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## **Discourse Markers in Political Speeches**

Master thesis

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## **Diskurzivní ukazatele v politických projevech**

Diplomová práce

Vedoucí práce: Mgr. Markéta Janebová, Ph.D.

Olomouc 2016

**Title:**

Discourse Markers in Political Speeches

**Annotation:**

The diploma paper “Discourse Markers in Political Speeches” draws upon the phenomena which hold together utterances in the discourse context; in particular, it is concerned with the presence of discourse markers within speeches made by politicians. The main purpose of the work is to provide a corpus analysis and find out how much it can contribute to the analysis of discourse markers. Particularly, the focus in this study will be on the issues raised by translations. Discourse markers can have several different meanings which are hard to match to each other or have only one meaning for a given context. To translate them into other languages is very tricky and no exact equivalents can be found. The interpretation of discourse markers is, nevertheless, important for the interaction between the speaker and hearer as they express the speaker’s assumptions, his intentions, his emotions, and most of all, his attitude towards the hearer or towards the situation they are speaking about. Thus, in the analysis of discourse markers, decisions about the meaning must be made. Translations help to see the meanings of discourse markers as the translation corpora gives a large number of interpretations which makes possible to see which meaning is the most frequent equivalent.

**Key words:**

*Discourse markers, translation equivalents, so and well, sentence-initial, political discourse, Europarl corpus, corpus analysis.*

**Titul:**

Diskurzivní ukazatele v politických projevech

**Abstrakt:**

Diplomová práce s názvem „Diskurzivní ukazatele v politických projevech“ se zabývá jevy, které drží text pohromadě, konkrétně se jedná o diskurzivní ukazatele v projevech politiků. Hlavním cílem této práce je poskytnout korpusovou analýzu a zjistit, v jakém měřítku může tato analýza přispět k výzkumu diskurzivních ukazatelů. Důraz bude kladen především na záležitosti spojené s překladem. Diskurzivní ukazatele mohou mít několik různých významů, které si neodpovídají, nebo mají jenom jeden výraz pro daný kontext. Překlad ukazatelů do dalších jazyků je složitý a mnohdy se nesetkáme s žádným přesným ekvivalentem, přesto je důležité je přeložit, protože vyjadřují předpoklady mluvčího/autora, jeho záměry, emoce, a především, jeho postoj k posluchači/adresátovi nebo k situaci, o které se hovoří. Obsáhlý korpus s mnoha překladovými ekvivalenty umožňuje porozumění jednotlivých významů diskurzivních ukazatelů.

**Klíčová slova:**

*Diskurzivní ukazatele, překladové ekvivalenty, so a well, na začátku věty, politický diskurz, korpus Europarl, korpusová analýza.*

## P o d ě k o v á n í

Chtěla bych poděkovat Mgr. Markétě Janebové, Ph.D. za odborné vedení práce,  
poskytování rad a materiálových podkladů k práci.

## P r o h l á š e n í

Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci na téma  
„Diskurzivní ukazatele v politických projevech“  
“Discourse Markers in Political Speeches”  
vypracovala samostatně s využitím literatury a informací, na něž odkazuji.

V Olomouci dne .....

.....  
*podpis studenta*

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# Introduction

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An expanding body of research in linguistics deals with the discussion on the emergence and use of discourse markers. Discourse markers (henceforth called DMs), are defined as “sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk” (Schiffrin, 1987: 31) and are syntactically independent and commonly used in the utterance initial position (ibid: 32). DMs are expressions such as those in bold in the following sentences:

1. *Hello, John. ~ **Actually**, my name’s Andy.* (the words in bold are original, this holds for the rest of the examples as well; Swan, 2005: 144)
2. *Why did you do that? B: Oh, **well, you know, I don’t know**, really, **I mean**, it just **sort of** seemed a good idea.* (ibid)
3. ***So** anyway, this man came up to me and said ‘Have you got a light?’* (ibid: 145)

In the last decades, DMs have become an important topic, especially in English language. There is, nevertheless, not much of research on cross-linguistic correspondences of DMs, particularly in such typologically diverse languages as English and Czech. Thus, the present thesis aims to make a corpus analysis based on parallel translations to contribute to the study of DMs in this regard. The analysis will focus on the correspondence of DMs in English and Czech on the basis of the Czech National Corpus. In particular, the parallel translation corpus Europarl which contains transcribed political speeches will be used to provide translation paradigms, i.e. “the forms in the target text which are found to correspond to particular words or constructions in the source text” (Johansson, 2007: 56). Then, the collection of corresponding Czech expressions to English DMs *so* and *well* found within the Europarl will help to derive the meaning of these markers. The two English DMs are utilized as a pre-closing device (Schiffrin, 1985: 641), and they also exhibit distinctive qualities, in particular, they differ etymologically, e.g. *so* developed from a conjunction (Brinton, 2009: 313) and *well* is considered to be derived from a predicative adjective (Markus, 2009: 223). And unlike *well*, *so* can be confused with a connector. In other words, these markers perform similar functions but they developed from different sources, and in this view the research on these two expressions could produce interesting findings.

In what follows, a theoretical review of issues which are most relevant to the present study will be first presented. The notion of DMs and related items will be discussed, particularly

with respect to the terminology of DMs based on past research and studies on DMs. Then, an overview of central properties of DMs along with the range of functions DMs are believed to perform will be provided. This will be followed by the chapter about what is (not) a discourse marker and various classifications of DMs. Chapter 2 will introduce the domain of political discourse and the attention will be paid to political speeches and DMs within them. The research questions will be presented in Chapter 3, also there will be given a detailed description of the data and the research methodology adopted in the study will be introduced. Chapter 4 will provide in-depth analyses of the two markers *so* and *well* respectively based on empirical results drawn from the corpus data. Then, major findings on *well* and *so* will be presented and compared.



# 1 Discourse Markers

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“Research on DMs and similar phenomena has expanded” (Schourup, 1999: 228) and the greatest break-through in discourse marker studies came in the 1980s and 1990s (ibid). Deborah Schiffrin, Maj-Britt Mosegaard Hansen, Gisela Redeker, Uta Lenk, Bruce Fraser are only few of the renowned authors in this field. The notion of DMs brings several contentious issues. First, it is the variety of terms used to represent these phenomena. Second, the increased attention to DMs caused not only their diverse labels but the researchers also propose different definitions and functions of DMs and similar phenomena.

The terminology poses a particularly difficult issue for linguists because there is considerable dispute over the unity in form (grammar, position, prosody, etc.) or function (social, pragmatic), over the inclusion or exclusion of certain items. The term “discourse marker” is probably the most commonly used, for example, by Deborah Schiffrin, 1987 or Lawrence Schourup, 1999. In Fraser’s overview of terminology, other competing terms include, for instance, discourse connectives, discourse operators, discourse particles, pragmatic connectives, pragmatic expressions, pragmatic markers, pragmatic operators, pragmatic particles (Fraser, 1999: 932), and there are many others.

The interest in the domain was shown by American professor of linguistics, Deborah Schiffrin, who denotes the phenomena as ‘discourse markers’. The term became widely used since the mid-1980s (Schourup, 1999: 229). Her book *Discourse Markers* (1987) represents a great contribution to the study of DMs, and it is regarded as the starting point for the research in the field of the domain of DMs. This pioneering work provides her definition of the phenomena of DMs along with their functional sphere. Here, the conception of the phenomena builds upon the discourse, and Schiffrin (1987) proposes a model of discourse with five planes of discourse on which DMs operate, and focuses on devices which show the relations between units of discourse, thus she names the devices “discourse markers”.

As far as the defining of the phenomena in English is concerned, Schiffrin presents the model of discourse concentrated on the local coherence which “is constructed through relations between adjacent units in discourse” (Schiffrin, 1987: 24). She proposes her preliminary or “operational” definition of DMs as “sequentially dependent elements

which bracket units of talk, i.e. nonobligatory utterance-initial items that function in relation to ongoing talk and text” (ibid: 31). The part of the definition containing “bracket units of talk” refers to the ability of DMs to mark not only sentences but also other units (ibid: 31), specifically, they “occur at the boundaries of units as different as tone groups, sentences, actions, verses, and so on” (ibid: 36). By “sequentially dependent”, Schiffrin understands that DMs “are devices that work on a discourse level: they are not dependent on the smaller units of talk” (ibid: 37), that means that they are dependent on the structure of discourse. In this regard, she discusses the expression *and* which can be utilized to link items of the same word class or sentence constituent, or as the excerpt (4) illustrates, it can be used as a discourse marker which links distinct units and is dependent on the discourse structure rather than on smaller units (the word in bold is original, the numbering is not; ibid: 38).

4. *Debby: I don't like that. ~ Zelda: I don't like that. **And**, is he accepting it?*

The conversation in (4) shows the discourse marker *and* linking a declarative and an interrogative sentence. Sequential dependence and bracketing the units of talk are not the only parts of the operational definition, Schiffrin also considers DMs as “indicators of the location of utterances within the emerging structures, meanings, and actions of discourse” (ibid: 24), and in her view, the indexical function is crucial for understanding of their use. She suggests that DMs are syntactically optional which means that their removal from the sentence initial position would leave the sentence structure intact (ibid: 32).

Schiffrin's analysis focuses on the utilization of DMs in everyday conversation, in particular, she deals with items, such as *and, but, or, because, so, now, then, oh, well, I mean,* and *y'know* (ibid: 40) in the corpus of sociolinguistic interviews with Jewish speakers from Philadelphia. She starts with the marker of information management *oh* (ibid: 75) and the marker of response *well* (ibid: 102).<sup>1</sup> These two markers function on the interactional and informational level. *Well* is considered as a response marker which is used when the sentence containing it is not absolutely coherent with what precedes. Schiffrin holds that it has also a pragmatic function as a request for elaboration and clarification (ibid: 120). *Well* is utilized to organize the participation framework, it frequently prefaces responses to question-answer and request-compliance

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<sup>1</sup> This overview of Schiffrin's study (1987) will chiefly mention the functions of *well* and *so* because the scope of this thesis is limited.

pairs (ibid: 127). Her next focus is on the group of discourse connectives, including *and*, *but*, *or* (ibid: 128). Then, she focuses on *so* and *because* as two markers of cause and result (ibid: 191), and premise and conclusion, which operate on the ideational structure. She suggests that *so* is used as a shift in participation framework, it “may convey an elliptical meaning of ‘result’, or *so* may extract from ‘result’ a meaning of ‘transition’” (ibid: 225). The further focus is on *now* and *then*. Last, she deals with *y’know* and *I mean* that have their function motivated by a meta-communicative lexical meaning (ibid: 267).

Her empirical research reveals how DMs function on various planes of discourse, each discourse marker has its primary function on a single plane and it may have also secondary functions. DMs *now*, *then*, *and*, *but*, *or*, *so* and *because* function primarily at ideational structure, while *well* and *I mean* have their primary function at the plane of participation framework. Beside their primary functions, the markers *well* and *so* occur at all five planes. Her research also shows that the conjunctions *and*, *but*, and *or* function at similar planes of talk, as well as lexicalised phrases, such as *y’know* and *I mean* (Shiffrin, 1987: 316).

After further analysis, her definition is modified in the way that “markers propose the contextual coordinates within which an utterance is produced and designed to be interpreted” (ibid: 315). She maintains that DMs “index their containing utterance to whatever text precedes them (proximal), or to whatever text is to follow (distal), or to both. In other words, they either point backward in the text, forward, or to both” (ibid: 323). She also specifies the properties that DMs share, i.e. syntactic detachability from a sentence, utterance-initial position, prosodic characteristic (for example, tonic stress and following pause, phonological reduction), ability “to operate at both local and global levels of discourse, and on different planes of discourse”, no meaning/a vague meaning or reflexivity (ibid: 328). She suggests that:

Since coherence is the result of integration among different components of talk, any device which simultaneously locates an utterance within several emerging contexts of discourse automatically has an integrative function. That is, if a marker acts like an instruction to consider an upcoming utterance as speaker-focused on prior text within an information state, with a simultaneous instruction to view that utterance within a particular action structure, then the result is a type of integration between those components of talk (ibid: 330).

Gisela Redeker criticises Schiffrin's theory and proposes her conception of DMs. In her review article "Linguistic markers of discourse structure" (1991), Redeker presents a revised model of coherence and definition of the class. She distinguishes the ideational, rhetorical, and sequential relations as three components of discourse coherence (Redeker, 1991: 1168). By the ideational relation of two discourse units, she understands, e.g., "temporal sequence, elaboration, cause, reason, consequence", etc. (ibid). The rhetorical relation of two discourse units is based on illocutionary intentions conveyed by the propositions (ibid). There is a correspondence of ideational and rhetorical relations to Schiffrin's ideational structures and action structures. The sequential relations are considered either transitions between topics or relations arising from commentaries, corrections, paraphrases and so on (ibid), such relations are a broader conception of Schiffrin's exchange structure. Redeker formulates her definition of discourse operators (her term for this phenomenon) as follows:

*A discourse operator is a word or phrase – for instance, a conjunction, adverbial, comment clause, interjection – that is uttered with the primary function of bringing to the listener's attention a particular kind of linkage of the upcoming utterance with the immediate discourse context. And utterance in this definition is an intonationally and structurally bounded, usually clausal unit. (ibid)*

Bruce Fraser who made a comprehensive account on DMs, says in his article "What are discourse markers?" (1999) that DMs "impose a relationship between some aspect of the discourse segment they are a part of, call it S2, and some aspect of a prior discourse segment, call it S1" (Fraser, 1999: 938). The discourse segments, however, do not necessarily have to be adjacent, he proves this with the following example (the word in bold is original, the numbering is not; ibid)

5. *He drove the truck through the parking lot and into the street. Then he almost cut me off, he ran a red light. **However**, these weren't his worst offences. He was driving without a licence.*

In the example (5), it is not only the immediately previous sentence that *however* relates to what follows but several sentences preceding it. Fraser maintains that DMs can relate the segment they introduce with any prior segment or segments in the discourse (ibid), which means that they operate on global level of discourse. He suggests that DMs impose "on S2 certain range of interpretations, given the interpretation(s) of S1 and the meaning of

the DM” (ibid: 942). His account concentrates on the notion of a core meaning of DMs and he proposes that markers have a procedural core meaning and the context specifies the interpretation (ibid: 950). He remarks that the “procedural meaning specifies how the segment it introduces is to be interpreted relative to the prior” (ibid: 944), in contrast to the conceptual meaning which denotes conceptual information as in case of expressions like “*boy* and *hypothesis*” (ibid). In this sense, it is possible to differentiate between DMs and non-DMs. Fraser holds that all DMs have their associated core meaning, i.e. the meaning associated with the marker (Fraser, 1993: 6). The core meaning can partly “signal type of sequential relationship (change of topic, parallelism, consequence, contrast) between the current basic message and the prior context” and part of “the core meaning provides the starting point for the interpretation of the commentary message in a given case” (ibid). Fraser remarks upon the specific core meaning of the marker *so* and illustrates as follows (the words in bold were originally underscored, the numbering is not original; ibid: 6-7).

