to turn down an offer, Europeans typically use a phrase like "(No), I don't have time, I have something else to do."; (6) to end a conversation, the most typical strategy is "I have to go now, I have something else to do". Europeans abstain from indirect strategies. The article lists a few more general strategies for transcultural communication and gives some basic sentences in national official languages of Europe's countries.

Sommaire

Cet article est une synopse des articles précédents, qui étaient basés sur la même méthode, mais qui se concentraient sur un pays ou un idiome individuel de l'Europe. L'article décrit des stratégies, ou bien particularités, européennes en 14 points, p.ex. (1) les Européens typiquement choisissent le pronom d'adresse informelle avec leurs parents et leurs collègues qu'ils voient au travail tous les jours, tandis qu'il prennent typiquement le pronom d'adresse formelle avec les employée d'administration; (2) le sujet de Small Talk le plus typique est le temps; (3) pour donner leur opinion, les Européens articulent celle-là d'abord et puis donnent des explications quant au sujet; (4) pour exprimer un désaccord, les Européens recourent à des expressions telles que « Oui, je comprends ce que tu veux dire, mais je pense que... »; (5) pour décliner une offre, les Européens recourent à une phrase telle que « (Non), je n'ai pas le temps, j'ai autre chose à faire »; (6) pour terminer une conversation, ils se servent des expressions du type « Il faut que j'y aille, j'ai autre chose à faire ». Les Européens n'aiment pas les stratégies indirectes. L'article donne encore quelques stratégies générales pour la communication transculturelle et donne quelques phrases élémentaires dans les langues officielles et nationales des pays européens.

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Artikel ist eine Synopse der vorangegangenen Artikel, die alle auf der gleichen Methode beruhten, aber sich auf ein einzelnes europäisches Land oder Idiom konzentriert haben. Der Artikel beschreibt europäische Kommunikationsstrategien bzw. -merkmale in 14 Punkten, z.B. (1) Europäer verwenden typischerweise das informelle Anredepronomen mit ihren Eltern und ihren täglichen Kollegen bei der Arbeit, aber sie verwenden typischerweise das formelle Pronomen mit Verwaltungsangestellten; (2) das typischste Small-Talk-Thema ist das Wetter; (3) wenn sie ihre Meinung sagen wollen, sagen Europäer erst ihre Meinung und geben dann themenbezogene Gründe; (4) um auszudrücken, dass sie anderer Meinung sind, bevorzugen Europäer die Strategie "Ja, ich sehe, was du meinst, aber ich denke..."; (5) wenn sie eine Einladung oder ein Angebot ablehnen wollen, sagen Europäer typischerweise eine Phrase wie "(Nein), ich habe keine Zeit, ich habe etwas anderes zu tun"; (6) um das Ende eines Gesprächs einzuleiten, sagen Europäer "Ich muss jetzt gehen, ich hab noch etwas anderes zu tun". Europäer sehen von indirekten Strategien ab. Der Artikel listet einige allgemeine Strategien für die transkulturelle Kommunikation und gibt einige elementare Sätze in den nationalen Amtssprachen der Länder Europas wieder.

* For reading and commenting on an earlier draft of this synposis I would like to thank Bea Klüsener.

1. Introductory Remarks

Europe can be defined in a political way (i.e. the EU countries), in a geographical way (i.e. the countries from the Atlantic to the Ural) or in a cultural way. It is the latter definition, the anthropological-cultural one, in which *Europe* will be used in this article. In this definition the features of language, religion, history and ethnic descent are the most basic criteria to define and characterize a civilization[1].

Most Eurolinguistic studies have focussed on questions of language politics and language systems[2]. Europe is the civilization with the largest multitude of official languages. But Europe is not only characterized by a multitude of language systems, it is also characterized by a multitude of pragmatic systems. Getting an overview of the most important intersections and differences is vital for realizing national identities and a European identity. Especially for situations of intercultural communication people should acquire such pragmatic competences, since, while grammatical mistakes are often interpreted as a lack in language proficiency, pragmatic mistakes are normally seen as a lack in politeness, a flaw in the speaker's character. An important area to cover are speech acts that carry phatic function: greeting and leave-taking terms, address forms, thanking, complimenting and small talk. Another important field are face-threatening acts, such as saying no and requesting.

2. Description of European Communication Behavior

Based on different observations and studies[3], I already made a first attempt of characterizing European communication behavior (Grzega 2006: 193-254; 2008a). With the help of a common questionnaire[4], specific studies for this volume of *JELiX* took a closer look at addressing, answering the phone, small talk, giving arguments, making and turning down an offer, and ending a conversation. Based on these studies (Butu 2008, Demaeght/Depuydt

[1] For Europe, language means multitude of languages (whereas other civilizations seem to have one or two strong bracketing language(s), e.g. Arabic [which is also religious symbol], or believe that their languages are all dialects of one big language, e.g. Sinic civilization). Since linguistic diversity is an elementary feature of European civilization, it may be argued that homogeneity may on the one hand facilitate communication, but on the other hand may destroy an important identity factor (and maybe also a chance) for Europe. *Europe* thus refers to those nations that are characterized by a minor Greek and a major Latin heritage (including the rules of law) and a tertiary Germanic heritage (from the 6th c.), the (West) Roman variant of Christian religion (and its developments during the Reformation and Counter Reformation), the use of the Latin alphabet, the separation of spiritual and secular power, societal pluralism and individualism, a common history of the arts (in their broadest sense) as well as a common history of education and formation (see, for example, the development of the universities in the Middle Ages or the relatively recent introduction of compulsory education). European civilization can thus be contrasted with Slavic-Orthodox, North American, Latin American, Islamic, Hindu, Japanese and Sinic civilization (possibly also African and Oceanic civilization).

[2] Cf. Hinrichs (in print).

[3] There is quite a number of studies on cross-cultural pragmatics and cross-cultural communication. The University of Minnesota's Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition presents an annotated select bibliography of speech acts at http://www.carla.umn./speechacts/bibliography/index.html (focussing on pragmatic competence in foreign language learning and teaching). An MLA search for "speech acts" even leads to 562 hits for European languages (by far the most of which are on requests), but each of these studies deal with just a limited number of languages (cf. Grzega 2006: 196). Even the C*CSARP,* the C*ross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (*cf. Blum-Kulka/House/Kasper 1989), included only eight—mostly non-European—cultures. There are no studies that comprehensively contrast European speech communities

[4] The type of the questionnaire was a semi-expert interview on communicative strategies (SICS) (cf. Grzega/Schöner 2008). Such an interview, in form of a questionnaire, asks informants not for their own personal communicative behavior and judgment, but for the typical linguistic behavior in his/her nation, as told from the perspective of someone who has to describe this to a foreigner. Informants are regarded as semi-experts due to their experience within, and observation of, the community. This is especially true of people who have to do with language professionally (such as students of language, linguists, journalists); they were therefore preferred as informants.

2008, Grzega 2008a, Grzega 2008b, Grzega 2008c, Grzega 2008d, Grzega/Štekauer 2008, Grzega/Turunen 2008, Keevallik/Grzega 2008, Regan 2008, Suszczyńska 2008, Urteaga Aldalur 2008), we can add a few more strokes to give the picture of European communicative behavior clearer shapes[5].

Most European nations use "low context" communication (i.e. rather direct style[6], person-oriented, self-projection, loquacity[7]). This is a label that goes back to Hall (1963), who juxtaposes it to "high context" communication (i.e. indirect style, status-oriented, reservation, silence). Another oft-cited study in the field of cross-cultural communication[8] is Hofstede (2000). In Hofstede's nomenclature, Europe can be regared as a generally individualistic civilization (i.e. people prefer a rather direct and analytic style, they mention important points before an explanation or illustration in an argument, they base decisions on compromise or the majority's vote); in contrast, the Sinic, Japanese, Arabic and Hinduistic civilizations are collectivistic (i.e. a rather indirect and synthetic style is used, explanations and illustrations are mentioned before the core point of an argument, decisions are finalized after consensus). The other categories defined by Hofstede are

- "masculinity" (a high degree of masculinity infers, e.g., focus on fictional literature, traditional family concepts, and work)
- "uncertainty avoidance" (a high degree of uncertainty avoidance infers, e.g., focus on emotions, expert knowledge, a clear structure of addressing behavior)
- "power distance" (a high degree of power distance infers, e.g., instructor-centered teaching, centralized decision-making, negative association of power, prosperity and old age).

With these, European countries are more difficult to bracket as one unit. The northern European countries are characterized by low power distance; but while Germany and the British Isles are rather masculine, the Scandinavian countries are rather feminine. Within the Scandinavian countries, Finland is characterized by a high degree of uncertainty avoidance, the others by a low one. Germany sets itself apart from the British isles by its strong uncertainty avoidance. The Romanic countries have a rather strong need for uncertainty avoidance and high power distance. So we can form several sub-groups, while the whole of Europe can only be defined negatively with the rest of Hofstede's term, namely that no single European country is characterized by a combination of high power distance and low uncertainty avoidance.

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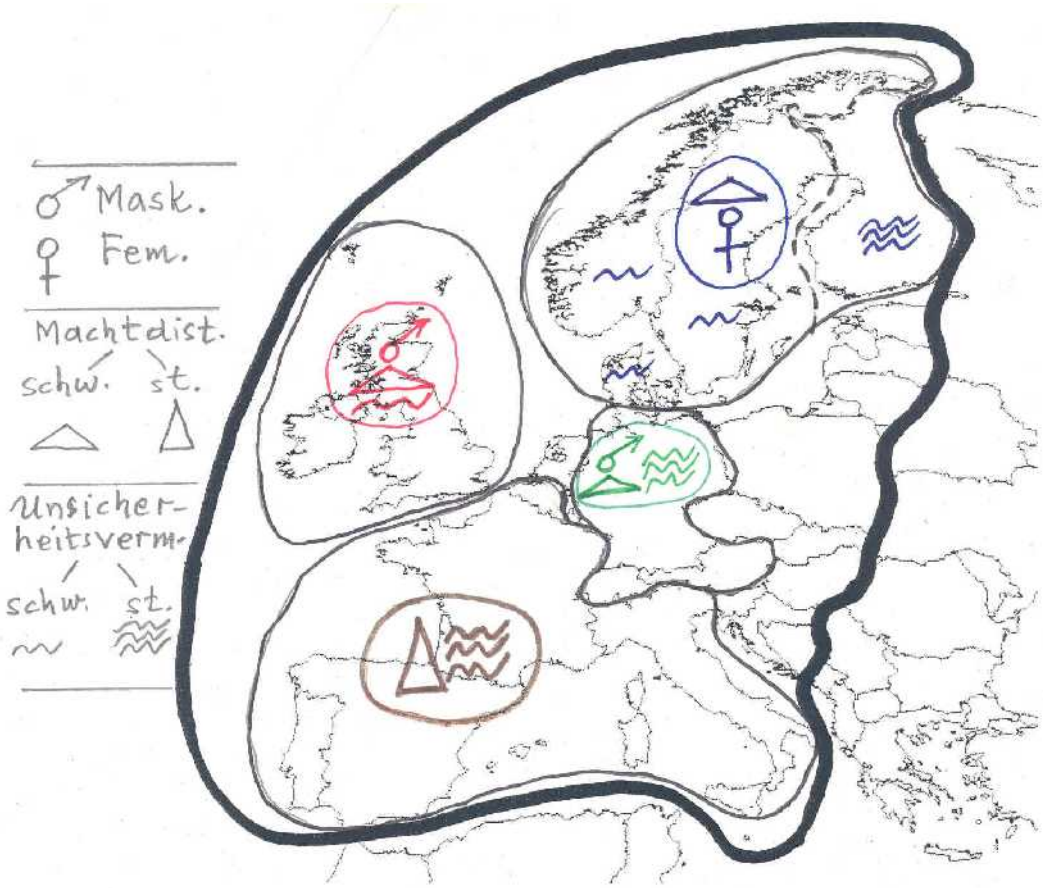
[5] The studies did not cover all languages and countries of Europe, but they cover all types of European countries: (1) rather "central" European countries (Germany, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands) as well as rather "peripheral" European countries (Spain, Estonia, Hungary, Slovakia, Ireland) and a "borderline" European country (Romania); (2) northern Europe (Finland), southern Europe (Spain), western Europe (Ireland), and eastern Europe (Estonia, Hungary, Slovakia, Romania), (3) countries speaking languages from all European language groups: Germanic (German, English, Dutch), Romance (Spanish, Catalan, Romanian), Slavic (Slovak), and non-Indo-European (Finnish, Estonian, Hungarian).

[6] In Brown and Levinson's terminology (1987) we can say that Europeans' least preferred strategies for face-threatening acts are off-record strategies.

[7] In this aspect, it should be clarified that this does not mean that Europeans say the same thing over and over again. As a matter of fact, in all European countries except the two extreme countries Ireland and Romania, the Gricean (1975) maxim of manner is highly respected.

[8] For a state of the art cf. Dahl (2004).



[German legend: Mask. = masculinity; Fem. = feminity; Machtdist. = power distance; Unsicherheitsverm. = uncertainty avoidance; schw. = weak; st. = strong]

What are some specific features of European communication?

(1) One of them is the mostly reciprocal use of address terms (this is different in the Slavic Orthodox and Asian civilizations). Although not entirely absent, status seems to play a less important role than in the Sinic and Japanese civilizations. Communication between the sexes is absolutely normal in Europe, whereas it is traditionally very rare in the Arabic civilization. Some tendencies in the nominal series of address terms distinguish Europe from other civilizations. In private, Europeans nowadays agree on addressing each other by the first name comparatively fast; in business communication, you should first use the correct title, even if a change toward less formal addressing may occur quite rapidly again. Titles are definitely more important in the Hinduistic, Arabic, Sinic and Japanese civilizations; the Slavic Orthodox civilization is peculiar for its frequency of nicknames in all kinds of private and informal conversation.

(2) Except for Irish and English, there is dualism of pronominal address terms, an informal and a formal one[9], in the vast majority of European languages (which also exists in most parts of Latin America, many parts of North America, and the Slavic Orthodox nations). Europeans typically use the informal pronoun to address

- their parents[10]
- their everyday colleagues at work

Europeans typically use the formal address pronoun to address

- administration officials

With other addressees there is no uniform picture. Yet a closer look allows to group some European countries:

[9] Brown/Gilman (1960) call these T and V forms.

[10] However, in Hungary it is not untypical that people use a formal pronoun to address their parents.

- Most Europeans use the informal address pronoun for their elder relatives, but many East Europeans [Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians, Estonians] prefer the formal pronoun here.
- Many Europeans address their teacher with the formal pronoun, but some sort of vertical block in the mid of Europe (Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Catalonia) also allow students to potentially address their teacher with the informal pronoun, particularly at primary school.

In many business relationships (business partners, employer—employee, clerk—customer) it is the case that the address pronoun is invidually negotiated.

(3) Concerning salutation terms we find that many of them include wishes for a good time of the day, for health (or the question whether somebody is in good health), for success or for luck. The wish for peace, though, common Arabic and Asiatic, is absent in European civilization. It is also noteworthy that many European salutation phrases are frequently (at least in informal situations) highly reduced on a phonetic level, which is not the case in Arabic, Hinduistic, Sinic and Japanese civilizations.

(4) Salutation in telephone conversations, i.e. telephone conversation openers, differ widely from country to country (the term *Hello* or a phonetic equivalent, however, is well established or well spreading in a horizontal strip of European countries [Ireland, the UK, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Romania] and Estonia). In business telephone conversations, openers seem to differ from company to company, but it seems typically European to integrate the company's name into the opening line. Including a name in private telephone openings is rather uncommon in Europe (exceptions are the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Finland).

(5) There are no European-wide rules for when small talk is done; there are also no European-wide rules for when small talk is not done[11]. The most typical small talk topic for Europe and probably for all other civilizations is the weather. In a central cluster (Germany, Austria, Slovakia, Italy) and in Finland, generally complaining about politics and politicians is also not atypical[12]. In contrast, a general taboo topic for small talk is sexuality; in a horizontal line including Ireland, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Slovakia, and Hungary plus Finland (and potentially the rest of Scandinavia, where small talk is not so common either) and at least many groups of Estonia and Italy see salary and/or other money issues as taboo topics. In Hinduistic, Arabic, Sinic and Japanese civilization people frequently ask interlocutors about their family (in Arabic civilization, however, this excludes the wife). Due to their status-oriented nature, people from the Far East civilizations often ask for information as if they had to fill out an "official form".

(6) When Europeans want to make an argument, they most typically give their opinions first and then give reasons related to the issue.

(7) To express disagreement, the most widespread strategy among Europeans is to say "I see what you mean, but I think ...".

(8) Concerning requests, Europeans often avoid the bare imperative in favor of devices such as questions, modal auxiliaries, subjunctive, conditional, special adverbs. The exchange of verbal stems, present in Japanese und Sinic languages, is not a part of (Indo-)European languages.

(9) Invitations and offers can more typically be taken literally in Europe. Invitations that are just politeness formulae[13] such as in the US are atypical in Europe.

(10) When somebody has to say no, this is normally accompanied by some form of apology or explanation. In the civilizations of the Far East, the formal equivalents for "no" are basically tabooed in general. The most typical strategy for Europeans to turn down an

[11] Not even public toilets are unanimously seen as taboo situations for small talk.

[12] In other words: personal topics are less preferred than impersonal topics (on this distinction cf. Ventola 1979); Lakoff's (1973) "politesse" maxim is more salient than her "friendliness" maxim.

[13] Isaacs/Clark (1990) call them "ostensible invitations".

offer is to say directly, but vaguely "No, I don't have time, I have something (else) to do". It is also quite widespread among Europeans (save Belgians and Estonians) to tell the interlocutor "I'll let you know" although they will surely not contact the person again.

(11) Apologies are necessary with face-threatening acts or after someone has intruded someone else's private sphere (which is bigger and thus more easily violated in America and Asia than in Europe, and bigger in Europe than in Latin America and the Arabic nations).

(12) In Europe, compliments can safely be made on somebody's clothes and appearance (in Arabic nations this is forbidden with people of different sexes), meals, a room's equipment (even concrete objects, which is to be avoided in Arabic nations).

(13) Europeans expect and welcome phrases meaning "thank you" in quite a number of situations, whereas Hindu people use such phrases in a very economical way and frequently contend themselves with simple looks of thanks; on the other hand, other non-western civilizations have rather complex formulae of thanks.

(14) If Europeans want to signal that they want to close a conversation, their most typical strategy (save Austria) is to say "I have to go now, I have something else to do". To let the other person go is a typical reaction all over Europe, except for the "culturally peripheral" European country Romania.

Such findings should be respected whenever instructors teach intercultural competence and when instructors teach a language as a lingua franca (on this, cf. also Grzega 2008e).

In foreign language teaching, students should predominantly be equipped with a certain general consciousness for intercultural communicative differences and similarities; they should be taught the most basic fixed form (adjacency pairs) and some general means for free communication. This might, for instance, be achieved through the discussion of so-called *critical incidents*. Nevertheless, even an intensive metadiscussion of intercultural problems will never be able to replace the amount of things that one will learn during a stay abroad.

Apart from tolerance and empathy, teaching and learning a lingua franca or transcultural competence in general should include language-related strategies for intercultural situations, no matter what civilization you are in. The following could be part of these rules (cf. also Grzega 2005 & 2006: 284[14]):

(1) We should not generalize too early (there will also be variation within the foreign speech community, incl. the phenomenon of national standard varieties of a language).

(2) We should keep in mind that language not only serves for transporting information, but also for creating interpersonal bonds.

(3) We should observe others' verbal and non-verbal behavior attentively and consciously and verbalize communicative discomfort (there may also be hidden misunderstandings).

(4) We should talk distinctly and not too rapidly and support our utterance with body language.

(5) We should refrain from "insider language".

(6) We should formulate questions in a way that the addressee cannot answer with "yes" or "no", but that the addressee has to make explicit statements or explicitly choose an option.

(7) We should remember and use the most basic phrases of our host country.

[14] In addition, cf. also the concept by Müller-Jacquier (2000) and the training books by Fowler/Mumford (1995) and Landis/Bennett/Bennett (2004).

3. Extras: Some Basic Phrases in Different European Languages

Let's take this last point into account, again: it is good to know some basic formulae in a foreign language for emergency cases and for gaining the listener's sympathy. The following tables list the equivalences of the following sentences in European languages[15]:

1. Yes.
2. No.
3. Please, ...
4. Thank you.
5. I am sorry.
6. Can you help me?
7. Where is ...?
    a. the toilet
    b. the police
    c. the embassy
    d. the information

(Concerning pronunciation, specific transcriptions are only given were letters do not represent the respective sound in the transcription of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA):

THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET (2005)

CONSONANTS (PULMONIC)

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Epi-glottal	Glottal
Nasal	m	ɱ	n			ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	ɴ			
Plosive	p b	pʰ bʰ	t d			ʈ ɖ	c ɟ	k g	q ɢ		ʔ	ʔ
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	ʜ ʢ	h ɦ
Approximant		ʋ	ɹ			ɻ	j	ɰ				
Trill	ʙ		r						ʀ		ʢ	
Tap, Flap		ⱱ	ɾ			ɽ						
Lateral fricative			ɬ ɮ									
Lateral approximant			l			ɭ	ʎ	ʟ				
Lateral flap			ɺ			ɺ						

Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a modally voiced consonant, except for murmured *ɦ*.
Shaded areas denote articulations judged to be impossible. Light grey letters are unofficial extensions of the IPA.

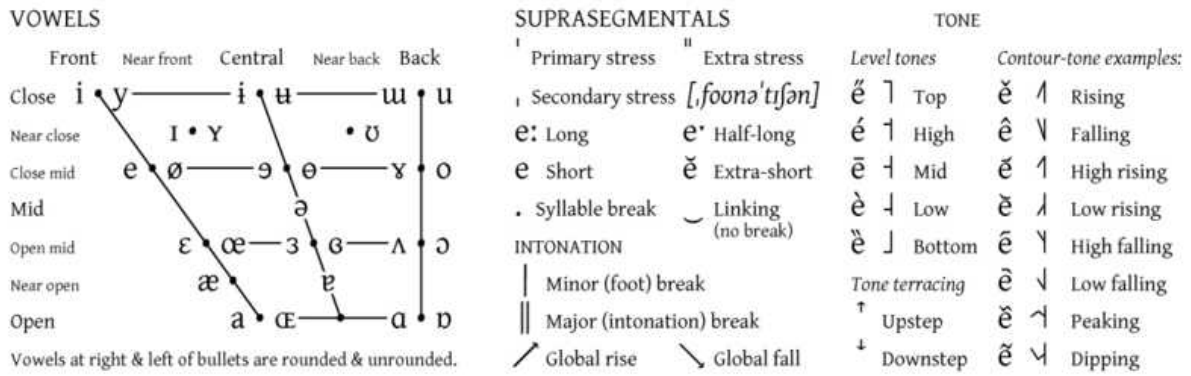
CONSONANTS (NON-PULMONIC)

Anterior click releases (require posterior stops)	Voiced implosives	Ejectives
ʘ Bilabial fricated	ɓ Bilabial	ʼ *Examples:*
ǀ Laminal alveolar fricated ("dental")	ɗ Dental or alveolar	pʼ Bilabial
ǃ Apical (post)alveolar abrupt ("retroflex")	ʃ Palatal	tʼ Dental or alveolar
ǂ Laminal postalveolar abrupt ("palatal")	ɠ Velar	kʼ Velar
ǁ Lateral alveolar fricated ("lateral")	ʛ Uvular	sʼ Alveolar fricative

CONSONANTS (CO-ARTICULATED)

ʍ	Voiceless labialized velar approximant
w	Voiced labialized velar approximant
ɥ	Voiced labialized palatal approximant
ɕ	Voiceless palatalized postalveolar (alveolo-palatal) fricative
ʑ	Voiced palatalized postalveolar (alveolo-palatal) fricative
ɧ	Simultaneous *x* and ʃ (disputed)
k͡p t͡s	Affricates and double articulations may be joined by a tie bar

[15] For assistance in collecting the equiv alent sentences I would like to thank Sandra Stenzenberger.



"[-]" will symbolize a syllable.)

Catalan

(<´>marks the stressed syllable. <e/a> = [ə] in unstressed position, <o> = [u] in unstressed position. <v/b> = [β] in these phrases, <d> = [ð] in these phrases, <c> = [s] in these phrases, <j> = [ʒ], <ix> = [ʃ], <l> = [ɫ])

1. Sí
2. No
3. Sisplau [-ˈ-]
4. Gràcies
5. Perdó.
6. Em podria ajudar?
7. On …?
    a. son els lavabos
    b. és la policia [- - --ˈ--]
    c. és la ambaixada [- - --ˈ--]
    d. és l'oficina d'informació [- --ˈ-- ---ˈ-]

Croatian

(Each vowel can be short or long, the latter are indicated through underlining here. <e> and <o> are always open: [ɛ] and [ɔ], no matter whether long or short.)

1. D<u>a</u>
2. Ne
3. Molim [ˈ--]
4. Hv<u>a</u>la [ˈxv...]
5. Žao mi je. [ʒ...]
6. Molim Vas, pomozite mi. (formal) / Molim, pomozi mi. (informal)
    [-ˈ--]
7. Gdje je..?
    a. toalet/WC [-ˈ--]/[ˈvɛtsɛ]
    b. policija [pɔˈlitsija]
    c. ambasada [--ˈsaːda]
    d. informacija

Czech

(The stress is always on the first syllable. <o, e, j, je, z, c> = [ɔ, ɛ, j, je, z, ts]. <´> marks length, not stress.)

1. Ano

2. Ne
3. Prosím
4. Děkuji
5. Je mi lito.
6. Promoz mně (informal) / Promozte mně (formal)
7. Kde je…?
    a. záchod [ˈzaːxɔt]
    b. policie
    c. ambasáda
    d. informace

Danish
1. Ja [jæ]
2. Nej [naj]
3. Værsgod [væːrsgo]
4. Tak
5. Undskyld
6. Kan du hjælpe mig? [- - ˈjælpe maj]
7. Hvor er….? [vɔr ɛr]
    a. toilettet [toiˈlɛddɛt]
    b. politiet [pɔˈliçjət]
    c. ambassaden [ɑmbaˈsaðən]
    d. informationen [infʌrmaˈçjoːnən]

Dutch
1. Ja
2. Nee
3. Alstublieft (formal) [ˈastʏblift] / Alsjeblieft (informal) [ˈasjɛblift]
4. Dank u wel (formal) [- y vɛl]/ Dank je wel (informal)
5. Sorry
6. Kunt u me helpen? (formal) [kʏnt y mɛ ˈhɛlpen...] / Kunt je me helpen? (informal)
7. Waar is...?
    a. de WC [veˈtse]
    b. de politie [pɔliˈzi]
    c. de ambassade
    d. de informatie [---ˈzi]

Estonian
(The stress is on the first syllable unless indicated otherwise. Double vowel symbols indicate long vowels. <a> = [ɑ], <ä> = [æ] <b> = [p], <d> = [t], <t> = [tt].)
1. Jah
2. Ei
3. Palun
4. Tänan
5. Vabandust
6. Saad aitama?
7. Kus on….?
    a. tualett [--ˈ-]
    b. politsei [--ˈ-]

c. suursaat
d. informatsioon [---ˈ-]

Finnish
(The stress is always on the first syllable. Double written consonants are long/double spoken consonants. Double written vowel are long spoken vowels. <y> = [ʏ], <ä> = [æ], <ö> = [œ].)
1. Kyllä
2. Ei
3. Ole hyvä (informal) / Olkaa hyvä (formal)
4. Kiitos
5. Anteeksi/olen pahoillani
6. Voitteko auttaa?
7. Missä on…?
    a. WC/vessa
    b. poliisiasema
    c. suurlähetystö
    d. infopiste

Flemish
Like Dutch, but *je* instead of *ge*.

French
1. Oui [ɥi]
2. Non [nõ]
3. S'il te plaît (informal) [siltəplɛ] / S'il vous plaît (formal) [silvuplɛ]
4. Merci [mɛrsi]
5. Pardon [pardõ]
6. Tu peux m'aider? (informal) [typømede] / Pouvez-vous m'aider? (formal) [puvevumede]
7. Où se trouve….? [usətruv]
    a. le cabinet [ləkabinɛ]
    b. la police [lapolis]
    c. l'ambassade [lɑ̃basad]
    d. l'information [lɛ̃fɔʀmasjõ]

German
(<e> = [ɛ], <ie> = [iː], <sch> = [ʃ], <ng> = [ŋ]. Double consonants indicate that the preceding vowel is pronounced short, not that the consonant is pronounced long. If not indicated otherwise, the stress is on the first syllable.)
1. Ja
2. Nein [naen]
3. Bitte
4. Danke
5. Entschuldigung [-ˈ---]
6. Kannst du mir bitte helfen? (informal) / Können Sie mir bitte helfen? (formal) [kœnɛn ...]
7. Wo ist...?
    a. die Toilette [toˈlɛtɛ]
    b. die Polizei [poliˈtsae]
    c. die Botschaft [ˈboːtʃaft]
    d. die Information [infɔrmaˈtsjoːn]

Hungarian
(The stress is always on the first syllable, <´> indicates vowel length, not stress, <e> = [ɛ], <é> = [eː], <a> = [ɒ], <á> = [aː], <ö>/<ő> = [ø]/[øː], <sz> = [s], <s> = [ʃ], <gy> = [ɟ] (= very close connection of [d]+[j]), <c> = [ts], <cs> = [tʃ])
1. Igen
2. Nem
3. Tessék
4. Köszönöm
5. Bocsánat
6. Tudnál nekem segíteni? (informal) / Tudna nekem segíteni (formal)
7. Hol van…?
    a. a WC
    b. a rendőrség
    c. a nagykövetség
    d. az információ

Irish-Gaelic
1. Tá [tɑː]
2. Níl [nʲiːlʲ]
3. Más é do thoil é [mɑːʃ eː dʲɔ hoːlʲ eː]
4. Go raibh maith agat [gˣə rˣɛvʲ mˣaʲh agˣət]
5. Tá brón orm [tɑː broːn ɔrəm]
6. Ba mbaith leat cabhriagh? [bˣə mˣah lʲət kəvʲrʲəi]
7. Cá bhfuil.? [kɑː wˣilʲ]
    a. an leithreas [ən lɛrʲəsˣ]
    b. an garda [nˣə gardə]
    c. an ambasáid [amˣbˣasˣaːdʲ]
    d. an oifig eolais [ɔfigʲ oːləʃʲ]

Italian
(<´> indicates stress. <z> = [ts].)
1. Si
2. No
3. Per favore [--ˈ--]
4. Grazie
5. Scusi (formal) [ˈskusi] / Scusa (informal)
6. Può aiutarmi? (formal) / Puoi aiutarmi? (informal)
7. Dov'è ...?
    a. il bagno [baɲo]
    b. la polizia [--ˈ--]
    c. l'ambasciata [ambaˈʃata]
    d. l'informazione

Latvian
(The stress is on the first syllable. <¯> indicates length. <c> = [ts], <e> = [ɛ] (short or long) (in these phrases), <o> = [ɔ] (short or long).)
1. Jā
2. Nē
3. Lūdzu

4. Paldies
5. Atvainojiet [atvainɐujiɛt]
6. Lūdzu, palīdziet man!
7. Kur ir….?
    a. tualete
    b. policija
    c. sūtniecība
    d. informācija

Lëtzebuergish
(<ch> = [x], <c> = [s], <w> = [v], <ë> = [ə], <ss> = [s].)
1. Jo
2. Nee
3. Wann ech gelift [---ˈ-]
4. Merci
5. Et deet mir leed [---ˈ-]
6. Kanns du mir hëllefen? (informal) [ˈ---ˈ---] / Kennt Dir mir hëllefen? (formal) [ˈ---ˈ---]
7. Wou ass…?
    a. d'toilette
    b. d'police
    c. d'ambassade
    d. den renseignement [rɑ̃seɲəˈmɑ̃]

Lithuanian
(<š> = [ʃ], <č> = [tʃ], <c> = [ts], <a> = [ɑ], <y> = [iː], <ū> = [uː]. <ˋ> indicates that the vowels is short and stressed, <ˊ> indicates that the vowels is long and stressed, <˜> indicates that this vowel is part of a diphthong and stressed. In front of [e, i, j] all consonants are palatalized, i.e. they are spoken as if a [j] is spoken at the same time.)
1. Taĩp
2. Nè
3. Prašom
4. Ačiū
5. Atsiprašaũ
6. Prašau padékite mán.
7. Kur yra…?
    a. tualètas
    b. polìcija
    c. ambasadà
    d. informacija

Norwegian
1. Ja [jɑ]
2. Nei [naɪ]
3. Vær så god [ʋær sɔ ɡuː]
4. Takk [tɑk]
5. Unnskyld [ʉnʃʏll]
6. Kan du hjelpe meg? [kan dʉ ˈhjɛlpə mæj]
7. Hvor er...? [ʋo ər]
    a. toalettet [toɑˈlɛtət]
    b. politiet [pɔliˈtiət]

c. ambassaden [amba'sadən]
d. informasjonen [infɔrma'ʃoːnən]

Polish
(The stress is on the second-to-last syllable (or if there is none on that one syllable). <sz> = [ʃ], <dz> = [dʒ], <cz> = [tʃ], <rz>/<ż> = [ʒ], <c> [ts], <ó> = [u], <ę> = [ɛw̃], <ą> = [ɔw̃].)
1. Tak
2. Nie
3. Proszę
4. Dziękuję
5. Przepraszam
6. Czy możesz mi pomóc? (informal) / Czy może pan mi pomóc? (formal, to males) / Czy może pani mi pomóc? (formal to females)
7. Gdzie jest…?
    a. toaleta
    b. policja
    c. ambasada
    d. informacja
8. Gdzie jest...?

