

*passim*.)

12 Beckett, *Krapp's Last Tape* (New York: 1958), p. 14.

13 Holst-Warhaft is here drawing on work done by anthropologists Anna Caraveli-Chaves and Nadia Seremetakis, who have studied women's laments on the Greek island of Mani. (See Holst-Warhaft, pp. 45-46.) Later, in a discussion of "The Ritual Nature of Ancient Lament," she notes that evidence for "the differing behaviour of men and women during the prosthesis [wake] and at the tomb comes from a limited but persuasive combination of archaeological and literary sources. In vase paintings, men are rarely depicted close to the body, but appear in formal procession with right arms raised in a conventional gesture of mourning. Around the bier of the dead man, whose head is clasped by the chief mourner, the women stand, their arms raised, sometimes beating their heads, or pulling out their hair in what [one analyst] refers to as 'wild ecstasy.'"

14 See Mario Praz, *The Romantic Agony* (Oxford & New York: 1970), pp. 123-24, 178, n. 80.

15 Kingston, *China Men*.

16 Stevens, *The Collected Poems and Prose* (New York: Library of America, 1997), pp. 431-32.

## Public Oral Speech in Media Dialogue of Czech TV Debates and Discussions

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### INTRODUCTION

Public oral speech in media dialogues as a specific type of dialogue has become an interesting topic for research oriented towards language and communication (conversational analysis, discourse linguistics). It has deep roots in Czech linguistics, which go back to the early works of linguists gathered around the Prague Linguistic Circle. The importance of mass media speech is emphasized especially by that part of discourse linguistics which aims at description of the means and processes by which language-the language of mass media having a big share of it - constructs reality.

The analysis of dialogue in the broadest sense can be conducted for theoretical use but, at the same time, its results can offer important material to be applied for educational purposes, too (that is what we occasionally do - we use the results of our research at the university level courses for Czech language major students- in special classes on contemporary Czech lexicology and its dynamics).

For this paper, we have focused on the analysis of the linguistic and communicative aspects of public spoken mass-media

pronouncements - television and radio discussions, debates and chats on topical, political, social and cultural issues. We have collected data from the period beginning, roughly, in the early 1990s and analyzed them in the view of the fact that this form of discourse has only developed over the past few years. One of our main interests concerned the linguistic level of these statements from the point of view of the proportional share of standard and non-standard phenomena. The fundamental social and political changes that have been taking place from the early 1990s in the countries of central and eastern Europe find an immediate reflection especially in public statements. Whereas under the former regime public speeches proclaimed one unchangeable truth, the public now is exposed to the impact of different views and attitudes and has become the witness of polemics and negotiations. The communicational situations into which public figures are entering are either entirely new or newly refashioned. An important part here is played by the increasing medialization of our lives. Almost everybody who figures in mass media tries to act in the best possible way - as a matter of fact, he acts a certain part. Weigand (1999, pp. 35-54) speaks about so-called "dialogue on stage". Accepting such a role, the participants become interconnected within the interaction of communication. Mulholland (1991) shows that speakers register their sense of the interpersonal nature of communication encounter by negotiating not only roles, but also the bond and tone that will sustain the interaction. According to the author, bonding involves self-presentation, personal vocabulary, emotional language, casualness in speaking on one hand (cf. e.g. metaphorical expletives or profanity: "damn it", "hell!"), and references (respect) to shared matters (or "shared language", e.i. restricted code use) and code switching on the other. These social conventions of language use are considered a mark of

"sociolinguistic competence" and the reason for depersonalised expression of speakers, which means resigning individual responsibility and distancing oneself from a given topic (Lerman, 1983: "distancing from self and topic"). In public political speeches, this distance, however, does not seem so evident as in some other mass media speeches - the speakers' personal involvement in the topic usually prevails there. As Lerman puts it, "institutional voice" and "topic transformation" are metaphors based upon a system of language and interactive structures through which speakers distance themselves from personally responsible "I" statements and from a given topic. He uses the term of "institutional voice" for a dominant, privileged voice, which speaks "for the nation", its arguments are unanswerable, constrained. It is actually a trained language (which allows the speaker, for example, to talk about himself in the third person). Media institutional voice claims to have no personal identity. Its major function is value-free reporting of the facts and analysis of the news and it speaks with neutral authority and anonymity. In such a way, individual identity and initial topic have been completely transformed. Institutional voice and topic transformation are extension of empirically derived processes found at the inter-sentence level of spontaneous conversation. The description of the above-mentioned distancing hopes to see through conventional disguises of language use (an effort to find out: Who is really speaking? What is he really talking about?). Above all, in our material - TV debates - it was sometimes speaking "to" rather than "with" somebody.