6. *Susan is married. **So**, she is no longer single.*
7. *John was tired. **So** he left early.*
8. *Attorney: And how long were you part of the crew? Witness: Five years.  
Atty: **So** you were employed by G for roughly 5 years?*
9. *Son: My clothes are still wet. Mother: **So** put the drier on for 30 minutes more.*

He holds that the core meaning of *so* (“it signals that the following segment is to be interpreted as a conclusion which follows from the prior discourse” (Fraser, 1999: 945)) is the same in these sentences, but the “marker permits a wide range of interpretations” (Fraser, 1993: 7) and it depends on the hearer how he interprets and broadens “this core meaning in light of the details of the particular discourse context” (ibid).

Fraser’s approach is based on written texts and this choice of discourse affects the selection. This will be mentioned in Chapter 1.2 What is (not) a discourse marker. His view differs from the one of Schiffrin who works with spoken discourse and includes also non-verbal devices, such as gestures or gaze. The approaches of Fraser and Schiffrin agree that DMs acquire their functions in particular discourses but they have a different view on the conceptualization of discourse. Fraser’s pragmatic framework focuses on the way how DMs indicate the relations between the segments. Schiffrin bases her approach on the discourse coherence model and includes various interactive situations in her analysis of the roles of DMs.

## 1.1 Properties of discourse markers

Laurel J. Brinton in her book *Pragmatic markers in English: Grammaticalization and discourse functions* (1996), provides a structured form of the list of features, which is represented in Table 1.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Phonological and lexical features:</b></li> </ul>
a) They are short and phonologically reduced.
b) They form a separate tone group.
c) They are marginal forms and hence difficult to place within a traditional word class.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Syntactic features:</b></li> </ul>
d) They are restricted to sentence-initial position.
e) They occur outside the syntactic structure or they are only loosely attached to it.
f) They are optional.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Semantic feature:</b></li> </ul>
g) They have little or no propositional meaning.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Functional feature:</b></li> </ul>
h) They are multifunctional, operating on several linguistic levels simultaneously.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Sociolinguistic and stylistic features:</b></li> </ul>
i) They are a feature of oral rather than written discourse and are associated with informality.
j) They appear with high frequency.
k) They are stylistically stigmatised.
l) They are gender specific and more typical of women's speech.

**Table 1:** List of basic features of DMs (based on Brinton, 1996: 33-35)

According to Brinton, the features on the first three levels (phonological and lexical, syntactic and semantic) provide the crucial tests of DMs. The other features (on the functional and sociolinguistic or stylistic level) are rather descriptive.

Lawrence C. Schourup in his article on DMs (1999) agrees that it is possible “to identify a small set of characteristics most commonly attributed to discourse markers” (Schourup, 1999: 230) and suggests that these are “multi-categoricity, connectivity, non-truth conditionality, weak clause association, initiality, and optionality” (ibid). So, in comparison to Brinton, he considers as the most crucial for DMs the syntactic, semantic and functional features.

In this thesis, the features that are most relevant to the analysis, such as propositional meaning, non-truth-conditionality, multi-functionality, positioning, and optionality of DMs, will be discussed in detail in what follows.

The characteristic which is prominent to many definitions of DMs is the feature of carrying no or little propositional meaning (Brinton, 1996: 33; Aijmer, 2002: 2). As a consequence, there are some contexts when a word or phrase is regarded as a discourse marker while in other contexts it is not. This can be seen in the following examples (the words in bold and the numbering are not original; Swan, 2005).

10. *Red and black are colours that suit me very **well**.* (Swan, 2005: 183)

11. ***Well**, we've agreed on a price, and I'm going to buy it.* (ibid: 192)

In the first sentence (10), the word *well* is used as an adverb, while in the second sentence (11) the expression *well* is a discourse marker. The absence or little propositional meaning of DMs also means that the presence of DMs in the sentence does not affect its propositional content. This is linked with the fact that DMs exhibit non-truth-conditional behaviour. Non-truth-conditionality can be described as not contributing to the information conveyed by an utterance in which DMs are present (Lenk, 1998: 27), thus not affecting the truth value of the utterance. DMs rather indicate how information in the utterance fits into the context or relates to the discourse, and how to process the sentences in a given context (Hansen, 1997: 156). The attribute of non-truth-conditionality is crucial for DMs as it excludes the items that are part of the propositional content of the sentence (Hansen, 1997: 161). Such items are their “formally identical counterparts that are not used as markers and which do contribute to propositional content” (Hansen, 1997: 156). Thus, discourse markers can be distinguished from adverbials like *now* or *then* when they serve as temporal anaphora. This is illustrated in (12-15) (the words in bold and the numbering are not original; Swan, 2005).

12. *You can either come with me **now** or walk home.* (Swan, 2005: 156)

13. *I waited for her till eleven, and **then** went home.* (ibid: 177)

14. ***Now**, I'd like to say something about the exam...* (ibid: 141)

15. *The last bus has gone. ~ **Then** we're going to have to walk.* (ibid: 143)

In (12-13), the expressions *now* and *then* are anaphoric; they index the utterance to a particular time, *now* refers to the present, and *then* refers to the future. On the other hand,

in the examples (14-15), *now* and *then* do not point the temporal relationship, they do not contribute to the propositional content, they indicate how the utterance fits to the context.

While the non-truth-conditionality of DMs indicates that they are not part of the propositional meaning of the sentence, it is not implied that they do not influence the interpretation of the sentence. Although the truth value of the proposition remains unaltered, the interpretation may change. See the following examples (the words in bold are original, the numbering is not; Swan, 2005: 144-145).

16. *The weather was awful. **Actually**, the campsite got flooded and we had to come home.*

17. *Hello, John. ~ **Actually**, my name's Andy.*

In (16), although the marker does not contribute to the truth-conditionality of the sentence and the propositional content remains unaffected, it changes the interpretation of the sentence. The core meaning of *actually* (i.e., discrepancy (Aijmer, 2002)) guides the hearer to the recognition of the interpretation and helps him to see the relationship between two messages (Fraser, 1993: 6). Here, *actually* presents something surprising and unanticipated. In (17), *actually* also does not alter the truth-conditionality, but gives more information about how to interpret the sentence, in this case, the marker makes the correction of the other speaker softer.

The next attribute of DMs is multi-functionality (Brinton, 1996: 35). Brinton provides a thorough summary of their general functions (Brinton, 1996: 36-38):

- a. To initiate discourse, including claiming the attention of the hearer, and to close discourse;
- b. To aid the speaker in acquiring or relinquishing the floor;
- c. To serve as a filler or delaying tactic used to sustain discourse or hold the floor;
- d. To mark a boundary in discourse, that is, to indicate a new topic, a partial shift in topic (correction, elaboration, specification, expansion), or the resumption of an earlier topic (after an interruption);
- e. To denote either new information or old information;
- f. To mark “sequential dependence”, to constrain the relevance of one clause to the preceding clause by making explicit the conversational implicatures relating the two clauses, or to indicate by means of conventional implicatures how an utterance matches cooperative principles of conversation;
- g. To repair one’s own or other’s discourse;
- h. Subjectively, to express a response or a reaction to the preceding discourse or attitude towards the following discourse, including also “back-channel” signals of



understanding and continued attention spoken while another speaker is having his or her turn and perhaps “hedged” expressing speaker tentativeness;

- i. Interpersonally, to effect cooperation, sharing, or intimacy between speaker and hearer, including confirming shared assumptions, checking or expressing understanding, requesting confirmation, expressing deference, or saving face (politeness).

Moving from the multi-functionality of DMs, there is another observable property they have. Traditionally, DMs are said to occupy the initial position. In other words, they “prototypically introduce the discourse segments they mark” (Hansen, 1997: 156). The likelihood to occur in the initial position belongs to one of the syntactic properties of DMs in many studies. Some authors tend to consider the initial position as a criterion for distinguishing DMs. Brinton claims that DMs are “restricted to sentence-initial position” (Brinton, 1996: 33). Also, one of Schiffrin’s criteria for a linguistic item to be considered as a discourse marker is that it “has to be commonly used in initial position of an utterance” (Schiffrin, 1987: 328). Fraser remarks that “almost all DMs occur in initial position (*though* being an exception), fewer occur in medial position and still fewer in final position” (Fraser, 1999: 938). In fact, as far as the position within the utterance is concerned, DMs display considerable differences. Some of them show more positional flexibility than others. For example, the markers *actually* or *you know* can function in rather flexible positions, while the markers *now*, *well* or *anyway* are restricted in terms of their position in the sentence (Fraser, 1999: 939). Fraser gives a few illustrative examples when a discourse marker need not introduce its host segment (Fraser, 1999: 938).

18. *Harry is old enough to drink. **However**, he can’t because he has hepatitis.*

19. *It is freezing outside. I will, **in spite of this**, not wear a coat.*

20. *We don’t have to go. I will go, **nevertheless**.*

The tendency of DMs to be placed initially is related to the scope of their function in discourse. Consequently, DMs which occur in other positions in the sentence than the initial one do not have the power over the whole segment. This is illustrated in the following example (the words in bold were originally underscored, the numbering is not original; Fraser, 1993: 6).

21. *I’m willing to ask the Dean to do it.*

A. ***However**, you know he won’t agree.*

B. *You, **however**, know he won’t agree.*

C. *You know, **however**, he won’t agree.*

D. *You know he won’t agree, **however**.*

In the sentences above, the discourse marker *however* has a function as a comment. In (21A), it signals that there is a problem in contrast to the previous sentence and the scope is over the whole sentence. In (21B), the scope of the marker is only over the addressee. In (21C), the marker comments on the state of knowing. (Fraser, 1993: 6) In (21D), “it is the failure to agree that is being contrasted” (ibid). Hence, “different positions are responsible for subtle changes in meaning or function” (Hansen, 1997: 156).

Being optional rather than obligatory is another attribute of DMs. That DMs are generally considered to be syntactically optional (Brinton, 1996: 34) is understood in the sense that they do not affect the grammaticality of the sentence. Schiffrin says that “any utterance preceded by a marker may also have occurred without the marker” (Schiffrin, 1987: 64) As a result of being “syntactically detachable” from the sentence (Schiffrin, 1987: 238), DMs can be absent. The absence does not “render a sentence ungrammatical and/or unintelligible” (Brinton, 1996: 34). In the following utterances, the property of being syntactically detachable is illustrated (the word in bold and the numbering are not original; Swan, 2005: 576).

22. **Well**, I'm thankful that's over.

23. I'm thankful that's over.

In the second sentence (23), the marker *well* is omitted without rendering the utterance ungrammatical or nonsensical. Both sentences (22) and (23) may be understood in the same way. This property is closely related to the fact that DMs are often found “outside the syntactic structure or loosely attached to it” (Brinton, 1996: 34).

It needs to be noted that the characteristic of being optional is related only to the grammaticality of the sentence which remains unaffected, not to the interpretation of the sentence which changes if the unit is removed. As Schourup points out, the omission of DMs from the sentence causes the removal of signpost which signals how the utterance should be interpreted (Schourup, 1999: 231). In the example (23), the utterance changed into a simple declarative statement without any implication from the speaker to the hearer, in contrast to the sentence (22). Moreover, the absence of DMs in the sentence may make the interpretation process more difficult (Brinton, 1996: 34).

## 1.2 What is (not) a discourse marker

As well as the terminologies dramatically diverge in this field, the inclusion and exclusion from the class and the classification of DMs pose a similar problem for all linguists. While some markers are cited as prototypical examples of DMs, others are more doubtful and peripheral members. In the prototypical view, the class members which exhibit more properties matching the criteria of particular approach are the crucial ones. It is important to note that the classifications are not absolute and definite because the prosody and context are crucial factors which may in certain cases and situations influence the interpretation of the marker.

What follows will focus on the markers which Fraser (1999) excludes from the class of DMs. In the following sentences, particular expressions will illustrate his suggestions (the following words in bold are original, but the numbering is not, this holds for the rest of the examples in this chapter as well; Fraser, 1999: 942):

24. A: *Harry is old enough to drink.* B: **Frankly**, *I don't think he should.*  
25. *I want a drink tonight.* **Obviously**, *I'm not old enough.*  
26. A: *We should leave fairly soon now.* B: **Stupidly**, *I lost the key so we can't.*

In the examples (24-26) given above, the words *frankly*, *obviously*, and *stupidly* are said to be comments or separate messages related to the following segment, not signals of a two-placed relationship between the adjacent discourse segments, which makes them commentary pragmatic markers, and thus such expressions are excluded from the class. Similarly, Fraser excludes focus particles like *even*, *only*, *just* as in (27-28) and pause markers like *Hum...*, *Well...*, *Oh...*, *Ahh...* as in (29-30) (Fraser, 1999: 942).

27. *The exam was easy.* **Even** *John passed.*  
28. *They are fairly restrictive there.* **Only** *poor Republicans are allowed in.*  
29. *What am I going to do now?* **Well** ... *I really don't know.*  
30. A: *Do you know the answer?* B: **Ah** ..., *I will have to think about it.*

Likewise, vocatives as in (31-33) “do not signal a relation between segments”, hence they are excluded. Moreover, “they signal a message in addition to the primary message conveyed by the sentence”, which also excludes them. The same applies to interjections like in (34-36) (Fraser, 1999: 942):

31. A: *We shall arrive on time.* B: **Sir**, *I fear you are sadly mistaken.*  
32. A: *Are there any questions?* B: **Mr. President**, *what do you think of Mr. Dole?*

33. *Who know the answer. Anyone?*

34. A: *The Chicago Bulls won again tonight.* B: **Oh!**

35. **Wow!** *Look at that shot*”

36. A: *You have to go to bed now.* B: **Shucks!** *I really wanted to see that movie.*

In the following text, functional classifications by Schiffrin (1987), Redeker (1990) and Fraser (1993) will be discussed.

Schiffrin divides DMs into markers of information management (e.g., *oh*), markers of response (e.g., *well*), discourse connectives (including *and*, *but*, *or*), markers of cause and result (such as *so*, *because*), temporal adverbs (e.g., *now*, *then*), and information and participation markers (such as *y'know*, *I mean*) (Schiffrin, 1987: 73-311).

Redeker distinguishes several “markers of pragmatic structure”. First, there are pragmatic uses of conjunctions, such as (*and*) *so*, *because*, *but*. Second, she presents connective uses of interjections, e.g., *well*, *all right*, *okay*, *anyway*, *oh*. Last, there is a group of discourse-structuring uses of comment clauses, e.g., *you know*, *I mean*, *mind you* (Redeker, 1990: 372-374).

Fraser (1993) proposes a classification which is based on the fact that he holds that DMs mark certain comments. There are three types (Fraser, 1993: 9):

...either that the current basic message to which the comment applies involves the discourse topic in some way; or that the comment involves the type of discourse activity currently underway (e.g., explaining or clarifying); or that it involves some specific relationship to the foregoing discourse (e.g., that it is parallel to, or contrasts with).