Portuguese
1. Sim [sĩ]
2. Não [nɐ̃u]
3. Por favor [purfɐ'vɔr]
4. Obrigado [uβri'ɣaðu]
5. Desculpe [des'kuɫpɐ]
6. Podias ajudar-me? [pu'ðiɐs ɐʒu'ðarmə] (informal) / Podia ajudar-me? (formal)
7. Onde é….? ['õndɛ 'eː]
    a. a casa de banho [ɐ'kazɐðə'baɲu]
    b. a polícia [ɐpu'lisjɐ]
    c. a embaixada [ɐẽmbai'ʃaðɐ]
    d. a informação [ɐ̃ifurmɐ'sɐ̃u]

Slovak
(The stress is always on the first syllable. <ʹ> marks length, not stress. <i> = [ɪ] (short or long, <o> = [ɔ] (short or long), <ô> = [wɔ], <c> = [ts], <ť> = [tɕ] (close connection of [t]+[j]).)
1. Áno
2. Nie
3. Prosím
4. Ďakujem
5. Pardón
6. Môžete mi pomôcť?
7. Kde je...?
    a. záchod ['zaːxɔt]
    b. polícia
    c. veľvyslanectvo
    d. informácia

Slovene
1. Da
2. Ne
3. Prosim
4. Hvala
5. Oprostite
6. Mi lahko pomagate?
7. Kje je …?
    a. wc
    b. policija
    c. poslaništvo
    d. podatek

Spanish
(The stress is on the second-to-last syllable unless marked otherwise with <´> or unless given differently. Vowels are short, <e> = [ɛ], <o> = [ɔ], <d> = [ð] unless given differently, <b>/<v> = [β] (in the phrases here), <c> = [θ] (in the phrases here), <j> = [x], <ñ> = [ɲ].)
1. Sí
2. No
3. Por favor [faˈβɔr]
4. Gracias [ˈɡraθjas]
5. ¡Perdone!
6. ¿Pues ayudarme, por favor? (informal) / ¿Puede ayudarme, por favor? (formal)
7. ¿Dónde está …?
    a. el baño
    b. la policía
    c. la embajada
    d. la información

Swedish
1. Ja [jɑː]
2. Nej
3. Varsågod [ˈvarsoːɡuːd]
4. Tack [tak]
5. Förlåt [ˈfœːˈloːt]
6. Kan du hjälpa mig? [kan dyː jælpa mɛj]
7. Var är…? [ˈvarær]
    a. toaletten [-ˈ--]
    b. polisen [-ˈ--]
    c. ambassaden [--ˈ--]
    d. informationen [infɔrmaˈʃuːn]

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Lingua Franca English as a Way to Intercultural and Transcultural Competence

Basic Global English (BGE) and Other Concepts of English as a Lingua Franca*

Abstract

This contribution argues that, in a globalized world, one of the elementary skills to be acquired is global and cross-cultural competence characterized by tolerance and empathy. Taking into account current policies and juxtaposing different models of "simplified" English, the article votes for Basic Global English (BGE) and "Advanced Global English" as a new alternative. The article illustrates how BGE focusses on the acquisition of a globally relevant vocabulary and globally effective communicative strategies and offers empirical results from on-going projects.

Sommaire

Cette contribution affirme que dans un monde globalisé, l'une des compétences élémentaires à acquérir, c'est la compétence globale et cross-culturelle, caractérisée par la tolérance et par l'empathie. Etant basé sur des méthodes actuelles et juxtaposant des modèles différents d'un anglais « simplifié », l'article se prononce pour *Basic Global English* (*BGE*) et pour *Advanced Global English* comme nouvelle alternative. L'article montre comment *BGE* focalise sur l'acquisition d'un vocabulaire d'intérêt global et de stratégies de communication effectives et fournit des résultats empiriques de projets en voie de réalisation.

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Beitrag legt dar, dass in einer globalisierten Welt eine der zu erwerbenden Grundkompetenzen eine von Toleranz und Empathie geprägte globale und kulturübergreifende Kompetenz ist. Unter Berücksichtigung gegenwärtiger Politiken und Gegenüberstellung verschiedener Modelle von "vereinfachtem" Englisch spricht sich der Artikel für *Basic Global English (BGE)* und "Advanced Global English" als neue Alternativen aus. Der Beitrag zeigt auf, wie BGE einen Schwerpunkt auf den Erwerb eines global relevanten Wortschatzes und global effektiver Kommunikationsstrategien legt, und bietet empirische Ergebnisse aus laufenden Projekten.

1. Introduction: Communicative Needs and Desires in a Globalized World

Futurologists and economists (e.g. Nefiodow 1996, Pincas 2001, Händeler 2003, Rifkin 2004, Spiegel 2005, and the contributions in Harrison/Huntington 2000) claim that with the transition into an information society education has turned out to be a global problem equally as serious as global ecological problems. According to some of them the biggest economic problem is to channel the flood of information, to separate out relevant knowledge and to apply it productively—all within sensible financial limits. With respect to so-called developed countries, they say that new well paid jobs are only created when people collect, analyze, present and give information and that today companies no longer need to optimize the flow of information between man and machine, but rather between and among humans. In brief, we need to learn to communicate with colleagues, customers, providers and partners in an atmosphere of trust and efficiency in order to make information flow without obstacles. And

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in a globalized world this also requires a global means of communication.

If we look at some of the objectives promoted by the UN we realize, too, that these can only be achieved with a common means of communication, e.g. if we look at the following policies, or objectives, taken from three fundamental UN documents:

- UN Millennium Goal # 2 ("achieve universal primary education")
- UN Millennium Declaration ("to promote greater harmony and tolerance in all societies", "allowing genuine participation by all citizens in all our countries", "the right of the public to have access to information")
- UN Declaration of Human Rights Art. 26 ("the right to education", "Education ... shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations") and Art. 27 ("the right freely ... to share in scientific advancement and its benefits")

2. Ways to Fulfill These Needs

In articles on socioeconomic linguistics (Grzega 2005a & 2005b) I have suggested the following formula of global trilingualism as a minimum requirement of linguistic skills for global peace and global economic growth: "the global lingua franca + one's mother tongue + a third language of choice". The function of the lingua franca will be to make the global exchange of information and ideas easier and faster and thus offer everyone a fair share in the world's knowledge.

Ultimately, the communicative need and desire for all world citizens is to acquire, as quickly as possible, a level of **global and cross-cultural communicative competence characterized by tolerance and empathy**. Thanks to its current role English seems the best natural and most widely accepted candidate as a global lingua franca—but not the standard varieties of American English or British English: looking at the history of other linguae francae in the past, it is advisable that English is not bound to an individual, native culture if we want it to enjoy world-wide and continual acceptance. On the other hand, proposals of creators of "artifial", culture-unbound auxiliary languages such as Esperanto have, unfortunately, not yet managed—in the case of Esperanto not even 120 years after its birth—to attract larger portions of the world's citizens and those responsable for language policies. Didactically and linguistically, Esperanto, a strictly agglutinating language, seems to be easier for learners—this is what some studies going on since the 1970's have suggested (cf., e.g., Lobin/Frank 1998), and it can be shown that Esperanto is not just a grammatical and lexical system, but also has its pragmatic rules (cf. Fischer 2008). A concept of "natural" Global English might therefore be helpful as a compromise. "If English is to be considered a world language, it should not be restricted to any single culture. English as an international language should be able to accomodate different cultural elements and thoughts" (Poon 2006: 25ff.). As a first step toward such "natural" Global English I suggest the relatively new concept of Basic Global English (BGE).

3. Why We Need a New Concept of English as a Foreign Language

Several analyses of non-native/non-native discourse have shown that non-native forms are actually sometimes quite intelligible and do not impede communicative success, while other non-native forms may cause communicative breakdown. With all these valuable empirical observations on English Lingua Franca, time seemed ripe to me to think about fruitful ways of making use of these findings with respect to language teaching—particularly since the following observations corroborate this search for a new way of Teaching English as a Foreign Language for both socioeconomic and didactic reasons.

(1) From personal interviews with employers in Germany and interviews with employers

and trainees in the German press we know that people looking for a job, especially, but not excusively older people, do often not have a sufficient command of English. And this is seen by German employers as one of today's key competences, even though a certain job may at first sight not even require skills in English and even though older people may surpass younger ones in valuable job experience.

(2) Surveys initiated by the European Council (TNS Opinion & Social 2006) have revealed that the majority of the citizens in the following European countries do not feel that they have sufficient knowledge of English for participating in a conversation in English: the Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia and Spain as well as the immigrant population in Ireland and the UK.

(3) In many textbooks for TEFL (for compulsory schools, for adult courses, for self-teaching), interactions/conversations in English as a Global Lingua Franca are entirely marginal. Three examples from the German bookmarket: (a) the widely used school textbook *Highlight* picks out English as a lingua franca as a theme only in Unit 5 of Volume 5 [= Year 5]; (b) in Digital Publishing's *komplettkurs english* for self-taught English situations only USA, (c) in *PONS Sprachkurs Interaktiv English* situations mainly in the UK, some in the US and a few in Canada).

(4) Not reflecting the role of English as a global lingua franca in the selection of contents seems a general policy for European school-life. In 2007, in one of my Eurolinguistics seminars, I had my students contact applied linguists from almost all European countries to check to what degree forms of English as a lingua franca are integrated into or discussed in actual Teaching English as a Foreign Language. Unfortunately, we have not received answers for all countries, but we can safely say that from a European perspective Lingua Franca English plays no role in actual teaching; if at all, it is rather an academic issue at university, and at best marginal at school. In European schools, students get to know British and American English, sometimes also examples of the New Englishes (e.g. India, South Africa). In Germany, where each federal state (*Bundesland*) has its own curriculum, not a single federal state reflects the role of English in their primary school curriculum beyond the mere statement that English is a world language. The Bavarian primary school curriculum, for instance, does not even include any aspects/topics on Ireland, Canada, Australia, India, South Africa, let alone countries where English has no (co-)official status. And also the selection of linguistic forms show that it is not the goal of these curricula to provide globally effective communicative strategies for the most basic and frequent communicative situations. Two examples: Short answers like *Yes, it is/No, it isn't* are given a prominent place in the Bavarian curriculum, but how important are they for lingua-franca situations? Metaphorical/idiomatic expressions are included already at a low level, but how helpful and successful are expressions that cannot be interpreted word-for-word in lingua-franca communication? Some curricula do not mention communicative, or politeness, strategies at all, e.g. the curriculum for Bavarian Hauptschulen.

(5) From observations we know that many teachers evaluate "mistakes" not with respect to their effect and their efficiency in lingua-franca discourses. German teachers penalize *Sursday* instead of *Thursday* and *sink* instead of *think*, but not *veggies* instead of *wedges*, *chop* instead of *job*, or *chess* instead of *jazz*, although the discrimination of voiced and voiceless consonants has empirically been proven to be more vital than the substitution of [θ] by [s] (cf. below). Similar things can be observed in the field of grammar.

(6) In the German curricula the communicative aspect is not prominent before the second year of learning English (e.g. the speech acts "explaining games", "giving information about oneself, one's hobbies, one's school", "writing a profile", "asking about one's family" in the Bavarian curriculum's second year of English), while the first year is characterized by a lot of fossilized phrases in games, rhymes and songs.

(7) Despite published empirical results on lingua franca English, Nerrière/Dufresne/Bourgon (2005) did not respect any of these in their creation of "Globish". They adhere to standard native English grammar (with quite a few mispresentations of standard English in the Globish manual); in principle, the Globish sound system also takes standard English pronunciation as a model, but allows a few deviations—unfortunately, they are based on intuition and are done rather inconsistently and sometimes even wrongly. Nowhere do the authors explain their principles for selecting their 1,500 Globish words. (On concrete examples to be criticized cf. my review on Globish [Grzega 2006b]).

(8) In Threshold Level English (van Ek/Alexander 1980), a system that has also been transferred to other European languages, native standard English pronunciation and native standard grammar is nowhere in question. ELF discourses were not further analyzed for respecting the effects of non-native forms in a "simplified English". The Threshold Level English vocabulary is notion-based. However, it seems that the threshold-level vocabulary comprehends many more words than beginners would generally need. It contains ca. 1,500 words, including the grammatical words. Of these, ca. 1,050 are to be mastered as part of the active vocabulary, ca. 450 words are needed for the receptive command of English. It is laudable that van Ek and Alexander's vocabulary list is notion-based, not language-based and some of the items included in their list and the items in my list are debatable; but are words such as *antique, ashtray, blanket, blue zone, canteen, cloakroom, enquiries* really necessary on a basic level? On the other hand, I have also included words that van Ek and Alexander's list does not show. Under the letter A this would be the words *accuse, action, admit, advise, aim, allergic, angry, appear, attachment, attack, awake*. However, a concept of English as a global language should attempt to respect both the needs regarding active communication and the needs regarding passive understanding.

(9) Nuclear English (Stein 1979, Quirk 1981): In Nuclear English, too, native standard English pronunciation and native standard grammar is nowhere in question. ELF discourses were not further analyzed for respecting the effects of non-native forms in a "simplified English". If we have a look at Nuclear English vocabulary, then we should first underscore that there are also sound reasons to base the development of a vocabulary on structural-semantic principles and to respect pragmatic conventions. Nonetheless, concerning vocabulary and grammar, a number of pragmatically artificial constructions have been proposed, as Quirk argues (1981, 157): "the most frequent items are those that are most to be excluded from Nuclear English since they are the most polysemous". Moreover, Nuclear English still awaits a more concrete and fuller elaboration. Likewise, the project World Language Process, started in 1993, aims at elaborating a form of simplified English for international purposes, or rather English-based International Auxiliary Language (cf. http://www.worldlanguageprocess.org). But, here too, many things are not yet ready for the broad audience, and it is unclear when this will be the case.

(10) BASIC English (developped by Ogden (e.g. 1934) and recently re-promoted by Templer (e.g. 2005)): BASIC English, too, accepts standard native English grammar and standard native (British/American?) pronunciation. Ogden's vocabulary selection was notion-based. The BASIC English vocabulary items were selected by his 10-year long teaching experience. His aim was to chose 850 words: this would enable one to learn 30 words in one hour per day and learn the entire vocabulary in less than a month.

(11) Hogben's (1963) hardly quoted concept of Essential World English does not question standard grammar either, but his 1,300 lexical items, called "essential semantic units", are based on a set of principles respecting aspects of semantic structure, morphological structure, and morphosemantic structure. Frequency does not play a role.

With these observations, I have attempted to create an alternative concept of (teaching) English to beginners that enables students to acquire communicative competence in a comparatively fast way: Basic Global English (BGE). BGE can be seen as

- a time-saving first phase for learners of English, open for developing larger skills of all kinds or levels of Englishes afterwards (according to the learners' individual needs)
- reduced but natural, not artificial English (it should be noted, though, that *natural* in my concept does not mean *native standard*; as a matter of fact, several elements allowed are non-standard or standard in the outer circle)
- English for international contexts (consisting of forms that empirical studies have proven to be internationally intelligible).

A full description of BGE and information on current projects with BGE can be freely accessed in the Internet (http://www.basicglobalenglish.com, cf. also the first illustration of the model in Grzega 2005b). Didactic aspects are also elaborated in Grzega (2008) and Grzega/Schöner (2007).

4. Basic Global English

Observations on non-native/non-native communication have shown that the use of non-standard or non-native grammatical forms only very rarely impedes communicative success; communicative breakdowns are rather triggered by lexical or phonetic obstacles; as far as pragmatic misinterpretations are concerned studies have not yielded any clear results (cf. James [1998], Jenkins [2003] and Seidlhofer [2004] for states of the art). Therefore, the main target of BGE are an essential pronunciation of phonemes and the command of a generally useful vocabulary plus vocabulary-extension tools. In addition, learners should acquire a few general pragmatic skills for international communication.

4.1. Grammar

BGE respects that empirical analyses (cf., e.g., Seidlhofer 2004, Meierkord 2004) have illustrated that violations against standard English grammar rarely lead to misunderstandings —the lexicogrammatical context or the semantic-extralinguistic context normally suffice to interpret the string of morphological forms correctly. Nevertheless, learners need guidelines. BGE therefore includes forms that are not standard native English, but can, very often, be heard in English non-standard varieties from the Inner Circle or standard varieties from the Outer Circle, too. Such non-standard forms are predominantly levelled-out irregularities (e.g. irregular verbs). This will accelerate the learning process, as experiments with Esperanto classes in elementary school have revealed that students learn a language faster (and also further languages that they will study in their later life) if their first foreign language is regular (cf., e.g., Frank/Lobin 1998). Of course, the consistent regularity of Esperanto cannot be offered in BGE, as BGE does not ban native variants. But the regular forms are particularly dwelled on in the grammar chapter. BGE learners are nonetheless encouraged to memorize very prominent exceptions to a "regular grammatical pattern". In general, BGE offers the most elementary, most functional and most frequent grammatical patterns of English (just as a "reduced" or "simplified" grammar also works in telegraphs and headlines). Here is an example of BGE grammar rule (Rule #8):

> To describe something in the past, a frequent possibility is to write an *ed* attached to the basic form. This *ed* is pronounced [ɪd] after an *d* and *t* (e.g. *he painted*), [d] after any other voiced sound (e.g. *he lived, died* [lɪvd daɪd]), [t] after any other voiceless sound (e.g. *he walked* [wɔːkt]). An alternative for describing something in the past is to use the present form of *have* (*have* or *has*) and the past participle, which is also frequently formed by attaching *ed* to the stem (e.g. *I have painted, he has lived*). This latter solution is preferred by native speakers when the past action has some connection with the present. However, if the wrong past form is used, there will hardly occur any misunderstandings. Unfortunately, there are a

number of frequent irregularities in the forms. Here the past form comes before the dash, the past participle after it: *be > was* (with *I/he/she/it* or a singular noun) or *were* (with *you/they* or a plural noun) – *been*, *have > had – had*, *do > did – done*, *go > went – gone, make > made – made, come > came – come, become > became – become, get > got – got, tell > told – told, say > said – said, give > gave – given, take > took – taken, eat > ate – eaten, put > put – put, think > thought – thought* and other verbs from the BGE Vocabulary. The forms of the first four verbs should definitely be memorized. If you cannot memorize the others, adding *ed* to the basic form will mostly be understood by other people. N.B.: The first past tense form is called "simple past", the second "present perfect".

Some may argue that grammar should be normative and not allow variation, but we have to keep in mind that every standard variety also allows for (quasi-)synonymy in grammar. Possessive constructions in native standard English, for example, can be expressed by the *s*-construction or by the *of*-construction (*my best friend's wedding = the wedding of my best friend*). The denotation is the same although the stylistic and the pragmatic, or connotative, meaning may be different. Deviations from standard morphology are certainly most easily spotted. However, native speakers regard these deviations often as "less serious errors" than non-native speakers (cf., e.g., Hecht/Green [1983], especially 66-70).

4.2. Pronunciation

Jennifer Jenkins (e.g. 2003) was the first to stress the need to define "lingua franca core" features as they result from empirical studies. Concerning sounds, which she had dwelled on, these include the following items:

- consonant sounds except for substitutions of /θ/ and /ð/ and of dark 'l' [ɫ]
- vowel quantity (but not quality except for /ɜ:/)
- aspiration after initial /p/, /t/, and /k/
- word initial and medial consonant clusters
- nuclear (tonic) stress
- rhoticity (like AmE rather than BrE)
- /t/ should always stay /t/ (no lenition like in AmE)
- allophonic variation permissible as long as there is no overlap onto another phoneme (e.g. Spanish [β] for [v] is often perceived as [b] by other non-native speakers; non-aspirated [p, t, k] in word-initial position instead of [p^h, t^h, k^h] is often perceived as [b, d, g])
- simplification of consonant clusters only in mid- and final position according to native English rules of syllable structure (e.g. for *fa<u>cts</u>heet* [-kʃ-] is permissible, but not [-tʃ-] or [-kt-].

BGE's sound chapter is rooted in these observations and describes the production of the individual sounds in everyday terms. Depending on a learner's mother tongue some sounds will be particularly difficult to master and will thus also need a contrastive description. For some sounds, empirical studies reveal better and worse phonetic surrogates. For instance, if [θ] cannot be pronounced correctly (e.g. by German and French learners), it is, on a global level, better to use [t] than to use [s]. This must also be taught to the learners.

4.3. Vocabulary and Vocabulary-Extension Techniques

Vocabulary is the most essential element for communication. On the one hand, learners should be aware that they already know a lot of internationalisms that are of English origin or of different origin but also known in English. These words are international because they refer to international concepts or because they are the names of internationally known things or because we have got familiar with them from international media. Of course, the amount of words common with English will depend on the learners' mother tongue. On the other hand, there are three major problematic lexical areas: (a) lexical gaps, (b) "serious false friends", (c) metaphorical expressions (that cannot be interpreted word-for-word or are not very obvious).

To enable learners to overcome lexical gaps BGE aims at developing a basic vocabulary with word-formation and paraphrasing techniques and an individual word-stock at the same time.

I have already described the guiding principles for selecting the words for my BGE vocabulary in my fundamental BGE article (Grzega 2005b: 80f.). Since BGE tries to offer a rapid acquisition of both active and passive communication skills, the word selection is not grounded in a purely notion-based and morphosemantic approach. The aspect of passive communication required that word frequencies be taken into account, too. As Bauman and Culligan's General Service List was, at the time when I first thought about creating BGE, the most recent frequency list (1995), I first extracted all types with more than 500 tokens in their corpus—unfortunately only words, not designations. This resulted in 208 words (including pronouns, conjunctions and prepositions). I then crossed out the grammatical words and put these into the grammar section where they are treated as grammatical morphemes. The remaining stock was then supplemented by words that seemed necessary for active conversation: I used Wierzbicka's list of semantic primes (cf. http://www.une.edu.au/bcss/linguistics/nsm/semantics-in-brief.php) and checked "basic vocabulary" books for learners of English of different mother tongues as well as the basic word list of the DCE and accepted those words that were destitute of clear bonds with any specific, individual nation or culture. Then I had my students comment on this list in class and on the *EuroLinguistiX* discussion forum. Eventually, I could reduce the list to 750 words. For the words from Bauman and Culligan's list I only accepted salient meanings (based on my check of "basic vocabulary" dictionaries). The "meaning column" of the BGE word-list should and does not list all senses of a word; it lists the ones relevant for the central conceptual fields for basic intercultural communication. Thus, *court* is only glossed with 'courthouse', but not with 'royal home', *list* as a verb is only given as 'writing a record of short pieces of information', but not as 'leaning', *juice* is only the designation for 'drink out of fruits', but not for 'electric power', *game* is only used for 'play', but not for 'deer', *plate* only refers to 'dish', but not to 'flat piece', *sex* only denotes 'gender', but not 'sexual intercourse' (the latter meaning rather falling into the field of internationalisms). Metaphors should only be used if objectively obvious and should be marked (*this is **like**...*). Also of note, learners need to be aware that different nations or social groups categorize the world in different ways. It should not surprise that the word *family*, for example, is interpreted by Americans as 'parents + children', by Europeans as 'grandparents + parents + children' and by Arabs as 'everyone that is only remotely related to him/her'. Likewise, *old* will have positive connotation in Chinese and other Asian cultures (due to their orientation toward ancient authorities), while it will have mostly negative connotation among North Americans and Europeans (due to their orientation toward innovation). With some words even the exact denotation or reference might be difficult due to cultural divergence in prototypicality. Thus *football* in Europe differs from *football* in North America and *football* in Australia. And the term *theater* will also encompass the movie theater in many North Americans' speech. Such peculiarities should be pointed out to the learner. A didactic-lexicographical problem in the BGE vocabulary list is the treatment of homonymy and polysemy. There were seven words that made me reflect a lot on this problem: (1) *arm* as 'weapon' and as 'body-part', (2) *present* as 'now' and as 'gift', (3) *set* as 'put', as 'collection', as 'group', as 'ready', and as 'fixed', (4) *mean* as 'evil', as 'not generous' and as 'signify', (5) *state* as 'country', as 'situation, condition' and as 'claim', (6) *ring* as 'circle' and as 'sound', (7) *lie* as 'be in horizontal position' and as 'not tell the truth'. I have eventually decided to treat every case as one word, since the meanings for (1), although historically not related, are often thought of as belonging together (informal tests with students have shown that the senses are seen in metonymic relation, the weapon is carried with the arm), in cases (2) and (3) the single senses are clearly felt as being dependent from one another, and cases (4) and (5) are actually cases of polysemy in a diachronic definition. (6) and (7) are indeed instances—the only ones—that

are neither from a synchronic nor from a diachronic viewpoint classifiable as polysemies (although from a synchronic viewpoint hardly anybody would see a connection—also with (4) and (5)—, putting together these senses might even make sense from a didactic perspective, as such a strange semantic range might even facilitate the memorization of the words).

In addition, BGE encourages learners to use patterns to enlarge their word-stock, just with the words from the basic vocabulary if they do not have the proper word at hand. Here are two examples of BGE word-formation methods:

- by combining two words (sequence: in English the first word determines the second), e.g. *main street*, *birthday*, *home country, front door, computer program, mother tongue* [already listed in the Basic Vocabulary] (the elements are sometimes written as separated words, sometimes as one word, sometimes with a hyphen—however, this is irrelevant for successful communication)
- by adding prefixes and suffixes, e.g. *ment* attached to a verb expresses the action in the form of a noun or the result of the action, e.g. *judgement, development, payment*

Finally, the vocabulary section includes techniques of paraphrasing to overcome lexical gaps, e.g. "In paraphrases and explanations the sequence "superordinate term – particular feature" may be helpful, e.g. *a cat is an animal that eats mice; a piano is an instrument with white and black keys; a piano is the instrument that Duke Ellington and Arthur Rubenstein played*." Moreover, learners must be familiarized with the use of hedges such as *kind of* and *somehow*. I have already stated that metaphorical expressions are often problematic. This not only holds true for syntagmas, but also for single words.

There may be an automatic competence for such strategies, but in BGE they are seen as successful techniques, not negatively as signs of a lack of lexical knowledge.

BGE also requires that each learner create an individual stock of 250 words for talking about himself or herself or things he, or she, is interested in. This may include work (or school), hobbies, family, one's home, and customs of one's own culture. This concept guarantees learners a comparatively high degree of autonomy. The teacher just recommends a good (bilingual) dictionary to the learners (a collection of links to on-line dictionaries is provided at http://www.onomasiology.de under "Helpful Internet Sources").

4.4. Politeness Strategies and Further Conversational Strategies

In actual communication, speakers will quickly find out that knowledge of linguistic forms alone does not insure successful communication, it is also crucial to know *when* to use which form, i.e. it is also crucial to be familiar with politeness strategies, since politeness strategies can vary significantly from civilization to civilization. None of the other simplified Englishes really addresses this aspect, but "over-politeness" can be as confusing for the interlocutor as "under-politeness". Therefore, BGE attempts a compromise. Based on own experiences and on others' studies and views (e.g. Berns 1990, Bromme et al. 2001, Clark 1996, Hall 1976, Hofstede 2000, House 1999, Hunfeld 2004, Lesznyák 2004, Meierkord/Knapp 2002, Pincas 2001, Rosenberg 2003, Smith/Rafiqzad 1983, Sneyd 2001, Thomas 1983, Varonis/Gass 1985, Yule 1990) the following conversational strategies were developed for BGE:

(1) The first fundamental principle is: Mindful and respectful listening, mindful and respectful speaking.
(2) As a "saver", a sentence like *That's how we say (in my country)* can be inserted or added. This signals the interlocutor that the speaker is just transferring his or her own conventions into Global English. Another way is to say directly: *I think there is a misunderstanding*.
(3) A positive atmosphere is created if positive words are used. This holds even true for complaints. If you want to stay polite, then it is advisable that you use the positive element of antonymic word-

pairs. Instead of *good—bad* it is better to use *good—not good* or (still more polite) *good—not so good*.

(4) Terms of address: In the field of personal pronouns, English (in contrast to many other languages in the world) only has *you*, both as a formal and as an informal pronoun, both for one addressee and for several addressees. Apart from this, there are a number of "neutral titles", e.g. *sir*, *Mr.* (when addressing male adults), *madam* or *mam*, *Ms.* (when addressing female adults). *Mr.* and *Ms.* can also be used in connection with the family names. Besides, there are professional titles like *President* and academic titles like *Professor*. If you introduce yourself for the first time you should say your full given and family name as well as your title and then say (indirectly or directly) if the interlocutor can or should neglect the title (e.g. "I am the president. My name is Dr. Paul Miller. You can call me Paul." in contrast to "I am President Dr. Paul Miller."; in the latter instance the interlocutor will use a very formal term of address like "President"). If you are not sure about how to address someone else you can ask this person: "So what would be the right way to call you?". A neutral greeting term is *Hello* (informally also *Hi*), a neutral leave-taking term is *Good-bye* (informally also *Bye*). After *Hello* it would be polite to ask the other person *How are you?*; but in general you just expect the answer *Fine* and not an extended "honest" account. Letters can be opened with *Dear* + name (or + *madam/sir*, if the name is not known). Informal letters can also be opened with *Hi* + name. A letter can be closed with *Best wishes* or, if the letter is formal, with *Yours truly,* + signature.

(5) Especially with critical topics you need to make sure that you have understood an utterance by your interlocutor. This may be done with the following phrases: *So do I understand you correctly that you want me to do the following: ...* or *So do I understand you correctly that we should do the following: ....* With criticals topics you also want to make sure that your interlocutor has understood your utterance. This can be done the following way: *I am not sure if my explanation was good enough. Could you tell me in your words what you think I wanted to say?* If you use words that are unknown to your interlocutor, be ready to paraphrase words with the techniques given in the Vocabulary section under point 5 (2). Normally you should not use figurative language, because some cultures may not understand your images. However, if you want to use figurative language for explanation, say: *This is like...* or *This is similar to ...*

(6) Questions and requests should not just be formed as simple interrogative or imperative sentences. The word *please* should always be added at the end. Moreover, a request should be formulated as an interrogative, not as an imperative sentence. Example: Instead of *Open the window!* it is more polite to say *Could you open the window, please?*. If need be, you have to state explicitly that you're not uttering an order, but a request: *I wanted to say a request, not an order*. Besides, a conversation that is started in order to ask something from the other person should be started with the words *Excuse me, ...* The same holds true if you want to complain or express that you disagree. In the former case, you can say: *When you do this, I feel sad, because my need for autonomy/health/beauty/leisure is not satisfied. Would you be ready to do the following?*. In the latter case, this can be done with the words *I don't think so* or *I don't agree* (instead of *don't* the form *do not* is also possible).

(7) With the words *Sorry* or *I am sorry* you apologize for a small and big "offense" you have committed. It is already a small offense if you come too close to somebody. You respond to the phrase *(I am) sorry* with the words *That is* [or *That's*] *OK* or *No problem*. If you feel that there was a true offense, then you may want to ask: *Please tell me if I have hurt you in any way. This was not what I wanted. I am sorry that this has hurt you.*

(8) Offers should be accepted with *Yes, please. (Thank you.)* or refused with *No, thank you*. For all positive things that others do to you you should say *Thank you* or—for relatively big positive things—*Thank you very much*.

(9) In a case of emergency you should shout *Help!* or *Fire!*.

(10) Small Talk: Safe topics for international small talk are the weather, (positive) travel experiences and sports. You should avoid religion, politics, sexuality and questions that are too private (asking for the professional position is okay, though). You should also avoid jokes. Humor differs a lot between countries. If you have made a joke or a funny remark, you can add the phrase *as we say in my country* or *as we could say in my country* as a "saver". You should also watch out when paying compliments: you can compliment a gift or the meal of your host; other things should only be complimented if you know that this is common in the host country. For international settings, you should say thank you for a compliment (and give back a similar one). (But in general, reactions to compliments vary from culture to culture.)

(11) You should seek that you and your interlocutor's share of talking should be roughly equal. If the interlocutor says too little, this may be due to the fact that you've given him/her not enough chances, e.g. because the pauses after your contribution was too short (in some cultures pauses after a conversational turn can be comparatively long).

(12) Finally, a remark on non-verbal conversational elements: Rules for body distance and eye contact

can differ very much from culture to culture. Trained "international" speakers should make sure that the interlocutor does not feel uneasy.

Also of note, speakers must make sure that metaphorical politeness expressions are not misunderstood. Not everybody understands a Zambian's *I see you've put on weight* as a phrase expressing 'You're looking well' (cf. Berns 1990). Further research in europragmatics will help finetune these "rules" and offer more advice for intercultural communication at a more advanced level.

In addition to these rules, learners should also remember some general rules for intercultural communication (cf. Grzega 2005a: 35f., 2006a: 202-204):

1. The only generalization one can make: "Don't generalize."
2. Language not only serves for transporting information, but also for creating interpersonal bonds.
3. Formulate questions in a way that the addressee cannot answer with "yes" or "no", but that the addressee has to make explicit statements or explicitly choose an option.
4. Listen and watch others and yourself attentively and consciously. There might be hidden misunderstandings.
5. Respect other cultures' values as equally valuable and in the entire context of the other culture.
6. Use standard speech or general colloquial speech. Speak slowly and distinctly. Your sentences shouldn't be too complex. You may support your utterance with body language.
7. Don't make unexplained utterances that require "insider" knowledge.
8. Be aware that linguistic politeness rules may be different from situation to situation.
9. If you feel that there is a misunderstanding, you should verbalize this in a circumspect manner.
10. Feel friendly toward the other. Smile!

Finally, there are also communicative strategies that native speakers and non-native speakers on a more advanced level of English can pursue to improve conversation with speakers with a lower command of English (cf. also Grzega 2005b: 68):

- accept BGE variants as rightful variants in international contexts, but without switching into "foreigner talk" such as generally uninflected verbs, simplified and preposed negation patterns, confusion of subject and object pronouns, loss of prepositions and general elimination of articles (cf., e.g., Ferguson 1975)
- use a pronunciation that exhibits full vowels instead of schwa in unstressed syllables (this has proven to be more successful in lingua-franca communication)
- abstain from metaphorical expressions that cannot be interpreted word-for-word (these have proven to be problematic in lingua-franca communication).

4.5. Summary on the BGE System

To sum up, the following points distinguish BGE from the other simplified Englishes (cf. also Grzega 2005b: 67, 2006b, Grzega/Schöner 2007):

- BGE does not take native standard English as a model but accepts the variants of successful lingua franca communication, also called the "lingua franca core", as partly suggested by other linguists. This does not mean that BGE is artificial: the variants are not invented, but are already in use and can be found in native and/or non-native English dialects. The acceptability of forms is based not on the question "correct or incorrect with respect to standard English?", but it is not based on an "anything goes" policy either; it is based on the question "communicatively successful or unsuccessful?".
- BGE allows variation as do natural varieties of language(s).