Having in mind the above-mentioned aspects, we have approached our language analysis of language material from Czech TV debates and political public oral speeches conducted through the mass media. The possibilities still were: 1) to deal with the actual flow

and content of speeches, 2) to deal with factors determining the flow of speeches. Since our main interest was lexical analysis, we concentrated on the former, having had to realize at the same time that the construction of meaning is only one element, possibly even a minor element, in any media text (text structure) and that its interpretation in an intended way is the aim of communication. Hall et. al. (1976, p. 53) claims that: "In relation to the messages available through television we shall suggest that they never deliver one meaning; they are rather the site of a plurality of meanings, in which one is preferred and offered to the viewers, over the others, as the most appropriate. This 'preferring' is the site of considerable ideological labour." This preferring appears to be a textual function. McQuail (1969) talks about the audience's effect on the communicator - the messages sent are in part determined by expectations of audience reaction. McQuail's attitude is based on the proposition that mass communications must to some extent please their audiences, and that, to do so, audiences must in some sense be known. As he states, many features of mass communications may derive from rather high levels of uncertainty about the mass audience (and therefore it happens that mass-media content has been levelled down to accord with standards of the average).

In connection with our study, further questions arose from there: How is meaning (lexical meaning both of words and word phrases or constructions) "wrapped" into the language form? To what extent is it deliberate and with full language awareness from the communicators' point of view? How does all this process in a TV dialogue differ from "regular" dialogue? And how is it received and interpreted (understood) by TV viewers?

Our concept and analysis of TV debates is based on the general characteristics and their typology as media dialogues by

Čmejrková 1999, which are often referred to as interviews. As she points out (p. 267): "The genre of political interview that has been cultivated for decades in western European countries is finding its shape in the east. Interviews on television have emerged in the 1990s as a central vehicle for the dissemination of news and public affairs information. As a result, interviews as well as various other debates and discussions have become high-profile speech events and a crucial testing ground for politicians and, generally, public figures." Media interviews should give the impression that they are "an in-depth interaction" (Mulholland, 1991) - investigative, probing, personal, both planned and unplanned; they may present errors of information (though having been radically edited, revised, checked). The standard goal of an interview is a combination of information and entertainment and its main parts are setting up a conflict and a revelation of ideas, facts, and feelings.

Public spoken mass-media pronouncements - political television and radio discussions analyzed in our research - are prepared ahead (even though to a certain extent only) and conducted (moderated or monitored) during their process: the participants are told more or less what to do (see the above mentioned "roles" contrary to spontaneous speech). Nonetheless, a great variety of language means from all language-system levels can be found in them, reflecting the contemporary character of oral public speeches in general as well as characterizing the individuality of speakers. The speakers' effort towards originality of expression is increasing nowadays, which can be considered as the reaction to previous patterns or certain "prescription" of expression. It is political discourse in which certain fashion tendencies, such as attempts to imitate admirably important politicians, frequently occur. In that way it is becoming a sort of fashion in the 1990s to use bookish, archaic,

old-fashioned words (biblical expressions, archaic infinitive forms ending in "-ti") on the one hand, and new, modish, modern words, quite often adopted from English, on the other. Even within one utterance it is often possible to find a combination of standard and non-standard forms (as common in non-public situations, too). We have tried to typify and describe some syntactical, morphological, word-creating and lexical specifics of public oral speech in media dialogue (including the influence of foreign languages, especially English).

The proportion of Czech standard and non-standard language expressions is, in general, in favour of standard ones, both in vocabulary and grammar (morphology). To fulfil its communicational function, public oral speech is rich in emotional, subjectively coloured and evaluative words (reflecting the involvement of the debaters), as well as in special terms (concerning the particular topic) and many international words, foreign loans (mainly from English – the degree of their adaptation into the Czech language system varies), neologisms and figurative expressions. Since these debates are only partly prepared, the use of modern words and clichés is almost unavoidable.

### **I. Morphology: Standard And Non-Standard (Colloquial) Forms**

The choice between standard and non-standard grammatical forms depends on particular communication settings - the situation can be changed as the speech proceeds. Apart from the speakers and their possible individual language habits, important factors are especially: topic of discussion, audience, and mutual relations between them. Speakers usually choose non-standard forms when trying to act spontaneously, naturally, in a similar way as when talking to people informally. In case the topic seems more dominant than the individuality of the speakers, respect for the audience is

usually stronger - speakers have in mind its expectation of standard expression (according to current social conventions or norms). As McQuail (1969) states that the audience affects (indirectly) the communicator in this respect - to be successful he must to some extent please his audience.