Particularly, he divides DMs into several classes: discourse topic markers (including *in any case to continue*, *with regards to*, *say*, *speaking of*, *alright*, *in fact*, *listen*, *look*, *well*, and so on), discourse activity markers (consisting of *to clarify*, *after all*, *to explain*, *to interrupt*, *to repeat*, *once again*, *finally*, *first*, *to sum up*, *overall*, and so on), and message relationship markers, which are further classified into parallel markers (i.e., *also*, *similarly*, *otherwise*, *alternatively...*), contrastive markers (such as *however*, *nevertheless*, *despite*, *on the contrary*, *one/other hand*, *though*, *well*, *yet...*), elaborative (for example, *besides*, *further(more)*, *in addition*, *in other words*, *namely*, *indeed*, *above all...*), and inferential (e.g., *accordingly*, *consequently*, *hence*, *so*, *then*, *therefore*, *thus...*) (Fraser, 1993: 9-13).

To sum up this chapter, the categories proposed by Schiffrin, Redeker, and Fraser describe how DMs operate, as the authors use the function of DMs as the criterion for their classification.

### 1.3 DMs in this thesis

This chapter will focus on two probably most frequently occurring DMs in spoken language (Schourup, 1999: 251). Both of them are used as conversational moves (Schiffrin, 1987); in particular, they are utilized as a pre-closing device (Schiffrin, 1985: 641). They belong to the markers which enable or facilitate the opening of some topic in the discourse in relation to the immediately foregoing context (Bolden, 2009; Jucker, 1993). The two DMs *so* or *well* allow the speakers to change a topic they want to talk about using them as a move that introduces the new turn. The following extracts give the examples of such function (the numbering is not original).

37. *So what else is going on?* (Bolden, 2009: 992)

38. A: *Mary behaved so well yesterday.* > B: *Well, John behaved the other day. John is really such a great kid, he's been getting straight A's in all of his classes, has come home on time, ...* (Markus, 2009: 218)

In the two examples above, the DMs *so* and *well* share the function of introducing the new topic and shifting the topic focus on something else. The first sentence shows how the marker *so* breaks with the old topic and introduces an entirely new one which had not been talked about. The second example provides an opportunity for the speaker to initiate another turn using the marker *well*.

On the other hand, the two chosen expressions can be different in several respects. For example, the marker *so* can be confused with a connective, while there is no confusion in terms of the marker *well* with connectives. Also, the two markers differ etymologically, e.g. *so* “developed from the conjunctive use or directly from the adverbial use” (Brinton, 2009: 313) and *well* is considered to originate from a predicative adjective (Markus, 2009: 223). Thus, DMs *so* and *well* were chosen as the object of analysis for this thesis as they can show the differences in the preference of translations.

In what follows, the function of *so* and *well* as a discourse marker or some other element (*so* can function an adverbial modifier, or a conjunction; *well* can be a noun, an adverb, or a degree word) will be presented. As far as the expression *so* is concerned, the focus will be especially on the distinguishing of its function as a conjunction from the one as a discourse marker. *Well* will be discussed especially in terms of its functions as a discourse marker.

Moreover, a parallel linguistic phenomenon which belongs among the typical properties of DMs will be discussed; it is their ability to collocate and co-occur with other elements. When a discourse marker occurs with another discourse marker or sometimes even more DMs, it is called “clustering” (Aijmer, 2002: 31). Montserrat González formulates a similar definition but she refers to such co-occurrence as “a compound pragmatic marker” (González, 2008: 58). According to Aijmer, collocations with other DMs can emphasize the description of the meaning of DMs because “there must be an overlap of meaning or at least meaning compatibility between the collocates” (Aijmer, 2002: 104). González agrees that the co-occurrence between the markers is functional (González, 2008: 58).

### 1.3.1 *So*

“So can be deployed in a variety of other grammatical functions” than the one of a discourse marker (Bolden, 2009: 976). The following examples show the functions as an adverbial modifier or a conjunction, respectively (the words in bold and the numbering are not original in both examples; *ibid*).

39. *He is **so** nice.*

40. *He took the taxi **so** as not to be late.*

The latter function will be discussed closer as it can cause certain difficulties in the analysis. Then, *so* as a discourse marker along with its key discourse functions proposed by numerous authors will be presented.

The word *so* can be classified as a conjunction, which is a common example of connectives (Sanders and Pander Maat, 2006: 33). Connectives are described as “one-word items or fixed word combinations that express the relation between clauses, sentences, or utterances in the discourse of particular speaker” (*ibid*). This description is very close to the definition of DMs, which causes the problem when dealing with the analysis of the expression *so*. However, there are certain differences between the category of connectives and DMs. The aspect of truth-conditionality forms the crucial difference. *So* as a connective affects the truth-conditionality of the current sentence and is “tightly integrated in the syntactic structure of the sentence”, in contrast to *so* in the function of a discourse marker (*ibid*). This can be seen in the sentences (41) and (42) (the words in bold and the numbering are not original; Van Dijk, 1979: 453).

41. *I was sick, **so** I stayed in bed.*

42. *John is sick. **So**, let's start.*

In (41), the word *so* has a semantic function as a conjunction which presents a consequence; it connects two segments in the relation of cause or reason of the main action (Van Dijk, 1979: 453). Here, *so* is tightly integrated and affects the truth conditions of the sentence because it has propositional meaning.

In contrast, the utterance (42) demonstrates the pragmatic use of *so*. In (42), the expression *so* “links two speech acts of which the second functions as ‘conclusion’ with respect to the



first speech act” (ibid). In this case, *so* does not affect the truth conditions of the sentence. Moreover, its position is sentence-initial which belongs to the typical features of DMs.

The sentence-initial use of *so* marks the speaker’s conclusion based on the communicative context or the speech act of the first speaker as in (43) (the word in bold and the numbering are not original; ibid: 454).

43. A: *I am busy.* B: **So**, you are not coming tonight? A: *I’m sorry.*

In the conversation in (43), the speaker uses *so* to state the consequence or ask for it because it was not clearly stated in the previous statement. It shows that “the conclusion is closely linked to the underlying ‘semantic’ consequence relation between the fact of being busy and not coming” (ibid).

Fraser claims that DMs come from various syntactic classes and their characteristics are associated with the syntactic membership, thus, in some cases he cannot clearly differentiate between DMs and connectives (Fraser, 1999: 946). Sometimes the difference in meaning of *so* is not profound and this can be seen in the following examples (the words in bold and the numbering are not original in both examples; Fraser, 1993: 6).

44. *John was sick. So*, don’t expect him.

45. *John was sick, so* he went to bed.

According to Fraser, the difference in these two sentences with *so* lies in the fact that the first *so* links two separate messages which is characteristic feature of DMs, and the second *so* connects two propositions within one message as a subordinate conjunction (ibid).

Fraser believes that the core meaning of the marker *so* is that it “signals that the following segment is to be interpreted as a conclusion which follows from the prior discourse” (Fraser, 1999: 945). In particular discourse context, the consequential relationship can be extended by participant’s interpretations (Fraser, 1993: 7).

Redeker suggests that when the conjunction *so* is pragmatically used, it holds that “the semantic relation between the conjoined utterances [did] not correspond to the propositional meaning of the conjunction” (Redeker, 1990: 372), then it can be referred to as a discourse marker. She describes two different uses of *so* as a discourse marker: the first use is “to mark the speaker’s summing-up or conclusion” and the second is

“between successive elements in a chain of events” (ibid). The illustration of these uses is provided as well (the words in bold and the numbering are not original in both examples; ibid: 373):

46. ...*and he says your're gonna have to leave here. **So** he/he- kind of uhm kicks the guy out.*

47. *He talks to the girl and says that she has uhm her father has money due, uhm **and so** she gives him the sixty dollars asking if that would cover it. **And so** he leaves.*

Bolden proposes that the expression *so* is perceived as “a marker of emergence from incipiency” (Bolden, 2009: 977). In other words, *so* is usually used to initiate and start an interaction. Bolden argues that the marker *so* is most commonly said to “preface new (or previously abandoned) topics” (ibid).

In terms of parallel use to the marker *so*, Montserrat González provides an analysis (2008) which concludes that *so* clusters with *you know*. This kind of cluster “is used to open up a new segment, to return to the argumentative thread, and to introduce a comment” (González, 2008: 61), and “by means of *you know* there is an intended sharing of narrator-interlocutor implicit common ground that aims at facilitating the illocutionary point of the narrative” (ibid 59). Then, there are consecutive DMs *so anyway* which “are used to regain the argumentative thread and to introduce a conclusion” (ibid: 61). Yet another discourse marker cluster occurs in her analysis, particularly combination *well so* which “is used to close a segment and to introduce a conclusive remark” (ibid).

### 1.3.2 *Well*

Except for the discourse usage as a discourse marker which is central to this study, the word *well* may be used lexically and have a function of a noun as in (48), an adverb as in (49), or a degree word as in (50) (the words in bold and the numbering are not original; Swan, 2005).

48. *an oil **well** (= a well that produces oil)* (Swan, 2005: 357)

49. *He teaches very **well**.* (ibid: 609)

50. *She works in television as **well** as writing children's books.* (ibid: 70)

In such cases, the expression *well* contributes to the propositional content of the utterance, affects its truth-conditionality and is not optional.

In contrast, the discourse use of *well* in the initial position in the utterance is considered to mark pragmatic relations and is referred to as a discourse marker (Redeker, 1990: 373). The following example illustrates the case (the numbering is not original, the word *well* was originally highlighted by using italics not bold; ibid: 374).

51. *A-and he says **well** I don't want to make a profit on it.*

In this case, *well* does not alter the truth-conditionality of the sentence and does not contribute to its semantic content, also it is optional.

*Well* as a discourse marker has distinct functions which are described with reference to the role in communication. One of the authors who focused on the functions is Andreas H. Jucker. In his article on "The discourse marker *well*" (1993), he distinguishes four of them: *well* can be used as a marker of insufficiency, as a face-threat mitigator, as a frame, and as a delay device (Jucker, 1993).

The first function of *well* as the marker of insufficiency shows that there are some problems with the propositional content of the current or the preceding utterance, and the response differs from the participant's expectations. The function of the face-threat mitigator, on the other hand, shows some problems in the social interaction, where *well* indicates an opposition, such as disagreement, criticism, challenge, etc. When the marker *well* is used as a frame, it indicates a topic change or introduces direct reported speech (Jucker, 1993). The function as a delay device marks the speaker's hesitation or fills a pause.

Schiffrin agrees that *well* is used in the sentence initial position to signal that the speaker's previous contribution is not fully in agreement with expectations of the other participant. Also, in terms of insufficiency, Schiffrin (as cited in Jucker, 1993: 443) points out that the marker *well* is used particularly when "the respondent does not provide a clear confirmation or denial to *yes/no* question".

Jucker's function of a face-threat mitigator is illustrated in the following example (the word in bold is original, the numbering is not; Swan, 2005: 143):

52. *Do you like it? – Well, yes, it's all right.*

In the small fragment of a conversation (52), the second sentence is an evaluative utterance where the speaker uses *well* to be polite and to save the addressee's face, and to preface his answer which is not direct. Here, the marker *well* is used to soften the statement.

The function of *well* as the marker of insufficiency can be utilized as a tool for softening some corrections or apparently faulty utterances, in the sense that it suggests that it is nearly right. The following piece of conversation illustrates the point (the word in bold is original, the numbering is not; Swan: 143).

53. *You live in Oxford, don't you? – Well, near Oxford.*

In the case above (53), the second speaker in the conversation does not want to disagree with the first speaker, thus he uses the marker *well* and softly corrects the other speaker by saying he lives *near Oxford*.

The marker can be also used when the speaker gives a response which is not fully in agreement with the prior expectations. The conversations below show the use (the words in bold are original, the numbering is not; Swan, 2005: 145).

54. *What did you think of her boyfriend? – Well, I was a bit surprised...*

55. *You know that new house? – Well, you'll never guess who's bought it.*

In the examples (54) and (55), the second speaker expresses that his expectations about the topic mentioned by the first speaker were rather different.

Another function of *well* is to gain time. By using it, the speaker is given more time to think. An example is shown in the following conversations excerpts (the words in bold and the numbering are not original; Swan, 2005: 144).

56. *How much are you selling it for? – Well, let me see...*

57. *Why did you do that? – Oh, well, you know, I don't know, really, I mean, it just sort of seemed a good idea.*

In both conversations, the second speaker needs to gain more time to give a proper answer (in 56) and to express his view or attitude (in 57). Additionally, in the latter sentence (57), it can be seen that in speech it can happen that the speaker uses more than one discourse marker. Apart from the marker *well* a multiple other markers in a row were used in the example (57), particularly *you know, I don't know, really, I mean* closely followed by markers *just sort of*.

According to Fraser's account on DMs, the expression *well* as a pause marker is excluded from the class (Fraser, 1993: 9). He illustrates the case with *well* as follows (the word in bold and the numbering are not original; *ibid*).

58. *Coach: How many can you take in your car? > Parent: Well...at least 6 if they squeeze.*

He holds that “these pause markers are homophonous with discourse markers or other pragmatic markers” but “they are not signalling a sequential discourse relationship” (*ibid*). He remarks that pause markers, such as *well* in the example above, have the function of retaining the conversational floor (*ibid*).

As far as parallel use to the marker *well* is concerned, Karin Aijmer in *English Discourse Particles* (2002) cites Kalland, who provides some frequent expressions which occur in presence of the discourse marker *well*. The combinations are as follows: *well you know, well now, well I think, well you see, or well anyway/anyhow* (Aijmer, 2002: 31). Furthermore, González (2008) suggests the cluster *well I mean* which “is used to introduce a comment and reformulate previous discourse”, then the cluster *well so* which “is used to close a segment and to introduce a conclusive remark”, and the cluster *then well* which “is used to introduce the sequencing of events and to introduce a concluding remark” (González, 2008: 61).

## 2 Political discourse

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This chapter will focus on the notion of political discourse. Some typical notions of political discourse will be discussed; it will particularly account on them in terms of their functions in the political context.

Teun A. van Dijk in his article “What is Political Discourse Analysis?” (1977) suggests that “[P]olitical discourse is identified by its actors or authors, viz., politicians” (van Dijk, 1977: 12) Indisputably, the majority of research in the field of political discourse deal with the speeches provided by presidents, prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or numerous political parties (ibid: 13).

As far as the interaction and communication is concerned, the political activities and practices involve recipients or the audience and all participants of political discourse who are acting as political actors, i.e. they are “participating in political actions, such as governing, ruling, legislating, protesting, dissenting, or voting” (ibid: 14).