- Not only vocabulary and phonology are simplified, but also grammar.
- BGE not only gives systemic but also pragmatic rules.
- BGE takes into consideration needs for active communication as well as needs for passive communication. This means, for example, that synonyms or synonymic structures are included in BGE if frequent in real-life communication.
- Internationally successful non-standard variants are often regularized forms. BGE's acceptance and offer of such forms takes into account experiences with learners of Esperanto as a first foreign language, which have shown that a regular linguistic system as a first foreign language accelerates the acquisition of any linguistic structures in more advanced stages of the learning process and the acquisition of any additional language.
- BGE promotes a "core knowledge" of the language plus "individual linguistic expansion" from the very start of the learning process.
- BGE is not just a reduced language system like Ogden's BASIC English, it is a system that includes linguistic, methodological and social competence for global communication. *BGE* is for the beginner's level; it is an open system that allows variation and later fine-tuning of learners' command of an English according to their own desires.

The idea behind BGE is not to claim that intercultural dialog becomes unproblematic, it rather enables a first start of intercultural dialog and raises the awareness for potential misunderstandings. BGE may even raise people's interest in other languages. The concept of BGE does not pursue the aim to extinguish other languages, but is part of a model promoting global trilingualism: one's native language + Global English + a third national language of one's choice. For instance, some of the children in the BGE classes at our COMENIUS partner school in Goldkronach, Germany, tried out their BGE skills with Italian kids when they were on a school trip in Italy and came back with the wish to attend an Italian language course in addition to Basic Global English.

5. Beyond *Basic* Global English

Once the level of Basic Global English is mastered, learners can fine-tune their skills toward the level they wish to. This can be a near-native level or a focus on the development of the skills for international contexts. We can therefore design concepts of Advanced Global English, particularly the following concepts: (1) Global English for Academic Contexts (GE-A), (2) Global English for Business Contexts (GE-B), (3) Global English for Casual Contexts (GE-C). For this advanced level the same basic pronunciation and grammar requirements may be accepted as long as the focus is on spoken language; for written contexts, grammar needs to get a stronger focus since everyone knows by experience that people's aesthetic demand of native standard language is more salient then. The main focus for Advanced Global English, though, should continue to be on the elaboration of a larger general and individual vocabulary and also of communicative strategies for a larger set of situations.

Rules for GE-A may thus look like this:

- As an instructor be as concrete as possible when referring to requirements (precise date of handing in paper etc.: the more precise your information, the more literal students will take the information). Make sure that everybody understands when assignments are due; state the specific place, day and time, e.g. *Please give this to my secretary, Maria Colo, by February 12, 11 o'clock in the morning*). Abstain from saying *by the end of the week* (students may wonder: does this mean Friday, Saturday, Sunday, or Monday, or at some time in the near future?) or saying *in five days* (does this mean calendar or business days?).
- Keep in mind that different cultures may use different conversational patterns for the same context. And keep in mind that different cultures may use the same conversational pattern for different contexts. (Example 1: In Germany and France a positive interrogative "Could you do this?" is a more polite request than a negative interrogative "Couldn't you do this?"; in Russia it's the other way around. Example 2: In Europe, an apology is an expression of regret and a sign of taking

responsibility for an action; in Japan, the second function is not necessarily present).

- For technical terms, use multi-part definitions with rephrasing of the same content. Concerning definitions, we can, in principle, distinguish between the following types[1]:

(a) Aristotelian definitions	i.e. genus proximum plus differentia specifica (= generic term + differentiating specification)	e.g. "A blend is a type of word-formation that is the result of crossing two words."
(b) explicatory definition	i.e. enumeration of [stereo-]typical features	e.g. "Blends are crossings of words; they are a modern type of word-formation often used for modern phenomena."
(c) exemplary definition	i.e. enumeration of particularly typical examples	e.g. "Blends are, for example, *smog* (< *smoke* + *fog*) and *brunch* (< *breakfast* + *lunch*)."
(d) synonymic definition	i.e. giving synonyms	e.g. "Blends are also known as *word contaminations*."
(e) operational/ genetic definition	i.e. description of the process of how the definiendum can be produced or found out	e.g. "You create a blend by sticking the initial section of one word and the final section of another word together."

As for definition type (c) we may especially think of prototypical members; actually, however, there is a better understanding of a category if peripheral members are included as well (provided they are marked as such). Thus, an exemplary definition of *bird* could read: "Typical examples of birds, in North America and Europe, are the robin and the sparrow; a less typical example is the penguin." Such aspects can also be integrated in explicatory definition, e.g. "Birds lay eggs and they normally fly (although this is not a necessary feature)."

- Be aware that there might be culture-specific concepts and associations behind certain words (e.g. the word *democracy* might be differently conceived in different countries). This is particularly true of names, dates, political/historical events, and terms for political systems. But this might also be true of technical terms (especially if the same terms occur in everyday language, such as *dialect*, which for linguists is a neutral term that can also cover—as a synonym to *variety*—the *standard dialect*, while in everyday speech *dialect* has rather negative connotations.
- When using examples and illustrations, don't use intracultural/local insider knowledge. At best, use cases from different cultural contexts.

Rules for GE-B may thus look like this:

- If you are asked for your opinion on something during small talk, do not formulate any concrete opinion or an opinion that clearly deviates from your partner's.
- In group discussions where you finally have to make decisions use an integrative style, i.e. a style where group members clearly value objects higher than personal objectives, where group members eliminate personal tensions, and where all group members are allowed to have their ideas and opinions discussed and respected.
- Make everybody aware at the beginning of the meeting that this is an intercultural meeting that would require more explicit ways of communication.
- Before writing a job application make sure (a) you include the elements this commonly consists of in your target country, (b) you use a form for these elements that is common in your target country, (c) you present the elements in the correct order.

6. Does Teaching (Basic) Global English Work?

Even if a number of books argue for a reflection of observations on English as a Lingua Franca in English teaching and learning (cf., e.g., McKay 2002, Holliday 2005), this has not yet been done so on an overall practical level. Instructors and curricula of English as a Foreign Language are still geared to a native model of English, mostly British English or American English, and the corresponding national culture behind it for their teaching, although there have been some proposals of "global textbooks" in Britain (cf., e.g, Kubanek 1999, Crawford 2001).

Together with my assistant Marion Schöner, a teacher and a student I have composed and

[1] Cf. Grzega 2006c.

tested teaching material for different target groups: (a) BGE for elementary school classes, (b) BGE for adult learner groups (for weekly evening courses and for intensive courses), (c) BGE for self-teaching, (d) Global English for Business Contexts for teenagers. Different groups require to respect different principles, but some principles are generally valid. In the following sections, I will describe the important didactic, psycholinguistic and neurolinguistic aspects and then give examples of how Teaching Global English works concretely and what the results are.

6.1. Didactic, Psycholinguistic and Neurolinguistic Remarks

Edmondson/House (2006), in their comprehensive introduction into language teaching, illustrate that most of the results of empirical research can only be generalized to a limited extent and that despite the many decades on language learning there are still more questions than answers. Keeping this in mind, we can nevertheless begin this section with a few didactic-psycholinguistic-neurolinguistic remarks.

Since Selinker (1972) introduced the notion of "interlanguage", errors and mistakes have been seen as something useful rather than something that has to be penalized by the teacher at once. But still today, there is the myth that errors/mistakes might never be levelled out again if the learner grows too much accustomed to them. BGE critics may thus claim that learners will not be able to replace the non-standard forms of English allowed in BGE if they want to achieve a native-like level in later years. This concern runs counter experiences that instructors have with many advanced university students and learners who spend a lengthy time in an English-speaking country. If learners have been provided with a sufficient metalinguistic knowledge, this knowledge will allow them to spot differences between variants of the target country and their own variants.

It is also a pedagogic myth that the younger the learners the better they will learn a foreign language. Quite a number of studies have demonstrated that this is only the case when the learner is constantly and naturally confronted with the foreign language (e.g. when learning the language in the foreign country itself); as a matter of fact, for the average classroom situation "older" seems "better" (cf., e.g., Cohen/Dörnyei [2002: 171], or Fröhlich-Ward [2003]). It has also been demonstrated that advanced age can have negative effects mainly on learning the foreign sound system, but even here learners can acquire native-like pronunciation if they have gained good metalinguistic knowledge (cf., e.g., Cohen/Dörnyei 2002: 171). It thus becomes obvious that it is recommendable to compare the target language with the learners' native language (and other idioms they might already be acquainted with) very consciously and to have learners train their metalinguistic, cognitive skills.

Wolfgang Butzkamm (e.g. 2002) even sees it as essential for efficient language learning that the learners' mother tongue be integrated very consciously for specific functions ("functional bilingualism"): the learners' native language can be used to illustrate another language system and it is something that learners will automatically try to connect new information with anyway. Butzkamm encourages teachers to use a double system of paraphrasing in English first and of giving equivalences in the learners' native language secondarily. In a message-oriented phase, when a learner wants to say something and lacks a word, s/he may use the native language. The teacher can decide, based on the learner's knowledge, whether (a) the learner should be encouraged to use a paraphrasing technique (create a word that may render the meaning, paraphrase the word or use a non-verbal technique) and then give the actual English word or (b) give the English word for the native word immediately. In a message-oriented phase, when the learners do not understand the teacher, the teacher should first try to paraphrase the word and use gestures and, if need be, give the native word secondarily. In

form-oriented phases, explanations are given in the native language in the first lessons, while more English explanations are interspersed in latter lessons.

Another issue is grammar progression. According to studies by Pienemann (e.g. 2005) learners acquire grammatical rules in certain levels (rules necessary for communicative success are acquired prior to those with a more aesthetic value, i.e. of "good" standard grammar), and these levels are not necessarily reflected in the sequence of grammar units many textbooks use. For example, learners will be ready to use *-ed* to form the past tense, while the *-s* for 3rd person singular is consistently used only at the last of these learning levels. The materials that my team and I have created respect these findings—not only by the chosen progress in grammar lessons, but also by embedding grammar into vocabulary and communicative strategies (similar to what is done in the "Lexical Approach" method by Lewis [1997]). The acceptability of forms is based not on the question "correct or incorrect with respect to standard English?", but on the question "communicatively successful or unsuccessful?". As a consequence, classroom texts should consist of diverse input and authentic material from native and near-native, but also from (successful) non-native speakers (e.g. penpals from other European countries).

From what we know about language learning and communication learning, we can also say that instructors should prefer a didactic model that is (inter)activity-focussed, respects learner autonomy, gives learners opportunities to enjoy the successful completion of tasks, and makes learners view what they do as giving sense in life (cf., e.g., Csikszentmihalyi 1990, Legenhausen/Dam 1999, Mißler/Multhaup 1999, Ryan/Deci 2000, Spitzer 2002, Teuchert-Noodt et al. 2003). Here, Jean-Pol Martin's model *LdL* is particularly appropriate. *LdL* stands for the German expression *Lernen durch Lehren*, in English *Learning by Teaching*). Its basic idea is to hand over as much teaching responsibility to the learner, as "mini-teacher" or student-expert, as possible (even if it is just for short periods of time through rapid teacher-role rotations) and to encourage as many students as possible to engage in the highest possible degree of activity (cf. Martin 1994, Grzega 2006d, Grzega/Schöner 2008, or the Wikipedia entry "Learning by Teaching"). This means that learners should very early be encouraged to perform creative activities (task-based learning), such as presenting one's family, participating in a discussion forum, introducing or having their peers elaborate a BGE word-field, BGE grammar rules or BGE politeness rules. And it also includes that if students want to know something they are given the requested information. Even more generally, it is also important that learners have a share in the selection of topics they deal with in class. For BGE, this includes not only the selection of words, but also the selection of countries.

While many curricula aim at reaching homogeneous skills or a homogeneous level among their learners, we accept the heterogeneity of learner groups, not only concerning the gift for language learning, but also concerning interests and biographies. It is precisely this that should be reflected in the elaboration of an "individual/private" vocabulary and in the inclusion of specific country examples.

6.2. Projects: Empirical Results

6.2.1. BGE for Children at a COMENIUS Elementary School

Since the principal of an elementary school (Goldkronach, Germany), Wolfgang Fischer, who had initiated a European school project, was the first to show interest in BGE, my team and I began to create a specific version for elementary school classes (age group 7 to 8, i.e. 2nd grade). We first created 12 lessons (30 to 45 min. each) based on the findings from learning

psychology, biology and education for that age group[2]. We had one course given by a teacher in Goldkronach, a second one was held by myself in Eichstätt. The type of research frame we chose was action research—a term coined by Lewin (1946)—, i.e. we did not want to just keep strictly to our lessons, but tried to solve any problem whenever it occurred in reality; this is also required by the didactic meta-model that we chose: *LdL*. Despite some problems due to the size of the Eichstätt group (38 children) and the malfunctioning equipment of the classroom, the optional character of the course, we could achieve the following results (cf. Grzega/Schöner 2007 for a more in-depth treatment): Most of our learners have proven (as attested by the videos available at http://www.eurolinguistix.com and http://www.basicglobalenglish.com) to be able, after only 12 lessons, to

- answer questions regarding their name, age, birthday, favorite food, favorite drink, favorite sport, hobby, phone number
- ask questions regarding addressee's name, age, birthday, favorite food, favorite drink, favorite sport, hobby, phone number
- count from 1 to 31
- denote things they carry in their school bag
- denote things in their classroom

We were particularly delighted when one mother told us that her son had immediately tried out his English skills with the son of a hotel director when they were on vacation in Egypt.

After these experiences, we created material for an entire school year of an optional course "Basic Global English" in Goldkronach. It was originally planned to teach 2 hours of English per week, but due to the enormous amount of students who signed up for the class, the principal decided to have two groups and, consequently, teach just one hour of BGE per week and group (the COMENIUS business plan did not allow more than 2 lessons per week for this optional course). Both groups were taught by Friederike Höfer. Due to the reduction of the hours taught, the teacher did of course not manage to cover the 35 lessons planned, but "only" Units 1-17 in one group and Units 1-16 and 20 in the other.

All steps of the project have been described on a project website. Our experiment drew the attention of the German press and we got several reports (cf. the press section on http://www.basicglobalenglish.com).

To illustrate that BGE is effective as a means of communication and especially as a means of intercultural communication, we can resort to three different types of evidence:
(1) the oral performance of the learners
(2) the written performance of the learners
(3) reactions of observers (parents and teachers)

We did not want to work with comparison groups taught according to different models for three main reasons:

- To test the efficiency and effectivity of a model, it only makes sense to compare it to a model that pursues the same goals, that aims at the same effects. In the case of BGE, however, nothing comparable exists as illustrated in Section 2 (e.g. the inclusion of countries where English is not official language and the focus on active, creative, communicative use of language).
- Even if a second model pursues the same goals in part, our self-image forbids to force children to sustain another model that we have already experienced as worse.
- Our self-image can also be seen in the philosophy of action research, where something planned is not adhered to with might and main, but where upcoming problems are

[2] Cf., e.g., Cohen/Dörnyei 2002, Crawford 2001, Fröhlich-Ward 2003, Holliday 2005, Klippel 2000, Kubanek 1999, McKay 2002, Mindt/Schlüter 2003, Schmid-Schönbein 2001.

immediately tried to be solved.

Ad (1):
As already shown in the report of the BGE test group in Eichstätt (cf. Grzega/Schöner 2008 with the accompanying video files, plus the video files on http://www.basicglobalenglish.com) all learners videotaped in the last session (lesson 12) were able, though to varying degrees, to produce utterances that were not just stimulus-response reproductions, but required that the learners understood the stimulus given by the teacher or another student in order to be able to come with an answer that was both relevant and truthful. For checking the performance of the two groups in Goldkronach who enjoyed BGE for a whole school year, I decided to test them after their summer vacation (late July through mid-September) to see how much they would still remember, to see what their competences in comprehending, speaking and writing were. This consisted of a visit of the two groups in the second school week of 2008. I visited both groups and with each of them I did about 15 minutes of an oral "test". The video files are currently transcribed and will be analyzed by March 2009.

Ad (2):
In addition to the oral "testing" in the two Goldkronach groups, I also did a 15-minute written test in which I had the children compose two mini-texts. The first task read (in German) "Choose a foreign country and note down two things that you know about this country."[3], supplemented by two sentences in English, on two separate lines, *What is the country's name?* and *Give information on this country*. The second task read (in German): "An Italian boy named Carlo is new in your Italian partner school and looks for a penpal. Write Carlo a little letter in English. You can write about yourself, about your family, about hour home, about your class or about your school. Also ask Carlo questions."[4]. Since the teacher, Ms. Höfer, convincingly argued that a written test would not yield very positive results as writing was not a skill that was practiced very much, we decided to let one group use the material they had gotten over the year, just as you can consult a dictionary in real life when you have to write a letter[5]. The group that was allowed to do so consisted of 13 girls and 8 boys at the day of our visit (of which one boy showed signs of behavioral problems). If we analyze the texts they produced[6] we can observe the following:

(1) As to Task 1, content-wise,
- 1 learner did not note down anything at all;
- 2 learners noted down Germany (and added "a sc[h]ool, a kindergarten" as country information);
- 4 learners noted down France, of which 1 gave no further country information and 3 gave 2 pieces of information (information given: baguette and wine [as one entity] 3 times, "Tour de Eiffel" 1 time, riding as a sport 1 time);

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[3] The German original was: "Such Dir ein fremdes Land aus und schreib zwei Dinge, die du über dieses Land weißt, auf Englisch auf."

[4] The German original was: "Ein italienischer Junge namens Carlo ist neu in eurer italienischen Partnerschule und sucht einen Brieffreund. Schreib auf Englisch einen kleinen Brief an Carlo. Du kannst über dich, über deine Familie, über dein Zuhause, über deine Klasse oder über deine Schule schreiben. Stell auch Fragen an Carlo."

[5] Since most students of the second group had forgotten to bring their material any way, it was clear at the day of our visit that the first group should be allowed to use the material in the written test. Since the second group (at the day of our visit 11 girls and 5 boys were present) had been less disciplined throughout the entire school year and showed less group sense than the first group (which may be related to the fact that in the first group all members come from Goldkronach, while the members of the second group come from different villages surrounding Goldkronach), it was not unexpected that they actually showed no big cooperation and did the unannounced test only unwillingly and under protest (and most of them rather drew pictures instead of writing words).

[6] For the transcription of the texts I would like to thank Bea Klüsener.

- 7 learners noted down Italy, of which 3 gave 1 information, 3 gave 2 pieces of country information and 1 gave 3 pieces of information (information given: pizza 4 times, spaghetti 2 times, Luca Toni 4 times, soccer 1 time, hot 1 time, sea 1 time);
- 2 learners noted down America, of which 1 gave no further country information (information given: "There are Do Ge Viper GTsr Sportwagen" [unintelligible]);
- 4 learners noted down England, of which 3 gave 1 additional information and 1 gave 4 pieces of information (information given: fish and chips 2 times, flag color 2 times ["flag blue, red and whife", "The color is beue reed and white" [succeeded by an illegible word], horseriding 1 time, cricket 1 time, tea 1 time).

So, 16 out of 21 learners could give at least one feature for a foreign country; 9 out of 21 learners could give at least two features of a foreign country (if "baguette and wine" is treated as separate units then 10 out of 21 learners could give at least two country features).

(2) As to Task 1, language-wise,
- 1 learner didn't note down anything at all;
- 1 learner noted down the German spelling *Amerika*;
- 1 learner noted down the German name for Italy (*Italien*) and then gave the code-mixed information: "The best Futbol spieler [= player] is Lukartni [= Luca Toni]" (probably unintelligible for someone who knows English, but not German);
- 1 learner noted down *Ideli* 'Italy', 1 learner *Fraz* 'France' (maybe unintelligible);
- 1 learner noted down *Itali* and then gave the German descriptions *heiß, Meer* 'hot, sea' [unintelligible for someone who knows English, but not German].

(3) As to Task 1, again language-wise,
of the 27 pieces of intelligible country information
- 13 are given as isolated items;
- 14 [i.e. the majority] are embedded in sentences (e.g. "They like baguette and wine", "The like pizza and Spagetti. The best Futtbollplayer is Luca Toni", "They like fish and chips", "The like Baguette and wine. In Paris is the Tour de Eiffel", "They like Pizza / The sport is soccer", "The best Fotbollplayer is Luca Toni", "The like baguette and wine. The sport is riding", "The color is beue reed and white [+ an illegible word]".

(4) As to Task 2,
- on the average, learners wrote 22.5 words (the highest individual performance being 40 words, the lowest performance 7 words) and 6.2 sentences[7] (the highest individual performance being 10 sentences, the lowest performance 3 sentences);
- on the average, learners wrote 18.0 intelligible[8] words (the highest individual performance being 40 intelligible words, the lowest performance 3 intelligible words) and 4.9 intelligible sentences (the highest individual performance being 10 intelligible sentences, the lowest performance 1 intelligible sentence)[9];
- if the discursive and pragma-linguistic competence for such a text shall be proven through the existence of (1) a salutation formula at the beginning, (2) a salutation formula at the end, (3) the information of one's name (either integrated in the leave-taking formula or as a separate sentence) and (4) the existence of both (a)

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[7] By *sentence* I mean a completely verbalized idea (irrespective of punctuation and ellipses, as long as the unit is clear).

[8] The label "intelligible", or rather "presumably intelligible" is based on what we empirically know about successful lingua franca communication.

[9] At least three students seem to have more general language/spelling problems, as they do not even spell names correctly and do not make errors consistently). The best performance in intelligibility and complexity is this text: "Hello Carlo, my name is Valerie. I m 9 yours old. / How old are you? Do you have an animel? / My Hobby is Piano. Wath is yuor phone number? / Wath is your favorite Sport? My favorite Sport is swimming. By By Charle".

information given and (b) information asked for, then 7 out of 21 learners showed full discursive competence for this task, 10 learners forgot 1 element, 3 learners forgot 2 elements, and 1 learner forgot 3 elements; element #2 was omitted by 5 learners, element #3 was omitted by 2 learners, element #4a was omitted by 3 learners, element #4b was omitted by 9 learners. Only 7 learners should complete lack of pragma-linguistic competence in writing.

Ad (3):
As far as the reaction of parents is concerned, they were unanimously positive. One mother reported that the girl in our class spoke English better than her brother in his third year of English. I have already mentioned another mother (from the test group in Eichstätt) who reported that her son had immediately tried out his English with the son of a hotel director when in Egypt. I also designed a list of statements (in the form of Likert scales where informants have to say whether they "strongly agree/rather agree/rather disagree/strongly disagree" with a statement—the answers are evaluated as -2/-1/+1/+2 points respectively). These statements include targets of BGE lessons and fears that critics have raised. I distributed the questionnaire to two groups of students who, on the one hand, were familiar with the video clip from the test lesson with the first Goldkronach group after summer vacation and the results here presented in the preceding section "Ad (2)" and who, on the other hand, could also compare with other learner groups of English due to observations during internships at different schools in Bavaria (south-eastern federal state of Germany), in different classes, with different teachers. Here are some of the comparison groups, the statements of the questionnaire and the arithmetic means[10] of the comparisons (which may be based on a low number of comparisons, but can nevertheless give potential critics a first telling impression):

- BGE group: kids after one year of 1 non-compulsory 45-min. lesson of BGE (i.e. no kind of homework was allowed, not even the revision of vocabulary)
- comparison group I: other kids at the end of their 1st year of English (with 2 compulsory 45-min. lessons per week)
- comparison group II: other kids at the beginning of their 3rd year of English (i.e. after two years of 2 compulsory 45-min. per week, and in the first weeks at their secondary school type, in these instances either *Realschule*, with 4 weekly 45-min. lessons, or *Gymnasium*, with 7 weekly 45-min. lessons[11])
- comparison group III: other kids at the end of their 3rd year of English at a *Gymnasium*

Statement	BGE kids and comparison group I (14 evaluators)	BGE kids and comparison group II (5 evaluators)	BGE kids and comparison group III (7 evaluators)
The BGE kids have a larger vocabulary.	1.15 (rather agree)	-0.20 (rather disagree)	-1.14 (rather disagree)
The BGE kids know words that are closer to their everyday life.	1.57 (strongly agree)	1.40 (rather agree)	1.14 (rather agree)
The BGE kids know words with which they can better communicate with kids from other countries.	1.38 (rather agree)	1.40 (rather agree)	1.00 (rather agree)
The BGE kids can speak more freely.	1.43 (rather agree)	0.80 (rather agree)	0.17 (rather agree)
The BGE kids are better able to speak about themselves.	1.57 (strongly agree)	0.20 (rather agree)	0.50 (rather agree)

[10] Some evaluators ticked the category "don't know" with some statements.
[11] Differentiation is likely to be relatively small during the first weeks of the secondary school; this is why I do not further differentiate between *Gymnasium* kids and *Realschule* kids here (in contrast to learners at the end of their third year of English and thus at the end of their first year at secondary school).

Statement	BGE kids and comparison group I (14 evaluators)	BGE kids and comparison group II (5 evaluators)	BGE kids and comparison group III (7 evaluators)
The BGE kids are better able to interrogate other people.	1.21 (rather agree)	1.20 (rather agree)	0.83 (rather agree)
The BGE kids are better able to understand complex sentences.	0.77 (rather agree)	0.00 (neutral)	0.17 (rather agree)
The BGE kids know more about other countries.	-0.30 (rather disagree)	-1.00 (rather disagree)	0.00 (neutral)
The BGE kids are more tolerant.	0.30 (rather agree)	2.00 (strongly agree)	1.00 (rather agree)
The BGE kids are more empathetic.	0.10 (rather agree)	- (not evaluated)	0.50 (rather agree)
The BGE kids show more interest for other cultures.	0.73 (rather agree)	- (not evaluated)	1.67 (strongly agree)
The BGE kids speak less British English.	-0.89 (rather disagree)	-1.00 (rather disagree)	0.25 (rather agree)
The BGE kids speak less American English.	-0.88 (rather disagree)	-1.00 (rather disagree)	-0.75 (rather disagree)

Some interesting observations that we can make:

(1) In spite of the non-compulsory nature of the weekly BGE lesson, the average BGE kid seems to possess a larger vocabulary than a kid after one year of 2 compulsory lessons per week.

(2) The most fascinating comparison is the one with learners after three years of English with 2 lessons of English in the first two years and 7 lessons in the third year. Compared to these kids, BGE kids are on the average
   (a) familiar with a vocabulary more relevant to their life
   (b) able to speak more freely
   (c) able to communicate, i.e. interrogate and carry out dialogs
   (d) able to understand complex sentences

   In other words: the BGE kids' speaking and listening skills are better developed. Furthermore, the social skills have also reached a higher level, as BGE kids are viewed as
   (e) more tolerant (a central goal in BGE)
   (f) more empathetic (another central goal in BGE)

(3) The fear (and point of criticism frequently raised by conference audiences) that the BGE kids would typically be farther away from a native standard of English proved to be unjustified.

(4) The evaluators did not consider the BGE kids' knowledge on other countries broader than with other kids. This is maybe something that needs to be trained earlier and/or more regularly in BGE lessons. More important, though, the kids were seen as showing more interest in other cultures. And this general attitude is a central goal linked to BGE.

6.2.2. BGE for Adults

Thanks to a student in Düsseldorf, Eleni Stefanidou, several small groups have by now tested preliminary materials for adult groups. Again, we have made sure that the approach is adequate with respect to what we know about adult learners of foreign languages[12]. There are a lot of occassions where the learners can interact with each other. As a matter of fact, many (albeit definitely not all) members of the test groups have said that they like especially the realistic role-plays. A number of exercises are telephone exercises, as this is something that adult learners wish to practice. Futhermore, there is a lot of room for learner autonomy, again,

[12] Cf., e.g., Eschmann 2005, Pauels 2005, von der Handt 2005.

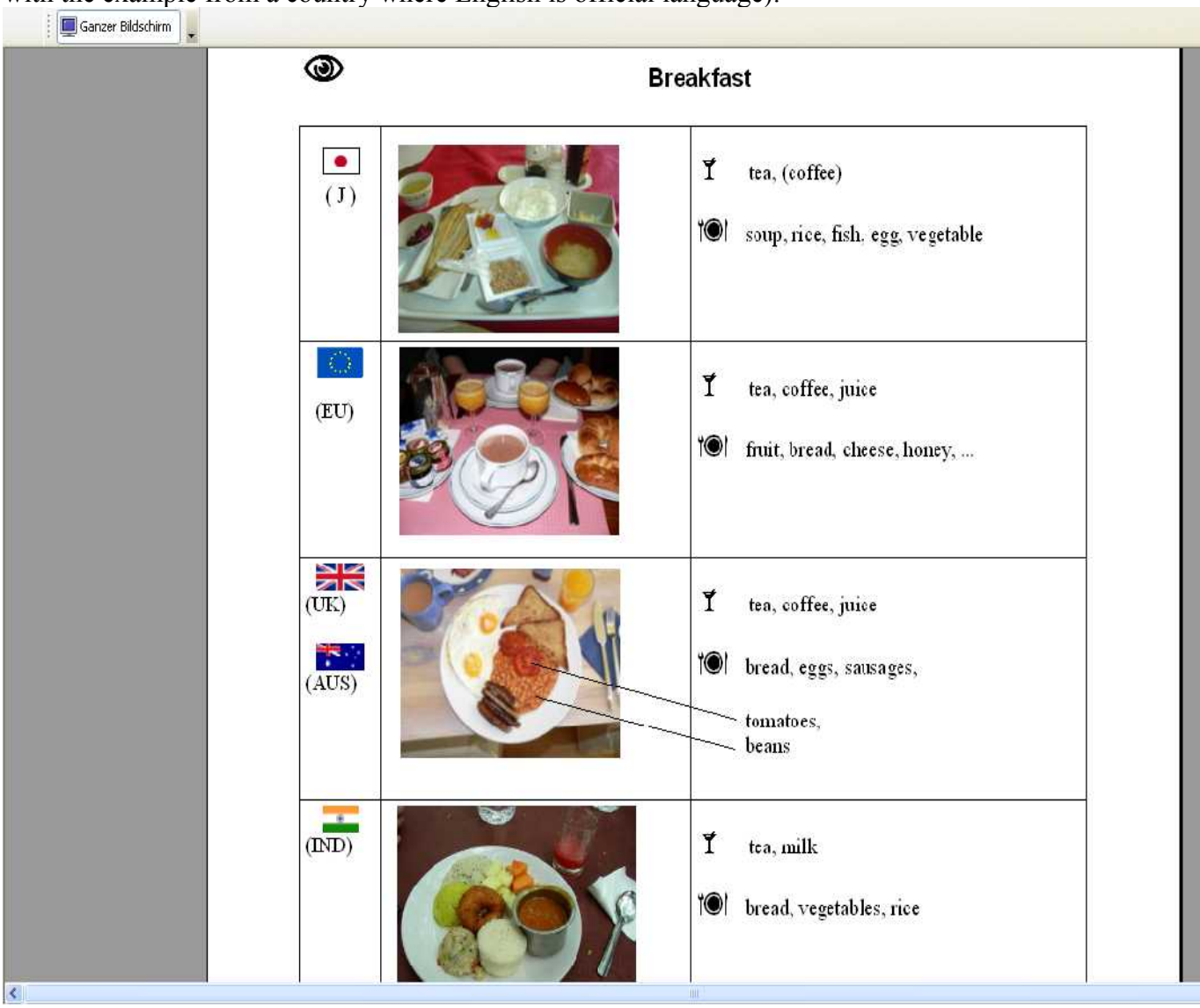
not only with respect to vocabulary selection, but also with respect to country selection. Participants also wish more reading and pronunciation exercises. An entire intensive course planned for August 2008 had to be cancelled for organizational reasons. A cooperation with the Volkshochschule Unterhaching is planned for February 2009.

6.2.3. BGE for Self-Teaching

The creation of material for self-educated BGE is maybe the most challenging task. Since the goal is to enable all people around the world a relatively rapid acquisition of global communicative competence, we think that the material shall consist of (1) an English book as the necessary and sufficient basis and (2) a book with the metalinguistic explanations of the basic book in various the learner's language, an audio CD and an exercise CD-Rom as "luxury equipments". Developping such material is very time-consuming and requires a lot of creativity to enable learner autonomy, the combination of transcultural and cultural information, reasonable pronunciation training, "interactivity" and "feedback".

Marion Schöner and I try to reach the requirement of combining transcultural words and knowledge with cultural examples through offering the BGE words in an isolated way on the one hand plus adding a few cultural, contextualized examples on the other hand. The section on breakfast is therefore introduced by a list of words that looks like this:

This is then followed by a list of examples from various cultures (we consciously do not start with the example from a country where English is official language):



In addition, we were contacted by an entrepreneur whose company produces language courses on cell phones. The entrepreneur's idea is to develop a BGE cell phone course for the German market. We will base the teaching approach on Butzkamm's idea of functional bilingualism and on the theory of the Foreign Talk from Strömstad, Sweden, that learners can actually realize differences between a model pronunciation they hear and a recording of their own pronunciation and post quem fine-tune their pronunciation by themselves. After a pronunciation section, there will be regular chapters. Each one should be able to be completed within 15 to 20 minutes, as it can be observed that learners cannot spend more time typing on cell phones keyboards, reading cell phone displays and listening to cell phone audio files. Each chapter shall consist of (1) a dialog, (2) a list of the individual words and (3) an exercise section. Each English form shall be accompanied by a literal-formal translation and an idiomatic translation [here in German], e.g.

Can I help you?
"Kann ich helfen dich?"
'Kann ich Ihnen helfen?'

A demo version shall be completed and offered to a test group in December.

6.2.4. Global English for Business Contexts: Optional Course for Teenagers

In 2007/08 I gave two optional courses "International Business English" at a German senior high-school (Gymnasium) in Bavaria. Participants came from grades 10 to 13, i.e. they were between 15 and 19 years old. In the first session, each group decided which countries they want to get to know in more detail. Both groups chose the US, Canada, China and Russia; in addition Group A chose Australia and Japan, Group B the UK and India. After four lessons for training basic pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary and politeness items, we started to deal with business-specific issues:

• What is the elementary business vocabulary?
• How do we greet and address people?
• How do we apply for a job?
• Why do we have to know about gestures and other forms of body-language?
• How is small talk done in business situations?
• How is "big talk" done in business situations?

In each lesson we had a look at the conversational patterns in the selected countries and tried to define conversational strategies that may work transculturally. In these summaries, the strategy of raising people's awareness that they are in an intercultural situation and that this may cause some irritations played a salient role.