Non-standard and colloquial variants occur mainly with verbs, nouns and adjectives. Colloquial verbal forms are, in our material, frequently used especially in the present tense (přeju vám, děkuju za přivítání - as the variants to standard: přeji, děkuji). On the contrary, standard (and longer) verbal endings are sometimes preferred in the third person plural, present tense, in the group of the so-called "fourth" conjugation: s tím souvisejí; z naší strany takové názory nezazní - unlike colloquial: souvisí, nezazní. Completely non-standard ("obecně české") forms are less frequent with verbs in general (myslej si, že je to naprostý nesmysl; koukal by sem na společnost, jestli je to eserůčko - as against standard: myslí, koukal bych). Non-standard endings are more common with nominal words, especially nouns and adjectives or pronouns depending on them (toho, co si jako celý život dělala, tzv. dámskej program - dámy mají svůj program; v podstatě se mi stalo právě to samý; že to slyšel od těch některých lidí - as against standard: celý život, dámský program, to samé, některých lidí). The final choice between standard, non-standard and colloquial forms usually depends on many factors (see Müllerová, Hoffmannová, 1994). In concordance with the content of the speech these are usually colloquial or nonstandard forms that are preferred when (rather) private information is shared (já sem výjimečně vysoký a tlustý = I am exceptionally tall and fat) or speech is emotional (e.g. an attack: Jestli vám to ještě nedošlo, vám to není blbý, demokracie se dělá volbama - to vy ještě nevíte! = In case you didn't get it yet, it is not silly to you, democracy

is made by votes - but you don't know it yet!). It is typical of unprepared spoken speeches to combine standard and non-standard forms even within one utterance or replication of one speaker (Starý lidi, noví lidi - je to těžký úkol. Není to jednorázový, ale je to možné.). Sometimes it can be understood as the speaker's effort to correct himself after realizing that he has made a mistake (nějaký obchody proběhly, nějaké ne.). The occurrence of purely standard forms, sometimes even bookish, quite rare, unusual, almost unnatural ones, results from an effort at a higher style of expression (pokusím se říci několik argumentů, a tam budou jacíkoli zástupci státu, jacíkoli poslanci) or at the above-mentioned "distancing" (cf. analytical passive verbal construction in: musí být postupováno podle zákona). The spoken or colloquial character of these speeches is marked quite often also by violation of grammatical concordance in favour of semantic concordance in dependent clauses containing an animate pronoun referring to the names of institutions, groups, etc., named in the main clause by inanimate masculine or feminine nouns (proč banky - aby oni rozhodovali; dochází k tomu u podniků, kteří jsou schopni být privatizováni). Similarly, on the syntactic level, the subject of a sentence is doubled (on ten Senát nebyl zrušen, aby...).

Another interesting and quite frequent feature of these speeches is the use of abstract nouns (verbal nouns by origin) in their plural forms (they are primarily used only in the singular and there are only singular paradigms of their declination in the Czech language system); when using them, speakers usually try to make their talk different, more special or emphatic (infarktové stavy = stroke states, kvalitní vývozy zboží = first-rate exports of goods), to express intensification or emotion (dramatické nárůsty = dramatic growths, hrozí velké politické napětí = big political tensions threaten, nezapomeňme na ty ostudy = don't let us forget those disgraces), or

to use them as concrete nouns or special terms (u většiny dopingů = with the majority of dopings; vyrábět vstupy pro zemědělství = prepare entries for agriculture; existují předčasné odchody do důchodu = preliminary leaves for pension exist). In a similar way, personal proper names are very often used in the plural with obvious ironic or negative connotations which can serve as a means of attack in debate (na rozdíl od Tomášů Jeků = unlike the Tomáš Jeeks, mocní páni Grégrové = the mighty Mr. Grégrs).

## II. Syntax:

Syntactic structure of TV debates generally follows the basic scheme of dialogue with (more or less) close connections of individual replications - therefore their form is determined both by semantics and grammar (see also Čmejrková 1999, p. 255). The grammatical forms (morphological endings) are not necessarily the same (as for language strata or style) in the consequent replications. The individuality of the participants can prevail, one speaker may try to correct the other. This phenomenon can also be just a symptom of unprepared, spontaneous reaction. The choice is mainly between standard, non-standard and colloquial variants:

A: já vím, že je to složitější problém

B: ne, není to tak, ten ten problém není takovýhle, je opravdu jiný, ten problém je takový.

Because of the dialogue scheme, the majority of questions are complementary. Therefore, the reactions usually start with demonstrative "to = it" in connecting function, rarely as a "padding word" (cf. Müllerová, Hoffmannová, Schneiderová, 1992). E.g.: To je klíčová věc. = It is a crucial point. To je můj názor a stojím si za ním velmi pevně. = It is my opinion and I stand behind it very strongly. When emphasized or emotionally coloured, the rheme is repeated or

paraphrased: To je naprostá fixa, to prostě není pravda. = It is an utter fiction, it is simply not true. It is also typical of these dialogues to start the answer with the first person demonstrative pronoun "já" = "I" (which is not expressed in a normal, unmarked Czech sentence as it is understood from the context and grammatical concordance with dependent words, namely the predicate of the sentence), motivated mainly by the content of the replication (it is a personal, subjective opinion that is asked for), by functional sentence perspective and emphasis. Cf.: Já bych si k tomu dovolil poznámku. = I would add a comment to it., Já musím tady reagovat na nebezpečné tvrzení. = I have to react to a dangerous statement here.