However, this identification is not diverse from the one “of medical, legal or educational discourse with the respective participants in the domains of medicine, law or education” (ibid). Thus, the whole political context is crucial for political discourse (ibid). The context defines participant’s experience, and it also interprets and represents the relevant aspects of the political situation. Political events and encounters have particular settings, circumstances, occasions, functions, aims and goals. In other words, politicians perform the political actions professionally in contextualized communicative events, like “cabinet meetings, parliamentary sessions, election campaigns, rallies, interviews with the media, bureaucratic practices, protest demonstrations, and so on” (ibid: 13-14).

Van Dijk suggests that there are characterizations of political genres and provides an exemplary illustration of the political definition and contextualization of a parliamentary debate (ibid: 19): domain (politics), system (democracy), institution (parliament), values and ideologies (democracy, group and party ideologies), organizations (political parties, lobbyists), political actors (members of parliament, cabinet ministers), political process (legislation), political action (political decision making), political cognitions (attitudes about the relevant issue (e.g. about abortion, affirmative action or nuclear energy)) (ibid).

Kuralay Kenzhekankyzy Kenzhekanova (2015) investigates a set of genre-specific features of political discourse. The semantic-pragmatic realizations that she suggests are the image of the author, the addressee ability or the factor of addressee, informational content, intentionality, estimation, conventionality, emotiveness or expressivity, modality, inter-textuality, socio-cultural context, ideological characters, the form and means of communication. The main features or the “specific characteristics of a political discourse are the following 4 features: agonistic ability, aggressiveness, ideological character, theatricality” (Kenzhekankyzy Kenzhekanova, 2015: 197)

Political discourse is very specific by its discursive practices, i.e. written and spoken forms (ibid: 14). This issue will be closely discussed in the following chapter as it is a significant aspect of political speeches. The discursive practices “have political functions and implications” (ibid). Indeed, the speakers choose and utilize a variety of linguistic forms in certain time under particular circumstances and with deliberate intentions to convey the message and communicate their ideas, emotions or needs. David Crystal holds that the language of politicians is marked by the use of the ritual phraseology, a variety of rhetorical and dramatic techniques. Politicians no longer assume that their opponents are telling the truth, on the contrary, they believe that the others are saying lies, thus they are playing a language game where their performance must be authoritative, consistent and convictive (Crystal, 2003: 378).

## 2.1 Political speech

In connection to political discourse, political speeches are discussed as its subcategory. The notion of political speech poses a problem as far as what kind of media it is, whether spoken or written or both. Spoken discourse is characteristic by sentence fragments, false starts, contracted forms and self-corrections, while the written discourse is typically more formal and carefully written. (Bloor, 2013: 113) David Crystal gives an account on this issue and presents the political speech as mixed medium. He holds that “both mediums jointly work together to produce a successful use of language (Crystal, 2003: 292). Typically, political speeches are painstakingly prepared, highly structured and rule-governed, with less degree of spontaneity than is typical for a spontaneous speech (Bloor, 2013: 113). On the other hand, their presentation is spoken which means that it contains some of the features of spoken language.

...the speech is scripted but is delivered in such a way as to give some resemblance to spontaneous talk. Of course, some political speeches may be entirely spontaneous, and, more frequently, they may be carefully planned but not delivered directly from the script. (Bloor, 2013: 115)

This combination makes the political speeches a specific kind of media.

The number of participants engaged in the political activity is a fundamentally influential factor for the use of language. There is monologue, which is associated with one person participating in the speech act perceived as independent presentation, and then there is dialogue which usually includes two people (Crystal, 2003: 294). However, “monologue does not mean that a person is alone, as is typical of most authorial writing – the ‘lonely profession’ as it has been called.” (ibid) The audience may be present but the author does not expect any response to his performance. Political speeches are sometimes accompanied by some kind of response, which is reflected non-linguistically in their applause or heckling (ibid). By contrast, the dialogue is conceived as an act where the participants are presupposed to respond to each other (ibid). In conversation, the speech is accomplished by subsequent speakers in ordered sequences of speech acts (van Dijk, 1979: 447). Ideally, the participants should “speak in complete sentences, taking well-defined turns, carefully listening to each other, and producing balanced amounts of speech.” As a matter of fact, the sentences uttered by the language producers are usually overlapping, they interrupt



each other and sometimes even do not listen what is being said. An example of such situation is political squabbling. Although, the contribution they make is greatly asymmetrical, they produce a successful dialogue (Crystal, 2003: 295).

As was mentioned before, the Europarl corpus which will be used as the source of the data in this thesis, provides proceedings from European Parliament which encompass the discussions held at plenary sessions, and also the document speeches of the members of European Parliament, thus the political texts used for the analysis will include both monologues and dialogues. The analysis will not take any account on the number of participants of the speeches as its primary focus is on mapping of the DMs within political discourse.

### 2.1.1 DMs in political speeches

In terms of discourse analysis, various DMs, earlier neglected and perceived as linguistic anomalies, became a prominent and closely observed part of the text/discourse. Their significance lies in their influence on the meaning and pragmatic content of the discourse and also in the contribution of DMs to the formation, organization, cohesion and coherence of the discourse.

Schiffrin states that DMs help to organize the speech acts and discourse ideas, they help the interaction of participants and the presentation of information (Schiffrin, 1987: 315). In other words, DMs are used to construct the discourse and they minimize the hearer's effort to interpret the message. DMs allow the politicians to work with a particular text. DMs stand behind the acts of formulation of the text such as turning back the previous subject of discussion, explaining, clarifying, specifying, foreshadowing or reorganizing the content of the message. Also, DMs indicate the author's attitude and thoughts.

Politicians also use the markers to make a connection and to communicate with the audience. DMs explicitly catch the attention of the listeners and arouse their interest and even make them react to the speech of a politician.

Politicians will tend to emphasize all meanings that are positive about themselves and their own group (nation, party, ideology, etc.) and negative about the others, while they will hide, mitigate, play-down, leave implicit, etc. information that will give them a bad impression and their opponents a good impression (Van Dijk, 1997: 32-33).

The markers are devices which accomplish such strategies, they dictate and organize, and at the same time influence the relation between the participants and the development of the whole interaction.

Political discourse integrally involves DMs with the role of conveying the intended message, persuading the audience of the validity of their political claims, influencing the beliefs and behaviour of the audience, achieving particular aims and goals, and also marking the speaker's attitude towards the audience.

To sum up Chapter 2, political discourse is defined by its participants (politicians, audience) and the whole context (e.g. communicative events, such as parliamentary sessions, election campaigns...). Political speeches present a mixed media where the texts spoken by politicians are carefully prepared and written. The speeches are highly structured and concerned with a special language choice with the purpose of reaching a particular political effect. Political speeches are employed as a strategy for achieving a specific objective, thus DMs are present throughout political texts as cohesive devices helping to communicate the message.

## **3 Data, methodology and research questions**

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This chapter will formulate the research questions, it will explain the underlying methodological principles used in the present study, and this will be followed by the source for the data.

### 3.1 Research questions

This chapter will present the research questions crucial for the present paper which attempts to explore the phenomena of DMs in political discourse from parallel corpus data.

The primary focus of the present paper is to find and compare the translation equivalents of the markers *so* and *well*. This thesis will thus address the following research questions:

1. What are the translation equivalents of DMs *so* and *well*? Particularly, what are their most frequently occurring Czech translation equivalents? Are there any shared translation equivalents for *so* and *well*?

Then, the attribute of being syntactically optional permits the possibility of deleting or omitting DMs, in other words, not translating them. Thus, it is likely that the translated text will not carry any of Czech lexical translation equivalents for the two markers, but instead there will be the tendency to use zero-correspondence. Moreover, there are contradictory tendencies of DMs, they are said to have no propositional meaning and can be omitted, on the other hand, they have their specific pragmatic function and their omission could change the interpretation of the sentence. The two chosen DMs differ and it could reveal and answer for the following question:

2. Do *so* and *well* disappear in the translations, or does the pragmatic function play a dominant role? Do the two DMs have the same number of zero-correspondences?

An interesting aspect of DMs is that they have the ability to cluster together and also they may collocate with each other as was proposed by Aijmer (2002) and González (2008). Aijmer expects the meaning compatibility or overlapping meaning of DMs which tend to collocate and on the basis of this she suggests that it could emphasize their description of the meaning or function (Aijmer, 2002: 104). In this view, the combinations with other items will be questioned as follows:

3. Which combinations of DMs are typically found with the two DMs? Do they combine with functionally similar elements which stress the meaning and function of *so* and *well*? Are there any shared collocates for the two different markers? Will the research reveal any of the *so*-clusters and *well*-clusters mentioned by Aimer (2002) or González (2008)?

The tendency of English DMs to be placed in the sentence-initial position leads to the question whether it can be applied in Czech too. Considering the typological difference of the two languages where the analytical English has a fixed word order and the Czech language is synthetic and more flexible, the analysis could provide an interesting outcome. The parallel translation corpus will help to answer the question:

4. Is the sentence-initial position a criterion for Czech translation equivalents as well?  
Or are there any other positions where they occur?

## 3.2 Research methodology

In this chapter, an aspect of methodology used in this thesis will be discussed. In particular, the method of corpus analysis was chosen to help to analyse DMs, then to gain the spoken data, the parallel translation corpus Europarl which includes political speeches was chosen, and finally, the quantitative method will be introduced.

The use of translation corpora plays an important role in linguistic studies. In this respect, Stig Johansson (2007) in his study “Seeing through multilingual corpora”, remarks that multilingual corpora facilitate to see the meaning through translations and show ambiguity or vagueness. In contrast, monolingual corpora enable merely the analysis of forms and do not reveal the meaning and function of these forms (Johansson, 2007: 57). He mentions two corpus models, the first type is the translation corpora which are comprised “of original texts and their translations into two or more other languages” (ibid: 52). The second type of multilingual corpora is the comparable corpora made “of original texts in two or more languages matched by criteria such as genre, time of publication, etc.” (ibid: 53) It is possible to combine the two types with the result of creating different corpora, such as “original texts across languages; original texts and translations across languages, original and translated texts within each language; translations across languages.” (ibid)

Aijmer (2007) uses the method of contrastive analysis and parallel translation corpus to study the meaning and function of the Swedish marker *alltsa* and its German cognate *also*. In addition to explicit translation equivalents, she discusses zero-correspondence as a strategy of translating DMs (Aijmer, 2007: 35). This possibility of omission raises the issue of “‘the elusive character’ of discourse markers, i.e. why they are not always needed as explicit signals of coherence relations.” (ibid) According to her research, DMs are frequently omitted in translation and she hypothesizes that it is a universal strategy used by translators, another hypothesis is that zero-correspondence is used when the context contains other functional clues (ibid: 50). She maintains that DMs with procedural function are considered helpful but are expected to be dispensable (ibid: 51).

Based on Aijmer (2007) and Johansson (2007), this thesis will work with the multilingual corpora by virtue of translation equivalents and will examine the DMs through the prism of another language. The main object of this thesis will be to examine two particular English markers *so* and *well* in the light of their corresponding Czech equivalents as well as

zero-correspondences. This will demonstrate which translations are more frequent and prototypical, as well as the translations which are individual entities and peripheral.

As far as Czech correspondences are concerned, this thesis follows Kolářová (1998, 2002) who discusses Czech expressions *takže* and *tedy* which are words with similar functions to the markers *so* and *well* and also their possible dictionary equivalents (Poldauf, 1991; s.v. “so”, “well”). The Czech equivalents are considered to be connectors and the word *tedy* functions also as a particle (*Pravidla českého pravopisu*).

According to The Institute of the Czech Language, *takže* is regarded as a linking device and means of expressing consequence and relations of result and effect (Kolářová, 2002). Specifically, *takže* is defined as a conjunction that introduces a sentence which expresses a consequence arising from the content of the previous sentence; it shows a relation of result (*The Institute of the Czech Language of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic*, s.v. “takže”). *Takže* also occurs at the beginning of speeches, and in such case, it expresses assumptions of the speaker about the interests and expectations of the listeners and functions as an obvious consequence of the implied assumptions (Kolářová, 2002).

The Institute of the Czech Language introduces several uses of the word *tedy*. One of its definitions in Czech is to express that something follows from what is happening at the moment. Another definition is to express an agreement, approval or permission, especially when it is in combination, such as *tedy dobrá*, *tedy ano*. It can also express an urge, appeal or challenge. There is also a function of *tedy* to stress the emotional content of another sentence member or the whole sentence. Another function of *tedy* is to explain or complete a statement (*The Institute of the Czech Language of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic*, s.v. “tedy”). Kolářová states that it expresses the relations of reason and consequence with the meaning: “on the basis of what you have said can be stated...” or “from what has been said follows...” *Tedy* also marks the relation of condition and consequence in the sense: “If it is so...” (Kolářová, 1998) She also maintains that the word *tedy* has a preparative function and facilitates the speaker’s initiation of the speech (ibid). It also functions as a signal of the author’s assumption that the addressee has the experience which allows him to understand and it can also refer to something which was not explicitly said in the previous text or only implied by certain words (ibid). The word *tedy* can be used to clarify or specify when there are problems with propositional content. In such case, it stands in front of the part of the statement which is specified, and has meaning “I mean”, “specifically”, “respectively” (ibid).



The similar functions of the two Czech equivalents suggest that there will be a huge correspondence of the markers *so* and *well* with such translations in the research.

The method adopted for the analysis will be also a quantitative one. The main purpose will be to locate the expressions *so* and *well* in the function of DMs along with their translation equivalents in the corpus. The observed equivalents will be counted and compared, and the most frequent ones will be discussed and illustrations will be provided. The view for the location of DMs will be based on Fraser (1993, 1999) in terms of the occupation of the sentence-initial position which seems to be predominant and common case for DMs. Moreover, Fraser sees other than initial positions as highly contentious and debatable in terms of the scope of the DMs over the sentence. Fraser also claims that in many cases he cannot differentiate a marker from a connective. The criterion of sentence-initiality seems to avoid such ambiguity and as a consequence, the present paper will hold this view. Furthermore, based on Aijmer (2002), the attribute of non-truth-conditionality and the connected characteristics of carrying no or little propositional meaning (Aijmer, 2002: 2) will be crucial in the following research, especially because it excludes the items that are part of the propositional content of the sentence (Hansen, 1997: 161). Then, based on Schiffrin (1987), the syntactic optionality of DMs will play a crucial role for “any utterance preceded by a marker may also have occurred without the marker” (Schiffrin, 1987: 64).

In addition, the focus will be on DMs co-occurring with the markers *so* and *well* in the corpus. These clusters of DMs will be also located along with their translation equivalents. The co-occurrences and their translations will be counted and compared. The issue will be discussed and illustrations will be provided.

### 3.3 Data description

The data used for this study come from the Czech national corpus InterCorp, particularly from the Europarl. It contains translated political speeches which is the closest kind of parallel corpora of spoken texts to the spontaneous conversation, where DMs usually occur and which is not available.