For the session on "big talk", I decided to test the learners' intercultural communicative competence[13] by way of an announced dialog completion task, a type of task unknown to the learners at that time. The following number of students were present that afternoon and participated in the test:

- Group A: 18 persons (2 boys + 16 girls, 3 persons from grade 13, 15 persons from grade 11)
- Group B: 14 persons (9 boys + 5 girls, 3 persons from grade 12, 2 persons from grade 11, 9 persons from grade 10)

The text of the test was as follows:

Complete the following dialogs in the way that seems most appropriate for you.

1. You work for a German company that is specialized in language trips for teenagers and is now looking for a Czech language institute for cooperation. Your company has sent you to Prague. The flight was okay and so was the trip from the airport to the hotel. The food in the hotel restaurant was fine and the bed in the hotel room is comfortable, but the water in the shower is only icecold and two of the three lamps don't work. You've told the hotel receptionist, but he didn't fix it neither the evening of your arrival nor during breakfast the next morning. After breakfast, you meet your business partner, Pavel Smetana, in the hotel lobby. You introduce yourselves. Pavel seems to be a very nice guy:
Pavel: *Nice to meet you. So how was your trip? Are you satisfied with the hotel?*
You: .....

2. You work for a German company that is specialized in language trips for teenagers. You meet in Ingolstadt with representatives from other companies specializing in language trips for teenagers. Your group consists of a boy from Helsinki/Finland, a girl from Madrid/Spain, a boy from Geneva/Switzerland, a girl from Amsterdam/Netherlands and a boy from Rio/Brazil—all about five years older than you. The plan of which all participants were informed is to use the afternoon from 2 to 6 to discuss how the various companies might work together; for the evening you have organized some entertainment for the international guests. When you meet, everybody introduces themselves first. You ask your partners how their trips were; the girls from Madrid and Amsterdam, María and Mareike, as well as the boy from Rio, Paolo, have quite a lot of funny anecdotes to tell from the trip. You see that the boy from Geneva, Pierre, and the boy from Helsinki, Ville, are rather quiet, look very serious or disinterested or feel a little

[13] The test also aimed at comparing the effect of LdL and another interactive teaching approach, but this is of no importance for this article. The results of this aspect will be presented in Grzega/Guttenberger/Grupe (in print).

uncomfortable. You want them to get better involved in the conversation and so you address them directly.
You: *So your trips seemed to have been rather without any problems.*
Ville: *Yes.*
Pierre: *Yes. But I think I have some interesting ideas for teenager language trips we may want to discuss.*
María: *Hey, don't get nervous, guys, cheer up!*
You: .....

3. You work for a German company that is specialized in language trips for teenagers. Your company is now looking for a cooperation with a Chinese company that has specialized in the same field. You meet your Chinese partner, Lili, in Eichstätt. It seems that you understand each other quite well, but the plans that your Chinese partner describes are not all what your company wants: the Chinese company wants to use your network, but doesn't want to reveal its own network in China; the Chinese company asks for financial support in Germany, but says that it doesn't have the financial means to support you in China. At the end, Lili offers you an exclusive way to get to know Chinese aspects that foreigners normally don't get to know, but still it is clear that you can't make a deal because the potential profit for your company is much too small.
Lili: *So my company thinks that this could be a fair way to start a cooperation.*
You: .....

4. You work for Berlitz, the oldest German company that is specialized in language trips for teenagers. You and a colleague, Hans, have to meet with John, the representative of a US company working in the same business, to see how you can start a cooperation. Hans, longer a Berlitz employee than you, does the talking and tries to illustrate John, with many details, the many successful projects in the 1960's, in the 1930's and that Berlitz' success story goes back even to the 19th century.
John: *Oh, only to the nineteenth century?*
You: .....

5. You work for a German company that is specialized in language trips for teenagers. You and a colleague, Hans, have to meet with Ivan, the representative of a Russian company working in the same business, to see how you can start a cooperation. Ivan likes your presentation and would be willing to sign a contract with you, but only a very vague one. Hans fears that the Russians will not be willing to fulfil the contract if things are not written down in detail and suggests a few more concrete elements.
Ivan: *So you think these details are necessary for our cooperation contract?*
You: .....

For the evaluation of the solutions, violations against standard grammar and standard spelling affect the number of points only when empirical studies have suggested that a specific type of mistake endangers the communicative success. Apart from this, I had determined the followed grid:

<u>Situation 1</u>:
3p. = very good (VG) = (1) meta-cultural comment (2) positive sides as well as negative sides metnioned, but clearly without blaming the host, rather stating that the problems will surely be fixed or meta-cultural comment > gives the host the chance to take the next step himself and you a perspective to see the problem solved;
2p. = good (G) = no negative sides mentioned;
1p. = less good (LG) = (1) positive sides and negative sides mentioned, without blaming host explicitly, but also without seeing the problem being solved (> the blame is on the host implicitly, because he was the one who chose the hotel), (2) positive sides, but also negative sides mentioned, without stating explicitly what the problems are > unclear to host to what degree he is to blame for that, (3) positive sides and negatives sides mentioned explicitly, without taking the blame from the host at all, (4) positive sides and negative sides mentioned, without stating explicitly what the problems are, which leaves it unclear to the host to what degree he is to blame for that;
0p. = not good (G) = unintelligible utterance
<u>Situation 2</u>:
VG = giving a meta-level comment, raising awareness; giving the plan, but allowing alternatives; starting a soft transfer from small talk to big talk;
G = giving a compromise plan; have Pierre make suggestions if in the sense of having Pierre verbalize his problems more concretely;
LG = rejecting one person, although you give alternatives or although you say that the person's uttereance

was interesting/justified, or siding with one person;
B = (1) rejecting one person and siding with the other person, (2) unintelligible utterance
Situation 3:
VG = "thank you" + decision delegated to another person, openness/possibility for a change in conditions;
G = decision delegated to another person; "sorry", "but"; need for further discussion announced;
LG = yes/positive things + "but not this way", yes/positive things + "but we will HAVE TO change this";
NG = "I don't think so", "I disagree"
Situation 4:
VG = meta-cultural explanation of time concepts + talking about recent successes and further ideas for the future;
G = talking about recent successes, future with US company;
LG = (1) saying that future is also important without concrete facts, focussing of the profit over that long period without reference to the present/future, (2) saying that the past is not so important > face-threatening for Hans, (3) focus on the circumstances of past's success;
NG = (1) asking for US company's past, (2) unintelligible utterance
Situation 5:
VG = meta-level comment + putting the blame on the company/law + showing openness for suggestions;
G = putting the blame on oneself or on one's company; showing openness for suggestions; emphasizing that the contract should show the Russians' rights;
LG = it's my boss's wish/the tradition/important – period!;
NG = to avoid problems/to avoid quarrels/past has taught us > indicates the relationship (or a relationship with Russians) can't be trusted; this or that may be left out > face-threatening for colleague

I defined three competence levels:
• high = 15-10 points
• medium = 9-5 points
• low = 4-0 points

Since it was an optional course, I had not been allowed to require any homework from the participants. Nevertheless, I had hoped that due to the interactivity all learners would be able to reach at least a medium level of global communicative competence (i.e. each one would obtain at least one third of the possible points). Unfortunately, one student (= 3.1%) only obtained 4 points and thus showed only low competence. 24 students (= 75.0%) reached the intermediate level (of whom two had been student-experts in the preceding session). 7 students (= 21.9%) reached the upper level (of whom one had been a student-expert in the preceding session). This allows us to conclude that, except for one student, learners have in principle understood to go away from native communication patterns to globally effective strategies.

How adequate were the student answers to the different situations given in the test? This question is particularly interesting with respect to those situations where the students had to deal with people from countries we did not deal with in class, i.e. Situations #1 and #2.

Situation	total p.	very good (3 p.)	good (2 p.)	less good (1 p.)	not good (0 p.)
#1	55	6	15	7	1
#2	47	9	4	12	7
#3	77	23	2	4	3
#4	26	2	4	12	14
#5	40	4	11	6	10

So, on the average, learners reacted best in Situation #3 and worst in Situation #4. In Situation #4, the irony of the American guy was not recognized, which might be due to the fact that non-verbal cues were not available, of course. Consequently, the utterance was often not correctly interpreted at all. Situations #1 and #2 were actually answered quite well. As a group learners reached 57.3% of the potential points in Situation #1 and 49.0% in Situation

#2. In Situation #1, 65.6% of the learners have shown "good" or "very good" results and proven that they have acquired global, transcultural competence that allows them to react adequately with people from cultures they were not specifically prepared for.

7. Summary and Outlook

Every teacher of English as a foreign language is invited to try out BGE and my concepts of Advanced Global English, to participate in one of the projects (http://www.basicglobalenglish.com) and to ask questions and discuss experiences on the discussion forum of *EuroLinguistiX* (ELiX) at http://www.eurolinguistix.com.

Kachru (1985: 25 & 29) says that we need "to move from linguistic authoritarianism of the 'native speaker says' variety to a speech fellowship-specific realism" and that we need attitudinal changes in teaching English as a foreign language. With BGE, English in the Expanding Circle would shift from the position of a norm-dependent form of English (cf., e.g. Kachru 1985: 16) in the direction of one of a norm-developing form of English, especially since native forms are often less intelligible for ELF speakers then various ELF forms (cf., e.g., Smith/Rafiqzad 1983, Kachru/Nelson 2001: 20).

The idea of Teaching Global English shows that linguistics can offer something to improve the quality and quantity of the flow of information and the formation of knowledge. That is what I understand by socioeconomic linguistics.

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Esperanto – mehr als nur ein Sprachsystem / Esperanto – pli ol sole lingva sistemo

Abstract

The contribution presents certain features of the planned language Esperanto. From these features it can be deduced that Esperanto is much more than just a language system. The article will argue that a planned language cannot fully be culturally neutral. Apart from an extreme regularity and the easier learnability resulting from this Esperanto shows those features that go beyond information exchange and that are known from ethnic language: linguistic means of politeness, address forms, salutation and leave-taking terms, signs of dialog organization, fuzziness, metalinguistic elements, plus a form of, albeit reduced, idiomaticity including terms that can only be interpreted on the basis of the Esperanto movement. Furthermore, the article will argue that Esperanto can be regarded as a catalyzer of an independent culture of its speech community.

Sommaire

L'article présente certains traits de la langue construite Espéranto. De ces traits on peut déduire que l'Espéranto est beaucoup plus qu'un simple système linguistique. L'article justifie pourquoi une langue ne peut pas être complètement neutre sur la plan culturel. Hors d'une régularité extrême et d'une plus grande appréhensibilité qui résulte de celle-là Espéranto montre les traits qui dépassent l'échange d'informations que l'on connaît des langues ethniques: des moyens linguistiques de courtoisie, des formes d'adresse, des formes de salut et d'adieu, des signes d'organisation du dialogue, du flou, des éléments métalinquistiques ainsi qu'une idiomaticité, bien que réduite, qui inclut des termes que l'on ne peut interpréter que sur la base de l'histoire du mouvement espérantiste. De surcroît, l'article justifie pourquoi l'Espéranto peut être regardé comme catalyseur d'une propre culture de sa communité linguistique.

Zusammenfassung

Der Beitrag stellt bestimmte Eigenschaften der Plansprache Esperanto vor. Aus ihnen kann abgeleitet werden, dass Esperanto wesentlich mehr als nur ein Sprachsystem ist. Es wird begründet, warum eine Plansprache nicht völlig kulturneutral sein kann. Außer einer extremen Regelhaftigkeit und der daraus resultierenden leichteren Erlernbarkeit besitzt Esperanto die gewohnten über die Informationsvermittlung hinausgehenden Eigenschaften ethnischer Sprachen: Sprachmittel der Höflichkeit, Anredeformen, Gruß- und Abschiedsformeln, Signale der Dialogsteuerung, Vagheit, Metasprachliches. Ferner eine – wenn auch reduzierte - Idiomatik bis hin zu Begriffen, die nur aus der Geschichte der Esperanto-Bewegung verständlich sind. Es wird außerdem begründet, warum Esperanto als Katalysator einer eigenständigen Kultur seiner Sprechergemeinschaft angesehen werden kann.

1. Einleitung

Sprache transportiert immer mehr als bloße Inhalte. Gelegentlich wird das für Plansprachen ("künstliche Sprachen") in Frage gestellt. Das rührt von der falschen Vorstellung her, Plansprachen generell in die Nähe von Programmier- oder Formelsprachen zu rücken, mit denen sie genauso wenig gemeinsam haben wie ethnische ("natürliche") Sprachen, vorausgesetzt, sie werden tatsächlich gesprochen.

Der allergrößte Teil der über tausend vorgestellten Plansprachenprojekte hat das Papier nicht verlassen. Unter den wenigen Plansprachen, zu denen eine eigene Sprechergemeinschaft entstand, ist Esperanto nicht nur die bekannteste, sondern auch die einzige, die in gut 120 Jahren kontinuierlich in einem solchen Umfang gesprochen worden ist, dass sie den Namen "Sprache" in jeder Hinsicht verdient (Blanke 1985: 108), ungeachtet dessen, dass sie auch heute noch häufiger geschrieben als gesprochen wird.

Dieser Beitrag will einige Einblicke vermitteln, worin und weshalb Esperanto über ein bloßes Sprachsystem hinausgeht. Der Autor kann dabei auf seine eigene jahrzehntelange Sprech- und Lehrerfahrung zurückgreifen, nicht zuletzt als Vater dreier so genannter *denaskuloj*, das sind Kinder, die von Geburt an zweisprachig mit Esperanto als einer der beiden beteiligten Sprachen aufwachsen (Fischer 1981).

Betrachtet wird hier die mündliche und schriftliche alltägliche Kommunikation zwischen Esperantosprachigen, nicht die originale Literatur, die ihre eigenen Besonderheiten aufweist. Dabei geht es um solche sprachlichen Äußerungen, die über reine Inhalte hinausgehen, die gerade dadurch die typisch menschliche Sprachinteraktion ausmachen. Es soll untersucht werden, welche sprachlichen Mittel das Esperanto dafür bereithält. Darüber hinaus, welche interkulturelle Kompetenz dem Esperantolernenden vermittelt wird, darunter eine Art "Landeskunde", die in die Gebräuche und Verhaltensweisen der über die ganze Welt

1. Enkonduko

Lingvo ĉiam transportas pli ol sole la enhavon. Foje oni pridubas tion, se temas pri planlingvoj ("artefaritaj lingvoj"). Tio devenas de la maltrafa imago, ke planlingvoj ĝenerale similas al programaj aŭ formulaj lingvoj, kun kiuj ili tamen havas nenion komunan same kiel etnaj ("naturaj") lingvoj, kondiĉe ke ili vere estas parolataj.

La plej granda kvanto el pli ol mil prezentitaj planlingvoj neniam forlasis la paperon. El la malmultaj planlingvoj, kiuj trovis propran lingvokomunumon, Esperanto estas ne nur la plej konata, sed ankaŭ la ununura, kiu dum pli ol 120 jaroj estas parolata tiom ofte, ke ĝi meritas la nomon "lingvo" laŭ ĉiu vidpunkto (Blanke 1985: 108), eĉ konsiderante, ke ĝi ankoraŭ hodiaŭ estas pli ofte skribata ol parolata.

Tiu ĉi artikolo celas peri kelkajn eksciojn, per kio kaj kial Esperanto estas pli ol sole lingva sistemo. Por tio la aŭtoro povas utiligi siajn proprajn parol- kaj instru-spertojn akiritajn dum jardekoj, nelaste kiel patro de tri t. n. denaskuloj, t. e. infanoj, kiuj havas Esperanton kiel unu el du edukaj lingvoj (Fischer 1981).

Konsideratas ĉi-teme nur la buŝa kaj skriba ĉiutaga komunikado inter Esperanto-parolantoj, ne la origina literaturo, kiu havas siajn proprajn trajtojn. En la fokuso estas ĉi-teme tiaj lingvaĵoj, kiuj komunikas pli ol nur la enhavon, ĝuste per tio karakterizante la tipan homan lingvan interagadon. Esplorendas, kiujn lingvajn rimedojn Esperanto por tio disponigas. Plie, kiujn interkulturajn kompetencojn oni peras al la Esperanto-lernanto, inter ili ian "landan etnologion", kiu enkondukas en la kutimojn kaj kondutojn de la lingvokomunumo loĝanta dise en la tuta mondo. La efiko de tiu renkonto kun "Esperantujo", kiel

verstreuten Sprechergemeinschaft einführt. Die Essenz dieser Begegnung mit *Esperantujo* ('Esperantoland'), wie Esperantosprechende ihre nichtterritoriale Gemeinschaft nennen, ist das Eintauchen in eine spezielle "internationale Kultur" (Fischer 1987).

Esperantistoj nomas sian neteritorian komunumon, estas la merĝiĝo en specialan "internacian kulturon" (Fischer 1987).

2. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer Plansprache

2. Kapabloj kaj limoj de planlingvo

Wer sich entschließt, Esperanto zu lernen, weiß, dass die Sprache nicht für eine bestimmte Nation oder Ethnie mit dem entsprechenden Territorium steht, sondern dass er völliges Neuland der diesbezüglichen Vorstellung betritt. Es ist nicht nur das ständige Bewusstsein wie bei jeder Fremdsprache: "Hier bist du sprachlich nicht zu Hause." und "Hier musst du dich an Fremdes anpassen.", sondern darüber hinaus: "Hier bewege ich mich außerhalb ethnischer Kulturen. Hier ist Fremdsein normal, weil es alle trifft, und hier sind deshalb alle sprachlich gleichberechtigt."

Kiu decidas, lerni Esperanton, scias, ke la lingvo en estas tiu de certa nacio aŭ etno kun koncerna teritorio, sed ke li for de tia etnorilata imago ekspertas ion tute novan. Ne nur temas pri la konscio kaŭzita de ĉiu fremdlingvo: "Jen vi lingve ne hejmas." kaj "Jen vi devas adapti vin al io fremda.", sed plie: "Jen mi estas for de etnaj kulturoj. Jen estas normale, esti fremdulo, ĉar tio validas por ĉiuj, kaj jen tial ĉiuj estas lingve samrajtaj."

So redet man im Esperanto nicht von "Vorname", da dieser je nach kultureller Gewohnheit keineswegs vor dem "Nachnamen" stehen muss, sondern neutral von persona nomo 'persönlichem Namen' und familia nomo 'Familiennamen'.

Ekzemple oni en Esperanto ne parolas pri "antaŭnomo", sed pri "persona nomo", ĉar tiu depende la kultura kutimo ne devas stari antaŭ la "postnomo", kiu en Esperanto estas la "familia nomo".

Dazu kommt aber die Frage: "Wie kann man denn lernen, 'international' zu denken, sich auszudrücken, sich (sprachlich) verhalten?" In der Tat ist das nicht einfach und erfordert theoretisch ein dauerndes Einfühlen in alle ethnischen Kulturen der Welt. Es ist klar, dass man da wesentliche Abstriche in Kauf nehmen muss; eine kulturell völlig neutrale Plansprache ist nicht denkbar. Aber schon die prinzipielle Bereitschaft, sich auf gleichberechtigte Kommunikationspartner mit wechselnden Muttersprachen einzustellen, ist eine pädagogisch wertvolle Voraussetzung, die Kinder gegen jegliche Xenophobie immunisiert.

Aldoniĝas la demando: "Kiel oni povas lerni, pensi, esprimi sin, (lingve) agi 'internacie'?" Fakte tio ne estas facila kaj teorie postulas daŭran sentemecon en ĉiujn etnajn kulturojn de la mondo. Estas klare, ke por tio oni devas cedi al nemalgravaj kompromisoj; kulture tute neŭtrala planlingvo ne estas imagebla. Sed jam la ĝenerala preteco, adapti sin al samrajtaj komunikadaj partneroj kun diversaj gepatraj lingvoj, estas valora pedagogia premiso, kiu imunigas infanojn kontraŭ ĉia ksenofobio.

2.1. Geforderte Idealeigenschaften

2.1. Postulataj idealaj ecoj

Von einer Sprache, die für den internationalen Dialog geeignet sein soll, sind eine Reihe von teils konkurrierenden Ideal-

Por lingvo, kiu taŭgu por internacia dialogo, postulendas aro da parte kontraŭaj idealaj ecoj (Tauli 1968):

eigenschaften zu verlangen (Tauli 1968):
- leichte Erlernbarkeit (für jedermann)
- volle Ausdrucksfähigkeit
- Klarheit der Sprachstruktur
- Ökonomie der Sprachmittel
- Ästhetik in Laut und Form (Flexibilität)

- facila lernebleco (por ĉiu ajn)
- plena esprimkapablo
- klareco de la strukturo
- ekonomio de la lingveroj
- estetiko de sonoj kaj formoj (fleksiĝemo)

Während eine ethnische Sprache sich besonders bei der leichten Erlernbarkeit und der Klarheit der Sprachstruktur schwer tut, kann eine kompetent entworfene Plansprache die Kriterien in höherem Maße erfüllen, wegen der Konkurrenz der Idealeigenschaften aber nie ohne Abstriche. Aus verschiedenen Gewichtungen der notwendigen Kompromisse sind die vielen Plansprachenprojekte entstanden, darunter die angestrebten Verbesserungen des Esperanto; eine sprachtheoretisch objektive, globale Güteeinstufung ist jedoch nicht möglich.

Dum etna lingvo havas problemon kun lernfacileco kaj la klareco de la lingva strukturo, sperte konstruita planlingvo povas plenumi la kriteriojn altgrade, tamen neniam sen kompromisoj pro la sinkontraŭdiro de la idealaj ecoj. Pro diversaj pritaksoj de la necesaj kompromisoj ekiĝis tiom multaj diversaj planlingvaj projektoj, inter ili tiuj, kiuj estas provoj plibonigi Esperanton; tamen ne eblas, lingvoteorie objektive ordigi tiujn projektojn laŭ ilia entuta kvalito.

Für eine internationale Kommunikation sind folgende Faktoren unerlässlich:
- Die leichte Erlernbarkeit muss durch Analogieschlüsse, was "korrekt" ist, ermöglicht werden. (Das wird oft fälschlicherweise als "logisch" bezeichnet.)
- Dazu muss die Sprache soweit wie möglich ausnahmefrei sein.
- Die Ausdrucksformen müssen flexibel, aber frei von Idiomatik sein. Dann kann der Sprecher vertraute Muster seiner Muttersprache verwenden, ohne unverständlich zu werden.

Por internacia komunikado jenaj postuloj estas nerezigneblaj:
- La lernfacilecon kreu la eblo de analogaj konkludoj pri tio, ĉu io estas "ĝusta". (Tion oni ofte maltrafe nomas "logikeco".)
- Por tio la lingvo devas esti laŭeble altgrade sen esceptoj.
- La esprimoj devas esti variaj, sed liberaj de idiomaĵoj. Tiam la parolanto povas uzi la kutimajn strukturojn de sia gepatra lingvo, sen riski, iĝi nekomprenebla.

Die erwähnten notwendigen Kompromisse bei den Idealanforderungen machen sich beim Esperanto darin bemerkbar, dass es weitgehend indoeuropäisch geprägt ist, beim Wortschatz sogar romanisch. Der Wiedererkennwert von Sprachelementen ist deshalb für Sprecher indoeuropäischer Muttersprachen hoch. Sofern dieser Vorteil im Konflikt mit der Regelhaftigkeit steht, zieht das Esperanto im Gegensatz zu seinen historischen Nachfolgeprojekten allerdings die Ausnahmefreiheit vor ("Autonomieprinzip").

La menciitaj necesaj kompromisoj rilate la idealajn ecojn oni trovas en Esperanto en tio, ke ĝi estas sufiĉe hind-eŭropeca, ĝia vorttrezoro eĉ latinida. La grado de rekonebleco de lingvaj elementoj estas tial tre alta por parolantoj de hind-eŭropaj gepatraj lingvoj. Sed se tiu avantaĝo kolizias kun la reguleco, Esperanto preferas la senesceptecon kontraŭe al la historie postaj projektoj ("la principo de aŭtonomio").

2.2. Grenzen der kulturellen Neutralität

2.2. Limoj de kultura neŭtraleco

Als Beispiele für nicht universal gegliederte

Kiel ekzemploj por ne kulturneŭtralaj

Wortfelder im Esperanto seien hier die aus der Sprachwissenschaft bekanntesten, nämlich Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen und die Farbwörter genannt. Ferner die Antonomie "rechts – links", die vier Himmelsrichtungen, die Zeit-Raum-Analogie und das inklusive System der Personenbezeichnungen und Personalpronomina. Die Kritik an Letzterem ist aber ja auch wieder nichts anderes als eine eurozentrische Betrachtensweise. '

vortkampoj de Esperanto jen la plej konataj en lingviko: nome la nocioj por parenceco kaj koloroj. Plie la antonomio "dekstre - maldekstre", la kvar direktoj, la vort-analogio inter spaco kaj tempo kaj la inkluzivaj sistemoj de la person-indikaj vortoj kaj pronomoj. Kritiki la lastan estas tamen denove simple hind-eŭrop-centreca pensmaniero.

Bei den Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen gibt es die Dimensionen der Generation, des Geschlechts und der Blutsverwandtschaft (Präfix *bo-* 'Schwieger-'), also keine Rangfolge nach Alter, keinen Unterschied der Verwandtschaft über Vater oder Mutter (*onklo* 'Bruder von Vater oder Mutter' mit weiblichem Pendant *onklino* 'Tante'). Wie im Deutschen wird das Präfix *pra-* 'Ur-' verwendet, das nicht die Generation, sondern den Generationsabstand zum Sprecher ausdrückt: *praavo* 'Urgroßvater', *pranepo* 'Urenkel'.

La parenceca vortaro havas la dimensiojn generacio, sekso kaj peredziĝeco (prefikso *bo-*), do ne aĝo, diferenco, ĉu parenca per la patro aŭ per la patrino (*onklo* estas indiferente la frato de la patro aŭ de la patrino kun la seks-indika derivaĵo *onklino*). Kiel en la Germana la prefikso *pra-* ne indikas la generacion, sed la **distancon** de la generacio al la parolanto: la *praavo* estas same for kiel la *pranepo*.

Man lernt allerdings nur dann etwas dazu, wenn Esperanto etwas Neues zu bieten hat, das nicht oder anders in der Muttersprache des Lernenden vorkommt. Bei den Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen ist das das Präfix *ge-*, eine Anleihe aus dem deutschen *Geschwister*, das bei Bezeichungen von Menschengruppen anzeigt, dass beide Geschlechter vertreten sind: *gefratoj* 'Geschwister', *gesinjoroj* 'Damen und Herren', *gefiloj* 'Söhne und Töchter'.

Tamen oni lernas nur el io nova en Esperanto, kio mankas aŭ devias en la gepatra lingvo de la lernanto. En la vortkampo de parenc-indikaj vortoj la prefikso *ge-*, prenita el la Germana vorto *Geschwister*, estas tia ekzemplo. *Ge-* montras, ke en la nomita homogrupo ekzistas anoj de ambaŭ seksoj: *gefratoj* = frato(j) kaj fratino(j), *gesinjoroj* = sinjoro(j) kaj sinjorino(j), *gefiloj* = filo(j) kaj filino(j).

Auswahl und Bedeutung der originären Farbwörter stimmen im Esperanto und im Deutschen exakt überein: *nigra* 'schwarz', *blanka* 'weiß', *ruĝa* 'rot', *flava* 'gelb', *verda* 'grün', *blua* 'blau', *griza* 'grau', *bruna* 'braun'. Also lernen englische Muttersprachler, wie man pink auf Esperanto umschreibt, etwa *intense rozkolora* 'intensiv rosa'.

La sistemo de la nederivitaj kolorvortoj estas identa en Esperanto kaj la Germana: *schwarz* 'nigra', *weiß* 'blanka', *rot* 'ruĝa', *gelb* 'flava', *grün* 'verda', *blau* 'blua', *grau* 'griza', *braun* 'bruna'. Angla-lingvanoj devas do lerni priskribi pink, eble per "intense rozkolora".

2.3. Das Problem der Idiomatik

2.3. La problemo de la idiomaĵoj

Schon bei der Abbildung des muttersprachlichen Wortschatzes auf eine Fremdsprache darf man nicht erwarten, dass hier eine 1:1-Zuordnung in Form von Vokabellisten möglich ist. Die deutsche

Jam kiam oni atribuas vorton de la gepatra lingvo al vorto de fremda lingvo, oni ne povas atendi, ke eblas fari tion per unu-al-unu-rilato en formo de vortlistoj. La Germana vorto *Kinder* disbranĉiĝas en Esperanto al

Wortform *Kinder* muss im Esperanto als *gefiloj* bzw. *infanoj* unterschieden werden. Fortschrittlichere Lehrwerke des Esperanto führen neue Vokabeln daher im Text ein. Der Gebrauch legt die Bandbreite der Bedeutung fest. Das einsprachige Wörterbuch Plena Ilustrita Vortaro (SAT 2002) gibt zu jedem Lexem die verschiedenen Bedeutungsnuancen mit Zitaten an. Nur so kann man z.B. den richtigen metaphorischen Gebrauch feststellen: "Geht" im Esperanto ein Brief an den Empfänger oder läuft, fliegt oder springt er gar?

gefiloj kaj *infanoj*. Pli modernaj lernolibroj de Esperanto tial enkondukas novajn vortojn per teksto. La uzo fiksas la signifon. La unulingva vortaro Plena Ilustrita Vortaro (SAT 2002) indikas por ĉiu leksemo la diversajn signifonuancojn kun citaĵoj. Nur tiel oni povas ekzemple trovi la ĝustan metaforan uzon. Ĉu en Esperanto letero iras, kuras, flugas aŭ eĉ saltas al la ricevonto?

Noch problematischer ist eine internationale Idiomatik. Um Esperanto zu sprechen, muss man "international denken" lernen. Das heißt zum einen, sich in der Muttersprache bewusst zu werden, was idiomatisch ist, zum anderen, wie man es weltweit verständlich umschreiben könnte. Aus "Übertreiben" wird dann *troigi* 'allzu-sehr-machen' und aus einem Hooligan ein *tumultulo* 'Tumult-Mensch'. Versteht das Gegenüber auch *tumulto* nicht, so kann man dieses wieder mit *bruulara malbonordo* 'Durcheinander einer lärmenden Menschengruppe' versuchen klar zu machen. Esperanto bietet dafür vielfältige, agglutinierende Wortbildungsmöglichkeiten.

Eĉ pli komplika estas internacia esprimmaniero. Por paroli Esperanton, oni devas "pensi internacie". Tio estas unue, ekkonscii, kio estas idiomaĵo en la gepatra lingvo, due, kiel formuli tion mondvaste komprenebla. El *Übertreiben* oni do formas *tro-ig-i* kaj el *Hooligan* iĝas *tumult-ul-o*. Se iu ankaŭ ne komprenas *tumulto*, oni povas provi, klarigi tiun ĉi vorton per la priskribo *bruulara malbonordo* (aŭ eĉ pli detale: ĥaoso de brunata homogrupo). Esperanto ofertas por tiaj priskriboj variajn, aglutinajn eblojn de vortkonstruado.

Schlicht auswendig lernen muss man als Deutscher aber, dass der Grünschnabel im Esperanto ein *flavbekulo* 'Gelbschnabel-(mensch)' und ein Strohkopf ein *fojnkapulo* 'Heukopf(mensch)' ist. Das bietet Anlass zu Rückfragen, aus welcher Sprache diese Bildung stammt und was ihre Motivation ist. So lernt man über Esperanto viele interessante Einzelheiten aus anderen Sprachen dazu.

Simple parkerigi devas German-lingvano tamen, ke *Grünschnabel* en Esperanto estas *flavbekulo* kaj *Strohkopf* siavice *fojnkapulo*. Tio provokas redemandojn, el kiu lingvo estas tiu formo kaj el kiu motivo ĝi ekiĝis. Tiel oni kromlernas pere de Esperanto multajn interesajn faktojn ankaŭ el aliaj lingvoj.

Über Bezeichnungen hinaus gibt es auch im Esperanto Redewendungen bis hin zu Sprichwörtern, aber nicht sehr ausgeprägt. Damit fällt eine der Hauptschwierigkeiten, z.B., Englisch in "patterns" zu lernen, weg: Kommunikativ bringt *I've run out of matches* keinen Vorteil gegenüber *I have no more matches*. Im Esperanto kann man dasselbe auf verschiedene Weisen sagen, ohne dass eine davon die einzig richtige ist: *Mi ne plu havas alumetojn. / Mi havas neniujn alumetojn. / Mankas al mi alumetoj. / Mi*

Super la vortebeno havas Esperanto parolturnojn ĝis proverboj, tamen ne tiom multajn. Per tio oni evitas unu el la ĉefaj lernmalfaciloj, lerni idiomaĵojn. Ekzemple la Angla parolturno *I've run out of matches* ne komunikas pli ol *I have no more matches*. En Esperanto oni povas esprimi tion per diversaj manieroj, sen ke nur unu el ili estas la nura "ĝusta": *Mi ne plu havas alumetojn. / Mi havas neniujn alumetojn. / Mankas al mi alumetoj. / Mi bezonas alumetojn.* ktp. Tio do ebligas estetikon, sen stereotipaj fiksaj

bezonas alumetojn. usw. Die Ästhetik ist damit gewahrt, abseits von stereotypen starren Redewendungen. Dennoch gibt es hier Grenzen des Erlaubten: **Mi ne alumeto* 'Ich nicht/nein Streichholz' würde verstanden, ist aber grammatisch falsch und nicht akzeptabel. Wer *alumeto* nicht weiß, kann einfach spontan *fajrigil-lignaĵeto* 'Feuer-machen-Hilfsmittel-Hölzchen' formen, erntet dann wohl ein Schmunzeln, wird aber ohne Mühe weltweit verstanden. Kritiker nennen diese polysynthetischen Sprachen nachempfundenen Bildungen "Silbenrätsel", aber man kann dasselbe nach Wunsch auch analytisch ausdrücken: *eta peco de ligno por fari fajron* 'kleines Stück Holz um Feuer zu machen'.

Die erste Sprichwörtersammlung stammt schon von Ludwig Lazarus Zamenhof (1974), dem Initiator des Esperanto, besteht aber zumeist aus Lehnübernahmen ethnischer Sprachen. Nur wenige Sprichwörter sind wirklich in *Esperantujo* verbreitet (Fiedler 1999).