Similarly to special and journalistic texts, TV debates are rich in verbonominal phrases and various paraphrases. Auxiliary verbs ("být" = "to be") and verbs of motion ("jít" = "to go") are usually used with them; the noun in the phrase quite often also is of verbal origin. Some of these constructions sound rather formal or even bookish and they make utterance less dynamic. Cf.: došlo ke krokům = steps were taken, došlo k vzetí do vazby = imprisonment happened, konat činnosti = to perform activities, spuštění závěrečné fáze jednání = starting the final phase of negotiation. Complex sentences are usually longer, containing a larger number of clauses, the relations between which are usually not very complicated (which is common in spoken texts in general). Unfinished sentences can occasionally occur as well (the main reason being interruption by another speaker).

### III. Vocabulary & lexical meaning:

The most interesting and variable part of TV debate language is its vocabulary - the choice of words, including idioms and phraseological items. A great variety of words originates mainly from individual emotional and content (professional) involvement of speakers, their effort to catch and hold attention, to argue, persuade,

win or defend their opinion. These debates are therefore colourful in using colloquial, non-standard, slang, expressive, and even rare words, neologisms, words used only occasionally - all depending on the speaker's individuality. We can present as an example the usage of polysemic words, synonyms, words with broader or vaguer lexical meaning which can indicate a speaker's emotional involvement.

We list some of the lexical means which are typical and specific of our TV debates. Their classification is based both on semantic and language criteria (language function, style or form - word-formation and origin of words).

#### 1. Addresses, titles - names of people, institutions, etc.

In line with current social norms, speakers usually address each other "pane, paní = Mr., Mrs." with the title (function) and/or last name (pan generální ředitel Saudek; pan výkonný předseda ODS) - to show their respect for professional, political, and academic positions or functions. Czech has a specific standard address: a vocative form, which is, however, not used always in these debates, sometimes nominative forms occur in the same function. Depending on new professions and positions, new words are used to name them (správní dozorčí rada = council of supervisors, finanční expert = financial expert, designovaný premiér = prime minister designate, opoziční poslankyně = opposition deputy, ekologičtí aktivisté = ecological activists, regionální manažer ve společnosti Unilever Česká republika = regional media manager in Unilever, Czech Republic). The full address with all the above-mentioned parts is not always used during the whole debate, it is usually shortened during its process. It also depends on the personal or professional relations between participants, etc. The better they know each other, the more informal the address is. When needed or intended, irony is used even here - words are used in opposite meanings, proper names



(surnames) in plural etc. (přítel Zeman, = friend Zeman, pan premiér = Mr. prime minister, někteří pánové z koalice, = some men from the coalition, mocní páni Grégrové = the mighty Mr. Grégrs).

## 2. Monologue and dialogue, pre-sequences, greetings, etc.

TV debates as dialogue forms are marked, among other things, by typical standard opening phrases (pre-invitations), connecting phrases (turn-takings) and closing phrases (pre-closings) but the significant tendency towards individualized expressions is also evident. Such formulae are sometimes updated, in different measure provocative, challenging or ironic, both towards the participants and TV viewers. Speakers sometimes attempt to criticize one another, especially in antagonistic conversations, often using irony. A supportive role is played by speed and intonation of the speech. E.g.: Jestli vás to zajímá, pak dobrý večer! = In case you are interested, then good evening!, Dobrý den ode mě! = Good morning from me!, Tak pojďme bez dlouhých řečí do toho - dobrý večer vám doma u televizních obrazovek i všem divákům. = Let's start without talking too long - good evening to you at home, in front of television screens and to all viewers!, O čem bude konkrétně řeč? = What are we going to talk about specifically?, Tak pane premiére:... = Well, Mr. prime minister..., Tak a to bylo pro dnešek všechno. = Well, that's all for today., Dámy a pánové, s vámi se pro dnešek loučím. = Ladies and gentlemen, good-bye to you from me for tonight.

Speakers usually express verbally their own opinions, comment on the content, agreement and disagreement, suggestions, corrections, etc.: Ale pane doktore, to vám musím oponovat. = I have to oppose to you, doctor., Budete se divit, ale naprosto s vámi souhlasím. = You will be surprised but I agree with you entirely., Protože se to vyvíjí chaoticky, navrhuju věcnou strukturu dialogu: bavme se nejdříve o... = As it is developing in chaotic way, I propose

a matter-of-fact structure of dialogue: let's talk first of all about..., Já nechci vůbec zastírat, že... = I don't want to hide at all that..., Prostě já si nemohu pomoci. = I simply can't help myself., Je to srandovní. = It's ridiculous.

In this way, the overall atmosphere of the debate is reflected in the speech - its dynamics, tensions, movements between openness, politeness, distance, arrogance, attack. The speech of intellectuals usually shows more signals of asking to be excused, their statements are "weakened" by using conditional verbal forms etc.: Já bych si k tomu dovolil poznámku. = I would dare to add a comment to it., Jestli můžu, jenom krátkou repliku... = If I may, just a short response..., Promiňte, že vám skáču do řeči, druhá varianta je... = Excuse me for interrupting, the second variant is..., Když se nebudete zlobit, pane poslanče, já budu osobní: to prostě není pravda. = If you don't mind, Mr. deputy, I'll be personal: it's simply not true., Ted' dávejte pozor - cituji:... = Pay attention now, I quote:..., Já už vás musím přerušit, prostě to se nedá vydržet. = I have to stop you, I can't stand it.