The InterCorp was created as a part of the project Czech National Corpus (CNC), supported by the Ministry of Education of the Czech Republic. The corpus is published annually, and the access is provided to the previous releases as well. The corpus is available via a standard web browser. After registration and signing-in, “texts from InterCorp can also be acquired as bilingual files including shuffled pairs of sentences” (Institute of the Czech National Corpus <sup>2</sup>).

Most texts in the InterCorp consist of fiction, it also provides collections of political commentaries (Project Syndicate corpus, Presseurop corpus), legal texts of the European Union (Acquis Communautaire corpus), proceedings of the European Parliament (Europarl corpus), or film subtitles (Open Subtitles database) (Institute of the Czech National Corpus).

The Europarl corpus is based on the proceedings of the European Parliament from 1996 to the present. The proceedings encompass the discussions held at plenary sessions, and predominantly document speeches of members of European Parliament. Owing to the fact that the EU grows larger, the number of languages which need to be translated increases as well (Institute of the Czech National Corpus).

The Europarl corpus provides a parallel corpus where there are pair texts, one text in English and a parallel one in the Czech language, the texts are aligned automatically. Nevertheless, the parallel corpora which are based on automatic alignment may contain certain errors and there is a higher possibility of misaligned segments (Institute of the Czech National Corpus). Additionally, the InterCorp does not “retain all texts from the original source. This includes texts that have no Czech counterpart. Some texts from the Acquis Communautaire and Europarl corpora have been partially corrected or omitted” which led to the variation of the texts “in form or size if compared with the original

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<sup>2</sup> <http://ucnk.ff.cuni.cz/intercorp/?lang=en>

source” (Institute of the Czech National Corpus <sup>3</sup>). This disadvantage is compensated by the fact that “some metadata items missing in the original resource but detectable from context or other sources have been added” (Institute of the Czech National Corpus).

The Europarl parallel corpora has a limitation in terms of target and source language. The question of directness of the translation is raised because “a pivot language, generally English, has been used for translations, which implies that all statements are first translated into English and then into the other 20 target languages.” (Cartoni et al., 2013: 35) This causes a problem because there is no systematic annotation of original language nor source language. For instance, there is a translation from Italian into German through English which is an example from the study by Gast and Levshina (2014).

Volker Gast and Natalia Levshina (2014) compare two languages with the use of parallel corpus. Their point of interest is the distribution of W(h)-clefts in English and German, and they utilize the data from the translation corpus Europarl. Their study is pivotal in the sense that the authors handle the methodological problem of original language. They point out that the data from the Europarl are both original and translations (Gast and Levshina, 2014: 1) and apply the principle for their study based on the assumption that “all pairs of sentences from the parallel corpus are (semantically/pragmatically) near equivalent, i.e., they convey basically the same “message”” (ibid: 3). By virtue of this assumption, they suggest that there is no need for distinguishing between the source languages. Moreover, they hold that the level of quality of the translations in the parallel corpus is considered as very high and reaching the ideal of ‘interlingual near equivalence’ (ibid).

For the purposes of this thesis, the view of Gast and Levshina (2014) about not distinguishing between source languages and the high quality of the Europarl corpus will be followed. The parallel English-Czech translation corpus, particularly the Parallel corpus InterCorp version 7 <sup>4</sup> will be used as the source of data.

The present paper makes use of the multilingual Europarl corpus to investigate DMs used by politicians in political speeches. It does not take into account whether the text in English has been original or translation following Gast and Levshina (2014). The data used for the paper consists of 1000 examples drawn from the corpus, where the results are shuffled, 500 Czech instances of two sentence-initial English DMs, namely *So* and *Well*.

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<sup>3</sup> <http://ucnk.ff.cuni.cz/intercorp/?lang=en>

<sup>4</sup> In the middle of 2015, a new (eighth) release of the parallel corpus was issued (Institute of the Czech National Corpus), this thesis, nevertheless, works with the 7<sup>th</sup> version.

All the amassed data from the Europarl corpus are provided on the compact disk enclosed in this thesis.

The method for collecting the data for the Czech-English text analysis will build upon the Europarl parallel corpus. The analysis of the political texts will be made, in particular, DMs will be identified within the English text and then the translation equivalents will be detected in the Czech text. The usage of the Parallel corpus InterCorp version 7 is crucial for the search in the corpus and the collection of the data. The research procedure on the web browser includes the choice of the primary language, queries, word forms, aligned corpus, and the specification of query according to the meta-information (Institute of the Czech National Corpus). The choice of primary language is also the choice of “Corpus”, which is the InterCorp v7 - English for this thesis. English is the primary language for the research but as had been said before, the notion of the primary language does not equal the original language. In many cases, the original language can be French or German or some other language than English. Then, the “Query Type” needs to be entered, in this research it is “Word Form” because of the possibility to search for the particular form of the expressions *so* and *well*. For specification, “Match case” is turned on. The next step is to add an additional language in “Aligned corpora”, in this thesis the InterCorp v7 – Czech is selected. For the aligned Czech corpora the query is “Word form” as well. Furthermore, there is the possibility of “filtering – restricting the range of searched texts using the metadata” which apply to the primary language. “Specify query according to the meta-information” needs to be selected and the next step is the selection of the group, which is the Europarl (Institute of the Czech National Corpus).

The Europarl corpus generated nearly 23 thousand English translation equivalents for the word form *so* and nearly 13 thousand for the word form *well*. After further analysis, it proved that most of the data could not be classified as DMs. Consequently, there was the need to find a way how to exclude the non-matching cases, so one of the properties typical for DMs was used. The property of being sentence-initial is characteristic for DMs, and thus it played a crucial role for the choice of the data. In this thesis, it is assumed that DMs initiate the utterance, and thus are written with a capital letter. Unfortunately, this assumption causes some misses, as there are certain cases where the markers *so* and *well* are not with capital letters, such as in sentences (59-62) below, which were drawn from the Europarl corpus as English translation equivalents for word forms of *so* and *well*. These are the first few examples that were found within the 23 thousand English

translation equivalents for the word form *so* and nearly 13 thousand for the word form *well*. These cases will be eliminated in this thesis.

59. <p> *Concerning the border dispute between Croatia and Slovenia , ... , so let me just repeat that we as the Presidency welcome the fact ...* [Cz-En. Europarl]

60. *What we are actually trying to do now is to get some restitution, because we not only lost ..., but we also lost ..., so I want to ask Mr Mitchell...* [Cz-En. Europarl]

61. *Now, the European Commission is frantically looking for excuses to avoid a general ban on discrimination, such as ... - or ... - well, that never stopped the European Commission from pushing its proposals in other areas such as energy policy.* [Cz-En. Europarl]

62. *There are those who are nervous and say, well, let us just use the idea of a toolbox.* [Cz-En. Europarl]

English translation equivalents for the word form *So* counts 3468 occurrences. Although the capital letter as a criterion was used, there occurred instances, when it was not a discourse marker. For instance, sentences which started with *So* accompanied by adverbs such as *So often ...*, or by auxiliary verbs such as *So does ...*, or by determiners such as *So much ...*, *So many of ...*, and so on. Such cases, particularly 52 from the 552 first translation equivalents, are not present in the analysis. Only the 500 examples which are conceived as DMs were chosen for the analysis. The same was applied for the word form *Well*, which is represented 561 times in the corpus. As the non-matches for *Well* are concerned, there were 35 of them from the first 535 translation equivalents, mostly the phrase *Well done ...* and there were also irrelevant instances of combinations such as *Well aware ...*, *Well said.*, *Well before ...*, *Well over ...*, and so on.

The chosen 1000 results of the two markers include not only various Czech translation equivalents but also zero-equivalents. The following analytical part of the thesis will illustrate many examples of DMs which occurred in the analysed corpus. In cases of very lengthy sentences there will be used only excerpts containing a particular discourse marker and the whole text versions of all used examples will be provided in the appendix.

## 4 Analysis

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The analysis presented in this thesis will start with the establishment of the translation equivalents of the two markers *so* and *well* within the Europarl corpus. The most frequent translation equivalents for both markers will be presented as well. Then, in the light of the translation equivalents of the two DMs, the focus will be on their zero-equivalents. The results of the analysis will also unveil how the two DMs are typically accompanied by other markers. Finally, the problem of the sentence-initiality of English markers in contrast to the distribution of Czech translation equivalents will be addressed.

## 4.1 Translation equivalents of *so* and *well* and zero-correspondence

This chapter concentrates on the translation equivalents of the DMs *so* and *well* in the parallel Europarl corpus. The choice of zero-correspondence as means of translation of the two markers *so* and *well* will be discussed as well. The figures from the research provide striking evidence on this matter. The tables and pie graphs will be attached in the appendix.

The statistics of the occurrence of the marker *so* within the corpus is depicted in Table 2 below.

Czech translation equivalent of English <i>so</i>	Number of cases	Percentage (rounded to the nearest whole number)
<i>tedy/teda</i>	153	31%
<i>takže</i>	150	30%
zero-correspondence	77	16%
<i>proto</i>	72	15%
<i>tak</i>	17	3%
<i>a tak</i>	11	2%
<i>takže ano</i>	5	1%
<i>čili</i>	3	1%
<i>tudíž</i>	3	1%
<i>a</i>	2	less than 1%
<i>a tedy</i>	2	less than 1%
<i>z tohoto důvodu</i>	2	less than 1%
<i>takto</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>ted'</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>znamená to, že</i>	1	less than 1%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 2:** Czech translation equivalents of English *so* and their frequency

Table 2 highlights the fact that the discourse marker *so* has a tendency to carry a high number of translation equivalents. There are 15 different ways how translators interpret the marker into the resultant text.

However, as it can be observed from the table above, there are two main tendencies in translation of the marker *so*, namely to translate it into Czech language as *tedy/teda* or *takže* which were by far the most frequently used translations. The data capture consists of 500 occurrences of the discourse marker *so* within the corpus, and the translation equivalent *tedy/teda* accounts for 153 and *takže* for 150 occurrences. In percentage, the share of the first one is 31% and the latter accounts for 30%. The shares of the two translations form together 61% which suggests that more than a half of equivalents are translated as either *tedy/teda* or *takže*. The two tendencies suggest that the meaning of the Czech expression *tedy* corresponds to the meaning of the English marker *so*. The similarity lies in the function of *tedy* to express the relations of consequence when something follows from what is happening at the moment or what has happened before (*The Institute of the Czech Language of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic*, s.v. “tedy”: Kolářová, 1998). The expression *takže* shares with *so* the ability to express the consequence as well (Kolářová, 2002).

The third most frequent means of translation was zero-correspondence which turns in a score of 77 occurrences (16%). This number of occurrences is two times lower than those of *tedy/teda* or *takže*. The Czech equivalent *proto* accounted for 72 (15%).

Every other translation equivalent is far behind these four. There are 11 correspondences which form together only 10% of all translation equivalents. It is the translation *tak* with 17 occurrences (3%), *a tak* which is represented by 11 occurrences (2%), *takže ano* by 5 (1%), *čili* as well as *tudiž* by 3 occurrences (both 1%). The translations *a*, *a tedy*, *z tohoto důvodu* occurred two times, and *takto*, *ted'*, *znamená to*, *že* occurred only once.

In what follows, the translation equivalents of the discourse marker *well* in the Europarl corpus will be presented. The results of the analysis are shown in Table 3:



<b>Czech translation equivalent of English <i>well</i></b>	<b>Number of cases</b>	<b>Percentage (rounded to the nearest whole number)</b>
zero-correspondence	278	56%
<i>tedy</i>	34	7%
<i>dobrá</i>	28	6%
<i>nuže</i>	26	5%
<i>ale</i>	19	4%
<i>a</i>	14	3%
<i>no</i>	11	2%
<i>ano</i>	10	2%
<i>nu</i>	9	2%
<i>však</i>	8	2%
<i>tak</i>	8	2%
<i>takže</i>	7	1%
<i>inu</i>	7	1%
<i>dobře</i>	6	1%
<i>sice</i>	4	1%
<i>ovšem</i>	3	1%
<i>víte</i>	3	1%
<i>je pravda, že</i>	2	less than 1%
<i>nicméně</i>	2	less than 1%
<i>pravda</i>	2	less than 1%
<i>tak tedy</i>	2	less than 1%
<i>ale samozřejmě</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>bohužel</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>budiž</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>co k tomu říci</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>dobrá tedy</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>dobře tedy</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>jednoduše</i>	1	less than 1%

<i>je pravda</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>jistě</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>na druhou stranu</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>ne</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>nyní</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>nyní tedy</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>prosím</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>přiznávám se, že</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>také</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>totiž</i>	1	less than 1%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 3:** Czech translation equivalents of English *well* and their frequency

As well as in the case of the marker *so*, the variety among translation equivalents of *well* occurred, there was observed a striking number of over 40 distinct expressions; they are listed in Table 3. Thus, the marker *well* has in this research even wider collection of translation equivalents.

The marker *well* is most frequently translated via zero-correspondence, coming out on top with remarkable 278 occurrences (56%) which forms more than a half of the data capture of 500 occurrences of *well*. Very far behind the zero-correspondence, Czech translation equivalents *tedy* (34 occurrences, 7%), *dobrá* (28 occurrences, 6%), or *nuže* (26 occurrences, 5%) were used. Many other expressions, such as *ale, a, no, ano, nu, tak, však, takže, inu, dobře*, and so on (the rest of them is listed in Table 3) were present but they did not occur as often as the before mentioned equivalents, they form together only 26% of all translation equivalents.

Now, the phenomenon of zero-correspondence will be discussed closer. To illustrate the issue, two instances chosen from the Europarl corpus will be provided. First, there will be an English sentence (labelled as A:), this will be followed by its Czech translation (labelled as B:). Zero-correspondence in the Czech sentences will carry the sign  $\emptyset$ .

63. A: *So here we are today at stage two...*

B:  $\emptyset$  *Dnes jsme se dostali do druhé fáze...* [Cz-En. Europarl]

64. A: *Well, that Prime Minister was Tony Blair, the man who made the last deal on the financial perspectives.*

B: *Ø Tím premiérem byl Tony Blair, člověk, který sjednal poslední dohodu o finančních výhledech.* [Cz-En. Europarl]

The sentences (63-64) demonstrate the fact that the authors omitted the markers *so* and *well* in their translation and that zero-correspondence is possible for both markers. However, as it is obvious from the research, zero-correspondence is predominantly used for the discourse marker *well*. It shows that the occurrence of 278 zero-correspondences from the total uses of the marker *well* represents 56%. On the other hand, the use of zero-correspondence as the equivalent for the marker *so* is not as frequent as in case of *well*, and with 77 occurrences from the total it is only 16%, which is in comparison to the other marker very low. The pie charts, Graph 1 and Graph 2, which show the percentage of all translation equivalents of the selected DMs, are provided in the appendix. Zero-correspondences are highlighted in the graphs in order to show the striking difference between the markers *so* and *well*. These percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. The exact figures are shown in Table 2 and Table 3.