3. Sprachliche Konventionen

3.1. Höflichkeit

Kulturbedingt sind sprachliche Konventionen, die über den reinen Informationsgehalt des Geäußerten hinausgehen. Hierzu gehören die Sprachmittel, um Höflichkeit auszudrücken. Dazu gibt es eine tempusunabhängige finite Verbform auf *-us*, mit der Wünschen und Wollen abgeschwächt werden kann: *Mi ŝatus...* 'Ich möchte...', aber auch kontextabhängig: 'Ich hätte gemocht...', 'Ich würde [demnächst] mögen...'. Ebenso: *Mi dezirus...* 'Ich würde [mir] wünschen...' usw.

3.2. Anredeformen

Abstand bzw. Nähe werden durch Anrede-, Gruß- und Abschiedsformeln signalisiert. Anredewendungen mit dem Kern *moŝto* 'Hoheit' werden im Alltag praktisch nicht benötigt. Formell ist *sinjoro / sinjorino* 'Herr / Frau', informell einfach die Anrede mit dem Vornamen. Die Anrede *gesinjoroj* '[Meine] Damen und Herren' wurde schon erwähnt. Duzen und Siezen durch

parolturnoj. Tamen por tio ekzistas limoj de la allasata varieco: *"Mi ne alumeto" estus komprenata, sed estas gramatike malĝusta kaj ne akceptebla. Kiu ne konas la vorton *alumeto*, povas spontane formi *fajrigil-lignaĵeto*, spertas tiam certe rideton, sed estas sen peno mondvaste komprenata. Kritikuloj nomas tiajn formojn, kiuj memorigas al tiujn de plursintezaj lingvoj, *silabo-enigmoj*, sed oni povas laŭdezire la saman diri ankaŭ kiel en analiza lingvo: *eta peco de ligno por fari fajron*.

La unuan kolekton de proverboj jam publikigis Ludwig Lazarus Zamenhof (1974), la iniciatinto de Esperanto, sed plejparte temas pri prunteprenoj el etnaj lingvoj. Nur malmultaj el ili estas vaste konataj (Fiedler 1999).

3. Lingvaj konvencioj

3.1 Ĝentileco

Kulturindikoj estas lingvaj konvencioj, kiuj signifas pli ol la laŭvorta informo de la lingvaĵo. Al tio apartenas la lingvaj rimedoj por esprimi ĝentilecon. Por tio ekzistas tempo-sendependa finitiva verbformo *–us*, per kiu oni povas mildigi dezirojn kaj volojn. *Mi ŝatus* ne nur aplikeblas en prezenco, sed ankaŭ en preterito kaj futuro. Same: *Mi dezirus* estas uzebla en ĉiuj tri temporilatoj.

3.2. Alparolaj formoj

Intimecon aŭ distancon signalas alparolaj, salutaj kaj adiaŭaj formuloj. La alparoloj kun la kerno *moŝto* en la ĉiutago apenaŭ plu estas bezonata. Formala alparolo estas *sinjoro / sinjorino*, neformala la simpla uzo de la persona nomo. La alparolo *gesinjoroj* estas tie ĉi jam prezentita. La diferecon inter cii kaj malcii Zamenhof (1962: 76f) jam forigis en la frua historio de Esperanto. *Vi* estas nevarie

entsprechende Personalpronomen wurde schon von Zamenhof (1962: 76f). in der Anfangsphase des Esperanto abgeschafft Vi steht einheitlich für 'du', 'Sie', aber auch für die 3. Person Plural 'ihr'. Die vorgesehene Form für *ci* 'du' kommt heute nur noch in besonderen Kontexten (Literatur) und dem Wort *cii* 'duzen' vor. Damit wollte Zamenhof die Gleichrangigkeit der Esperantosprechenden unterstreichen.

uzebla por formala kaj neformala alparolo, krome ankaŭ indiferente por la 2a personoj singulara kaj plurala. La origina signifo de *ci* aperas nuntempe ankoraŭ nur en specifaj kuntekstoj (literaturo) kaj en la vorto *cii*. Per tio Zamenhof volis substreki la samrangecon de la Esperantoparolantoj.

Wie sehr die muttersprachlichen Gewohnheiten auch auf das Esperanto einwirken, zeigt das Beispiel der Anrede *fraŭlino* 'Fräulein', die parallel zum Deutschen auch im Esperanto praktisch verschwunden ist. Die esperantoeigene Rückbildung *fraŭlo* 'Junggeselle' (man beachte das Autonomieprinzip!) wird aber als Bezeichnung weiterhin verwendet. Ebenso bewirkte der westliche Feminismus einen großen Druck auf die sexusinklusiven Personenbezeichnungen (Fischer 2003) und Pronomina (Fischer 2002); ein Wandel ist dort noch im Gange.

Kiom forte la kutimoj de la gepatra lingvo influas ankaŭ Esperanton, montras la ekzemplo de la alparolo *fraŭlino*, kiu paralele en la Germana kaj en Esperanto preskaŭ tute malaperis. La Esperanto-specifa reduktita vortformo *fraŭlo* (frukto de la principo de aŭtonomio) estas tamen pluuzata. Same la okcidenta feminismo kaŭzis sufiĉan premon kontraŭ la seks-inkluzivaj person-indikaj vortoj (Fischer 2003) kaj lpersonaj pronomoj (Fischer 2002). Tie la lingvoŝanĝiĝo ankoraŭ daŭras.

3.3. Gruß- und Abschiedsformeln

Unter dem Einfluss des Internets, das den möglichen Gebrauch des Esperanto weltweit zur Alltäglichkeit machte, wandelten sich auch die Gruß- und Abschiedsformeln. Konventionell grüßt man schriftlich mit absteigender Formalität:
Altestimata sinjoro! 'Hochgeschätzter Herr!'
Tre estimata sinjoro! 'Sehr geschätzter Herr!'
Estimata sinjoro! 'Werter Herr!'
Kara sinjoro! 'Lieber Herr!'
Kara amiko! 'Lieber Freund!'
Kara ...! 'Lieber …'
Saluton, ...! 'Einen Gruß, …!'
Saluton! 'Einen Gruß!' / 'Hallo!'
(Die Pünktchen stehen für den Vornamen.)
Mündlich grüßt man formell mit der Tageszeit
Bonan matenon! 'Guten Morgen!' (bis 12:00)
Bonan tagon! 'Guten Tag!' (12:00 – 18:00)
Bonan vesperon! 'Guten Abend!' (ab 18:00)
und informell inzwischen nur noch mit
Saluton! 'Einen Gruß!' / 'Hallo'

3.3. Salutaj kaj adiaŭaj formuloj

Sub la influo de la Interreto, kiu igis la eblan uzon de Esperanto mondvaste ĉiutagaĵo, ŝanĝiĝis ankaŭ la salut- kaj adiaŭ-formuloj. Tradicie la skribaj salutformuloj estis jenaj, kun ordo de malkreskanta formaleco:
Altestimata sinjoro!
Tre estimata sinjoro!
Estimata sinjoro!
Kara sinjoro!
Kara amiko!
Kara ... !
Saluton, ... !
Saluton!
(Punktetoj indikas la personan nomon.)
Buŝe oni formale salutas laŭtempe:
Bonan matenon! (ĝis la 12a horo)
Bonan tagon! (post la 12a ĝis la 18a)
Bonan vesperon! (post la 18a horo)
kaj neformale intertempe sole per
Saluton!

Wie im Deutschen und einigen anderen

Kiel en la Germana kaj kelkaj aliaj

Ethnosprachen schleift sich die Formalität auch im Esperanto ab, aus Sorge, zu großen Abstand zu signalisieren, was besonders den Esperantosprechenden, die eine große Gemeinschaft sein wollen, widerstrebt. Es ist fast abzusehen, dass bald nur noch *Saluton!* übrig bleibt, besonders im Internet. Die wirklich spannende Frage ist, ob sich dann wie in Ethnosprachen nach einiger Zeit neue formelle Anreden herausbilden.

etnolingvoj la formaleco pli kaj pli reduktiĝas en Esperanto, pro zorgo, signali troan distancon, kio precipe malplaĉas al la Esperanto-parolantoj, kiuj volas esti granda komunumo. Oni povas baldaŭ atendi, ke restos nur ankoraŭ *Saluton!*, precipe en la reto. La vere interesa demando tamen estas, ĉu kiel en etnolingvoj post certa tempo aperos novaj formalaj alparoloj.

Ähnlich verzichtet man bei den mündlichen Abschiedsformeln inzwischen auf allen höflichen Aufwand und lässt es bei einem einheitlichen *Ĝis revido!* 'Auf Wiedersehen!' (bzw. *Ĝis reaŭdo!* 'Auf Wiederhören!' am Telefon). Aus der bereits häufigen Abkürzung *Ĝis!* wird inzwischen wiederum das Verb *ĝisi* 'Abschied nehmen' abgeleitet.

Simile oni dum buŝa adiaŭado intertempe rezignas ĉian ĝentilan streĉon kaj restas indiferente ĉe unuforma *Ĝis revido!* (aŭ *Ĝis reaŭdo!* telefonante). Oftas jam la tute leĝera mallongigo *Ĝis!*, el kiu siavice oni intertempe derivas la verbon *ĝisi* (= diri *Ĝis revido!*).

Bei Briefen und auch bei Netzpost kann man die Abschiedsformeln noch breit variieren, von
Kun altestimaj salutoj 'Mit hochschätzenden Grüßen' u.ä. bis
Multajn salutojn 'Viele Grüße',
Kore salutante 'Herzlich grüßend',
und viele weitere Möglichkeiten.

En paperaj kaj ankaŭ en retaj leteroj ankoraŭ eblas vasta gamo da adiaŭaj formuloj, de
Kun altestimataj salutoj
ĝis
Kore salutante
kaj multaj pliaj ebloj.

3.4. Sonstige Formeln des sprachlichen Umgangs

3.4. Ceteraj formuloj de lingva intertraktado

In vielen europäischen Sprachen erkundigt man sich unmittelbar nach der Grußanrede nach dem Befinden. So auch im Esperanto: *Kiel vi fartas?* 'Wie geht es dir/Ihnen/euch?' Gewöhnlich antwortet man unabhängig vom Wahrheitsgehalt *Dankon, bone!* 'Danke, gut!', aber bei Bekannten darf man auch sagen, dass es einem nicht gut geht. Die Frage ist noch nicht zur inhaltslosen Floskel erstarrt.

En multaj Eŭropaj lingvoj oni tuj post la saluto demandas pri la farto. Tiel ankaŭ en Esperanto: *Kiel vi fartas?* Kutime oni sendepende de la vereco respondas: *Dankon, bone!*, sed se oni parolas kun konato, oni rajtas ankaŭ konfesi, ke oni malbonfartas. La demando ankoraŭ ne rigidiĝis al senenhava formulo.

Wichtig ist es zu wissen, wie man um Entschuldigung bittet, seltener formell ausführlich *Mi petas vian pardonon!* 'Ich bitte um Ihre Verzeihung!", meist einfach *Pardonu (min)!* 'Entschuldige / Entschuldigen Sie (mich)!' oder *Pardonon!* 'Verzeihung!'. Die einfachen Formen dienen auch dazu, lediglich jemanden auf sich aufmerksam zu machen, wie im Deutschen. Abwei-

Gravas scii, kiel oni pardonpetu, malpli ofte formale kaj detale per *Mi petas vian pardonon!* Plej ofte oni simple diras *Pardonu!* aŭ *Pardonon!* Tiuj simplaj formoj ankaŭ servas por tio, ke oni petas la atenton de iu nekonato surstrate, same kiel en la Germana. Malsama estas la rezistemo de Esperanto kontraŭ Anglismoj: Ke iam ekzemple *Sorry!* forigos la kutimajn

chend vom Deutschen haben aber Neologismen in Form von Anglizismen (etwa *Sorry!*) keine Chance, die alteingesessenen Formen zu verdrängen.

3.5. Mittel der Dialogsteuerung

Wie in Ethnosprachen stehen auch im Esperanto für die Dialogsteuerung zahlreiche sprachliche Signale zur Verfügung.
- Rückfrage: *Kion (vi diris)?* 'Was (sagtest du)?' oder einfach *Ĉu?* 'Wie bitte?', wörtlich einfach: 'Ob?' u.a.
- Unterbrechung: *Momenton! Pardonon, ke mi interrompas.* 'Augenblick! Entschuldigung, dass ich unterbreche.'
- Themenangabe: Entweder implizit durch Topikalisierung (bei der freien Wortstellung im Esperanto keine Schwierigkeit) oder explizit etwa durch: *Se paroli pri...* 'Apropos', wörtlich: 'Wenn [wir] über... sprechen [wollen]'.
- Beenden der Konversation: Z.B. *Tiom por hodiaŭ* 'So viel für heute' (schriftlich), *Nu, bone, sufiĉu* 'Nun gut, das soll [mal] reichen' (mündlich) u.a.

4. Interkulturelle Kompetenz

Die vorstehend beschriebenen sprachlichen Konventionen im Esperanto sind natürlich keineswegs neutral in Bezug auf die Kulturen der Welt. Sie entstammen zum Großteil den Gepflogenheiten europäischer Völker, mit teils esperantoeigenen Ableitungen, und müssen in ihrem angemessenen Gebrauch beim Erwerb des Esperanto mitgelernt werden. Damit ist bereits nachgewiesen, dass Esperanto nicht nur ein steriles, inhaltsorientiertes Sprachsystem darstellt, sondern Ausdruck der Kultur seiner Sprechergemeinschaft. Zu dem gemeinsamen Wissen gehört die kulturelle Regel: "Je weiter die Ethnokultur des Gesprächspartners von der meinen entfernt ist, desto geringer ist unser gemeinsames Weltwissen und die Übereinstimmung unserer kulturellen Gepflogenheiten."

Das hat zur Folge, dass man seine Ausdrucksweise im Esperanto in vieler Hinsicht anpasst: Um klarer zu sein, werden die Satzstrukturen einfacher, analytischer. Es

formulojn de pardonpeto, estas en Esperantujo ne imagebla.

3.5. Rimedoj stiri dialogon

Kiel etnaj lingvoj ankaŭ Esperanto disponigas multajn lingvajn rimedojn por stiri dialogon.
- Redemando: *Kion (vi diris)?* aŭ simple: *Ĉu?* ktp.
- Interrompo: *Momenton! Pardonu, ke mi interrompas.*
- Indiko de temo: Tio okazas unue nerekte per tio, ke oni metas la frazoparton, kiu enhavas la temon, al la komenco de la frazo, malpli ofte al la fino. (topikigo); neniu problemo en Esperanto. Due oni povas rekte indiki la temon per enkonduka formulo *Se [ni volas] paroli pri ... .*
- Finado de konversacio: Por rekte signali la finon de la aktuala dialogo, oni povas uzi ekzemple skribe: *Tiom por hodiaŭ!* kaj buŝe: *Nu, bone, sufiĉu!*

4. Interkultura kompetenteco

La supre priskribitaj lingvaj konvencioj en Esperanto kompreneble tute ne estas neŭtralaj rilate la kulturojn de la mondo. Ili devenas plejparte el la kutimoj de Eŭropaj popoloj, parte kun Esperantaj derivaĵoj, kaj ilia konforma uzo devas esti kunlernata dum la akiro de Esperanto. Per tio jam estas pruvite, ke Esperanto estas ne nur sterila, enhavotransportanta lingva sistemo, sed esprimilo de la kulturo de ĝia lingvokomunumo. Al la komuna scio apartenas la kultura regulo: "Ju pli fora estas la etna kulturo de mia parolpartnero al mia propra, des malpli ampleksa estas nia komuna 'scio pri la mondo' kaj la grado de identeco de niaj kulturaj trajtoj."

El tio sekvas, ke oni adaptas sian Esperantan esprimmanieron multrilate: Por esti pli klaraj, la frazostrukturoj iĝas pli simplaj kaj analizaj. Oni esprimas ĉion pli eksplicite, sed ornamita

wird mehr explizit ausgedrückt, aber in mehr Höflichkeit verpackt, wobei man sich bemüht, Tabuthemen des Gegenübers zu vermeiden und eventuelle Verhaltensprobleme zu erörtern. Der konstante indirekte Hinweis durch die gemeinsam verwendete internationale Sprache hilft beiden Gesprächspartnern, die Reaktionen und Ausdrucksweisen des anderen nicht so zu bewerten wie in der muttersprachlichen Umgebung. Eine ethnische Sprache, die immer ihre eigene Kultur spiegelt, kann bei ihrer Verwendung als internationale Sprache diese Rolle nicht leisten.

per pli granda ĝentileco, dum kio oni klopodas, eviti tabuajn temojn de la partnero kaj paroligi pri eventualaj miskompreneblaj kondutoj. La konstanta nerekta atentigo per la internacia lingvo praktikata komune helpas al ambaŭ partneroj, ne prijuĝi la parol- kaj esprim-manierojn de la alia kiel en la gepatralingva ĉirkaŭo. Etna lingvo, kiu ĉiam spegulas sian propran kulturon, ne povas servi en tiu rolo dum ĝia uzo kiel internacia lingvo.

4.1. Gastgeber und fremder Gast

Als Beispiel diene ein sehr häufiges Szenario aus der Esperantowelt, dass Gäste aus einem weit entfernten Land bei einem deutschen Gastgeber unterkommen. Wen darf man zusammen in einem Zimmer unterbringen? Wie kommt ein Kompliment an und welches? Wie weise ich die Gäste dezent in die Handhabung der Toilette ein? Welche ungeschriebenen Gesetze gibt es in meinem Haus (es sind mehr, als man denkt)?

Umgekehrt fragt man sich als Gast: Welche und was für Geschenke bringe ich mit? Welche Räume darf ich betreten? Darf ich mich selbst aus dem Kühlschrank bedienen? Darf ich Wünsche äußern? usw.

Diese und andere Probleme tauchen in jeder interkulturellen Begegnung auf. Dient als Verständigungssprache Esperanto, hat das den Vorteil, dass man mit einem leicht handhabbaren und flexiblen sprachlichen Mittel eventuelle Probleme explizit ansprechen kann, ohne an die Konventionen einer der beteiligten Ethnosprachen gebunden zu sein. Esperanto selbst ist mit der Geisteshaltung allgemeiner Toleranz und Akzeptanz des Fremden als Gleichwertiges verbunden. Dieses Bewusstsein hilft über manche Fettnäpfchen hinweg.

Die Folge ist, dass der Esperanto-Gastgeber ungeniert die Gäste einweisen darf. Etwa mit Hinweisen wie: “Wenn ich Sie frage, ob Sie etwas möchten, sagen Sie rundheraus ‘ja’ oder ‘nein’. Sonst bekommen Sie das, was

4.1. Gastiganto kaj fremda gasto

Kiel ekzemplo servu tre ofta scenaro el Esperantujo, nome ke gastoj el tre fora lando gastas ĉe Germana gastiganto. Kiujn oni tiam rajtas dormigi en komuna ĉambro? Kiel plaĉas en tiu kulturo komplimento kaj kia? Kiel mi informu la gastojn dece, kiel utiligi la necesujon? Kiuj neformulitaj reguloj ekzistas en mia domo (estas kutime pli multaj ol oni supozas)?

Inverse la gasto demandas sin: Kiujn kaj kiajn donacojn mi kunportu? Kiujn ĉambrojn mi rajtas eniri? Ĉu mi rajtas mem servi min el la fridujo? Ĉu mi rajtas rekte deziri ion? ktp.

Tiuj kaj aliaj problemoj aperas kadre de ĉiu interkultura renkonto. Se Esperanto servas kiel komunikada lingvo, tiam estas la avantaĝo, ke oni per facile majstrebla kaj fleksiĝema lingvo povas rekte paroligi pri eventualaj problemoj, sen esti katenita al la konvencioj de unu el la involvitaj etnaj lingvoj. Esperanto mem estas ligita al la sinteno de ĝeneralaj toleremo kaj akceptemo de ĉio fremda. Tiu ĉi konscio helpas, kiam oni pekis kontraŭ lokaj kutimoj.

Sekve la Esperanto-gastiganto rajtas senĝene instrukcii la gastojn. Ekzemple per atentigo: “Se mi demandas vin, ĉu vi ŝatus ricevi ion, diru rekte ‘jes’ aŭ ‘ne’. Nome, se vi unue pro ĝentileco rifuzas ion, vi fakte ne ricevos ĝin.”

Sie zunächst aus Höflichkeit ablehnen, tatsächlich nicht.” usw.

ktp.

4.2. Ausdrucksmittel für Emotionen

Emotionale Äußerungen sind ein weiteres Feld der Kommunikation, das über bloße Inhalte hinausgeht. Sowohl für Liebesgeflüster als auch für Schimpfen und Streiten stellt Esperanto genügend viel Sprachmaterial zur Verfügung. In einem verbreiteten Sprachführer wird man gleich mit dem Wortfeld des Flirtens vertraut gemacht, während für Liebesgeflüster natürlich in der Esperantopoesie Belege zu suchen sind. Für Kosenamen stehen gleich zwei Suffixe, *-ĉj-* für Männer und *-nj-* für Frauen, bereit. Aber in der “Sprache des Friedens”, wie Esperanto gern apostrophiert wird, kann es sehr unfriedlich zugehen. Dafür gibt es Schimpfwörter und Flüche. Die Anrede “Sinjoro!” ohne Hinzufügung gilt als “eisige Höflichkeit”; *fiulo* ‘Schuft’, *idioto* ‘Idiot’ u.a. lassen hingegen keine Auslegungszweifel zu.

4.2. Kiel esprimi emociojn

Esprimoj de emocioj estas vasta kampo de komunikado, kiu transiras la nuran enhavon. Kaj por amflustrado, kaj por sakrado kaj kverelado, Esperanto disponigas sufiĉe multajn lingvajn rimedojn. En vaste konata lingvoenkondukilo oni tuj konatiĝas kun la kampo de flirtado, dum oni por amflustrado kompreneble trovas pruvojn en la Esperantopoezio. Por karesnomoj eĉ ekzistas du sufiksoj, *-ĉj-* por viroj kaj -nj- por virinoj. Sed en la “lingvo de la paco”, kiel oni volonte nomas Esperanton, povas ankaŭ regi malpaco. Por tio ekzistas skoldo- kaj sakrovortoj. Alparolo “Sinjoro!” sen aldono servas por “akra ĝentileco”; pri la signifo de *fiulo* kaj *idioto* certe ne estasa duboj.

4.3. Pragmatik

Unter “Pragmatik” seien hier alle sprachlichen Ausdrucksweisen subsumiert, die nicht wörtlich verstanden werden dürfen. Auf Wortebene begegnet man da den Euphemismen. Diese sind im Esperanto selten, da man um der Klarheit willen lieber eindeutige Begriffe wählt und keine ethnischen Tabus zu beachten sind. Man muss also nicht den Gast nach dem Empfang fragen, ob er sich “die Hände waschen” will, sondern darf rundheraus sagen: *Ĉu vi ŝatus iri al la necesejo?* ‘Möchten Sie auf die Toilette?’, und der Gast dürfte antworten: *Pisejo sufiĉus*. ‘Ein Pissoir täte es.’ Aber gerade *necesejo* ‘Ort des Notwendigen’ ist natürlich ein Euphemismus, einer der seltenen.

4.3. Pragmatiko

“Pragmatiko” ampleksu tie ĉi ĉiujn esprimmanierojn, kiujn oni ne komprenu laŭvorte. Se temas pri vortoj, tiam eŭfemismoj estas ekzemplo. Ili ne tro oftas en Esperanto, ĉar oni pro pli alta klareco preferas senambiguajn vortojn kaj ĉar etnokulturaj tabuoj ne atendendaj. Tiel oni ne bezonas demandi la gasto post la akcepto, ĉu tiu volas “lavi la manojn”, sed rajtas senĝene rekte demandi: *Ĉu vi ŝatus iri al la necesejo?*, kaj la gasto rajtus respondi: *Pisejo sufiĉus.* Sed ĝuste *necesejo* (loko de la neceso) kompreneble estas eŭfemismo, unu el la malmultaj.

Wesentlich problematischer sind pragmatische Ausdrucksweisen, insbesondere Ironie und Sarkasmus. Auch hier gilt: Je weiter die Kultur meines Gegenübers von der meinen entfernt ist, desto eher muss ich davon ausgehen, dass er in dem von mir Geäußerten nicht zwischen den Zeilen zu lesen weiß. Sicher gibt es einige Stilmittel, die inter-

Pli komplikaj estas pragmatikaj esprimmanieroj, precipe ironio kaj sarkasmo. Ankaŭ ĉi-teme validas: Ju pli la kulturo de mia partnero estas malsimila al mia, des pli mi devas esti certa, ke tiu ne scias kompreni la kunnotaciojn. Kompreneble ekzistas kelkaj stil-elementoj, kiuj internacie vaste estas komprenataj, ekzemple la groteska troigo por

national weitgehend verstanden werden, etwa die groteske Übertreibung, um das Gegenteil des Gesagten zu signalisieren. Im Allgemeinen muss man aber sehr vorsichtig sein und davon ausgehen, dass jede Botschaft wörtlich verstanden wird. Als Rezipient empfiehlt es sich zurückzufragen.

signali la kontraŭon de la diritaĵo. Ĝenerale oni devas tamen tre atentu kaj supozu, ke ĉiu komunikaĵo estos laŭvorte komprenata. Por aŭskultanto rekomendindas redemandi.

Dasselbe gilt für scherzhaft gemeinte Mitteilungen. Man sollte dann lieber *Pardonu, tio kompreneble estis ŝerco.* 'Entschuldigung, das war natürlich ein Scherz.' hinzufügen. Zur interkulturellen Kompetenz gehört aber auch die Erfahrung, dass verschiedene Kulturen über ganz andere Dinge lachen als wir selbst; die Vorstellung von Humor ist nicht international.

La sama validas por ŝercaj komunikoj. Oni tiam pli bone je la fino aldonu: *Pardonu, tio kompreneble estis ŝerco.* Al interkultura kompetenteco apartenas ankaŭ la sperto, ke malsamkulturanoj ridas pri tute aliaj aferoj ol ni mem; la imago pri tio, kio estas humura, ne estas internacia.

Als Lösung, Pragmatisches nicht missverständlich zu lassen, bleibt allein, im Zweifelsfall metasprachlich mitzuteilen, wie das Geäußerte zu werten ist. Z.B. durch eine vorangeschickte Warnung: *Mi nun troigos...* 'Ich werde jetzt übertreiben...'

Restas kiel solvo por eviti miskomprenojn de pramatikaĵoj, en kazo de dubo informi, kiel oni prijuĝu la komunikaĵon. Ekzemple per enkonduka averto: *Mi nun troigos...*

4.4. Metaphern, Ellipsen und Vagheit

4.4. Mateforoj, elipsoj kaj neklareco

Jede Sprache benutzt Metaphern, um den Wortschatz nicht explodieren zu lassen. Um sie zu verstehen, braucht man wieder gemeinsames Weltwissen. Ellipsen hingegen dienen der Kürze: Man lässt alles weg, was selbstverständlich ist, aber gerade das Selbstverständliche ist wiederum nicht weltweit dasselbe. Auch die Vagheit, eine bewusst ungenaue Ausdrucksweise, dient der sprachlichen Ökonomie. Eine ideale Plansprache kann sich auf die gegensätzlichen Anforderungen der Klarheit, andererseits der gebotenen Kürze flexibel einstellen. Esperanto ist dazu in der Lage, zum einen durch genügend tief gestaffelte Begriffshierarchien, zum anderen durch die vielfältigen Möglichkeiten der detallierten Formulierung.

Ĉiu lingvo uzas metaforojn por ne eksplodigi la vortaron. Por kompreni metaforojn, oni denove bezonas komunan "scion pri la mondo". Per elipsoj oni tamen celas ŝpari vortojn: Oni ellasas ĉion memkompreneblan, sed ĝuste la memkomprenebla ne estas mondvaste la sama. Ankaŭ intenca neklareco servas por lingva ekonomio. Ideala planlingvo povas fleksiĝeme adapti sin la kontraŭaj postuloj de klareco kaj aliflanke de la necesa koncizeco. Esperanto kapablas al tio, unuflanke per sufiĉe multaj hierarkiaj nocioniveloj, aliflanke per la multegaj ebloj de detala formulado.

Selten gibt es da aus der Grammatik Beschränkungen, etwa durch die Regel: "Das Subjekt im Satz muss genannt werden, auch wenn es mit dem des vorherigen Satzes übereinstimmt."

Malofte la gramatiko tie metas limojn, ekzemple per la regulo: "La subjekto de frazo devas esti nomata, eĉ se ĝi identas kun tiu de la antaŭa frazo."

Zum Erwerb der kommunikativen Kompe-

Al la akiro de la komunikada kompetenteco

tenz im Esperanto gehört auch bei diesem Thema wiederum, dass man lernen muss, das Weltwissen seines Gesprächspartners einzuschätzen und danach die Auswahl der Metaphern, Art und Umfang von Ellipsen und den Grad der Vagheit festzulegen. Man muss zugeben, das man das in keinem Lehrbuch explizit findet. Entsprechende Erfahrungen erwirbt man sich nur durch die Praxis, indem man aus kleinen interkulturellen Pannen und Missverständnissen lernt.

apartenas ankaŭ ĉi-teme, ke oni devas lerni, ĝuste pritaksi la "scion pri la mondo" de sia partnero kaj depende de tio fiksi la uzeblajn metaforojn, la specon kaj la nombron de elipsoj kaj la gradon de neklareco. Oni devas konfesi, ke tio ĉio ne troveblas en lernolibro. Tiajn spertojn oni akiras nur per la praktiko, lernante el malgrandaj interkulturaj paneoj kaj miskomprenoj.

5. *Esperantujo* – kein kulturelles Niemandsland

5. *Esperantujo* – ne kultura neniejo

Obwohl die Mitglieder der Esperanto-Sprechergemeinschaft immer unter dem Einfluss ihrer jeweiligen Muttersprache stehen und damit insgesamt auch den Sprachwandel im Esperanto beeinflussen, gibt es sprachliche und soziale Phänomene in Esperantujo, die man als Indikatoren einer eigenen Kultur deuten kann.

Kvankam la anoj de la Esperanta lingvokomunumo ĉiam estas sub influo de sia unuopa gepatra lingvo kaj tiel entute ankaŭ influi la lingvoŝanĝiĝon en Esperanto, ekzistas lingvaj kaj sociaj fenomenoj en Esperantujo, kiujn oni povas komprenigi kiel indikilojn de propra kulturo.

Dabei ist es abwegig, nach einer eigenständigen Architektur oder sonstiger Sachkultur zu suchen. Bei einem sprachlichen Kulturkatalysator wie Esperanto geht es selbstverständlich um den geistigen Bereich. Die Esperantosprechergemeinschaft als differenzierte soziale Bewegung hat inzwischen eine 120-jährige Geschichte. Das hat zur Folge, dass es eigenständige Facetten von Wissen aus dieser im weltweiten Maßstab gesehen kleinen Esperanto-Welt gibt.

Tiuteme estas absurde, serĉi apartan arkitekturon aŭ aliajn kulturajn objektojn. Lingva katalizilo kiel Esperanto kompreneble efikas en la spirita sfero. La Esperanta lingvokomunumo kiel diversspeca socia movado retrorigardas intertempe al 120-jara historio. El tio sekvas, ke ekzistas aŭtonomaj facetoj de scio en tiu mondskale prijuĝite malgranda Esperanto-mondo.

5.1. Esperanto-eigene Bezeichnungen

5.1. Propraj nocioj en Esperanto

Es gibt im Esperanto Metaphern, die niemand außer kundigen Esperantofreunden versteht, z.B. das Eponym *kabei* 'nach vielem Engagement urplötzlich die organisierte Esperantobewegung verlassen', benannt nach Kazimierz Bein, Pseudonym Kabe, einem Aktivisten der frühen Periode vor dem 1. Weltkrieg.

Ekzistas en Esperanto metaforoj, kiujn neniu komprenas escepte de spertaj Esperantistoj, ekzemple la eponimo *kabei* (= post multjara aktivado subite forlasi la Esperanto-movadon), nomita laŭ Kzmierz Bein, pseŭdonimo Kabe, aktivulo de la frua periodo antaŭ la 1a mondmilito.

Hierhin gehört die Anrede *samideano* 'Anhänger der gleichen Idee', die daran erinnert, dass man nicht nur eine gemeinsame Sprache, sondern auch ein gemeinsames Ziel

Ĉi-loke estu menciita ankaŭ la alparolo *samideano*, kiu memorigas, ke du Esperantistoj havas ne nur komunan lingvon, sed ankaŭ komunan celon: disvastigi

verfolgt: Esperanto zu verbreiten und damit zur weltweiten Verständigung, und zwar nicht nur der sprachlichen, beizutragen. Von der grünen Esperanto-Fahne her nennen sich die Esperantosprechenden auch wohl *verduloj* 'Grüne'; allgemein dient der Wortstamm *verd-* 'grün' als Metonymie für *Esperant-*. Die *denaskuloj* (wörtlich: Von-Geburt-Menschen), die als Kind mit Esperanto Aufgewachsenen, wurden schon erwähnt. In Gegenwart anderer eine diesen unverständliche Ethnosprache verwenden, heißt *krokodili* und ist verpönt. Wer aber allzu streng auf den sprachlichen Ehrenkodex achtet, gilt als *ĝisosta verdulo* 'ein Grüner bis auf die Knochen' und ein Übereifriger wird *ardulo* 'Glühender' genannt. So gibt eine Reihe von Bezeichnungen, die sich demjenigen nicht erschließen, der nur das Sprachsystem lernt, ohne sich um die "Landeskunde" von Esperantoland zu bemühen.

Esperanton kaj tiel kontribui al mondvasta interkompreno, kaj ne nur al la lingva. Pro la verda flago de Esperanto la Esperanto-parolantoj nomas sin ankaŭ *verduloj*; ĝenerale servas la vortradiko *verd-* kiel metonimio por *Esperant-*. La *denaskuloj*, alia Esperanto-tipa esprimo, estas tie ĉi jam menciitaj. Se oni parolas etnolingvon dum ĉeesto de aliaj, kiuj ne komprenas tiun, tiam oni *krokodilas*, kio estas malŝatata. Kiu tamen tro rigore atentas la regulojn de lingva deco, estas negative pritaksata per *ĝisosta verdulo*, kaj kiu tro entuziasme agadas, ricevas la kromnomon *ardulo*. Tiel ekzistas vico de nocioj, kiuj restas nekompreneblaj por ĉiu, lernas nur la lingvan sistemon, sen atenti la "landan etnologion" de Esperantujo.