Along with such explicit expressions, more vagueness, hesitation, evasiveness or even circumspection and unwillingness to answer directly can be met with some speakers: Proč ode mě chcete tak jednoduchou odpověď - ta záležitost je složitá? = Why do you ask me for such a simple response - that matter is complicated?, Stát by se měl angažovat nestandardním postupem. = The state should commit itself by a non-standard procedure., Do určité míry to bylo plus minus včas. = To a certain extent it was plus minus on time.

## 3. Metalingual expressions

In addition to comments and evaluations of the content, attitudes toward language and its norms are sometimes expressed by speakers. They usually comment on the way others are talking, in

particular on their vocabulary. To do so, they often use metalingual expressions (or metaphoric expressions based on them): Prosím ě, nauč se mluvit stručně. = Please, learn to speak briefly., Nechme emoce doma. = Let's leave our emotions at home., Jsem jediný člen bývalé vlády, který explicitně hovoří o chybách. = I'm the only member of the government who speaks about faults explicitly., Kdybych to řekl nesmírně stručně, ... = Should I be terribly brief, ..., Já bych potřeboval přestat mluvit jako politik. = I would need to stop talking as politician., Řeknu to vulgárně - kategoricky chci odmítnout. = I'll express myself in a vulgar way - I want to refuse categorically., Tímto příměrem tedy skončíme. = Therefore, we'll finish by this simile., Občanská společnost - to u je pro má fráze. = Civic society, that's already just a phrase for me., Máme tady jedno klišé: lidé jsou znechuceni politikou. = We have one cliché here: people are disgusted by politics., Tolik celkově - tečka. = That much as a whole - full-stop., Položil bych otazník nad tou větou, že... = I'd put a question-mark above the sentence that...

Speakers are very rarely aware of language norms, and they do not pay too much attention to grammatical forms: Ty mrě vykáš? = Do you address me formally?, Budu ti rád tykat, ale nejde tady o tykání. = I'll be glad to address you informally but informal address is not the point.

#### 4. Special terms, professionalisms

A relatively big part of the Czech TV debate vocabulary is represented by special terms, professionalisms (semi-professionalisms), the essential part of which belongs to interdisciplinary terms, mainly from the social and humanities spheres; the rest deals with the particular topic of a specific debate (market, management, business, etc.). From this point of view, the standard part of the TV debate vocabulary can be distinguished by so-called "generally

intellectual expressions" ("vrstva obecně intelektuálního výraziva" - see: Müllerová, Hoffmannová, Schneiderová, 1992) - which is more or less permanent - and variable, topic-oriented professionalisms. Just as other professionalisms, they can be formed by one or more words - the noun phrases with an adjective as an attribute of the head-noun are perhaps the most numerous. Some examples: malý pohraniční styk = small border traffic, parlamentní demokracie = parliamentary democracy, supervelká koalice = superlarge coalition, dopustit se daňových úniků = to permit tax evasions. To make it closer, more telling to the audience, it is common to use idiomatic expressions as professionalisms, especially metaphoric and metonymy ones; our examples are from the sphere of marketing: hloupí bohatí = stupid rich people, hloupí chudí = stupid poor people, mrtví lidé = dead people, otevření kapitálových toků = opening of capital flows.

As for the origin of these professional terms, a considerable part is originally foreign, mainly from English and the classical languages (chiefly Latin). They are adopted into the Czech language system to a varying degree, depending on the time of the adoption of the words, as well as on the newness of the reality they refer to. The process of hybridization is very common, both morphology-syntactic (= within one word) and syntactic-word formative (= creation of multiple-word lexical units). As for parts-of-speech classification, abstract nouns, adjectives and verbs are the most frequent. To give some examples: press-release, promotion, marketingové studie = marketing study, kapitálová majorita = capital majority, odborný kredit = professional credit, akreditivy = accreditives, warrantlisty, warranty, tendry, cyklistické kauzy = bicycle cases, banky se rekapitalizují = banks are recapitalized, revitalizace průmyslu = revitalization of industry, mikroregiony = microregions.



Foreign words (loans) are also used deliberately to present metalingual comments, sometimes quoting known phrases or expressions: Chtěli jsme .... etcetera. = We wanted .... etc., etc., Pozitivně jsem kvitoval to, že..., = I positively accepted that..., Budeme reportovat skutečnosti. = We'll report facts., Budu hned replikovat. = I'll reply immediately, měnit úrokové sazby ad infinitum = to change interest rates ad infinitum, dovedeno ad absurdum = brought to ad absurdum, Lidi by si jednou řekli: Right - wrong, my country. = People would say one day: Right or wrong, my country.