To conclude this chapter, some interesting differences between the markers *so* and *well* emerged from the research. For example, it is rather impressive that there are thirteen different translation equivalents utilized for the marker *so* and more than three times more, particularly 41 translation equivalents for the marker *well*. Moreover, the figures in Table 2 and Table 3 show that there are noticeable differences in the way the translators choose the equivalents for the two DMs in terms of means of translation. The discourse marker *so* is mostly translated by lexical means, particularly by expressions *tedy/teda* (31%) and *takže* (30%), while the discourse marker *well* is in majority of cases translated by means of zero-correspondence (56%).

The markers *so* and *well* share a number of translations. The most frequent overlaps in their translation equivalents were the words *tedy* and *takže*. Interestingly, the second mostly utilized translation equivalent for the marker *well* is the expression *tedy* (7%), which is at the same time the most frequent equivalent for the marker *so* (*tedy*, 31%). It is noticeable that the frequency of the occurrence of these shared translation equivalents significantly differs for *so* and *well* and it is caused by the preference of using zero-correspondence in case of *well* which lowers the use of particular lexical translations to small varying amounts (in percentage usually lower than 10%). This holds also for

the second most frequent (so as to say, equally frequent) equivalent for *so* which was *takže* (30%) that was also represented in the list of equivalents of *well* (*takže* 1%). Another shared translations were words, such as *proto*, *tak*, or *a*.

## 4.2 Co-occurrences of *so* and of *well* in the corpus

The fact that certain clusters formed from DMs and collocations with other items can be found in the corpus will be imparted in this chapter. The combinations of the two English markers *so* and *well* analysed within the Europarl corpus will be discussed. In particular, there were 16 clusters with the marker *so* and 22 clusters with the marker *well* within the analysed 1000 examples drawn from the corpus. The translations of the two markers into Czech will be also accounted on.

In the following table, Table 4, there is a list of co-occurrences with the marker *so* along with the function of the second discourse marker in the cluster.

Discourse marker	Function of the second element in the cluster		Examples	Frequency
<i>So+</i>	Message relationship markers	Inferential markers	<i>So then, ...</i> <i>So, of course ...</i>	4 1
		Discourse activity markers	Markers of summarizing	<i>So to sum up, ...</i>
<i>So, in short, ...</i>	1			
<i>So, in general, ...</i>	1			
<i>So at this point</i>	1			
Markers of sequencing	<i>So, firstly, ...</i>		1	
	<i>So, finally, ...</i>	1		
	<i>So, in conclusion, ...</i> <i>So, to conclude, ...</i>	1 1		
Markers of repeating	<i>So once again, ...</i>	1		
Markers of conceding	<i>So, all in all, ...</i>	1		
<i>So+</i>	Discourse topic markers		<i>So, again, ...</i>	1
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>16</b>

**Table 4:** Co-occurrences with *so* and their functions according to Fraser (1993)

The figures in Table 4 above show that the marker *so* was found in clusters most frequently with discourse activity markers (10 times), then with message relationship markers (5 times), and there was one case when the marker occurred with a discourse topic marker. Among the elements which occurred in the combination with the discourse marker *so* was in 4 instances the word *then*, which is considered as inferential discourse marker (Fraser, 1993). The rest of the elements combined with *so* were only individual instances in this corpus. Interestingly, the marker *so* occurred very frequently in the company of DMs which were classified by Fraser (1993) as sequencing or summarizing discourse activity markers, there were 4 elements of the former kind and the same number of the latter. This research did not reveal any *so*-clusters mentioned by González (2008).

The discourse marker clusters which were detected within the analysed corpus had various translations, and this is depicted in the following table.

Co-occurrence of DMs	Translation	Frequency of translation
<i>So then, ...</i>	<i>tedy</i> ∅	2
	<i>Pak tedy</i>	1
	<i>Takže</i> ∅	1
<i>So to sum up, ...</i>	<i>Abych to tedy shrnul...</i>	1
<i>So, firstly, ...</i>	<i>Takže zaprvé</i>	1
<i>So, finally, ...</i>	<i>Proto na závěr</i>	1
<i>So, in short, ...</i>	∅	1
<i>So, in conclusion, ...</i>	<i>Závěrem tedy</i>	1
<i>So, to conclude, ...</i>	<i>Na závěr tedy</i>	1
<i>So, all in all, ...</i>	∅ <i>Celkově</i>	1
<i>So, in general, ...</i>	<i>Tudíž celkově řečeno</i>	1
<i>So, of course ...</i>	<i>Samozřejmě tedy</i>	1
<i>So at this point</i>	∅ <i>v tomto bodě</i>	1
<i>So, again, ...</i>	<i>Takže znovu</i>	1
<i>So once again, ...</i>	<i>Takže ještě jednou</i>	1
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>16</b>

**Table 5:** Translations of *so*-clusters

Table 5 shows how the authors of translations interpreted the clusters with the discourse marker *so* in this research. The results indicate that there were four various instances of the translation of the combination with *then* analysed in the corpus. The word *then* is typically translated into Czech as *pak* or *potom* (Poldauf, 1991; s.v. “then”). In the following sentence (65), an example of such translation will be shown. Note that for the numbered examples of *so* cited throughout the paper, the English sentence is signalled as A, and the Czech equivalent as B; the translations of the marker *so* are underscored and the translations of the second marker are in bold.

65. A: So **then** the question arises:

B: **Pak** se tedy nabízí otázka: [Cz-En. Europarl]

In the sentence (65B), *then* was translated as *pak* and *tedy* was used for the marker *so*. The issues of the means of translation will be addressed later in Chapter 4.4. Also, the sentence (65B) indicates a different positional distribution of DMs in Czech. The Czech equivalents of English DMs happen to be on different positions, as in (65B). This matter will be discussed later in Chapter 4.3.

The research shows that in 9 instances, there are translation equivalents for each of the markers. The following sentences (66-68) will demonstrate the point (the underscored marker *so* in A sentence has its matching translation underscored in B sentence and the same applies for the markers in bold which match their translations in bold).

66. A: So **to sum up**...

B: **Abych to** tedy shrnul... [Cz-En. Europarl]

67. A: So, **firstly**, what we know about...

B: Takže **zaprvé**, co víme o... [Cz-En. Europarl]

68. A: So, **finally**, I would like to thank those who...

B: Proto bych **na závěr** chtěla poděkovat těm, kteří... [Cz-En. Europarl]

The marker *so* is translated as *tedy* (in 66), *takže* (in 67) and *proto* (in 68). The other DMs are *to sum up* translated as *abych to shrnul* (in 66), *firstly* translated as *zaprvé* (in 67) and *finally* translated as *na závěr* (in 68).

On the other hand, there were 6 cases of zero-correspondence. The results showed that the omission was used 3 times for the marker *so* in cluster with some other element, particularly in combination with the markers *all in all*, *at this point*, and *in short*. Another

omission was used in case of the element *then*, it was not translated in clusters with *so* 3 times. The translation equivalents of the clusters also show that zero-correspondence can be applied to both markers; this is shown in the following example.

69. A: *So, in short, let us not keep...*

B: *...nepokračujme dál v...* [Cz-En. Europarl]

In the sentence (69B), none of the DMs was translated. The interpreter decided to omit the structure *so, in short*, which could have been translated, for example, as *takže ve zkratce* or *zkrátka tedy*.

Now, the discourse marker *well* and its collocating items within the Europarl corpus will be debated. The following table will show a list of co-occurrences with the marker *well* along with the function of the second discourse marker in the cluster.

Discourse marker	(Function of the second element in the cluster)		Examples	Frequency
<i>Well+</i>	Message relationship markers	Inferential discourse markers	<i>Well then,...</i> <i>Well, of course,...</i>	14 3
		Elaborative discourse markers	<i>Well, in fact,...</i> <i>Well, actually,...</i>	1 1
<i>Well+</i>	Discourse activity markers	Markers of sequencing	<i>Well, first of all,...</i>	1
<i>Well+</i>	Discourse Topic Markers		<i>Well now,...</i>	2
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>22</b>

**Table 6:** Co-occurrences with *well* and their functions according to Fraser (1993)

The figures in Table 6 show a moderate amount of various instances of the combination of *well* which was analysed in this research. The marker *well* clusters 19 times with message relationship markers, then it was twice accompanied by discourse topic markers and there was one case when the marker occurred with a discourse activity marker. The discourse topic markers were represented by the marker *now*, which was mentioned by González (2008) as a parallel use of *well*. The research did not reveal any other combinations that González (2008) or Aijmer (2002) suggest.



Within the clusters with the group of message relationship markers there were distinguished inferential discourse markers which occurred 17 times and out of which there was 14 times the word *then* in the cluster. The other elements which accompanied the marker *well* were not found so frequently, for example, *of course* (3 times), *now* (2 times), etc.

The co-occurrences of DMs which were found in the corpus were translated differently, and this is depicted in the following table.

Co-occurrence of DMs	Translation	Frequency
<i>Well then,...</i>	∅	4
	<i>tedy</i> ∅	2
	<i>pak tedy</i>	1
	∅ <i>pak</i>	1
	<i>dobrá tedy</i> ∅	1
	<i>dobře tedy</i> ∅	1
	<i>tak tedy</i> ∅	1
	<i>yní tedy</i> ∅	1
	<i>takže</i> ∅	1
	<i>ale</i> ∅	1
<i>Well, of course,...</i>	∅ <i>samožřejmě</i>	3
<i>Well, in fact,...</i>	∅ <i>vlastně</i>	1
<i>Well, actually,...</i>	∅ <i>vlastně</i>	1
<i>Well, first of all,...</i>	∅ <i>především</i>	1
<i>Well now,...</i>	<i>a</i> ∅	1
	∅	1
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>22</b>

**Table 7:** Translations with *well*-clusters

Table 7 shows the translation equivalents of the clusters with the discourse marker *well* in this research. The results indicate the diversity in 14 translations of the combination with *then* which were analysed in the corpus. As it was already said before, the expression *then* is usually translated as *pak* or *potom* (Poldauf, 1991; s.v. “then”). Such translation occurred twice and will be demonstrated on the following sentences. Again, the capital letter A

indicates the English sentence and the capital letter B indicates its Czech equivalent; the translations of the marker *well* are underscored and the translations of the second marker are in bold.

70. A: Well **then** , two consequences inevitably flow from this.

B: Z toho **pak** nevyhnutelně plynou dva důsledky. [Cz-En. Europarl]

71. A: Well **then**, we need to establish standards and...

B: **Pak** tedy musíme stanovit normy a... [Cz-En. Europarl]

In (70), the author used the omission for the marker *well* and translated *then* into Czech as *pak*. In the latter sentence (71), both markers were translated, *well* as *tedy*, and *then* as *pak* as well as in the previous case (70). In two instances, the authors omitted both markers in the translation. In the rest of the clusters of *well* and *then* (8 cases), the marker *then* was omitted and *well* was translated by variety of combinations of expressions, e.g. *dobře tedy*, *dobrá tedy*, *nyní tedy*, *tak tedy*, or single expressions, such as *tedy*, *takže*, *ale*. The research shows that *tedy* was used when translating the cluster *well then* in half of the cases (7 times).

As far as the other-than-*then* clustering elements are concerned, the table shows that there were 6 translations and 2 omissions of these elements, and the marker *well* in these clusters was omitted 7 times and translated only once. Particularly, the two omissions concerned the marker *now* which could be translated as *nyní* which is the Czech literal translation word for this expression (Poldauf, 1991; s.v. “now”). The only case when the marker *well* was translated in other-than-*then* combination was with *now* and the translation was *a*. Interestingly, there were two English discourse marker clusters which had been translated into Czech in the same way, in particular, it was *well, in fact* and *well, actually* which share the translation *vlastně*. Then there were interesting outcomes in terms of the translation of the marker *well* in clusters. It was omitted in 10 cases and translated in 12 cases. The instances when the authors translated *well* were all except for one the clusters with the marker *then*.

Finally, to sum up the whole chapter briefly, the analysis provided 16 clusters containing the marker *so* and there were 22 co-occurrences with the marker *well*. The research showed that both markers were accompanied by message relationship markers, discourse activity markers and discourse topic markers which are the three general types of DMs classified by Fraser (1993). The marker *so* was most frequently accompanied by discourse activity

markers (10 times) while the marker *well* co-occurred most frequently with message relationship markers (19 times). It was shown that both *so* and *well* can be combined with the word *then*, in case of *well* it was 14 combinations. The translation equivalents of the clusters contain not only translations of both markers but also zero-correspondences of both markers. The markers *so* and *well* in clusters were translated by lexical means together 23 times (61%) and omitted 15 times (39%). All the second combining elements together had in 20 cases (53%) formal counterparts and there were 18 cases (47%) of their omissions. In the clusters with *then*, the markers *so* and *well* were translated in 75% the former, and in 50% the latter. There was found one cluster with *so* where both markers were omitted, while there were 5 zero-translations of both markers in *well*-clusters.

### 4.3 Distribution of Czech translation equivalents

In the case of English DMs, only the sentence-initial ones were analysed in the present paper. Although the English markers occurred in the initial position of the sentence, their Czech counterparts were not limited to it. This chapter will focus on the placement of the three most frequently used translation equivalents for the markers *so* and *well* within the sentences.

The marker *so* was mostly translated as *tedy/teda* (31%), *takže* (30%) and *proto* (16%). The equivalent *tedy/teda* occurred at the beginning of the sentence only rarely (2 instances, i.e. 1%) and it mostly held some other position in the sentence (153 instances, i.e. 99%). The examples of *tedy* at the beginning of the sentence analysed within the corpus are the following ones:

72. A: *So the bottom line is that...*

B: *Tedy závěr toho je...* [Cz-En. Europarl]

73. A: *So I think from this point of view...*

B: *Tedy i z tohoto pohledu si myslím...* [Cz-En. Europarl]

The distribution of the Czech marker *tedy/teda* was not limited to the sentence initial position, which can be seen in the following examples:

74. A: *So we have to find a way of...*

B: *Musíme tedy nalézt způsob...* [Cz-En. Europarl]

75. A: *So that is the main issue ...*

B: *To je tedy hlavní věc ...* [Cz-En. Europarl]

76. A: *So the Commission is pursuing various activities...*

B: *Komise tedy v této oblasti provádí řadu činností...* [Cz-En. Europarl]

77. A: *So, politically the decision has been taken.*

B: *Politické rozhodnutí tedy bylo přijato.* [Cz-En. Europarl]

78. A: *So what can be done?*

B: *Co tedy můžeme dělat?* [Cz-En. Europarl]

79. A: *So why can we not give the companies...*

B: *Proč tedy nemůžeme společností...* [Cz-En. Europarl]

80. A: *So of course we have to keep the balance...*

B: *Samozřejmě tedy musíme zachovat rovnováhu...* [Cz-En. Europarl]

The examples (74-80) do not place the Czech *tedy* on the first position in the sentence, in terms of syntax the word is placed after predicate as in the sentences (74-75), or on a preverbal position after subject as in (76-77), after pronoun as in (78-79), or after adverbial as in (80). The following table shows the number of occurrences.