5.2. Soziale Besonderheiten

Die Esperanto-Sprechergemeinschaft ist gelegentlich auf ihre sozialen Besonderheiten gegenüber anderen Bevölkerungsgruppen überprüft worden (Stocker 1996). Man kann zusammenfassend sagen, dass Esperantosprechende überwiegend toleranter und offen sind, trotz einer Neigung, an Gewohntem festzuhalten, oft mit religiöser Bindung.

Ein wichtige soziale Komponente ist auch die viel beschworene weltanschauliche und politische Neutralität, mit Ausnahme der Sprachpolitik natürlich. Gerade Esperantofreunde sind oft in anderen Gemeinschaften mit völlig verschiedenen Weltanschauungen verwurzelt. Man trifft sich im Universala Esperanto-Asocio (UEA) 'Welt-Esperanto-Bund', der größten, bürgerlichen Esperanto-Gesellschaft, gerade noch auf dem gemeinsamen Boden der Menschenrechte (wobei das Recht auf Ausübung der Muttersprache besonders betont wird) und der Demokratie. Alles Darüberhinausgehende wird in den privaten Bereich bzw. in die nicht neutralen Esperanto-Fachverbände und -Organisationen verwiesen. Zur Zeit des Kalten Krieges ergaben sich daraus wesentliche Spannungen, doch die Risse ließen sich bis zur politischen

5.2. Sociaj specifaĵoj

La Esperanta lingvokomunumo foje estis esplorate rilate sociajn specifaĵojn kompare kun aliaj homogrupoj (Stocker 1996). Resume oni povas diri, ke Esperantistoj grandparte estas pli toleremaj kaj malfermaj, malgraŭ la inklino, konservi tradiciojn, ofte kun hejmeco en religio.

Grava socia komponanto estas ankaŭ la ofte emfazita mondpercepta kaj politika neŭtraleco, escepte de la lingvopolitiko kompreneble. Guste Esperantistoj ofte hejmas ankaŭ en aliaj komunumoj kun tute diversaj mondperceptoj. Oni kunvenas komune en Universala Esperanto-Asocio (UEA), la plej granda, burĝa Esperanto-organizo, kun ne multe pli da interkonsento ol la homaj rajtoj (el kiuj elstarigata estas la rajto je uzo de la propra gepatra lingvo) kaj la demokratio. Ĉio, kio transiras tion, estas pludonata al la privata sfero aŭ al la neneŭtralaj fakaj, religiaj kaj politikaj organizoj de la Esperanto-movado. Dum la tempo de la Malvarma Milito el tio rezultis rimarkeblaj kvereloj, sed ĝis la politikaj ŝanĝoj la abismoj estis ĉiam sukcese transpontataj. UEA ne disfalis.

Wende immer wieder kitten. Der Welt-Esperantobund zerfiel nicht.

Soziolinguistisch fällt auf, dass das Bewusstsein des eigenen Sprachgebrauchs unter den Esperantosprechenden wesentlich höher ist als in ethnosprachlichen Gemeinschaften. Der Drang, sich systemkonform und korrekt auszudrücken, ist weit verbreitet. Den meisten Esperantosprechern ist bewusst, dass sich sonst in ihrer über die ganze Welt verstreuten Gemeinschaft weltregionale Dialekte ausbilden würden, was die gemeinsame Identität gefährden würde.

Sociolingvike okulfrapas, ke la konscio pri la propra lingvouzo inter la Esperanto-parolantoj rimarkeble estas pli alta ol en etnolingvaj komunumoj. La psika premo, paroli konforme kaj ĝuste, estas tre disvastigita. La plej multaj Esperanto-parolantoj scias, ke alikaze ekiĝus dialektoj en sia komunumo disigita tra la tuta mondo, kio endanĝerigus la komunan identecon.

5.3. Innere fachliche und soziale Strömungen

Im Laufe der Zeit haben einige innere Diskurse in der Geschichte der movado 'Bewegung' ihre dauerhaften Spuren hinterlassen. Einige sind sprachwissenschaftlicher Art, so der Neologismen-Streit (Soll der Wortschatz durch neue Wortwurzeln oder eher durch Kombination bekannter erweitert werden?) und die Kontroverse der Tempisten und Aspektisten (Geben die Partizipien nur Zeitverhältnisse oder zuweilen auch Aspekte an?). Nach Karel Pič, einem tschechischen Esperanto-Literaten, ist die Stilrichtung *piĉismo* 'extremer Neologismus' benannt.

Auf eine soziale Strömung verweist die Bezeichnung *raŭmisto*, Anhänger der Idee, Esperanto einfach zu verwenden, ohne jede sprachpolitische Absicht, nach einem Manifest aus dem Jahre 1980 der Welt-Esperantojugend, anlässlich eines Kongresses in der finnischen Stadt Rauma. Ihm gegenübergestellt wird der *finvenkisto*, der sprachpolitisch Aktive, der sich auf allen Ebenen für die Verbreitung des Esperanto einsetzt, bis zum 'endgültigen Durchbruch', wie man *fina venko* am besten übersetzt. Die wörtliche Bedeutung 'Endsieg' würde im deutschen Sprachraum falsche Assoziationen hervorrufen.

5.3 Internaj fakaj kaj sociaj tendencoj

Dum la pasinta tempo kelkaj internaj diskutoj postlasis siajn spurojn en la historio de la movado. Iuj estas pri lingvosciencaj temoj, ekzemple pri la neologismoj (Ĉu la Esperanto-vortaro estu pligrandigata per novaj radikoj aŭ prefere per novaj kunmetaĵoj?) kaj la disputo inter la tempistoj kaj aspektistoj (Ĉu la participoj indikas sole temporilatojn aŭ ĉu foje ankaŭ aspektojn?). Laŭ Karel Pič, ĉeĥa Esperanto-poeto, oni nomis la stil-tendencon de abundaj neologismoj *piĉismo*.

Al socia tendenco referencas la nocio *raŭmisto*, anoj de ideo, simple praktiki Esperanton, sen lingvopolitika aktivado. La nomo devenas de manifesto de Raŭmo el la jaro 1980, okaze de mondkongreso de Tutmonda Esperanto-Junularo en la Finna urbo Rauma. Kontraŭe finvenkisto estas lingvopolitika aktivulo, kiu celas sur ĉiuj niveloj la disvastigon de Esperanto ĝis la *fina venko*. Alternativa formulado estas *fina sukceso* por eviti la malbonan asociaĵon, kiujn vekas la esprimo *fina venko* en la Germana lingvo.

5.4. Identitätsstiftende Wirkung

Die identitätsstiftende Wirkung des Esperanto, die man einer Plansprache gar

5.4. Identecoveka efiko

La identecoveka efiko de Esperanto, tute ne atendenda de planlingvo, estas suprize forta.

nicht zutrauen würde, ist überraschend stark. Man fühlt sich verbunden durch die *interna ideo* 'interne Idee', wieder ein Ausdruck, dessen Bedeutung sich nur den Eingeweihten erschließt. Dieses besondere Gemeinschaftsgefühl der Esperantosprechenden hat historisch wohl entscheidend zum Überleben der Sprache beigetragen und zieht bis heute immer wieder neue Adepten an.

La parolantaro sentas sin ligita per la *interna ideo*, denove esprimo, kies signifon komprenas nur praktikanta Esperantisto. Tiu specifa sento de komuneco inter la Esperanto-parolantoj certe decide kontribuis al la postvivado de la lingvo kaj ĝis hodiaŭ ĉiam denove allogas novajn adeptojn.

Zamenhof sah Esperanto darüber hinaus nur als sprachliches Vehikel einer neuen, alle Nationen und Religionen überkuppelnden Weltanschauung, die er *homaranismo* 'Weltanschauung, Mitglied der Menschheit zu sein' nannte. Diese Vision bewies nicht dieselbe Zündkraft wie die von ihm vorgestellte Plansprache, aber in der *interna ideo*, in der die Sehnsucht der Menschen nach Frieden, Einigkeit und Gleichberechtigung zum Ausdruck kommt, bleibt ein Abglanz des Homaranismus bestehen, unabhängig von der privaten Weltanschauung des einzelnen Esperantofreundes.

Zamenhof vidis en Esperanto plie nur lingvan helpilon al nova, ĉiujn naciojn kaj religiojn superkupolantan ideologion, kiun li nomis *homaranismo* (= mondpercepto esti membro de la homaro). Tiu vizio ne kaŭzis same fortan impulson kiel la planlingvo prezentata de li, sed en la *interna ideo*, en kiu la sopiro de la homaro al paco, unuiĝo kaj samrajteco trovas sian esprimon, restas eĥo de la homaranismo, sendepende de la privata mondpercepto de la unuopa Esperantisto.

6. Resümee

In wenigen Strichen wurde hier das Bild einer Plansprache gezeichnet, die weit über das hinausgeht, was man ein Sprachsystem nennt. Neben vielen Eigenschaften, von denen der Außenstehende glaubt, dass sie auf ethinische Sprachen beschränkt seien, hat sich die Esperanto-Sprechergemeinschaft zu einer Art weltweit verstreuten Überethnie entwickelt, deren eigene Kultur sich in vielen Anzeichen, die hier beschrieben wurden, bemerkbar macht. Träger dieser Kultur sind wie immer die Menschen, nicht die Sprache, aber letztere ist der Katalysator: Wer wo immer auch sie verwendet, bleibt sich bewusst, dass er sich hier "zwischen den Nationen" bewegt, mit Hilfe einer internationalen Sprache, die als einzige diese Bezeichnung im wörtlichen Sinne verdient.

Sie wirkt friedens- und toleranzfördernd, macht Gleichberechtigung greifbar und ist deshalb auch pädagogisch wertvoll. Über sie erfahren viele Menschen von den Kulturen anderer. Esperanto weckt durch den umittelbaren Kontakt mit anderen fremden

6. Resumo

Per malmultaj strioj estis skizata jen la bildo de planlingvo, kiu havas multe pli grandan signifon ol esti nur lingva sistemo. Apud multaj ecoj, kiuj laŭ la opinio de multaj estas limigitaj nur al etnaj lingvoj, la Esperanta lingvo komunumo evoluis al speco de mondvaste disigita kupola etno, kies propra kulturo manifestiĝas en multaj indikoj, kiuj estas priskribitaj tie ĉi. Portantoj de tiu kulturo kiel ĉiam estas la homoj, ne la lingvo, sed ĝi estas katalizilo: Kiu ie ajn ĝin praktikas, restas konscia, ke li troviĝas jen "inter la nacioj", per la helpo de internacia lingvo, kiu kiel ununura meritas tiun kromnomon kun laŭvorta signifo.

Ĝi efikas pac- kaj tolerem-subtene, igas samrajtecon spertebla kaj tial estas ankaŭ pedagogie valora. Tra ĝi multaj homoj ekscias pri la kulturoj de aliaj. Esperanto vekas per la senpera kontakto al fremduloj la intereson, konatiĝi kun ties kulturoj kaj

Menschen das Interesse, deren Kulturen und ihre Sprachen kennen zu lernen. Es ist der ideale Weg zu einer "Einheit in der Vielheit", aber diese Entdeckung haben die meisten Menschen noch vor sich.

lingvoj. Tio estas la ideala vojo al "Unueco en plureco", sed tiun eltrovon la plej multaj homoj havas ankoraŭ antaŭ si.

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Sprachenpolitik mehrsprachiger Staaten als Vorbild für die Sprachenpolitik der Europäischen Union?
Am Beispiel Spaniens, der Schweiz und Indiens*

Abstract

Currently, the European Union consists of 27 member states with 23 different official languages that, at the same time, are official languages of the European Union. But the number of languages has more and more become a problem for the EU and it will increase with its growth towards eastern European countries. Therefore, a reform of the current regulations for languages is necessary. How can a decrease in number of the official languages be achieved and at the same time take the Union's motto "United in Diversity" into account by preserving and fostering the different languages that exist on the territory of the European Union? The aim of the present article is to compare the language policy of three selected nation states (Spain, Switzerland and India) in order to find out if and how they could serve as a model for a future language policy of the EU. Furthermore, the ability of the citizens to communicate in other than their mother tongues should be outlined. In this context a quick look is given on the education policies for learning foreign languages in the selected states.

Sommaire

Aujourd'hui, l'Union Européenne consiste en 27 nations membres avec 23 langues officielles, qui sont en même temps les langues officielles de l'Union Européenne. Mais le nombre de langues est devenu, de plus en plus, un problème pour l'UE et il augmentera encore avec son expansion envers les pays de l'Europe de l'Est. C'est pourquoi une réforme des régulations actuelles pour les langues est indispensable. Comment un déclin des langues officielles peut-il être atteint tout en préservant la devise de l'Union « Unis dans la diversité » ? Le but de cet article-ci est de comparer la politique linguistique de trois pays sélectionnés (l'Espagne, la Suisse et l'Inde) et d'analyser dans quelle mesure celles-ci pourraient servir de modèle pour une future politique de langues de l'UE. En outre, on va montrer quelles langues les citoyens des pays respectives maîtrisent à part leur langue maternelle. A ce sujet, on jettera un oeil sur les régulations concernant l'acquisition de langues étrangères dans le système éducatif des trois pays.

Zusammenfassung

Derzeit besteht die Europäische Union aus 27 Mitgliedsstaaten mit 23 Amts- und Arbeitssprachen. Durch die Vergrößerung der Europäischen Union ist auch die Zahl der Amts- und Arbeitssprachen gestiegen. Doch gerade diese Tatsache ist zu einem Problem für die EU geworden. Dieses Problem wird sich durch eine weitere Ausdehnung nach Osten noch verschärfen. Daher ist eine Reform der aktuellen Sprachenpolitik dringend notwendig. Doch wie kann die Zahl der offiziellen Sprachen verkleinert und gleichzeitig dem Motto der Europäischen Union "In Vielfalt geeint" Rechnung getragen werden? Ziel dieses Artikels ist es die Sprachenpolitik dreier ausgewählter Staaten (Spanien, Schweiz und Indien) zu vergleichen und zu untersuchen, in wie weit diese als Modell für eine künftige Sprachenpolitik der EU dienen können. Weiterhin soll festgestellt werden, welche Sprachen die Bürger der ausgewählten Staaten außer ihrer Muttersprache beherrschen. Dafür wird ein kurzer Blick auf die Regelungen zum Fremdsprachenlernen in den Bildungssystemen der drei Länder geworfen.

1. Einleitung

Nach Benedict Anderson sind die Nationalstaaten ein historisches Produkt, das im 19. Jahrhundert seinen Anfang nahm (siehe Anderson 2005). Heute jedoch werden

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Nationalstaaten von den meisten Menschen als selbstverständlich angesehen (vgl. Ehlich 2006: 19). Doch nicht nur das. Häufig wird mit einem Staat auch eine bestimmte Sprache in Verbindung gebracht. Denn "[d]er Prozeß der Nationenbildung ist in Europa eng mit jener der Herausbildung von Nationalsprachen verbunden" (Paula 1994: 12). Allerdings sind die wenigsten Länder in Europa einsprachig. Viele Sprachen werden häufig in zwei oder mehr Ländern gesprochen. Wie zum Beispiel das Französische in Frankreich, Belgien und Luxemburg oder das Deutsche in Deutschland, Österreich, Liechtenstein, der Schweiz, Luxemburg, Belgien und Italien. Außerdem gibt es Regionen von Minderheitensprachen innerhalb der Nationalstaaten sowie Sprachinseln zugewanderter Sprachen. In den Jahren nach dem 2. Weltkrieg bis heute haben sich die Grenzen einiger Nationalstaaten verschoben und neue Staaten sind durch Abspaltung entstanden. Das jüngste Beispiel ist hier die Unabhängigkeitserklärung des Kosovo im Februar 2008 von Serbien.

Die meisten Staaten in Europa sind multinational und damit auch mehrsprachig, aber nicht immer wird diese Mehrsprachigkeit auch in der Verfassung belegt. Oder anders ausgedrückt: die verschiedenen Sprachen haben häufig keinen Amtssprachenstatus. Die für diesen Artikel untersuchten Staaten sind sowohl multinational wie auch laut ihrer Verfassung mehrsprachig. Damit besteht in ihnen im Kleinen eine Situation, wie wir sie heute in ähnlicher Form innerhalb der EU vorfinden.

Es soll im Folgenden untersucht werden, ob diese Staaten einen Vorbildcharakter für die EU haben können. Nicht nur auf der Verwaltungsebene der EU, sondern auch hinsichtlich der EU-Regelungen, die für alle Mitgliedsstaaten gelten, vor allem im Bereich der Sprachenausbildung. Wobei Indien ein besonders geeignetes Vergleichsbeispiel zu sein scheint, denn "[u]nter den großen Kommunikationsräumen der Erde sehen sich insbesondere der europäische Kontinent und der indische Subkontinent durch ihre jeweilige Sprachensituation direkt mit den Herausforderungen transnationaler Kommunikation konfrontiert" (Ehlich 2006: 17).

2. Methode und Begriffsdefinitionen

2.1. Herangehensweise

Um zu untersuchen, ob und in wie weit die Sprachenpolitik mehrsprachiger Staaten als Vorbild für die Sprachenpolitik in der EU verwendet werden kann, sollen nun drei mehrsprachige Staaten näher betrachtet werden. Einmal Spanien, als Mitgliedsstaat der EU, gefolgt von der Schweiz, als europäischer Staat, der allerdings nicht zur EU gehört und zuletzt Indien als außereuropäisches Beispiel. Ein besonderes Augenmerk soll dabei auf die Sprachenfrage in den Verfassungen der Länder, die Sprecherzahlen und die Sprachenausbildung gelegt werden. Dabei soll es in erster Linie um die Angehörigen der autochthonen – der eingesessenen – Sprachgruppen gehen, da die Einbeziehung der allochthonen Sprachgruppen hier zu weit führen würde. Allerdings darf nicht vergessen werden, dass dieser Aspekt durch verstärkte Migration innerhalb des Gebiets der EU und auch durch den Zuzug von Bürgern aus Drittländern, in Zukunft ebenfalls eine wichtige Rolle in der Sprachenfrage der EU spielen wird, besonders in den größeren Städten.

Da es sich bei den Beispielen um Nationalstaaten handelt, die einem supranationalen Staatenbund, also der Europäischen Union, gegenübergestellt werden, wird es notwendig sein, die Anzahl der Sprachen, ihre Verbreitung, sowie ihre Sprecherzahlen zu betrachten, um feststellen zu können in wie weit ein Vergleich mit der EU angestellt werden kann. Abschließend soll ein kurzer Überblick über die Bildungspolitik hinsichtlich der zu lernenden Sprachen gegeben werden. Denn in der EU muss in der Zukunft nicht nur die Sprachenfrage

auf politischer, verwaltungstechnischer und organisatorischer Ebene geregelt werden, sondern es müssen auch neue Vorschläge zur Verbesserung der Verständigung zwischen den Bürgern der Mitgliedsstaaten gemacht werden. Ein solcher Vorschlag findet sich am Ende dieses Artikels.

2.2. Begriffe

Wie schon in der Einleitung erwähnt sind Nationalstaaten eine relativ neue Erscheinung. Doch was genau macht Nationalstaaten aus? Den Staat definiere ich als ein politisches Gebilde mit einem Staatsgebiet, einem Staatsvolk, sowie einer Staatsgewalt. Die Nation definiert Anderson wie folgt: Als "eine vorgestellte politische Gemeinschaft – vorgestellt als begrenzt und souverän" (Anderson 2005: 15). Aus der Kombination dieser beiden Begriffe und ihrer Definitionen ergibt sich in der Folge, dass ein Nationalstaat "ein Staat [ist], dessen Existenz zumindest teilweise seine Legitimität in der Überzeugung der Staatsbürger findet, einer gemeinsamen ‚Nation' anzugehören" (Schreiner 2006: 30). Daran schließt sich die Auffassung an, dass die Bürger des Nationalstaates durch eine gemeinsame Nationalsprache verbunden sind. Das hat dazu geführt, dass auch heute noch einzelne Staaten mit einer bestimmten Sprache in Verbindung gebracht werden (vgl. Grzega 2006: 256 und Gogolin/Krüger-Potratz/Neumann 1991: 7). Dies entspricht aber nicht der Realität, da in den meisten Staaten verschiedene Sprachen gesprochen werden und häufig Sprachen grenzüberschreitend zu finden sind. Als einzige fast gänzlich einsprachige Staaten in Europa gelten Portugal und Island. Auch ist zu bedenken, dass Sprachen häufig aus verschiedenen Dialekten bestehen und damit niemand exakt dieselbe Form einer Sprache spricht. "**'Nationalsprachen' sind stets standardisierte Einheitssprachen, die große Gebiete überdachen und zunächst niemandes Muttersprache sind!**" (Putzer 2006: 52). Im Falle Indiens bezieht sich der Begriff des Staates auf die einzelnen Bundesstaaten, die zusammen mit den Unionsterritorien die Bundesrepublik Indien bilden, darauf wird im folgenden Kapitel noch näher eingegangen.

Auch hat nicht jeder Staat eine alleinige Staats- bzw. Amtssprache. Wobei zu unterscheiden ist, dass Staatssprachen für das gesamte Staatsgebiet gelten und auch immer Amtssprachen sind, während Amtssprachen auch regional begrenzt sein können. Die in dieser Arbeit betrachteten Staaten verfügen über mehrere Amtssprachen und im Falle Indiens und der Schweiz auch über mehrere Staatssprachen, wobei sich die Konzepte allerdings voneinander unterscheiden, wie in Kapitel 3.2 gezeigt wird. Neben den Nationalsprachen existieren in den Staaten Regionalsprachen; Sprachen also, die nur in einem bestimmten Gebiet gesprochen werden. Dabei können diese Regionalsprachen ebenfalls nationalen Amtssprachenstatus haben, wie dies im Falle der Schweiz für alle Sprachen gilt, im Falle Indiens für das Hindi und das Englische. Häufig handelt es sich bei den Regionalsprachen um Minderheitensprachen.

Bei der Definition des Begriffs Minderheitensprachen folge ich den Ausführungen von Born, der darauf hinweist, dass Minderheitensprachen in der EU aufgrund des Subsidiaritätsprinzips Minderheitensprachen in den einzelnen Mitgliedsländern sind. Kleine Sprachen, die bei der Gesamtbetrachtung der Sprachensituation auf EU-Ebene Minderheitensprachen darstellen würden, fallen nicht unter diese Bezeichnung (z.B. das Dänische) (vgl. Born 1994: 21). Der Begriff an sich ist ebenfalls umstritten. Im EU-Sprachgebrauch wurde auf Vorschlag der Iren der Begriff Minderheitensprachen durch die Bezeichnung der "lesser used languages", also der "weniger verbreiteten Sprachen", ersetzt (siehe Nelde 1994: 118). Neben den regional begrenzten autochthonen, d.h. eingesessenen Sprachen zählen auch die allochthonen, d.h. zugewanderten Sprachen zu den Minderheitensprachen. Letztere bilden sogenannte Sprachinseln, die allerdings einen Sonderfall darstellen, auf den in diesem Artikel nicht näher eingegangen werden kann.

Unter dem Begriff der Sprachenpolitik verstehe ich diejenigen Maßnahmen, die von den einzelnen Staaten beziehungsweise dem supranationalen Staatenbund der EU hinsichtlich der Sprachenfrage durchgeführt werden. Vor allem bei der Frage nach den Amts- und Arbeitssprachen, dem Schutz der Minderheitensprachen und der Sprachenfrage in der Bildungspolitik, wobei diese eher als Sprachplanung bezeichnet werden müsste.

Mit der Bezeichnung EU meine ich hauptsächlich deren erste und wichtigste Säule, die EG. Sprachenpolitik hat zwar auch Auswirkungen auf die anderen beiden Säulen[1], ist aber für die hier untersuchten Bereiche unerheblich. Desweiteren meine ich mit EU nicht nur den Verwaltungsapparat, sondern die Gesamtheit der zur EU gehörenden Staaten. Dies ist vor allem für Kapitel 3.4 zum Thema Bildungspolitik wichtig.

3. Situation in ausgewählten Nationalstaaten im Vergleich

3.1. Politischer Aufbau

Wie schon im vorherigen Kapitel angedeutet, besteht die Schwierigkeit eines direkten Vergleichs zwischen den drei Staaten Spanien, Schweiz und Indien mit der EU darin, dass es sich um zwei unterschiedliche politische Gebilde handelt. Auf der einen Seite die drei Nationalstaaten, auf der anderen Seite ein supranationaler Zusammenschluss einzelner Staaten. Doch bereits der Aufbau der drei Staaten weist zum Teil große Unterschiede auf, welche für die in Kapitel 3.2 behandelte Sprachenregelung in der Verfassung von Bedeutung sind.

Spanien, nach französischem Vorbild zentralistisch aufgebaut, veränderte sich im Zuge der *transición* und es setzte sich mit der neuen Verfassung von 1978 das Konzept des *Estado de las Autonomías* durch. Das bedeutet, dass die einzelnen Autonomen Regionen ihre eigenen Statuten entwerfen konnten, in denen sie auch die Sprachenfrage innerhalb ihres Gebiets regeln durften. Trotz dieser Dezentralisierung konzentrieren sich die meisten Einrichtungen weiterhin in der Hauptstadt Madrid. Dagegen besitzt die EU keine "europäische Hauptstadt" (auch wenn Brüssel oftmals als solche gesehen wird) und die verschiedenen Organe und Einrichtungen der EU sind auf die Mitgliedsstaaten aufgeteilt.

Die Schweiz bildete sich laut Siguan im 12. Jahrhundert zunächst als Bund kleiner, lokaler Einheiten (vgl. Siguan 2001: 69). 1848 wurde der Bundesstaat der Schweiz gegründet; damit sieht Albrecht auch die Wandlung zu einem mehrsprachigen Staat. Aufgrund ihrer Geschichte versteht sich die Schweiz als Willensnation, da sie sich aus unterschiedlichen kulturellen und auch sprachlichen Gruppen zusammensetzt (vgl. Albrecht 2005: 482f). So gesehen kann von der Europäischen Union als "Willensunion" gesprochen werden, denn sie ist ein freiwilliges Bündnis einzelner souveräner Staaten, die gerade im Bereich der Sprachpolitik völlige Selbstbestimmung haben.

Die indische Bundesrepublik setzt sich aus einzelnen Bundesstaaten und Unionsterritorien zusammen, die erst seit der Unabhängigkeit von Großbritannien 1947 eine Einheit bilden (vgl. Naik 2004: 254). Allerdings wurden die einzelnen Gebiete nach der Unabhängigkeit reorganisiert und zwar in der Form, dass sie *Linguistic States* bilden (vgl. Annamalai 2001: 70). Das heißt in fast jedem Staat gibt es eine Majoritätensprache, die in den meisten Fällen auch regionale Amtssprache ist.

[1] Zum einen die gemeinsame Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik (GASP), zum anderen die polizeiliche und justizielle Zusammenarbeit (PJZS).

3.2. Amtssprachensituation

In Kapitel 2.2 wurde bereits erwähnt, dass es unterschiedliche Konzepte der Sprachenregelung in den einzelnen Staaten gibt. Für die vorliegende Untersuchung von Nutzen ist die Einteilung der Sprachpolitik in den Staaten der EU in fünf Grundtypen nach Siguan (vgl. Siguan 2001: 56f). (1) Als Erstes gibt es die Länder mit einsprachiger Sprachenpolitik, entweder tatsächlich einsprachige Länder (Portugal, Island) oder Länder, in denen zwar Sprachminderheiten existieren, die aber dennoch einer politischen Einsprachigkeit folgen (Frankreich). (2) Zur zweiten Gruppe gehören diejenigen Staaten, die sprachliche Minderheiten tolerieren und oftmals schützen. Es gibt eine National- bzw. Amtssprache, die Minderheitensprachen haben keine politischen Rechte, sind aber anerkannt und werden unterstützt (das Walisische in Großbritannien oder das Friesische in den Niederlanden). (3) In die dritte Gruppe fallen Staaten mit sprachlicher Autonomie, d.h. es gibt eine Nationalsprache, aber daneben haben anderssprachige Gebiete politische Autonomie. Ein sehr gutes Beispiel für diese Gruppe wird auch in dieser Arbeit behandelt, nämlich Spanien. Ebenfalls zu dieser Gruppe kann Indien gezählt werden, das über zwei nationale und 22 regional gültige Amtssprachen verfügt. (4) Die vierte Gruppe bilden Staaten mit sprachlichem Föderalismus. Hier haben verschiedene Landesteile unterschiedliche Sprachen und können über ihre eigene Sprachpolitik bestimmen, dabei werden alle diese Sprachen als Nationalsprachen angesehen und sind meist auch gleichberechtigte Amtssprachen. Als Beispiele für diese Gruppe lassen sich Belgien und die Schweiz (die ebenfalls hier behandelt wird) aufzählen. (5) Staaten mit institutionalisierter Mehrsprachigkeit bilden die letzte Gruppe. Hier werden zwei oder mehr Sprachen als National- und Amtssprachen betrachtet, damit sind sie auch im ganzen Land gültig. Bespiele hierfür sind Luxemburg und Irland. Wie sich diese unterschiedlichen Typen in ihren jeweiligen Verfassungen im Vergleich zur Situation in der EU zeigen, soll im Folgenden dargestellt werden.

Im Falle Spaniens wird in der Verfassung von 1978 an die Sprachenregelung angeknüpft, wie sie in der Zweiten Republik (1931-1939) in Katalonien und dem Baskenland schon vorhanden beziehungsweise in Galicien in Planung war (vgl. Kremnitz 1991: 93). Durch den 1936 ausgebrochenen Bürgerkrieg wurden diese Bemühungen jedoch unterbrochen und es folgte die Franco-Diktatur bis 1975 unter der die sprachliche Einheit Spaniens angestrebt wurde und Regionalsprachen unterdrückt wurden. Die Unterdrückung der Regionalsprachen spiegelt die Vorstellung wider, dass ein Nationalstaat auch eine gemeinsame alleinige Nationalsprache braucht, um die Einheit zu gewähren. Haarmann kritisiert, dass auch die EU an dem Prinzip der Nationalsprache und deren Unantastbarkeit festhält, wie sich in den vertraglichen Grundlagen zeige: “Das beste Beispiel dafür ist die Sprachenregelung in den EG-Gremien, die sich seit den fünfziger Jahren auf das Prinzip von der Gleichrangigkeit der Nationalsprachen gründet.” (Haarmann 1993: 326) Diese Gleichrangigkeit mag in den Anfängen der EG noch kein großes Problem dargestellt haben – zu Zeiten der sechs Gründungsstaaten gab es vier Amtssprachen –, allerdings ist die Europäische Union heute bei 23 Amtssprachen angelangt. Seit Jahren wird eine Reform der Amtssprachen verschleppt, doch diese ist dringend notwendig, wie es auch in mehreren wissenschaftlichen Beiträgen zu diesem Thema anklingt (vgl. z.B. Haarmann 1999: 33; Nelde 2002: 18; Ross 2003: 11).

In Spanien schreibt die Verfassung in Artikel 3 das Kastilische als offizielle Staatssprache vor, die jeder Spanier beherrschen muss und verwenden darf. Darüber hinaus werden die Sprachen der Autonomen Regionen als regionale Amtssprachen und gleichzeitig offizielle Sprachen Spaniens anerkannt, wenn diese in den jeweiligen Autonomiestatuten festgelegt

sind, was heute für fünf Sprachen neben dem Kastilischen gilt.[2] So gesehen kann Spanien nicht direkt mit der Situation in der EU verglichen werden, da zwar die einzelnen Regionen Autonomie besitzen, aber dennoch durch eine gemeinsame Sprache verbunden sind. Kremnitz sieht das spanische Modell als Vorbild, aber wohl eher für andere multilinguale Staaten mit einer übergreifenden Amtssprache als für die EU: "Wenn das Modell des Estado de las Autonomías auf die Dauer funktioniert, kann Spanien zu einem Modellfall für das gegenseitige Aushalten von Differenz werden, kann es zeigen, daß auch eine zentralistische Tradition nicht irreversibel sein muß." (Kremnitz 1994: 177) Während es in Spanien darum geht, die Bedeutung und Rechte der regionalen Sprachen zu stärken, geht es im Falle der EU bisher einerseits noch darum, die Amtssprachen der Mitgliedsländer beizubehalten, während auf der anderen Seite durch verschiedene Einsprachen- oder Mehrsprachenmodelle nach einer Lösung gesucht wird, wie die Kommunikation innerhalb der EU erleichtert werden kann.

Allerdings ist beim Vergleich Spanien mit der EU eine eher umgekehrte Entwicklung zu beobachten. Während die EU versucht die Staaten näher zusammenzurücken und diese Kompetenzen abgeben, haben in Spanien die Autonomen Regionen seit Ende der Franco-Diktatur Madrid immer mehr Kompetenzen abgetrotzt, besonders diejenigen Regionen mit regionalen Amtssprachen. Kremnitz stellt in diesen Regionen (vor allem Katalonien und dem Baskenland) eine Widersprüchlichkeit fest. Diese forderten und fordern beständig mehr politische Kompetenzen, um weiterhin Teil des spanischen Staates zu bleiben. Kremnitz spricht dabei sogar von einem "spanische[n] Staatsverband" (vgl. Kremnitz 1991: 92). Dies könnte auch eine Gefahr für die Stabilität der EU darstellen, wenn sie versucht die Sprachenzahl zu verringern, denn jeder der EU-Mitgliedsstaaten kann aus der Gemeinschaft austreten. In der gesamten EU war in den vergangenen Jahren ein verstärkter Regionalismus zu beobachten (vgl. Gogolin/Krüger-Potratz/Neumann 1991: 10). Minderheiten fordern verstärkt das Recht auf ein eigenes Gebiet, um ihre Sprache und Kultur zu schützen und zu erhalten. Das wird wohl auch der Grund gewesen sein, dass Irland, nach vorherigem Verzicht, 2005 darauf bestand, die zweite Amtssprache des Landes, nämlich Irisch, als Amtssprache in die EU aufzunehmen. Nelde sagt dazu "[...] es [kann] durchaus sein, dass ein übernationales Europa Regionalismus eher toleriert als die früheren Nationalstaaten. Das bedeutet, dass sich diese Gemeinschaften in einem Umschichtungsprozess befinden." (Nelde 2002: 25)

Dennoch wird am Modell Spanien klar, dass für die Sprachenpolitik föderalistische Strukturen für die Erhaltung verschiedener Sprachen förderlicher sind. Allerdings gesteht die Verfassung nicht jeder Region eine eigene alleinige Sprache zu, sondern erlaubt zwar die Regionalsprache, "verordnet" aber Kenntnisse des Kastilischen. Sollte die EU in Zukunft Einfluss auf die Sprachenpolitik der Staaten nehmen wollen (zum Zwecke einer Vereinheitlichung) zeigt sich am spanischen Beispiel, dass ein einsprachiges Modell keinerlei Sinn hätte, da sich die einzelnen Mitgliedsstaaten vermutlich ähnlich gegen das Sprachmonopol sträuben würden und möglicherweise ihre Kompetenzen im sprachpolitischen Bereich wieder zurückfordern würden. Ähnlich sieht dies Ehlich, der Einsprachigkeit als eine Illusion bezeichnet, die nie erreicht werden kann. Wie eine Rückkehr zur vorbabylonischen Zeit oder ins Paradies (vgl. Ehlich 2002: 52).