### 5. New phrases, clichés

It is in TV debates (similarly to newspapers for example) that exclusive, attention catching expressions are used deliberately, perhaps in order to add a sort of glitter to the surface of the speech, even though sometimes they can be even incomprehensible to the audience. Some of these expressions (often originally journalist terms) can easily become clichés. They occur in the speech both of moderators and debating guests. Their number is very large; let us present just a few examples: kauza Telecom = the Telecom case, masivní atak = massive attack, politická reprezentace = political representation, zastávat vysoké posty v demokratické vřadě = to hold high posts in a democratic government, na politické scéně = on the political scene, použít mocenské nástroje = to use means of power, vyrovnat se se svou minulostí = to cope with one's own past, spustit lavinu změn = to start the avalanche of changes, říct na adresu = to say to someone's address, je to o penězích = it's about money, pomoc není o tom, že by někdo měl... = help isn't about that some would have..., svět se globalizuje = the world is being globalized, jít do programu = to enter a programme, zpráva nastavuje zrcadlo = the news holds up a mirror, reálné mzdy se propadaly = real wages collapsed, nastartovat perspektivní výrobu = to start long-term

production, program bude uveden v život = the programme will be brought to life, náš vstup do Evropy = our entering Europe, politická konstelace = the political constellation, etc., etc.

The use of some of these new phrases and clichés tends to evoke allusions to old ones (from the previous regime). The hints are, of course, hidden as well as overt. The temporal dimension is reflected particularly in politically oriented debates, i.e., the way in which time outside the text (in our case, the period from 1989) is mirrored in the text (see Müllerová, Hoffmannová, Schneiderová, 1992: the so-called "tectonic principle of contrast"). Examples: bývalí mocipáni z minulých osmi let = the former men of power from the past eight years, přechodné období zemědělství = the transitional period of agriculture, diferencovat čisté a špinavé peníze = to distinguish between clean and dirty money, přežene se revoluční víchř = the revolutionary wind will blow over, heslo "Nejsme jako oni" = slogan "We're not like them", Osře sledované byly volby v Berouně. = Closely observed elections were held in Beroun., Mohl být přechod méně sametový? = Could the transition have been less velvety?, etc.

### 6. Idioms and expressions with figurative meaning

Symbolic character (figurativeness) is one of the most evident features of TV debate language. It is used in the discussion of any topics and is reflected in almost all the parts of the vocabulary (standard and non-standard, emotional and non-emotional, in appellatives and even in some proper names). These expressions make speech more vivid, colourful and therefore more attractive to the audience, even though they can, at the same time, reduce precision of the message. Their use is also connected with a more frequent occurrence of emotional and non-standard words.

The most frequent types of figurativeness are perhaps

personification (čtyřkoalice se dostala do Senátu = the coalition of four has got into the Senate, Evropa nás nechválí = Europe doesn't praise us, byli jsme pozváni do NATO = we were invited into NATO, členství zavírá dveře = the membership closes the door) and metaphor, eventually metonymy or simile (akce čisté ruce = the "clean hands" action, lustrace jsou jasné stop = screenings are a clear stop-sign, plastová kultura = the plastic culture, myslet za roh = to think around the corner, získat si kreditku společnosti = to obtain a credit from society, deklarace přemostňuje bolestivý problém = the declaration bridges a painful problem, předepisovat drogy jako pralinky = to prescribe drugs like pralines).

Figurative expressions draw their motivation from all the spheres of our life; the following are among the most frequent:

- social and political sphere: komunismus – daň za hříchy slepoty = communism - a tax for the sins of blindness, přeměny bývalých sovětských satelitů = the transformations of the former Soviet satellites;

- cultural phraseology: obětní beránek = sacrificial lamb, faustovská dohoda = Faust's pact, vyhaslý golem českých reforem = the extinct golem of Czech reforms;

- traditional folk phraseology: jako kůl v plotě = as a pole in a fence, vyprášit Klausovi kožich = to dust Klaus's fur-coat, poslat špatné podniky ke dnu = to send bad enterprises to the bottom, bankovní sektor se tvářil jako mrtvý brouk = the banking sector acted like a dead bug;

- sport and games: česká politika se stala hrou = Czech politics became a game, zůstal jim v ruce černý Petr = they ended with the Black Peter card in their hands, vykopali válečnou sekeru = they dug up the war axe, na čele pelotonu se ocitly Belgie,

Lucembursko a Nizozemsko = Belgium, Luxemburg and the Netherlands appeared at the head of the platoon;

- language: zisk je v něm sprosté slovo = profit is a rude word in it, mediální tečka = medial full-stop, slovo zazářilo na jazykovém trhu nejvíce = a word shone in the language market most;

- sciences: potenciál nespokojenosti = potential of unsatisfaction, silokřivky našeho světa se začínají vytvářet jinak = the lines of force of our world are beginning to form differently;