Positions of <i>tedy</i>	What precedes <i>tedy</i>	Number of occurrences
non-initial	post verbal	120 (79%)
	preverbal	31 (20%)
initial		2 (1%)
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>153 (100%)</b>

**Table 8:** Positions of *tedy* as the equivalent for *so*

Table 8 stresses that the share of the occurrence of *tedy* in the post verbal position is significant. On the other hand, it rarely follows adverbials.

To conclude, the Czech *tedy* can be found in the initial position but far more frequently it is placed on other places in the sentence.

As far as the translation of *takže* is concerned, it was found out that in the analysed corpus, it was always sentence-initial, i.e. 150 *takže* as translation equivalents for *so* were all placed initially in the Czech text.

Concerning the third most frequent equivalent for *so*, namely *proto*, the research showed that there were 51 non-initial (71%) and 21 initial (29%) occurrences. The following sentences illustrate the two positions of *tedy*.

81. A: *So the ball is back in our court and above all perhaps in the Council's.*

B: *Na tahu jsme proto opět my a možná i Rada. [Cz-En. Europarl]*

82. A: *So, if Iraq is a sovereign country, they should respect and implement the European Parliament resolution...*

B: *Proto, je-li Irák suverénní zemí, měl by respektovat a provést usnesení Evropského parlamentu... [Cz-En. Europarl]*

Now, the position of translation equivalents of the discourse marker *well* will be debated. The most frequent translation equivalent for *well* was zero-correspondence with

278 occurrences (56%), thus the next most frequent equivalents will be debated, particularly, *tedy* (34 occurrences), *dobrá* (28 occurrences) and *nuže* (26 occurrences).

First, the focus will be on the Czech marker *tedy*. The results of the research are shown in the following table.

Positions of <i>tedy</i>	What precedes <i>tedy</i>	Number of occurrences
non-initial	post verbal	20 (59%)
	preverbal	10 (29%)
initial		4 (12%)
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>153 (100%)</b>

**Table 9:** Positions of *tedy* as the equivalent for *well*

The research revealed that *tedy* as the Czech equivalent of *well* was distributed in both initial (12%) and non-initial (88%) positions in the sentence. The initial positions which were found in the research are illustrated in the following examples:

83. A: *Well, there are three main areas of action.*

B: *Tedy, jsou tu tři hlavní oblasti, kde lze jednat.* [Cz-En. Europarl]

84. A: *Well, we cannot do that much.*

B: *Tedy, mnoho toho nezmůžeme.* [Cz-En. Europarl]

85. A: *Well, for Ireland the challenges are particularly great.*

B: *Tedy pro Irsko jsou tyto výzvy obzvlášť velké.* [Cz-En. Europarl]

86. A: *Well, perhaps, but let us first acknowledge that...*

B: *Tedy možná, ale dovolte nám nejdříve uznat...* [Cz-En. Europarl]

In terms of syntax, the other-than-initial positions of *tedy* were distributed to the places after predicate or they were in the pre verbal position, which was for example after subject, adverbial or pronoun in the sentence. Frequently, *tedy* followed predicate (in 20 cases; 59%) which is illustrated in the following instances. The first two examples are the only ones from the research where the verb is on the first position and *tedy* is the second element in the sentence:

87. A: *Well, we have to provide some balance.*

B: *Musíme tedy nastolit určitou rovnováhu.* [Cz-En. Europarl]

88. A: *Well, are we now a European Union...*

B: *Jsme **tedy** Evropská unie...* [Cz-En. Europarl]

89. A: ***Well**, that is the limit!*

B: *To je **tedy** vrchol!* [Cz-En. Europarl]

In the cases (87-89), *tedy* is positioned after the copula or modal verb. The following examples will illustrate the preverbal positioning of *tedy* after subject, adverbial and pronoun, respectively.

90. A: ***Well**, standardisation is a topic...*

B: *Normalizace je **tedy** tématem...* [Cz-En. Europarl]

91. A: ***Well**, on Wednesday, we will have...*

B: *Ve středu **tedy** budeme mít...* [Cz-En. Europarl]

92. A: ***Well**, then, what do I believe to be the essential components of this new directive?*

B: *Co **tedy** musíme ve směrnici především zachovat?* [Cz-En. Europarl]

Last, the outcomes of the research show that *dobrá* and *nuže* are entirely sentence-initial as there were no other placements within the corpus. All 28 occurrences of *dobrá* and 26 occurrences of *nuže* were placed at the beginning of the sentence as in the following examples.

93. A: ***Well**, individuals can have such thoughts.*

B: ***Dobrá**, lidé tak mohou uvažovat.* [Cz-En. Europarl]

94. A: ***Well**, ladies and gentlemen, that is not the case.*

B: ***Nuže**, dámy a pánové, není to pravda.* [Cz-En. Europarl]

To sum up, the Czech equivalent of the marker *well* is sometimes placed sentence-initially, but its more frequent position is on non-initial place in the sentence. Interestingly, this holds for both *tedy*, the translation equivalent of *so* and of *well*.

## 4.4 Discussion

The research on the equivalents of *so* indicates that the preferred expressions for the translations of political speeches in the Europarl corpus of 500 instances were *tedy/teda* and *takže*. The other Czech equivalents of the discourse marker *so* amounted only a half of the frequencies of *tedy/teda* and *takže* and less. While the two prototypical expressions can be considered as proper equivalents of the discourse marker *so* in this research, the expressions such as *a*, *a tedy*, *z tohoto důvodu*, *takto*, *ted'*, *znamená to*, *že* are rather marginally used translations. This analysis suggests that the latter translation equivalents are individual, both by being peripheral and by being a special individual choice of the translator. Given the second aspect of the individuality of choice, the latter translations might be also regarded as doubtful translations.

The preferred translation equivalents of *so* which were found in this research confirmed the expectation that the translations *tedy/teda* and *takže* for the discourse marker *so* will occur. They were expected because of the similarity of functions of the Czech words to the English DMs, particularly, the function of the Czech expression *takže* to express assumptions of the speaker and the obvious consequences of the implied assumptions and to occur at the beginning of speeches (Kolářová, 2002), and the functions of the word *tedy* that marks a signal of the author's assumption that the addressee has the experience which allows him to understand, and refers to something which was not explicitly said in the previous text or only implied by certain words (Kolářová, 1998).

Moreover, there is the correspondence of the function of *so* as a conjunction that presents a consequence, and connects two segments in the relation of cause or reason of the main action (Van Dijk, 1979: 453), with the function of *takže* as a conjunction that introduces a sentence which expresses a consequence arising from the content of the previous sentence (*The Institute of the Czech Language of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic*, s.v. "takže"). This fact might have influenced the translators when choosing a possible equivalent for the discourse marker *so*.

As far as the discourse marker *well* is concerned, the research showed different results. The analysis indicates that the authors do not usually translate the discourse marker *well* as the majority of translation equivalents from the corpus were zero-correspondences. The reason for using no formal corresponding expression of the marker *well* in the translations can be explained by the tendency of translators to avoid unnecessary



verbalism. Also, it could be suggested that the Czech formal counterparts of the English expression *well* are considered unsatisfactory and the translators prefer the omission to the compensation in form of close translations.

Despite the fact that the most preferred means of translation was omission, there are numerous examples of how the discourse marker *well* can be translated. Interestingly, the data indicate that there were 34 occurrences (7%) of the equivalent *tedy*. This expression was expected to occur in the results of the analysis because of its before-mentioned function of clarifying or specifying when there are problems with propositional content (Kolářová, 1998) which is similar to Jucker's (1999) function of insufficiency applied to discourse marker *well*. Then, there were 28 cases (6%) when the discourse marker *well* was translated into Czech as *dobrá*. These cases suggest that it is possible for the translators to be faithful to the lexical meaning of the word *well*, i.e. *dobrá* (Poldauf, 1991; s.v. "well"). This also applies for the translation equivalent *dobře* (ibid) which was found six times (1%) in the corpus, as well as for marginally used equivalents *dobrá tedy* and *dobře tedy* (both less than 1%). None the less, all these correspondences were very infrequent in comparison to zero-correspondence in this analysis, and as a result it suggests that is not always possible to use them as equivalents. Apparently, the high percentage of 56% cases of omission and the diversity of translating equivalents in the Czech text suggest that there are difficulties in terms of translation of the marker *well*.

The results of the analysis also showed that there were nearly four times more translation equivalents utilized for the marker *well*. It can be suggested that the function of *so* as a conjunction influences the translation to the extent that the translators usually use the same translation equivalent for the marker. On the other hand, the expression *well* does not have such function, and thus the translators are more creative in its translation (supposing, they try to find an equivalent and do not omit the expression at all).

The research also suggests that there are similar corresponding words which translators use to interpret *so* and *well*, these were, for example, *tedy* and *takže*. The fact that the two markers share translations stresses their similarity in function and meaning in certain contexts.

Then, the research focused on the phenomenon of zero-correspondence. The question was whether there is the preference of preserving the pragmatic function of DMs or

the tendency to use no formal cross-linguistic correspondence. The fact that DMs can be omitted in text translations reflects their property of carrying no or little propositional meaning (Brinton, 1996: 33; Aijmer, 2002: 2), being syntactically optional (Brinton, 1996: 34) and also being non-truth conditional (Hansen, 1997: 161). As far as zero-correspondence in this research is concerned, the marker *well* with its 56% zero-correspondences outnumbered the marker *so*. The reason for the lower number of zero-correspondence of the marker *so* is the function of the expression *so* as a conjunction, and as was mentioned earlier, the definitions of the two meanings of *so* are similar. Although the use of zero-correspondence is not equal for the selected DMs, the research implies that to omit a discourse marker in the Czech text is a possible treatment in the process of translation of *well* and *so*. The omission holds especially for the marker *well*, which was usually translated by this means. It also implies that the pragmatic function of *well* does not play dominant role as it disappears in the translation.

The co-occurrences with the two DMs were the next point of the analysis. The research showed a variety of combining elements for each marker. It showed that various markers from all general types of DMs classified by Fraser (discourse topic markers, discourse activity markers, message relationship markers) can be found in parallel use with the two markers. Except for one shared expression (*then*), the markers combine with different words. Both the marker *so* and *well* combined with the expression *then*, the former in 25% of all its co-occurrences and the latter in 64%. With respect to the co-occurrence of *so* with *then*, it is remarkable, that the marker *so* belongs to the same group of DMs as the expression *then*, i.e. the group of inferential discourse markers (Fraser, 1993). This correlation between *so* and *then* supports the view of Aijmer (2002) and González (2008) that the markers with a similar function occur together in clusters. Similarly, the co-occurrence of *so* with *of course* which is also the member of the group of inferential discourse markers (Fraser, 1993) supports their argument. The following examples will illustrate the point.

95. *In the recent Bosphorus judgment that we all know very well, the European Court of Human Rights said that there was no need to re-examine the case because the EU, as such, offers an adequate level of protection of human rights. So then the question arises: why do we need accession to the Convention?*

96. *So of course we have to keep the balance and I think that the balance has not been much disturbed by a 10 % increase in the use of external credits in the non-ETS sector, because this is what we are talking about.*

In the illustration (95), both markers *so* and *then* signal a consequential relationship between the messages (Fraser, 1993: 13), and the message they introduce signals that the question about the need of accession to the Convention is the consequence the existence of *an adequate level of protection of human rights*. The example (96) also shows the inferential function of DMs, where the markers *so of course* introduce the speaker's comment to the previously discussed issues.

With respect to the other detected consecutive markers, *so* occurred in the presence of sequencing and summarizing markers (Fraser, 1993), and because one of the functions of *so* is also to introduce "the speaker's summing-up or conclusion" (Redeker, 1990: 372), this co-occurrence again confirms the opinion of Aijmer (2002) and González (2008). The functional compatibility of the markers can be seen in the following example.

97. A: *So, in conclusion, the European Union - the people, regions and countries of the Union - is standing shoulder to shoulder with Chile in the face of this disaster, and that is how it should be in a civilised and human world.*

B: *Na závěr chci tedy říci, že Evropská unie - občané, regiony a země Unie - stojí po boku Chile vůči této katastrofě a tak by tomu mělo být v civilizovaném a lidském světě.*

Both DMs in the sentence (97A), *so* and *in conclusion*, have similar functions, and in (97B), it is confirmed by the translation where *tedy* and *na závěr* express the relations of consequence and conclusion with the meaning: "on the basis of what you have said can be stated..." (Kolářová, 1998).

The view of Aijmer (2002) and González (2008) was also supported by the analysis on *well*. This discourse marker was combined with the marker *now* which is considered as a discourse topic marker which indicates a different discourse topic or emphasizes the current topic (Fraser, 1993: 10). Thus, the marker *well* used as a frame, i.e. as a device that signals a topic change (Jucker, 1993: 438), functions similarly as *now* and as such supports the view about discourse marker clusters. This will be demonstrated in the following example.

98. *So, Mr Stevenson – I have no doubt whatever that you have ovine animals in your constituency, as I do myself – the five Member States with the biggest ovine and caprine flocks are, besides your country and mine, France, Italy and Greece. Well now, these four Member States have undertaken the task, which seems so abhorrent to you, of convincing their farmers to tag ovine and caprine animals, because we were told that the regulation said that electronic identification was going to be obligatory from 1 January 2008.* [Cz-En. Europarl]

The function of the word combination *well now* in (98) is to signal a change of the topic as the speaker was talking about four states in the previous sentence and now focuses upon the main issue.

As far as the translations of the combining pairs are concerned, the research showed that the marker *so* was in the majority of cases translated by lexical means as *tedy*, *takže* and *proto*. This is illustrated in the following examples.

99. A: *So, firstly, what do we know about the reasons for the collapse?*

B: *Takže zaprvé, co víme o příčinách zřícení?* [Cz-En. Europarl]

100. A: *So, in conclusion, we are looking forward to...*

B: *Závěrem tedy konstatuji, že se v příštích měsících těšíme na...* [Cz-En. Europarl]

101. A: *So, finally, I would like to thank those who...*

B: *Proto bych na závěr chtěla poděkovat těm, kteří ...* [Cz-En. Europarl]

An interesting outcome was in terms of translations of the marker *well* in clusters. The translators used lexical counterparts (55%) as well as zero-correspondences (45%). The formal equivalents were usually used when *well* combined with the marker *then*. *Well* was then translated for example as *dobře tedy*, *dobrá tedy*, *nyní tedy*, *tak tedy*, *tedy*, *takže*, *ale*. The frequent use of *tedy* in these translations supports the possibility of its occurrence in the Czech text as the equivalent for the marker *well* alone (not in a cluster). The discourse marker *well* in other-than-*then* clusters was translated via zero-correspondence and only the other pair marker was translated, this reflects the omission of a corresponding word in the resultant text when translating *well* alone. The translations of the *well*-pairs are illustrated in the following sentences; the first two sentences depict the translated *well* and the last sentence shows the non-translated *well* in the DM cluster.