So wie Spanien erst in jüngerer Zeit zu einem mehrsprachlich verfassten Staat geworden ist, hat "[n]ur in wenigen der heute offiziell mehrsprachigen Staaten [...] die amtliche Mehrsprachigkeit eine längere historische Tradition wie etwa in Belgien, in der Schweiz oder in Finnland" (Haarmann 1993: 94). Die Bundesverfassung der Schweizer Eidgenossenschaft

[2] Dazu gehören das Katalanische in Katalonien und auf den Balearen, das Valencianische in València, das Galicische in Galicien und das Baskische im Baskenland und Teilen Navarras. Ebenfalls dazu gehört der Sonderfall des Aranesischen im Val d'Aran in Katalonien (siehe dazu: Siguan 2001: 67).

zählt in Artikel 4 als Landessprachen die Sprachen Deutsch, Französisch, Italienisch und Rätoromanisch auf. Als Amtssprachen werden im Sprachenartikel 70 das Deutsche, Französische und Italienische genannt, das Rätoromanische nur mit Einschränkungen. Allerdings sind die genannten Sprachen nicht in allen Kantonen gleichzeitig Amtssprachen, wie dies zum Beispiel in Luxemburg der Fall ist. Vielmehr herrscht in der Schweiz das Territorialitätsprinzip. Das bedeutet konkret, dass die Anzahl der Sprecher für die sprachliche Verfassung des jeweiligen Kantons ausschlaggebend ist. Derzeit sind von den 26 Kantonen 17 deutschsprachig, vier französischsprachig, einer italienischsprachig und vier mehrsprachig.[3] Allerdings sind auch die mehrsprachigen Kantone nicht wirklich mehrsprachig, da die einzelnen Gemeinden ebenfalls monolinguistisch – und zwar in der Sprache der Mehrheit in dem betreffenden Gebiet – verfasst sind. Zur Auswahl stehen dabei nur die Amtssprachen des betreffenden Kantons. Dadurch, dass in der Bundesverfassung die Sprachenfreiheit gewährleistet wird, treten diese beiden Konzepte zwangsläufig in Konflikt miteinander (vgl. Albrecht 2005: 483). Auf der einen Seite wird Sprachenfreiheit gewährt[4], die aber durch das Territorialitätsprinzip und die sich daraus ergebenden einsprachigen Gemeinden bzw. Kantone nicht immer genutzt werden kann.

Wie schon gesehen gibt es auch in Spanien eine Art Territorialitätsprinzip. Zwar sind die Autonomen Regionen, in denen es Regionalsprachen gibt, durch das übergreifende Kastilisch immer mehrsprachig, dennoch sieht Kremnitz darin einen Nachteil. "Schließlich beraubt das strikte Territorialitätsprinzip jeden Basken, Galizier oder Katalanen, der sich außerhalb seiner Region aufhält, jeglicher sprachlichen Schutzrechte." (Kremnitz 1991: 94). Da die Mitgliedsstaaten der EU souverän sind, stellt sich dieses Problem für den EU-Bürger nicht, da er sich immer noch den sprachlichen Vorgaben des jeweiligen Landes anpassen muss. Allerdings kann eine Parallele zur Verwaltungsebene der EU gezogen werden, wo aktuell 23 Amts- und Arbeitssprachen in Gebrauch sind, die es jedem Vertreter eines Staates ermöglichen sollten sich in seiner Muttersprache, bzw. einer Amtssprache seines Staates zu verständigen. Nun ist allerdings eine Reduzierung zumindest der Arbeitssprachen unausweichlich. Ob für die Lösung nun ein ein- oder mehrsprachiges Modell gewählt wird, fest steht, dass diese Reduzierung der Sprachen Nachteile für die übrigen Sprachen und deren Sprecher bringen wird.

Im Falle Indiens ist die Lage etwas komplizierter. Laut Verfassung sind Hindi und Englisch Nationalsprachen, also im gesamten Staatsgebiet gültige Amtssprachen. Jedoch gibt es für die 36 Bundesstaaten und Unionsterritorien nach mehrfacher Erweiterung heute 22 regionale Amtssprachen inklusive der nationalen Amtssprache Hindi, die in der *Eighth Schedule* der Verfassung aufgeführt sind, wobei das Englische nicht dazu zählt.[5] Der Verfassungstext sah in Artikel 343(2) ursprünglich vor das Englische für einen Übergangszeitraum von 15 Jahren beizubehalten. In dieser Zeit sollte Hindi weiterentwickelt werden, damit es den Anforderungen der modernen Welt entspricht und dann als indische und alleinige Amtssprache eingeführt werden. Doch es gab Widerstand gegen die alleinige nationale Sprache, besonders in Südindien, wo vor allem Sprachen aus der drawidischen Sprachfamilie verbreitet sind, während Hindi zu den neuindoarischen Sprachen zählt. Darin sieht Blum auch den Grund, warum die Frist für die Aufhebung des Englischen als nationale Sprache und die fortan alleinige Verwendung von Hindi auf unbestimmte Zeit verlängert wurde (vgl. Blum 2002: 45).

Mit der Frage welche Sprachen von der Bevölkerung akzeptiert werden, muss sich die EU bei

[3] Von den mehrsprachigen Kantonen sind drei deutsch-französischsprachig und nur der Kanton Graubünden mit Deutsch, Rätoromanisch und Italienisch dreisprachig (siehe dazu: Siguan 2001: 70).

[4] In Artikel 18 der Bundesverfassung der Schweizer Eidgenossenschaft.

[5] Dies sind: Assamesisch, Bengali, Bodo, Dogri, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Maithili, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Santhali, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu und Urdu.

einer möglichen zukünftigen Reduzierung ihrer Amts- und/oder Arbeitssprachen ebenfalls beschäftigen. Inwieweit hier die Zugehörigkeit der Sprachen zu verschiedenen Sprachfamilien eine Rolle spielen könnte, wird im folgenden Kapitel näher beleuchtet.

3.3. Sprachsituation in der Bevölkerung

3.3.1. Sprachen und ihre Sprecherzahlen

Die Sprachensituation in Europa stellt sich nicht als ein Nebeneinander verschiedener gleich großer Sprachen dar, sondern ist eine bunte Mischung "kleiner" und "großer" Sprachen. Wenige Sprachen mit großer Sprecherzahl stehen vielen Sprachen mit jeweils kleiner Sprecherzahl gegenüber. Wobei einige der kleineren Sprachen in den vergangenen Jahren ausgestorben sind und diejenigen, die noch existieren, zum Teil stark gefährdet sind. Die Anzahl der Sprachen neben den Amts- und Arbeitssprachen der EU auf dem Gebiet ihrer Mitgliedsstaaten genau anzugeben ist schwierig; es kann mit ungefähr 35 gerechnet werden.[6] Auf nationalstaatlicher Ebene sind die neben den Amtssprachen existierenden Sprachen besonders in Indien von Bedeutung.

Wie im vorangegangenen Kapitel erwähnt, gibt es in Spanien neben dem Kastilischen eine Reihe anderer regionaler Sprachen. "Doch schon bei der Frage, wie viel verschiedene Sprachen in Spanien Heimatrecht genießen, wird man selten eine klare Antwort erhalten." (Schmitt 2002: 128). In der vorliegenden Arbeit wird von zusätzlichen fünf regionalen Amtssprachen ausgegangen, wobei die Sprecher des Katalanischen die größte Gruppe bilden, gefolgt vom Galicischen und dem Baskischen.[7] Schlusslicht bilden die nur auf kleinem Territorium verbreiteten Sprachen Valencianisch und Aranesisch. Spanien hat allerdings intern mit der Frage zu kämpfen, wie Dialekt und Sprache unterschieden werden sollen. Die Übergänge sind fließend, und da sich Sprache kontinuierlich verändert, kann es natürlich im Laufe der Zeit dazu kommen, dass aus einem Dialekt eine Sprache wird. Das kann aber kein Freibrief dafür sein, jede Abweichung von der Norm gleich als Sprache auszurufen. "In vielen Staaten wird insbesondere den autochthonen Minderheiten entgegengehalten, sie sprächen gar keine Sprache, sondern "nur" einen Dialekt, eine Mundart, ein patois, mit anderen Worten, ein minderwertiges Kommunikationsmittel, das im modernen gesellschaftlichen Gebrauch nicht zu verwenden sei." (Kremnitz 2005: 28).

Um dieses Dilemma zu lösen, bedarf Sprache einer Normierung, um als solche festgelegt zu werden, doch gerade bei den spanischen Regionalsprachen kommt es hier zu Konflikten. Laut Braselmann/Hinger gibt es im Galicischen zwar eine von der Regionalregierung anerkannte Normierung der *Real Academia Galega*, allerdings sind noch zwei weitere Normierungen im Umlauf.[8] Haarmann ordnet das Galicische als "Kulturdialekt" ein, als Dialekt des Portugiesischen (vgl. Haarmann 1975: 191). Seine Sonderstellung als Amtssprache bleibt dadurch gerechtfertigt, dass es auf spanischem Gebiet gesprochen wird. Weniger verständlich dagegen erscheint die Festlegung des Valencianischen als Amtssprache im Autonomiestatut von València, das als Dialekt des Katalanischen angesehen werden muss. Dennoch kommt ihm durch die Niederschrift im Autonomiestatut eine besondere Behandlung zu. Näheres dazu ist in Kapitel 3.3.3 zu finden.

In der Schweiz sind alle autochthonen Sprachen auch Nationalsprachen; dabei sind ihre Sprecherzahlen sehr unterschiedlich. Die größte Gruppe bilden die Deutschsprecher mit

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[6] Diese Schätzung bezieht sich auf die Angaben zu den einzelnen Sprachen Europas in Haarmann (1993: 56ff.).

[7] Aufgrund mangelnder aktueller Daten richtet sich diese Reihenfolge nach den Sprecherzahlen in Haarmann (1993: 56ff.).

[8] Dabei handelt es sich um die Vorschläge der *Irmandades da Fala* und der *Associaçom Galega de Lingua* (vgl. Braselmann/Hinger 1999: 286).

einem Anteil von 63,7% an der Wohnbevölkerung, gefolgt von den Französischsprechern mit 20,4%. Italienisch (6,5%) und Rätoromanisch (0,5%) bilden die kleinsten Gruppen.[9] Vor allem unter den deutschsprachigen Schweizern ist jedoch eine stark ausgeprägte Diglossie festzustellen. Wie diese schweizerdeutschen Dialekte im Vergleich zum Hochdeutschen bei ihren Sprechern eingeordnet werden sollen, ist umstritten. "Some regard it as full bilingualism, others as bilingualism within a language, others still as a written standard with oral varieties." (Brohy 2005: 135). Die Varietäten haben vom informellen Gebrauch verstärkt Eingang in die öffentliche Kommunikation gefunden. Laut Siguan hat sich die Verwendung in den letzten Jahren in Radio, Fernsehen und in verschriftlichter Form teilweise auch im Schulwesen durchgesetzt (vgl. Siguan 2001: 71). Selbst die kleine Sprechergruppe der Rätoromanen gliedert sich in verschiedene Dialekte auf. "Um die rätoromanischen Sprachvarianten zusammenzufassen und sie damit gegenüber den anderen Landessprachen zu stärken, wurde 1982 eine künstliche Standardsprache geschaffen, das Rumantsch Grischun." (Dürmüller 1996: 28).

Wie schon das Beispiel Spaniens und der Schweiz zeigt, kann in der Zukunft die Frage der Homogenität einer Sprache ein Problem werden. Da sich Sprachen verändern, können sich Dialekte immer mehr von der Standardsprache entfernen, bis sie zu einer eigenen Sprache geworden sind. Ebenfalls können Minderheitensprachen an Bedeutung und Einfluss verlieren, weil sie sich nicht auf eine gemeinsame Regelung einigen können, wie im Falle Galiciens oder weil sich Dialekte einer Minderheitensprache als eigene Sprache abspalten, wie im Falle des Valencianischen vom Katalanischen. "Für die Zukunft Europas und seine Mehrsprachigkeit wird diese Homogenisierung eine wichtige Rolle spielen, genauer: das Durchlaufen, das Abgeschlossenhaben eines solchen Homogenisierungsprozesses der einzelnen Sprachen, die in Europa Bestand haben sollen." (Ehlich 2002: 39). Doch es gibt auch umgekehrte Trends. So sagt Siguan hätten die Flamen lange die dialektalen Unterschiede zu den holländischen Nachbarn herausgestellt, während sie heute die Einheit des Niederländischen betonten, "um so der in Flandern gesprochenen Sprache den Status einer internationalen Sprache und einer Amtssprache der Europäischen Union zu sichern [...]." (Siguan 2001: 52).

Laut Ehlich stellt sich für die Zukunft die Frage, ob die Menschen eine weltweite sprachliche Homogenisierung betreiben, die auf die Reduzierung hin zu einer einzigen Weltsprache hinauslaufen würde, oder ob ein neues Modell entwickelt werden kann, das die vorhandenen Sprachen beibehält und einbezieht (vgl. Ehlich 2002: 46). Eine Homogenisierung von Sprachen auf nationalstaatlicher Ebene sollte also durchgeführt werden, vor allem zum Schutz der Sprachen mit geringer Sprecherzahl. Außerdem erleichtert eine standardisierte Form der Sprache es anderen diese zu erlernen und mit Mitgliedern dieser Sprache zu kommunizieren. Dürmüller sagt, dass es aufgrund der Diglossie-Situation in der Schweiz zu Verständigungsschwierigkeiten kommt: "Der polyglotte Dialog wird [...] dadurch behindert, daß die Deutschschweizer keineswegs das gleiche Deutsch sprechen, welches die Romands als Zweitsprache und die Tessiner als Drittsprache in der Schule lernen." (Dürmüller 1996: 69). Wenn diese standardisierten Sprachen innerhalb der EU interagieren, ergeben sich immer wieder Veränderungen und Neuerungen, die eine Bereicherung für die Sprachen darstellen. Eine einheitliche europaweite Sprache wie sie von einigen gefordert wird, würde einerseits diesen Prozess bei den anderen Sprachen zum Stillstand bringen und andererseits würden sich verschiedene Formen der "Einheitssprache" herausbilden, wie dies bereits auf globaler Ebene mit dem Englischen geschieht. Clyne warnt außerdem davor das Englische vorschnell als *Lingua franca* in Europa einzuführen, da dies einen Monolingualismus in den englischsprachigen Gebieten zur Folge hätte (vgl. Clyne 2002: 74).

[9] Prozentualer Anteil der Sprachen an der schweizerischen Wohnbevölkerung, inklusive Bewohnern anderer Nationalität (Bundesamt für Statistik 2005: 17).

Diglossie bezeichnet Schiffman als Merkmal der indischen Sprachenlandschaft, die dort tief verwurzelt und in jeder Sprache zu finden sei (vgl. Schiffman 1998: 156). Die indische Regierung gibt die Zahl der Sprachen in Indien[10] in der Volkszählung von 2001 mit 122 an[11]. Diese gehören zu fünf verschiedenen Sprachfamilien, wobei die Sprachen mit den meisten Sprecherzahlen zur indoeuropäischen Sprachfamilie gehören (76,87%), gefolgt von den drawidischen Sprachen (20,82%). Dabei handelt es sich um die Angaben zur Muttersprache. Auffällig ist, dass nur 0,02% der Bevölkerung die zweite nationale Amtssprache Englisch als Muttersprache angeben. Diese wird später als Fremdsprache in der Schule erlernt, wie in Kapitel 3.4 gezeigt wird, und findet auch nicht in allen Bereichen des öffentlichen Lebens Verwendung. "Die importierte Sprache Englisch dominiert die Sphären der Politik und höheren Bildung, während die großen einheimischen Sprachen in ihrer Funktion auf die elementare Bildung und Alltagskommunikation ausgedehnt sind." (Blum 2002: 31).

3.3.2. Institutionelle Mehrsprachigkeit = individuelle Mehrsprachigkeit?

Die vorgestellten Staaten sind mehrsprachig verfasst, d.h. es gibt mehrere Amtssprachen, die teils national, teils nur für bestimmte Regionen gelten. Doch bedeutet dies automatisch, dass in diesen Staaten Mehrsprachigkeit auch auf individueller Ebene zu finden ist? Im Falle Spaniens ist durch die Vorgaben der Verfassung relativ klar, dass Bewohner von Autonomen Regionen, in deren Statuten keine spezielle Regionalsprache niedergeschrieben ist, in der Mehrheit einsprachig sind. Anders verhält es sich in den Regionen València, Katalonien, den Balearen, Navarra, dem Baskenland und Galicien, deren Bewohner laut Turell 34% der spanischen Bevölkerung stellen (vgl. Turell 2001: 13). Doch dadurch, dass Kastilisch in ganz Spanien Gültigkeit besitzt, wäre es für die Bürger der genannten Regionen nicht zwingend notwendig zusätzlich die Regionalsprache zu beherrschen[12], was in einigen Teilen auch nicht der Fall zu sein scheint. Laut Haarmann gibt es heute kaum noch Baskischsprecher, dennoch fühlten sie sich als Basken, denn "das kollektive Sprachbewußtsein in der baskischen Gemeinschaft [ist] beachtlich konstant geblieben [...]." (Haarmann 1993: 79). Angesichts der Sprecherzahlen stellt das Katalanische das genaue Gegenteil zum Baskischen dar. Seit dem Ende der Franco-Diktatur hat die Sprecherzahl stetig zugenommen und mit ihr die Bedeutung der Sprache im öffentlichen Leben, was nicht zuletzt an den Bemühungen der katalanischen Regierung und zahlreicher Organisationen zur Verbreitung des Katalanischen liegt. Braselmann/Hinger üben allerdings Kritik an der Bedeutungszunahme des Katalanischen, das mehr und mehr die Form einer Nationalsprache annehme, wobei das Kastilische (trotzt seines Status' als nationale Amtssprache) immer mehr in den Hintergrund gedrängt würde – eine Weltsprache, im Gegensatz zum Katalanischen (vgl. Braselmann/Hinger 1999: 286).

In der Schweiz kann ebenfalls nur bedingt von einer individuellen Mehrsprachigkeit die Rede sein. Durch das Territorialitätsprinzip wäre es möglich einsprachig zu leben, vorausgesetzt, es erfolgt kein Umzug in einen anderssprachigen Kanton. Heute schreibt das Schulsystem den Spracherwerb in einer anderen offiziellen Landessprache vor, wie in Kapitel 3.4 noch genauer erörtert wird. Das würde also bedeuten, dass jeder Schweizer mindestens zweisprachig ist und alle vier Landessprachen gleiche Verwendung finden. "Trotzdem ist es heute so weit gekommen, daß alle Romanischsprecher und viele Italienischsprecher bilingual sind und Deutsch als Verwaltungssprache unumschränkt gilt." (Solèr 1999: 289). Es hat sich also auch in der Schweiz die Sprache der Mehrheit größtenteils durchgesetzt. Die tatsächlich bilingualen Sprecher sind demnach unter den Angehörigen der Minderheitensprachen zu suchen, wie dies auch in Spanien, wenn auch durch die Verfassung begünstigt, der Fall ist.

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[10] Ausgenommen sind hier die zahlreichen Dialekte.

[11] Diese und die folgenden Zahlen beziehen sich auf den Census of India 2001.

[12] Allerdings wurde mit dem neuen Autonomiestatut von Katalonien 2006 eine solche Verpflichtung eingeführt.

Allerdings versucht die Schweiz die individuelle Mehrsprachigkeit zu erhöhen: "Individuelle Mehrsprachigkeit ist das Ziel der obligatorischen Schulzeit; gesellschaftliche Mehrsprachigkeit charakterisiert in vielen Fällen schon die Umgebung der Lernenden." (Lüdi 2002: 181). Die Idee dahinter ist das Modell des polyglotten Dialogs, die es möglich machen soll, dass verschiedensprachige Bürger im Gespräch ihre Muttersprache sprechen und vom anderen verstanden werden. Dürmüller betrachtet neben dem Modell des polyglotten Dialogs auch das Modell der *Lingua franca* für die Schweiz: "Die einzige Sprache, die zur Zeit eine Chance als *Lingua franca* hat, ist Englisch. Für Englisch spricht, daß diese Sprache nicht zum nationalen Repertoire gehört, also für alle Schweizer eine neutrale Fremdsprache ist." (Dürmüller 1996: 76).

Für die EU ist Englisch als *Lingua franca* mit dieser Argumentation nicht möglich. Es handelt sich nicht um eine "neutrale" Fremdsprache, da Englisch bereits Amtssprache der EU ist. In der Schweiz hat Englisch noch in soweit eine Verbindung, dass es sich um eine europäische Sprache handelt. Folgt man dem Gedankengang auf EU-Ebene wäre die einzige Möglichkeit die Einführung des Russischen als Sprache, die es zwar in Europa gibt, aber nicht in der EU und gleichzeitig eine große Sprecherzahl hat; allerdings nur aufgrund der großen Bevölkerung Russlands, während es kaum in anderen Staaten gesprochen wird. Doch mit Russisch würde auch ein neues Alphabet eingeführt werden und es ist aufgrund der Geschichte mit Widerstand aus den Reihen der EU-Länder zu rechnen, die einst zur Sowjetunion gehörten.

Die Verbreitung des Englischen in der Schweiz und die niedrige individuelle Mehrsprachigkeit werden laut dem Bundesamt für Statistik der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft auch durch den politischen Aufbau gefördert. "[D]er hohe Anteil an ortssprachigen Personen in den einsprachigen Kantonen und die relativ klaren Sprachgrenzen in den zweisprachigen Kantonen [ist] sprachenpolitisch brisant." (Bundesamt für Statistik 2005: 103). Die Homogenisierung in den einzelnen Gebieten würde demnach dazu führen, dass Fremdsprachenkenntnisse unwichtig erscheinen. Der Anteil der Zwei- bzw. Mehrsprachigen ist den Ergebnissen der Volkszählung zufolge im rätoromanischen Sprachgebiet besonders hoch.

Bedeutet dies, dass Sprecher von Minderheitensprachen "zwangsweise" bilingual sein müssen, um gleiche Chancen wie die Angehörigen der Mehrheitssprache zu haben? Hier lohnt sich ein Blick nach Indien, wo besonders viele kleine Sprachen vertreten sind und nur zwei Sprachen als nationale Sprachen gelten. Borchers schreibt dazu, dass fast jeder Inder als bilingual bezeichnet werden kann, ob er nun Muttersprachler in einer der nationalen Sprachen oder der Regionalsprachen ist. "Zusätzliche Mutter- oder Fremdsprachen sind zumeist Englisch, Hindi oder eine der offiziellen Regionalsprachen, manchmal aber auch eine der kleineren Sprachen." (Borchers 1994: 90). Wo und in welchem Ausmaß der Einzelne verschiedene Sprachen braucht, ist allerdings vom sozialen Status abhängig. Während die Elite ihre Mehrsprachigkeit eher für den formellen Bereich gebraucht, benötigt und nutzt sie die breite Masse im Alltag (vgl. Annamalai 2001: 38). Doch muss zu bedenken gegeben werden, dass diese Mehrsprachigkeit nicht immer in allen Kompetenzen (Verstehen, Sprechen, Lesen, Schreiben) vorhanden ist. "In Indien [...] ist für viele und eben nicht nur für SprecherInnen von Minoritätensprachen Mehrsprachigkeit Teil des sozialen Lebens und wird zumeist weder als Hindernis noch als Chance betrachtet. Diese Mehrsprachigkeit umfaßt häufig ‚nur' mündliche Kompetenz." (Borchers 1994: 91f.). Dagegen gibt es in Europa nur selten eine rein mündliche Mehrsprachigkeit. Mit Ausnahme der Sprecher von Minderheitensprachen, sind die meisten Bürger monolingual. Mehrsprachigkeit wird in Europa oft als Privileg der Bildungselite gesehen. Dass dies nicht so sein muss, zeigt das Beispiel Indien. Für eine zukünftige EU mit einem hohen Anteil an individueller

Mehrsprachigkeit ist es also notwendig, dass Mehrsprachigkeit in allen Bildungsschichten selbstverständlich wird.

3.3.3. Zur Bedeutung, Förderung und Schutz der Minderheitensprachen

Wie schon in der Einleitung erwähnt, geht es in diesem Artikel vor allem um die autochthonen Sprachgruppen auf dem jeweiligen Staatsgebiet. Allerdings nimmt die Bedeutung der allochthonen Sprachgruppen immer weiter zu. Nelde umschreibt den Begriff der "Allochthonen" mit dem Wort *Migranten* (vgl. Nelde 1994: 119). Dabei handelt es sich aber nicht nur um Menschen, die in den vergangenen fünfzig Jahren als Gastarbeiter, Flüchtlinge oder aus anderen Gründen ins Land gekommen sind. Im Falle der sogenannten "Sprachinseln" können die Angehörigen einer allochthonen Sprachgruppe oft auf eine lange Geschichte ihrer Sprachgruppe auf dem Gebiet einer anderen zurückblicken.

Ein besonderer Fall ist in Nordostspanien und Südwestfrankreich zu finden, nämlich das Baskische. Dabei handelt es sich um eine nicht-indoeuropäische Sprache, die zwar autochthon ist, aber dennoch als Sprachinsel gesehen werden kann, da sie von indoeuropäischen Sprachgebieten umgeben ist. Diese Minderheitensprache wurde bis heute bewahrt und konnte auch von der Franco-Diktatur nicht ausgerottet werden, auch wenn nur ein Bruchteil der Bewohner des Baskenlandes die Sprache spricht. Eine Bedrohung könnte allerdings die fehlende Normierung darstellen, wie schon in Kapitel 3.1.1 erwähnt. Obwohl das Katalanische über eine solche verfügt, sieht Schmitt durch die Abgrenzung des Valencianischen und – wenn auch nicht im Autonomiestatut – des Mallorquinischen auf den Balearen die Einheit der katalanischen Sprache ebenfalls gefährdet (vgl. Schmitt 2002: 131). Dennoch ist das Katalanische die stärkste Minderheitensprache in Spanien. Braselmann/Hinger stellen das Katalanische dem Galicischen gegenüber, wobei sie feststellen: "[w]ährend Katalonien ein hochindustrialisiertes Gebiet ist und zu den höchstentwickelten wirtschaftlichen Gebieten Spaniens zählt, ist Galizien eine der wirtschaftlich schwächsten Regionen" (Braselmann/Hinger 1999: 285). Damit kann Galicien auch nicht so viel Geld in Sprachförderungsmaßnahmen stecken, wie Katalonien dies tut. Hier zeigt sich, dass auch die wirtschaftliche Kraft eines Landes oder einer Region eine Sprache und deren Verbreitung positiv oder negativ beeinflussen kann.

Im Hinblick auf eine mögliche Verringerung der Sprachenzahl hieße das für die EU, dass Minderheitensprachen, aber auch kleinere und/oder finanziell schwache Amtssprachen geschützt und gefördert werden sollten. Doch bisher "garantiert [die EU] kein Grundrecht auf Sprachenfreiheit und hat keine Kompetenz für den Schutz von Sprachminderheiten. Dagegen sind ihre Organe bei der gesamten Tätigkeit zur Rücksichtnahme auf die Sprachenvielfalt in Europa verpflichtet" (Manz 2002: 180).

Neben den Sprachen mit regionalem Amtssprachenstatus gibt es in Spanien weitere regionale Sprachen[13], die nicht in den Autonomiestatuten festgelegt sind und damit auch keinen offiziellen Status haben – obwohl sie über ähnlich große Sprecherzahlen verfügen – und daher eher als Dialekte des Kastilischen gelten. Wenn schon auf nationalstaatlicher Ebene gleich große Sprachen unterschiedlichen Status genießen, wie soll dieses Problem auf EU-Ebene gelöst werden? Die EU hat die Amtssprachen der Mitgliedsländer übernommen, aber in der Gesamtheit gesehen gibt es auch hier große und kleine Sprachen. Nur weil kleine Sprachen, wie das Katalanische, nicht nationale Amtssprachen in ihrem Land sind, haben sie keinen Amtssprachenstatus innerhalb der EU. Obwohl sie möglicherweise eine größere Sprecherzahl haben als Sprachen, die über einen eigenen Staat verfügen, in dem sie Amtssprache sind.

[13] Zum Beispiel das Asturisch-Leonesische (*bable*) oder das Aragonesische.

Ein Vorteil für die Minderheitensprachen oder besser gesagt kleineren Sprachen in der Schweiz ist, dass sie nationalen Amtssprachenstatus genießen. Zusätzlich sind die Sprachregelungen in der Schweiz jeweils nur auf ein kleines Gebiet begrenzt und gefährden dadurch nicht den Erhalt der kleineren Sprachen (vgl. Solèr 1999: 290). "Ausgangspunkt dieser minderheitenfreundlichen Sprachenpolitik ist der Grundgedanke der Schweiz als Willensnation." (Albrecht 2005: 483). Allerdings ist "[i]n der lateinischen Schweiz [...] die Meinung verbreitet, daß sich die deutsche Sprache auf ihrem Gebiet und auf Kosten ihrer Sprachen ausbreite." (Dürmüller 1996: 26). Wobei Dürmüller sagt, dass sich die Rätoromanen weniger daran stören würden, da sie wüssten, dass sie ihre Situation teilweise selbst mit verschuldet haben, da sie zwecks Existenzsicherung oder wirtschaftlichen Fortschritts dem Deutschen den Vortritt gelassen haben. Wie schon zuvor erwähnt spielen bei der Erhaltung und Verbreitung einer Sprache auch ökonomische Aspekte eine Rolle. Im angeführten Fall ermöglichte die wirtschaftliche Kraft der deutschsprachigen Regionen nicht unbedingt die Erlernung des Deutschen, sondern war viel mehr Anreiz für die rätoromanischen Sprecher diese Sprache zu erlernen. Wie sehr dieser Aspekt die Lerner motiviert eine bestimmte Sprache zu lernen zeigt sich unter anderem daran, dass nur wenige etwas anderes als Englisch als erste Fremdsprache wählen (sofern überhaupt eine Auswahl gegeben ist). Angesichts der zunehmenden wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung Chinas ist auch ein verstärktes Interesse an dieser Sprache festzustellen. Schon in der Schule wird Chinesisch nun als Wahlfach angeboten.

Wie bereits erwähnt, herrscht in den einzelnen Kantonen beziehungsweise Gemeinden der Schweiz Einsprachigkeit, was natürlich nicht bedeutet, dass innerhalb dieser Gebiete keine gesellschaftliche Mehrsprachigkeit bestehen würde. Allerdings müssen die anderssprachigen Bürger die geltende Sprache ihres Wohngebiets erlernen, auch wenn ihre Sprache Amtssprache in der gesamten Schweiz ist, und werden somit mehrsprachig. Die einzigen Minderheitensprachen ohne offiziellen Status in der Schweiz sind die allochthonen Sprachen.

Definiert man Majoritätensprache als diejenige Sprache, die von mehr als 50% der Bevölkerung gesprochen wird, würde das für die Schweiz bedeuten, dass Deutsch die Majoritätensprache darstellt und Italienisch, Französisch und Rätoromanisch Minderheitensprachen sind. Durmüller sagt in diesem Zusammenhang, es sei leicht vorstellbar, dass Deutsch zur dominierenden Sprache aufsteigen würde, gäbe es den Föderalismus und den bestehenden Minderheitenschutz in der Schweiz nicht (vgl. Dürmüller 1994: 221). Dem Rätoromanischen kommt unter den Minderheitensprachen eine besondere Stellung zu, da die anderen beiden Sprachen in den angrenzenden Staaten Majoritätensprache sind. Aufgrund seiner sinkenden Sprecherzahl und deren Anpassung aus ökonomischen Gründen an die größeren Sprachen wird das Rätoromanische oft als bedroht angesehen (siehe zum Beispiel Albrecht 2005: 495; Brohy 2005: 136; Siguan 2001: 70).

Zwar wurde Indien in Sprachgebiete aufgeteilt, so dass in jedem Gebiet eine Majoritätensprache vorhanden war, dennoch handelt es sich bei den indischen Bundesstaaten nicht um monolinguistische Einheiten, denn innerhalb ihrer Grenzen sind sprachliche Minderheiten vertreten[14] und in einigen Bundesstaaten gibt es keine eindeutige Majoritätensprache. Darüber hinaus ist zu bemerken, dass nicht jeder Sprache ein Gebiet zugeordnet wurde. Srivastava macht nochmal den Unterschied zwischen den verschiedenen Bedeutungen von Minderheitensprachen deutlich. Einerseits Minderheitensprachen auf die gesamte Indische Union bezogen, Minderheitensprachen innerhalb einzelner Staaten, die allerdings Mehrheitssprachen in anderen Staaten sind und Minderheiten, die in keinem Staat

[14] Annamalai gibt den niedrigsten und höchsten Prozentsatz mit 4% in Kerala und 37% in Manipur an (vgl. Annamalai 2001: 70).

Majoritätensprache sind (vgl. Srivastava 1990 : 46). Wobei Annamalai sagt, dass "[i]t is possible to claim that every language in India is a minority language on the ground that no language has speakers more than all other language speakers put together" (Annamalai 2001: 129). Das würde bedeuten, dass selbst die Nationalsprache Hindi als Minderheitensprache anzusehen ist.