- literature: ve Švejkově zemi = in Švejk's country, ekonomika se uváděla stylem potěmkinovy vesnice = economy was introduced in the style of a Potěmkin's village;

- theatre, music: v národněfrontovním kabaretu = in a national-front cabaret, v této frašce = in this farce, premiér si s ministrem pěkně notuje = the prime minister and the minister are well in tune together;

- family: matka současných problémů = the mother of contemporary problems, privatizace je jejich dítě = privatization is their child, politické strany sdílejí společnou domácnost = the political parties share the same household;

- body and its parts: házím to za hlavu = I am throwing it behind my head, cizí hodnotící oči = foreign assessing eyes, noha českého policisty vstoupila = the foot of a Czech policeman has entered, krev národního hospodářství = the lifeblood of the national economy;

- nature: jako s obtížným hmyzem = as with a troublesome insect, každá liška svůj ocas chválí = every fox praises its tail, média jsou hlídacími psy demokracie = the media is the watchdog of democracy; - etc.

## 7. Non-standard and emotional expressions

These expressions carry pragmatic meanings, for words as important as denotative ones to express the message in TV debates. Their occurrence is typical of these speeches and, at the same time, varied, special (depending on the individuality of the speaker). The ratio of non-standard and emotional expressions to standard ones is determined, first of all, by the social and generation background of the participants in the debate. Colloquial and non-standard words reflect also the current political atmosphere (even though indirectly). They correspond, for example, with the current style of humor.

Non-standard and emotional words usually help to express speaker's evaluative attitudes, both to the topic (content of the discussion) and to other participants (including themselves). With respect to the current atmosphere and "mood" in our society, these attitudes are usually rather negative, often ironic or even invective and aggressive. As to form, evaluative adjectives and names are among the most common. A few examples: Remcal jsem a kritizoval předchůdce. = I grumbled and criticized my predecessors., Jedině hlupák nedělal restrukturalizaci. = Only a fool did not restructure., Někdo přivede podnik na pokraj bankrotu. = Someone will bring the enterprise to the edge of bankruptcy., Strany tam oblbly v podstatě voliče. = The parties basically fooled their voters., Do toho vládě nic není. = It's no longer the government's business, Je to politická mrtvola. = It's a political corpse., Jak se říká vyluxovat banku. = As they say, to vacuum-clean the bank., Na internetu nám frčí reklama. = Our commercial is blowing on the internet.

Along with emotionality, emphasis is typical of political debates. On the lexical level it is expressed by means of word repetition, listing synonyms and words with close meaning

(sometimes explaining, correcting, intensifying the lexical meaning at the same time). Some examples: Myslíte si, že podle těch informací, jsou to informace z tisku, by... = Do you think that according to that information, it's information from the press, ...), Prosím vás odpovědnost, hmotná odpovědnost... = I beg you, responsibility, material responsibility...), = Aby vysvětlil, a není vyloučeno, že by mohl vysvětlit,... = So that he explained, and it's not out of the question that he could explain..., a že je tu málo, málo věřících = and there are few, few believers here, ten sen, ta naděje, ta víra = that dream, that hope, that belief, to od nás bude Evropa chtít, Evropská unie = that's what Europe will ask from us, the European Union.

## 8. Foreign words (loans)

The influence of foreign languages is nowadays evident in texts concerning all the spheres of our lives, including oral public speeches and, of course, also our TV debates. That influence is on the lexical level, in the vocabulary mainly. The TV debate vocabulary shares lots of foreign words commonly used in public speeches in general, many of them are well adopted into the Czech language system and they are already relatively stabilized there. At the same time, new, modern or fashion words appear almost constantly, too. The main source is, of course, English and these words rank among standard, stylistically neutral, words, specialized, slang or colloquial items. Some of them can be considered neologisms because of their newness and low degree of (formal or semantic) stability. Examples: global street party a jiné performance = global street parties and other performances, ty expektace = those expectations, během tohoto sitcomu = during that sitcom, jasný outsider / outsidersství = clear outsider / outsidership, jeden z bonmůů pana Macka = one of Mr. Macek's bonmots, tři roky expirace = three-year expiration, gentleman agreement, aspirovat na post lídra čtyřkoalice = to aspire

to the post of four-coalition leader, *distancovat se od takového postoje* = to distance oneself from such an attitude, *takzvané focus groups* = so-called focus groups, *klademe otázky potenciálním konzumentům* = we ask potential consumers, etc. Apart from separate expressions, these are sometimes whole syntactic constructions which are introduced into Czech as literal translations from English (not all of them are grammatically correct in Czech, though). Some examples can be: *Jak se vyvíjí politika, to je špatné.* = How politics develop, that's wrong., *Co se mě osobně dotýká, je, aby politické strany...* = What concerns me personally is that political parties..., *Pěkně jste zdemonstrovali, v čem je ten problém.* = You demonstrated well what the problem is., *Co lze predikovat od tohoto jednání?* = What can be predicted from that negotiation?, *kolik času to vezme* = how much time does it take, *mějte hezký den/hezkou pohodu* = have a good day/a good time, *podívat se generálně na tenhle rok* = to look generally at this year, etc.