In Kapitel 2 habe ich Minderheitensprachen als Minderheitensprachen innerhalb eines Staates definiert. Im Vergleich Indiens mit der EU wird diese Definition schwierig. Denn die Aussage Annamalais bezieht sich auf die gesamte Indische Union, wobei die meisten vorhandenen Sprachen eine Mehrheitssprache in einem der Staaten der Union darstellen (während sie zeitgleich Minderheitensprachen in einem anderen Staat sein können). Radiert man für einen Moment die Staatsgrenzen innerhalb der Europäischen Union weg, verschiebt sich das Verhältnis von Minderheiten- und Mehrheitssprachen. Zum Beispiel hat das Katalanische als Minderheitensprache in verschiedenen Staaten (mit Ausnahme Andorras, wo es Amtssprache ist) mit sechs Millionen[15] eine größere Sprecherzahl als einige Amtssprachen von Mitgliedsstaaten der EU, wie Dänisch (5 Millionen), Finnisch (4,7 Millionen) oder Estnisch (1 Million).[16] Eine wirkliche Majoritätensprache, die von über 50% der Gesamtbevölkerung gesprochen wird, wie sie Annamalai für Indien nicht sieht, ist auch für die zusammengenommene Bevölkerung der EU-Staaten nicht auszumachen. Die Situation, dass Minderheitensprachen in anderen Staaten gleichzeitig Mehrheitssprachen sein können, ist auch in der EU zu finden. So zum Beispiel das Dänische als Minderheitensprache in Deutschland und Amtssprache in Dänemark oder das Deutsche in Norditalien, das im Nachbarland Österreich und in Deutschland Amtssprache ist.

Wie schon zuvor erwähnt, besteht in der Schweiz die Gefahr, dass die vierte Amtssprache – das Rätoromanische – zum Opfer des sogenannten Sprachensterbens wird, was bisher hauptsächlich durch den föderalistischen Aufbau der Schweiz verhindert wurde. Auch in Indien geht der Gebrauch einiger Sprachen zurück. Dabei unterscheidet Annamalai zwei Arten von sprachlichen Minoritäten: Einmal die Sprachen, die in einem oder mehr Staaten in der Mehrheit sind und dort auch stabil sind, allerdings in den Staaten, wo sie in der Minderheit sind als bedroht angesehen werden müssen. Auf der anderen Seite diejenigen Sprachen, die keinen Staat besitzen in dem sie in der Mehrheit sind (vgl. Annamalai 2001: 82). Diese Sprachen sieht Annamalai besonders vom Aussterben bedroht, aus ähnlichen Gründen wie das Rätoromanische in der Schweiz. "The causal factors for language loss are non-linguistic and are largely political and economic." (Annamalai 2001: 77).

Womöglich kann sprachliche Autonomie dem Sprachensterben der Minderheitensprachen vorbeugen. Laut Siguan sei Spanien innerhalb der heutigen Europäischen Union das deutlichste Beispiel für sprachliche Autonomie (vgl. Siguan 2001: 66). In Spanien starben trotz der über Jahrhunderte versuchten "Kastilisierung" die Regionalsprachen nicht aus und hielten sich sogar unter der Franco-Diktatur. Daher dürfte es keine allzu großen Bedenken geben, ob eine neue Sprachenregelung für die EU zu einem Aussterben der Minderheitensprachen in den Mitgliedsstaaten führen wird. Das Wichtigste ist den Minderheitensprachen ihren Freiraum zu geben. Wo sie verbreitet sind, sollen sie auch gesprochen und unterrichtet werden dürfen. Ein verzweifeltes Festhalten an Sprachen, die niemand mehr lernen möchte, halte ich nicht für sinnvoll. Und wie die Geschichte mehrfach gezeigt hat, können sich Sprachen trotz Unterdrückung erhalten, solange sich die Sprecher mit ihr verbunden fühlen und sie sprechen und weitergeben. Ähnlich sieht dies auch Albrecht: "Gerade das Bewusstsein der Sprecher der ‚kleineren' Sprachen, der Regional- oder

[15] Zwar sind hier die Katalanischsprecher in Andorra, das nicht zur EU gehört, eingeschlossen, doch sind diese aufgrund ihrer geringen Zahl nicht ausschlaggebend.

[16] Die Zahlen sind Ehlich (2002: 38) entnommen.

Minderheitensprachen, ist vor dem europäischen Kontext gewachsen – sie vertreten heute mit weitaus größerem Nachdruck als noch vor wenigen Jahrzehnten ihre sprachlichen Rechte." (Albrecht 2005: 481).

Zuletzt bleibt zu fragen, wie viel die Schule zur individuellen Mehrsprachigkeit und der Erhaltung der Sprachenvielfalt beitragen kann. Annamalai sagt, in Indien "[...]schooling contributes only a quarter of the census-recorded bilingualism in the country" (Annamalai 2001: 11). Wie sieht dies in den beiden anderen Beispielländern aus und was lässt sich dabei für eine mögliche EU-weite Bildungspolitik im Bereich der Fremdsprachen lernen?

3.4. Sprachausbildung in den Beispielländern

Mehrsprachigkeit ist in der EU nicht nur auf institutioneller Ebene wichtig. Während sprachpolitisch die Kompetenzen immer noch bei den einzelnen Mitgliedsstaaten liegen, "fördert die Gemeinschaft [bildungspolitisch] die Mehrsprachigkeit in Europa durch finanzielle und koordinative Unterstützung des Fremdsprachenunterrichts und Begleitmassnahmen" (Manz 2002: 181). Ziel der Gemeinschaft ist es unter anderem den Austausch und die Zusammenarbeit in Bereichen wie Wirtschaft, Wissenschaft oder Arbeit zu fördern. Auch soll die Mobilität der Unionsbürger gefördert und erleichtert werden. Obwohl diese Möglichkeiten bestehen, haben sie keine Aussicht auf Erfolg, solange die Voraussetzungen bei den Unionsbürgern fehlen, und zu diesen Voraussetzungen gehört in erster Linie eine gute Fremdsprachenausbildung. Sie dient nicht nur dazu, die Sprache eines anderen Landes zu beherrschen, sondern erweitert auch den Horizont jedes Einzelnen und macht ihn eher dazu bereit Neues aufzunehmen und andere Ansichten oder Arbeitsweisen zu akzeptieren.

Aufgrund der föderalistischen Struktur der Schweiz mit ihren 26 Kantonen und Halbkantonen gibt es auch 26 unterschiedliche Bildungssysteme. Auf der Konferenz der Bildungsminister der einzelnen Kantone 1998 wurden beschlossen, dass in der Schule mindestens eine weitere Nationalsprache und Englisch gelernt werden müssen. Damit sollte jeder Schweizer mindestens zwei Nationalsprachen und Englisch beherrschen. Nach Dürmüller wachsen die meisten Schweizer einsprachig auf. Demnach sind lediglich 6% bereits zweisprachig, wenn sie in die Schule kommen (vgl. Dürmüller 1996: 50). Somit ist das Bild des von klein auf mehrsprachigen Schweizers falsch. Etwas anders sieht es, wie schon zu Anfang erwähnt, bei den Sprechern der kleinsten Sprachen aus. Laut Brohy ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit hoch, die viersprachigen oder gar fünfsprachigen (plus Englisch) Schweizer im rätoromanischen Sprachgebiet zu finden (vgl. Brohy 2005: 138). Zu bedenken ist daneben, dass es in der Schweiz nicht nur vier Sprachen gibt, sondern dass dort auch Diglossie herrscht. Deutsch wird unterteilt in schweizerische Varietäten des Deutschen und Standardhochdeutsch. Während das eine mehr im privaten Bereich verwendet wird, wird das andere in den Medien, in der Geschäftskommunikation und offiziellen Anlässen verwendet. Allerdings ist laut Brohy festzustellen, dass vermehrt schweizerische Dialekte in der Schule und den Medien verwendet werden (vgl. Brohy 2005: 135).

Ein einheitlicher Fremdsprachenkatalog wie in der Schweiz ist im spanischen Bildungssystem nicht zu finden. Ausnahme bilden hier wieder die Regionen mit regionaler Amtssprache. Je nach Region findet der Unterricht in der Grundschule teils oder ganz in der regionalen Amtssprache statt, daneben muss aber natürlich auch auf Kastilisch unterrichtet werden. Im Gegensatz zu der Schweiz muss kein Spanier eine zweite Landessprache lernen, da die anderen Sprachen nur regionale Gültigkeit besitzen. Dieser Aspekt muss bedacht werden, sollte es zu einer einheitlichen Bildungspolitik in der EU kommen. Denn im Zuge des Minderheitenschutzes müsste die Ausbildung in den Minderheitensprachen zusätzlich zum

vorgeschriebenen Fremdsprachenkatalog ermöglicht werden. Damit würden die Anforderungen, die jetzt schon an die Sprecher der Minderheitensprachen gestellt werden, bestehen bleiben – vorausgesetzt, diese wachsen monolingual auf und lernen die andere(n) Sprache(n) ausschließlich in der Schule, was in Indien beispielsweise nicht immer der Fall sein muss.

Annamalai unterscheidet drei Formen der Zweitsprachenausbildung in Indien: die formelle Ausbildung (in der Schule), die nicht-formelle Ausbildung in Sprachlernzentren und außerschulischen Bildungseinrichtungen und schließlich die informelle Ausbildung im Alltagsleben (vgl. Annamalai 2001: 43). Die beiden ersten Formen sind auch in den Ländern der Europäischen Union zu finden, schwieriger wird es schon bei der informellen Ausbildung. Da Kinder immer noch meist einsprachig, maximal zweisprachig aufwachsen, haben die meisten Menschen, die über Kenntnisse in verschiedenen Sprachen verfügen, diese in der Schule oder anderen Bildungseinrichtungen erlernt. Dass jemand eine Sprache lediglich sprechen kann, aber nicht in der Lage ist diese zu schreiben, kommt in Europa im Vergleich zu Indien äußerst selten vor.[17] Doch ist die indische Regierung bemüht ihren Bürgern ausreichend Fremdsprachenkenntnisse durch die Schulbildung zu vermitteln. Die Bildungspolitik sieht eine sogenannte *Three Language Formula* (TLF) vor, nach der drei Fremdsprachen in der Schule gelernt werden sollen, wobei die Reihenfolge nicht festgeschrieben ist. Die Formel setzt sich zusammen aus der regionalen Amtssprache, sowie den beiden nationalen Sprachen Englisch und Hindi. In hindisprachigen Regionen ist eine weitere moderne indische Sprache zu lernen (vorzugsweise aus Südindien) (siehe Borchers 1994: 86 und Annamalai 2001: 43f). Dadurch soll einerseits die Mehrsprachigkeit in Indien gestärkt werden, andererseits "[i]t can also be said that it [the TLF] aims at promoting trilingualism to meet the instrumental and integrative needs at three levels: regional, national and international" (Annamaiali 2001 : 44). Das heißt also die Regionalsprache für den Gebrauch auf regionaler Ebene, Hindi als nationale Sprache und Englisch als sowohl nationale als auch als internationale Sprache.

Lässt sich ein solches oder ähnliches Modell auch auf die Staaten der Europäischen Union in einer supranationalen Sprachpolitik durchführen? Die "regionale", im Falle der EU die nationale, Sprache der einzelnen Mitgliedsländer zu unterrichten und zugleich Englisch als einerseits europäische, andererseits international bedeutende Sprache in den Schulen einzuführen, ist in der Mehrzahl der Staaten bereits Realität. Allerdings ist zu bedenken, dass in vielen Regionen Minderheitensprachen vorhanden sind, die z.B. im Falle Kataloniens neben der nationalen Amtssprache als regionale Amtssprache an den Schulen unterrichtet wird. Schwierig wird es bei einer dem Status des Hindi äquivalenten Sprache. Dies müsste ja theoretisch die Sprache der Europäischen Union sein. Da es eine solche aber nicht gibt und auch nicht anzustreben ist, muss eine andere Lösung gefunden werden. Eine beliebig aus den 23 Amts- und Arbeitssprachen der EU ausgewählte Sprache als dritte Fremdsprache einzusetzen würde einerseits in den meisten Fällen den S*tatus quo* wiedergeben, andererseits ist dies eher vergleichbar mit der Situation in bereits hindisprachigen Gebieten in Indien. Durch die große Auswahl ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit gering, dass neben dem Englisch eine Sprache gelernt wird, mit der eine Kommunikation mit möglichst vielen anderen Europäern möglich ist.

Laut Annamalai ermöglicht die indische Verfassung den Minderheiten, Bildungsinstitutionen in der eigenen Sprache einzurichten. Jedoch bevorzugten die Eliten der Minoritäten die Einführung des Englischen in der Schule (vgl. Annamalai 2001 : 71). Es gibt nur wenige Inder, die Englisch als Muttersprache haben, aufgrund der TLF jedoch viele Zweitsprecher.

[17] Auswirkungen der Franco-Diktatur zeigen sich allerdings bei den geringen Schreibkompetenzen der älteren Bürger beispielsweise in Katalonien (vgl. Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya 2007: 593).

"Englisch ist daher auch meist die Sprache, die zur Kommunikation zwischen Indern mit unterschiedlicher Muttersprache dient." (Blum 2002: 123). Ähnliches lässt sich aus der Schweiz berichten. Zwar ist dort Englisch keine nationale Sprache, aber sie gewinnt immer mehr an Bedeutung. So sagt Dürmüller, dass die Schweizer das Englische "bei der Arbeit und in der Freizeit und schließlich auch im Kontakt mit anderssprachigen Schweizern" verwenden (Dürmüller 1996: 78). Lediglich in Spanien, wo zwar Englisch von vielen in der Schule gelernt wird, ist das Kastilische als autochthone Sprache weiterhin verbindendes Kommunikationsmittel. Läuft ein Miteinander verschiedensprachiger Menschen also doch auf Englisch als die bevorzugte gemeinsame Kommunikationssprache hinaus?

Stickel sagt, er wende sich nicht generell gegen das Englische als Hilfssprache. Denn wenn eine solche existiert, solle diese auch genutzt werden. Allerdings plädiert er dafür, weiterhin andere Sprachen zu lernen, dies fördere die europäische Mehrsprachigkeit und die Erhaltung und Entwicklung der eigenen Sprache (vgl. Stickel 2002: 32). Das würde bei gut ausgebauter individueller Mehrsprachigkeit im Idealfall bedeuten, dass bei einem Gespräch (ob auf institutioneller Ebene der EU, im geschäftlichen oder privaten Bereich) die Muttersprache eines Beteiligten für die Kommunikation verwendet werden kann, die aber nicht zwangsläufig Englisch sein muss.

So schön alle Modelle für ein mehrsprachiges Europa sein mögen, darf dabei nicht vergessen werden, dass es ein weiter Weg ist, bis Mehrsprachigkeit in der Bevölkerung tatsächlich etabliert ist. Eine bilinguale Erziehung von Grund auf wäre der Idealfall, der aber (noch) fern der Realität liegt. Die bilinguale Erziehung muss also so früh wie möglich beginnen, um die kommende Generation darauf vorzubereiten, ihre Kinder möglicherweise zwei- oder mehrsprachig zu erziehen. So kann schrittweise eine individuelle Mehrsprachigkeit von klein auf in allen Teilen der Bevölkerung europaweit eingeführt werden. Gogolin schreibt der Schule große Einflussmöglichkeiten bei der weiteren Gestaltung der EU zu: "Sie [die nationalen Bildungssysteme] sollen, wie einst für die Nation, nun dafür tätig werden, daß die Menschen sich mit "Europa" identifizieren, und dadurch daran mitwirken, daß die politisch und ökonomisch motivierte Super-Nation ein Erfolg wird." (Gogolin 1994: 35)

4. Was kann die EU daraus lernen?

Ehlich kritisiert die Auffassung einer europäischen Identität mit einer einzigen Sprache. Denn dies sei die Fortführung des Nationalstaatenmodells, das auf europäischer Ebene "großen, innovationshemmenden Einfluß" habe (vgl. Ehlich 2002: 48). Doch welche anderen Lösungen gibt es für die Zukunft und welche Aspekte der Sprachenpolitik in den vorgestellten Staaten können auf die EU übertragen werden? Spanien erscheint mir als Vorbild recht ungeeignet, da, wie in den vorangegangenen Kapiteln gezeigt, ein zur europäischen Integration umgekehrter Prozess festzustellen ist. Stärkere Abgrenzung, mehr Selbstständigkeit und Kompetenzen bis hin zur Entwicklung in Richtung Monolingualismus im Alltag (besonders in Katalonien) statt dem bisherigen Bilingualismus in den Autonomen Regionen mit eigener Amtssprache.

Die Schweiz, auch wenn sie auf den ersten Blick als geeignetes Vorbild erscheinen mag, kommt meiner Ansicht nach ebenfalls nicht in Frage, da sie mehr oder weniger die derzeitige Sprachensituation in der EU wiedergibt. Alle auf ihrem Gebiet gesprochenen Sprachen sind Amts- und Arbeitssprachen – mit dem Unterschied natürlich, dass innerhalb der Mitgliedsstaaten der EU weitere Sprachen ohne nationalen Amtssprachenstatus vorhanden sind. Außerdem mag das schweizerische Modell in der Schweiz mit ihren vier Sprachen funktionieren und hat bisher auch in der EU funktioniert, doch ist, wie ganz zu Anfang erwähnt, die Zahl der Sprachen mittlerweile so groß geworden, dass dieses Modell für die

Zukunft einfach nicht mehr praktikabel ist.

Am ehesten ließe sich Indien als Vorbild heranziehen. Die derzeitige Sprachenzahl in der EU von 23 entspricht exakt der Indiens mit seinen 21 regionalen Amtssprachen plus die nationalen Amtssprachen Englisch und Hindi. Hinzu kommen wie auch bei der EU weitere kleinere Sprachen, allerdings in größerer Anzahl als auf EU Gebiet. Wie in Kapitel 3.1 angesprochen, wurde Indien nach der Unabhängigkeit in "Sprachregionen" aufgeteilt. Dieses Modell wäre ansatzweise auch für die EU denkbar. Kloss sieht dies ebenso: "Wirklich voll berechtigt ist die Aufgliederung der Menschheit in Sprachengemeinschaften vor allem in Europa, wo es kaum noch Sprachengemeinschaften von insektenhafter Winzigkeit gibt." (Kloss 1985: 211). Damit wäre der Status einiger grenzüberschreitender Minderheitensprachen, wie dem Katalanischen gefestigt. "In Anbetracht der multinationalen Bevölkerungszusammensetzung in den meisten Staaten Europas mutet die Ideologie des Nationalstaates, die sich in der Ideengeschichte gerade dieses Kontinents herauskristallisiert hat, wie ein realitätsfremdes politisches Konstrukt an." (Haarmann 1993: 55). Doch ist in Europa der Nationalstaatsgedanke – häufig verknüpft mit dem Anspruch auf **eine** Nationalsprache – noch zu sehr verankert, als dass dieses Modell durchsetzbar wäre. Besonders für die Staaten, die sich erst vor kurzer Zeit selbstständig gemacht haben, würde dies vermutlich wie ein Rückschlag oder besser gesagt wie eine Rückkehr zum alten System erscheinen. Außerdem muss bedacht werden, dass die Staaten der EU keine lückenlose Fläche bilden, sondern dazwischen Staaten existieren, die nicht zur EU gehören, durch die natürlich auch Sprachgrenzen verlaufen. Bestes Beispiel dafür ist die Schweiz. Des Weiteren lassen sich Sprachregionen nicht so klar abgrenzen wie Nationalstaaten. Sie gehen ineinander über und wie in Indien wird es trotzdem immer Minderheitensprachen in den Regionen geben. Zusammenfassend lässt sich damit sagen, dass das indische Modell der politischen Aufteilung nach Sprachregionen zwar sehr interessant ist und auch neue Aspekte für die Sprachenfrage bringen kann, aber momentan nicht umsetzbar ist. Womöglich werden in der Zukunft durch die erhöhte Migration innerhalb der EU und den Zuzug von Bürgern aus Drittstaaten die verschiedenen Sprachregionen auch so durchmischt werden, dass keine Majoritätensprache mehr auszumachen ist.

Damit muss ein der derzeitigen Situation in der EU angepasstes eigenes Lösungsmodell gefunden werden. Mit der Osterweiterung sind viele junge, erst seit kurzer Zeit selbstständige Staaten hinzugekommen. Laut Kirchhof ist es für diese umso wichtiger, zunächst ihre sprachliche und kulturelle Eigenständigkeit zu festigen (vgl. Kirchhof 2002: 220). Auf der anderen Seite wird damit aber für die EU das Problem der Sprachenregelung immer größer. Kirchhof plädiert daher für eine einheitliche übergreifende Sprache in Wirtschaft und Politik. Als idealste Lösung sieht er dabei die Einführung des Englischen an, da dieses ebenfalls den leichteren Kontakt zu anderen Ländern weltweit, allen voran den USA, ermöglicht. Fraglich ist allerdings, ob durch die Einführung des Einsprachenmodells in den beiden wichtigen Bereichen Politik und Wirtschaft die übrigen Nationalsprachen nicht "verkommen", hin zum Familiären und Folkloristischen, da sie keine wichtige Position mehr haben. Kirchhof gibt selbst zu, dass diese paneuropäische Sprache für die meisten Unionsbürger Zweitsprache sein wird, und der Mensch nur in der Muttersprache eine absolute Sicherheit hat und alle Ebenen verstehen und ausdrücken kann. Sollte also alles Europa Betreffende nur noch auf einer, für den Bürger fremden Sprache geregelt werden, ist nicht mehr gegeben, dass alle Bürger gleiche Chancen haben. Im Prinzip wäre dies nur möglich, wenn diese Sprache nicht als Zweitsprache in der Schule gelernt würde, sondern zweite Muttersprache in allen Ländern wäre. Eine Art "künstliche" Bilingualität. Das ist einerseits nur sehr schwierig umzusetzen und würde andererseits sehr viel Ablehnung erfahren.

Zieht man als Beispiel für eine mehrsprachige Lösung Indien heran, würde es auf eine

zweisprachige Lösung hinauslaufen. Die nationalen Amtssprachen Indiens sind wie bereits beschrieben Hindi und Englisch. Dass Englisch Teil eines mehrsprachigen Modells sein muss, steht aufgrund seiner weltweiten Bedeutung außer Frage. Damit bleibt zu klären, welche europäische Sprache dem Englischen zur Seite gestellt werden soll. Der Schluss liegt nahe, dass die Wahl auf das Französische fallen sollte. Es wird bereits innerhalb der Organe neben dem Englischen als Arbeitssprache verwendet; außerdem ist Frankreich dafür bekannt, großen Wert auf die Stellung seiner Sprache zu legen. Doch steht die Sprecherzahl des Französischen im EU-Vergleich nur auf zweiter Stelle, hinter dem Deutschen, das eigentlich auch interne Arbeitssprache der EU-Organe ist, aber kaum gebraucht wird. Somit würde sich ein Dreisprachenmodell aus Englisch, Französisch und Deutsch ergeben. Doch spiegelt das die sprachliche Situation in der EU wider?

Zwar sind Französisch und Deutsch zwei der ersten vier Sprachen der EU und im Laufe der Zeit kamen immer mehr der an die Gründerstaaten angrenzenden Staaten hinzu, doch spätestens seit der Osterweiterung 2004 ist die EU keine Gemeinschaft rein westeuropäischer Staaten mehr. Daher sollte auch in der Sprachenregelung der Erweiterung in Richtung Osten Rechnung getragen werden. Ein Mehrsprachenmodell, in dem die Sprachen nach der Sprecherzahl innerhalb ihrer Sprachgruppen ausgewählt werden. Allerdings müssten hinsichtlich der kleinen Sprachgruppen Einschränkungen gemacht werden. Ich schlage daher vor aus der größten Sprachfamilie, der indogermanischen, die drei größten Sprachgruppen, nämlich Slawisch, Germanisch und Romanisch auszuwählen und unter ihnen die Sprachen mit den größten Sprecherzahlen.[18] In der slawischen Sprachgruppe steht dabei das Polnische an erster Stelle, in der germanischen das Deutsche und in der romanischen das Französische. Wie bereits erwähnt, muss das Englische Teil eines europäischen Sprachenrepertoires sein. Folglich ergibt sich ein Viersprachenmodell. Wobei zu überlegen wäre das Spanische aufgrund seiner internationalen Bedeutung hinzuzunehmen.[19] Diese Verringerung der Sprachenzahl würde sich in erster Linie auf die Arbeitssprachen beziehen und damit vor allem die Sitzungen des Europäischen Parlaments betreffen. Bei den anderen Organen wäre zu klären, ob bereits bestehende Arbeitssprachenregelungen (meist Englisch, Französisch und Deutsch) angepasst werden sollen.

Die Amtssprachen ebenfalls generell zu verringern halte ich nicht für sinnvoll, da dies den Zugang der Bürger zur EU aufgrund sprachlicher Schwierigkeiten einschränken würde, wenn für die Bürger wichtige EU-Dokumente nicht mehr in ihrer Muttersprache angeboten werden. Ich folge dabei Stickels Aussage, dass die Menschen ungern Funktionen an andere Sprachen abgeben würden. Denn der Mensch sei trotz allem in seiner Muttersprache am sichersten. Dort könne er sich am Besten ausdrücken und die Gefahr eines Missverständnisses sei geringer (vgl. Stickel 2002: 18). Die Vier- bzw. Fünfsprachenregelung kann auf Dokumente, Sitzungen und die Kommunikation auf der EU-Verwaltungsebene angewendet werden, sobald aber eine Kommunikation mit den Bürgern stattfindet, sollten entsprechende Dokumente oder Ankündigungen in allen derzeit 23 Amtssprachen verfügbar sein. Auch müssen sich die Bürger weiterhin in ihrer Muttersprache an die Organe der EU wenden können.

Während sich auf der EU-Verwaltungsseite die Zahl der Sprachen verringert, sollte sie sich auf Seiten der EU-Bürger vermehren. Einerseits um die Mehrsprachigkeit zu erhalten, andererseits wird dadurch die Möglichkeit erhöht, dass die Kommunikation unter den Bürgern über eine gemeinsame Sprache laufen kann, die situationsbedingt nicht unbedingt Englisch sein muss. Um das zu erreichen spielt die im vorangegangenen Kapitel besprochene

[18] Die Angaben die hierzu verwendet wurden stammen aus Haarmann (1975) und Haarmann (1993).

[19] Dabei würde das Italienische übergangen werden, das in der Liste der Sprecherzahlen auf EU-Gebiet noch vor Spanien (6. Stelle) auf vierter Stelle liegt.

Sprachenausbildung eine sehr große Rolle. Doch auch hier gibt es geteilte Meinungen über die Auswahl und Wichtigkeit der einzelnen Sprachen.

> "Die Europäische Union wird als Sprachgemeinschaft deshalb nur gelingen, wenn sie ihren Charakter als Staatenverbund auch in ihren Sprachen bestätigt. Jeder Mitgliedstaat ist in seiner sprachlichen Eigenart zu festigen, hat aber in einer mitgliedschaftlichen Unionsbindung seine Bürger in – möglichst – einer gemeineuropäischen Sprache auszubilden, die dann das Gemeinschaftsleben bestimmt." (Kirchhof 2002: 215).

Kirchhof bleibt also dem Mehrsprachlichkeitsprinzip weitestgehend treu, fordert aber dennoch eine einheitliche europaweite Sprache, die von jedem Unionsbürger beherrscht wird, was dem Sprachenmodell Spaniens entsprechen würde und mir sehr einseitig und nicht mehrsprachigkeitsfördernd erscheint.

Eher würde ich als Vorbild die Sprachenausbildung in der Schweiz und Indien heranziehen. In beiden Ländern ist das Englisch in der Sprachenausbildung vorgeschrieben. Daneben kann in der Schweiz eine nationale Amtssprache ausgewählt werden, in Indien sind weiterhin Hindi und die Regionalsprache verpflichtend. Daher würde ich – eine bereits durchgeführte Reduzierung der Arbeitssprachen vorausgesetzt – vorschlagen, neben Englisch eine weitere Sprache aus dem Sprachenpool der EU-Arbeitssprachen zu wählen – vorzugsweise eine, die nicht aus derselben Sprachgruppe wie die Muttersprache stammt. Um die Auswahl einer dritten Fremdsprache zu vergrößern, würde ich weiter vorschlagen diese aus derselben Sprachgruppe wie die Muttersprache zu wählen und als erste Fremdsprache einzuführen, um durch die sprachliche Verwandtschaft ein schnelleres Erlernen zu ermöglichen. Für Sprachen aus kleinen Sprachgruppen und Englischsprecher müssten natürlich Sonderregelungen erstellt werden. Die Sprecher von Minderheitensprachen müssten dabei wie bisher auch eine Sprache mehr lernen, sofern sie nicht schon bilingual aufgewachsen sind. Zwar wird durch eine einheitliche Regelung die Kommunikation unter den EU-Bürgern erleichtert werden, doch "[...] kommt ein Partnersprachenmodell eidgenössischer Prägung, d.h. jeder Bürger spricht seine Muttersprache und wird verstanden, für Europa nicht in Frage" (Albrecht 2005: 497). Die Anzahl der verschiedenen Sprachen ist dafür einfach zu groß.

5. Fazit

Mehrsprachige Nationalstaaten als Vorbild für die EU heranzuziehen, gestaltet sich vor allem im Hinblick auf die Sprachenpolitik der einzelnen Regionen – oder im Falle der EU der Mitgliedsstaaten – schwierig. Bisher handelt es sich bei der Europäischen Union immer noch um einen Zusammenschluss von Nationalstaaten, die souverän sind und somit ihre eigene Sprachpolitik betreiben. Daher kann bisher schwer ein Vergleich zu den Regionen der multilingualen Nationalstaaten gezogen werden. Im Falle Spaniens, in denen die Autonomen Regionen zwar ihre Sprachpolitik durch Autonomiestatute weitgehend selbst bestimmen können, spielt weiterhin das Kastilische, als eine in der Verfassung für alle Spanier vorgeschriebene Nationalsprache, die wichtigste Rolle.

Das Modell des Territorialitätsprinzips der Schweiz auf die Mitgliedsstaaten der EU angewendet, entspricht zum großen Teil dem derzeitigen Stand. Es gibt ein- und mehrsprachige Staaten, deren jeweilige Amts- und Arbeitssprachen auch Amts- und Arbeitssprachen (bis auf eine Ausnahme)[20] des übergeordneten politischen Konstrukts sind. Dies mag in der Schweiz mit drei bzw. vier Sprachen noch funktionieren, wie es auch anfangs mit den vier Sprachen der Gründerstaaten der EU funktioniert hat, doch spätestens seit die EU die Grenze der neun Amts- und Arbeitssprachen überstiegen hat, sind dringende

[20] Im Falle der Schweiz hat das Rätoromanische eine gesonderte Stellung (Bundesverfassung der Schweizer Eidgenossenschaft Art. 70), auf EU-Ebene gilt selbiges für das Lëtzebuergisch.

Reformen hinsichtlich der Sprachenregelung notwendig geworden. Da die wenigen mehrsprachigen Kantone der Schweiz in einsprachige Gemeinden unterteilt sind, ergibt sich das Bild, dass die Schweiz zwar institutionelle Mehrsprachigkeit besitzt, aber auf individueller Ebene einsprachig ist. Damit halte ich die Schweiz als Vorbild für eine künftige Sprachpolitik der EU ungeeignet.

Als Vorbild kann meiner Meinung nach wie im vorangegangenen Kapitel ausgeführt Indien dienen. Möglicherweise kann man sich auch in ferner Zukunft bei der Neustrukturierung Europas an Indien orientieren. Der größte Unterschied zur EU besteht in der ganz zu Anfang erwähnten Tatsache, dass es sich bei Indien um einen Staat handelt, während die EU ein Staatenbund mit freiwillig beigetretenen, souveränen Mitgliedsstaaten ist. Dieser Tatsache muss dadurch Rechnung getragen werden, dass auch in Zukunft alle Amtssprachen der Mitgliedsstaaten Amtssprachen der EU bleiben. Eine Verringerung der Amtssprachen würde eine Hierarchie unter den (eigentlich gleichberechtigten) Mitgliedsstaaten einführen. Besonders das Einsprachenmodell, egal welcher Sprache, erachte ich nicht als sinnvoll für die EU. Der Glaube, dass eine Sprache, die allen EU-Bürgern gemeinsam ist, diese zusammenhalten könne und das europäische Gemeinschaftsgefühl stärken könne, entspricht dem nationalstaatlichen Denken mit dem Ideal einer Nationalsprache. Dabei wird der Leitspruch der EU "In Vielfalt geeint" außer Acht gelassen. Jedoch ist eine Reform der Arbeitssprachen dringend geboten.

Angesichts der langen Zeit, die schon über die Sprachenfrage in der EU diskutiert wird, und immer noch nichts geschehen ist, liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass sich in dieser Zeit "inoffizielle" Kommunikationsformen durchgesetzt haben. Besonders in Bezug auf die Arbeitssprachen in den Organen der EU. Durch die nicht gelöste Sprachenfrage ist die Gefahr groß, dass Sprachen ins Hintertreffen geraten, womöglich eine Einsprachigkeit (gerade hinsichtlich des Englischen) entsteht und sich das einbürgert, was eigentlich hätte verhindert werden sollen. Darum muss in der EU dringend gehandelt werden.

Die EG wurde zwar als Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft gegründet, hat sich aber im Laufe der Jahre und auch mit der Umwandlung in EU in ihrem Kompetenz- und Wirkungsbereich vergrößert. Sie strebt den Austausch und das stärkere Zusammenwachsen der einzelnen Länder in fast allen Bereichen an, was nicht mit Assimilierung gleichzusetzen ist. Es besteht das Dilemma zwischen einerseits dem Zusammenwachsen, aber andererseits nicht dem völligen Verschmelzen. Der Erhalt der Mehrsprachigkeit leistet meiner Meinung nach beides. Durch einen höheren Grad an individueller Mehrsprachigkeit bei den EU-Bürgern ist ein verstärkter "interkultureller Dialog" möglich, gleichzeitig wird deutlich gemacht, dass in der EU viele verschiedene Nationen, Kulturen und Sprachen als Einheit zusammenleben.

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