### 9. Neologisms and occasionally used words

As Blatný (1996, p. 188) puts it: "In 1989, the year of the revolution, many changes in the political and social life of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe took place. These changes were immediately reflected not only in the new legal systems of the former communist countries but in the new way of speaking as well. The communist 'wooden' language was replaced by more individualistic and varied expressions. On the one hand, many old and nearly forgotten words were 'revived', e.g. *starosta* (mayor) instead of communist *předseda* (Národního výboru), *sněm* (congress) instead of communist *sjezd*, on the other hand many new words were, or had to be, formed or borrowed (esp. from English) to describe products and features of the new reality surrounding people in these countries, e.g. *kompakt* (compact disc), *supermarket*."

Depending on the reality referred to and its newness and with respect to the use of new words in other communication situations, neologisms and occasionally used and ad-hoc formed words occur in TV debates namely in emotional situations. Neologisms are usually both of Czech and foreign origin (they often have a hybrid character). They belong to all stylistic levels of the Czech vocabulary (only rarely - and if so, then on purpose - are they bookish). The large number of neologisms are relational adjectives (*předbalíčkové situace* = the pre-package situation, *záborové zákony* = annexation laws, *rozhraničovací komise* = the border commission), nouns, especially abstract, compound and deverbative ones (*euroskeptik* = Eurosceptic, *ekointelektuál* = ecointellectual, *perspektiva důchodcování* = the prospect of being an old-age pensioner, *prezidentství* = the presidency, *zafinancovatelnost* = financingness, *víra v něcismus* = belief in somethingism) and verbs - new verbs and new perfective forms (*tento názor nedominuje* = this opinion does not dominate, *Nizozemsko poevropští naše úřady* - the Netherlands will make our authorities European, *něco rehabilitovat v naší zemi* = rehabilitate something in our country, *odpolitizovat administrativu* = depoliticize the administration, *okomentovat závěry konference* = to comment on the conclusions of the conference, *namailovat* = to send off an e-mail, *mobilovat* = to mobile, *brífovat* = to brief, *medializovat zprávu* = to medialize the news). Not all of the neologisms are formed or used correctly - differences and mistakes occur also on the syntactic level - in syntactic constructions (*zúčastnit se na Temelíně* = to participate in Temelín, *a jdou do programu* = let them go to the programme, *vstupovat do podnikání* = to enter enterprising, *zajímat se zbraněmi a střelením* = to be interested in weapons and shooting, *pokud se týká, že by stát měl podpořit program* = if it concerns that the state should support the programme).

## Conclusion

The media - perhaps always and in all societies and regimes - generate a lot of the language that is heard in society. This is nowadays reflected in the frequent public comments on how the media use language. Criticism of the media's language use, its bad effect on everyday speech, are a commonplace of public debate - ironically, often conducted in the media's own columns.

The aim of this paper, however, was not to deal with this criticism but to demonstrate the current face of media output. We have chosen one of the "influential" media spheres - TV debates, public political statements, which nowadays represent changing Czech public oral communication. The character of our language material is basically similar to that of any contemporary public oral speeches, yet it has its own specifics dependent on given settings and the participants in a particular debate.

Our closer analysis of material from Czech TV debates has revealed, among other things, a wide variety of special lexical items characteristic of public oral speech, largely unprepared and aiming at audience involvement and pursuing a function of appeal. Speakers show some significant attempts to use unusual, individual, "colourful" words, to express self-repairs and self-criticism of the content and language-form of speech, as well as verbal attacks, politeness, arrogance, to prove their awareness of language norms and codes, etc. Unlike other spheres of contemporary Czech communication, such distinct phenomena as shifts of grammatical categories (plural of abstracts and proper names of people), the process of terminologization, common use of idiomatic expressions and expressions with figurative meaning, new words and phrases, as well as new constructions (quite often based on analogy from foreign languages, especially English) seem to be typical.

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## Loci Communes As Communicational Universals

Jiří Kraus

In my contribution I shall concentrate on some questions concerning the renaissance of rhetoric in the latter half of this century. Since the time of Greek and Roman antiquity the instruction of rhetoric has been repeatedly adapted to meet the specific needs of Medieval, Renaissance, Baroque, Enlightenment and, after the reformulation of its methodology, of Modern as well as of Post modern societies. For more than two thousand years it has exercised a strong impact on both theory and praxis of communication, especially in the fields of political oratory, literary studies and criticism.

Competing with the growing interest in the interdisciplinary character of the theory of human communication in recent decades rhetoric has surfaced as the topic of many debates in the field of media studies, the humanities and the social sciences. Rhetorical inquiry, as it is approached and practiced today, has become an important part of philosophy, linguistics, poetics, communication studies, sociology, anthropology, education theory ... etc. However, this fact can also be ahistorically regarded negatively. As some