102. A: *Well then, I still proceed from the assumption that ...*

B: *Dobře tedy, stále vycházím z předpokladu, že ...* [Cz-En. Europarl]

103. A: *Well, then, regional policy now and in the future constitutes...*  
 B: *Tak tedy, regionální politika dnes a v budoucnosti představuje...* [Cz-En. Europarl]
104. A: *Well, actually I think his dream has gone further...*  
 B: *Vlastně mám dojem, že jeho sen pokračuje...* [Cz-En. Europarl]

The numbers contrast the results of the analysis of the marker *well* alone where the omissions in translations (56%) outnumbered the translation equivalents (44%). Thus, while the zero-correspondence of the marker *well* alone is harmless and avoids unnecessary redundancies and verbalism, in case of the marker *well* in clusters with *then* is such solution less conspicuous. The marker *then* obviously rather invites the translators to use a formal counterpart for the marker *well* in the cluster.

With respect to the translations of the other elements in the clusters, the word *then* in combination with *so* and *well* was rarely translated. On the other hand, the other detected combining elements were in majority cases translated. Based on the present analysis results, the other markers are very important in the structure and thus occur in the translated text. This is illustrated in the following examples.

105. A: *So, to conclude, the European Union...*  
 B: *Na závěr chci tedy říci, že Evropská unie...* [Cz-En. Europarl]
106. A: *So of course we have to keep the balance and...*  
 B: *Samozřejmě tedy musíme zachovat rovnováhu a...* [Cz-En. Europarl]
107. A: *Well, first of all, I should say that...*  
 B: *Především bych chtěl říci, že...* [Cz-En. Europarl]
108. A: *Well, of course, the plan was flawed and their fanciful monetary scheme collapsed.*  
 B: *Samozřejmě že plán byl špatný a jejich vymyšlený měnový systém zkolaboval.* [Cz-En. Europarl]

To sum up, the analysis produced satisfactory outcomes as far as the research question about similar co-occurrences of the two DMs *so* and *well* is concerned and supported Aijmer's (2002) and González's (2008) view of clustering. The translations of *so*-clusters supported the translation equivalents which were found in the research on the marker *so* alone. On the other hand, the analysis on *well*-clusters showed interesting differences in the translation of *well* alone and in pair with another marker.

Last, the distribution of Czech translation equivalents was analysed. The results show that the Czech translation equivalent of the marker *so*, *takže* is only sentence-initial. This result is in agreement with the view of Kolářová (2002) who holds that *takže* occurs at the beginning of speeches. Similarly, *proto* as the equivalent for *so* is usually placed initially, although there were cases when it followed predicate in the sentence. On the other hand, the Czech word *tedy* is found in the initial position only rarely, and far more frequently it is placed on some other place in the sentence, mostly it was placed post verbally, in other cases it was a preverbal position and followed subject or pronoun and scarcely also adverbial.

The research on the distribution of the translation equivalents of the marker *well* showed that *dobrá* and *nuže* are entirely sentence-initial while the equivalent *tedy* was more frequent in non-initial positions, it usually followed predicate or also in post verbal positions. Apparently, the sentence-initiality is not the crucial property of DMs in Czech language and the distribution of DMs varies depending on the expression which is used.

## 5 Conclusion

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This chapter summarises the findings and points out the importance of the corpus analysis as a tool for analysing the translation equivalents of DMs for the primary focus of the present paper was to find the translation equivalents of the markers *so* and *well* and to see the meaning and function of the two markers through translations.

The Czech Europarl corpus provided an extensive data collection from the texts which included the discussions held at plenary sessions, and also the document speeches of the members of European Parliament. The collected data were useful for the analysis of the DMs *so* and *well* that were questioned in terms of their translation equivalents used in political speeches.

The first research question concerned the translation equivalents of the markers and their most frequently occurring Czech translation equivalents. The analysis showed that there is a variety of translation equivalents; all of them were listed in Table 2 and Table 3. The most frequent translation of English *so* was Czech *tedy/teda* and for *well* it was zero-equivalent. Then, some interesting differences between the markers emerged from the research, particularly that there were nearly four times more translation equivalents for the marker *well* than for the marker *so*. Moreover, the discourse marker *so* was mostly translated by lexical means, while the discourse marker *well* was in 56% translated by means of zero-correspondence. Altogether, there were found over 50 possible equivalents for the markers. There are also some overlaps in the translation of *so* and *well*, particularly notable one was the Czech equivalent *tedy* which happens to be the most frequent equivalent for the marker *so* and the second most frequent one for the marker *well*.

Then, the questioned possibility that there will be omissions, i.e. no lexical translation equivalent in the translated text proved right. The second research question asked whether DMs disappear in the translations and also whether the two DMs have the same number of zero-correspondence. It showed that DMs may disappear in the translation process. Although zero-correspondence is possible for both DMs, the fact is that the analysis showed that the discourse marker *well* was in lead as it was in more than half cases translated via zero-correspondence, while *so* only in 16% instances. Thus the answer is

clearly that in this research the number of zero-correspondence was not the same for the markers *so* and *well*.

Then, the aspect of clustering together and collocating with other elements as proposed by Aijmer (2002) and González (2008) was at question. The combinations with other items were investigated and the research showed that both markers can be seen in the presence of the expression *then* which usually follows the marker. The two markers also occurred in clusters with the DMs with the function of marking the relationship of messages, sequencing and summarizing DMs and with discourse topic markers (the classification according to Fraser, 1993). The view of Aijmer (2002) and González (2008) about functionally similar discourse marker clusters was confirmed in the analysis on both markers. The two authors also proposed several combinations with the two markers and the question was whether their combinations will appear in the analysed data. The analysis confirmed one of their suggestions, particularly, the marker *now* mentioned by González (2008) was found as the parallel use of *well*.

In terms of cluster translation, the outcome of the analysis was that there were many instances when both markers in the cluster were translated, especially in case of clusters with the marker *so*. On the other hand, sometimes not even one of the consecutive words was interpreted by translators; there were more cases in case of *well*-clusters. The results revealed that the equivalents for *so*-clusters were similar to the translations of *so* alone while the translations of *well*-clusters differed; in particular, the combination *well then* influenced the translation of the marker *well*, which was translated alone via zero-correspondence and in clusters by lexical translation equivalents. The other-than-*then* combinations with the two DMs (e.g. *firstly*, *in fact*, *in short*, *actually*) were usually translated.

The last research question concerned the sentence-initial position which English DMs were restricted to and its applicability to their Czech counterparts. The analysis concentrated on *tedy*, *takže*, and *proto* as equivalents for *so*, and *dobrá*, *tedy*, and *nuže* for *well*. The Czech translation equivalent of the marker *so*, *takže* was analysed and proved to be sentence-initial as well as its English counterpart. This holds for the equivalent *proto* as well. On the contrary, the research showed that the Czech equivalent *tedy* rarely occurred in the initial position, and it was far more frequently found on some other place in the utterance. The distribution of the translation equivalents of the marker *well* was analysed and the outcome was that *dobrá* and *nuže* were entirely found



in the sentence-initial position and that the equivalent *tedy* was far more frequent in non-initial positions. Consequently, the result of the analysis suggests that the sentence-initial position is not crucial for the Czech markers.

To conclude, to find an appropriate equivalent and a straightforward translation of the phenomena of DMs is a delicate task for an interpreter. This thesis attempted to study the treatment of DMs in the process of translation and find the most frequent corresponding equivalents for the DMs *so* and *well* while using the Europarl corpus. The investigation revealed that the authors of the translations of the political texts in the corpus used various counterparts for the selected DMs but they predominantly utilized the strategy of omitting the markers in their translations, especially with respect to the marker *well*.

The analysis also attempted to see the meaning and function of the two markers through the other elements which cluster with them. The research produced interesting outcomes where a variety of diverse combinations of DMs included many functionally similar expressions to the two chosen markers. Moreover, the results showed the similarity of the two analysed markers as they shared collocates, particularly, both of them were found in the company of the marker *then*.

The Czech language is typologically diverse from English, especially as far as the word order in the sentence is concerned, and this presented a challenge in trying to demonstrate the use of cross-linguistic corpus in order to study English and Czech correspondences of DMs and their distribution. Based on parallel translations in the Europarl corpus, the analysis revealed that DMs in Czech translations occurred not only on initial but also on non-initial positions.

# Resumé

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Diplomová práce „Diskurzivní ukazatele v politických projevech“ se zabývá korpusovou analýzou heterogenní skupiny lingvistických částic, mezivětných či meziprozodických pojmů ve struktuře politického diskurzu. Práce konkrétně zkoumá diskurzivní ukazatele v zápisech jednání Evropského Parlamentu.

První část se věnuje zejména teoretickému vymezení základních pojmů. Jelikož se problematika diskurzivních ukazatelů stala podstatně zkoumanou záležitostí, v současné době existuje velké množství názorů na tento jev a stejně tak mnoho úhlů pohledu, ze kterých jsou ukazatele zkoumány.

V úvodní kapitole je zmíněna početná skupina různých termínů a pojmenování diskurzivních ukazatelů, v nichž se autoři výrazně rozcházejí. "Pragmatické částice", "modální částice", "diskurzivní operátory", nebo "pragmatické ukazatele" jsou jen zlomkem z velkého množství názvů, které se k tomuto fenoménu váží. V této práci se používá výraz "diskurzivní ukazatele", který byl uveden Deborah Schiffrinovou a patří mezi nejčastěji používaný termín, alespoň v rámci anglických ukazatelů.

Další kapitola pojednává o diskurzivních ukazatelích. Mnoho lingvistů projevilo snahu popsat diskurzivní ukazatele, mezi nimi Schourup, Redekerová, Schiffrinová, Hansenová, Fraser, nebo Lenková. Tito lingvisté formulují a popisují diskurzivní ukazatele především jako lingvistické prvky, které slouží k organizaci textu, plní úkol jako návazné pojící body mezi textovými jednotkami, to vše za účelem dynamiky a plynulosti textu, a dále také jako nositele komunikačních záměrů, úmyslů a strategií, které jsou použity mluvčími z důvodu správné interpretace sdělení. Zdůrazněno bylo pro tuto práci stanovisko navržené Fraserem (1999), který tvrdí, že diskurzivní ukazatele stanovují vztah mezi částí diskurzu, ve které se nacházejí, a částí diskurzu tomu předcházející. Fraser zdůrazňuje, že ukazatele se vyskytují na začátku diskurzivního segmentu, jehož součástí jsou. Zmiňuje i výskyt ukazatelů na mediální a finální pozici, avšak jiné nežli počáteční pozice mohou být z jeho pohledu dvojnásobné, počáteční pozici tedy považuje za nejméně spornou.

Bližší jsou prodiskutovány typické vlastnosti diskurzivních ukazatelů, jako je již zmíněná vlastnost objevovat se na počáteční pozici v textu, nebo schopnost nepřispívat nic k významovému obsahu výpovědi, pak také s touto schopností spojená možnost vypuštění ukazatelů z textu, a dále pak především jejich četné funkce v rámci komunikace. Mnoho

lingvistů se shoduje, že jejich hlavní funkcí je vázat a propojovat jednotky textu, organizovat sdělení a naznačovat postoje, úmysly a strategie mluvčího.

Následující kapitola se soustředí na to, které výrazy patří mezi diskurzivní ukazatele, a které mezi ně zařazovány nejsou, dále se zaměřuje na funkční klasifikaci ukazatelů. Nejdříve uvádí stanovisko Fräsera, který mnohé výrazy vylučuje. On například nepovažuje výrazy jako *frankly* nebo *honestly* jako diskurzivní ukazatele. Následuje jeho třídění diskurzivních ukazatelů do kategorií. Dále je v kapitole uvedeno uspořádání do skupin podle Redekerové a Schiffrinové. Tyto kategorie jsou založeny na konkrétních funkcích diskurzivních ukazatelů.

Na to navazuje kapitola, která se věnuje dvěma konkrétním ukazatelům, *so* a *well*, které se objeví ve výzkumu práce. Tato dvě slova jsou okomentována v rámci jejich funkcí. Co se týče výrazu *so*, je zmíněn především problém v rozlišení jeho funkce jako spojky, která má v určitých případech velmi podobnou funkci jako diskurzivní ukazatel *so*. Z použití, která jsou typická pro diskurzivní ukazatel *so* podle Boldenové, jsou pak zmíněny především funkce uzavření výpovědi, její zahájení, rozčlenění, nebo shrnutí určitého jednání. Ve věci spojené s výrazem *well* jsou uvedeny hlavně jeho funkce ukazatele, které jsou shrnuty Juckerem (1993). Ten tvrdí, že výraz *well* je používán k poukázání na obsahovou nedostatečnost poskytnuté informace, ke zmírnění určitého tvrzení a udržení si tváře ve společenské interakci, k uspořádání nebo organizaci, a k získání času.

Krátce je zmíněna i schopnost diskurzivních ukazatelů objevovat se ve shlucích, neboli schopnost dvou a více diskurzivních ukazatelů být vedle sebe. Aijmerová (2002) a Gonzálezová (2008) se shodují, že ve shlucích se objevují ukazatele, které mají stejnou funkci. Gonzálezová dává příklady shluků se *so*, např. *so you know* nebo *so anyway* (González, 2008: 61) Aijmerová pak uvádí několik ukazatelů, které doprovází *well*: *well you know*, *well now*, *well I think*, *well you see*, nebo *well anyway/anyhow* (Aijmer, 2002: 31).

Druhá kapitola poskytuje úvod do domény politického diskurzu, zejména politických projevů. Je zdůrazněno, že k politickému diskurzu se vztahuje specifický jazyk, který účastníci politiky volí, a tím využívají jazyk jako strategii pro získání jejich cílů. Diskurzivní ukazatele tak tvoří integrovanou složkou politického diskurzu a objevují se v celém textu. Jejich význam je především v jejich schopnosti navázat kontakt s publikem, upoutat posluchačovu pozornost a vzbudit zájem. Použitím těchto elementů může mluvčí

dodat svému projevu velkou váhu, a tak může vyvolat určitou reakci. Diskurzivní ukazatele mohou uspořádat projev, udávat tempo, vytvořit vztahy mezi účastníky, a dá se říci, že v podstatě ovlivňují celou interakci.

Následuje kapitola soustředěná na data použitá pro analýzu a metodologie práce. Zmíněn je paralelní korpus InterCorp a především korpus Europarl, který je jeho součástí a byl důležitý pro získání dat k analýze, jelikož se zaměřuje na diskuze a projevy politiků Evropského parlamentu. Europarl vygeneroval anglicko-český korpus, který poskytuje mnoho překladových ekvivalentů. Pro analýzu bylo použito prvních pět set příkladů ukazatele *so* a stejné množství prvků ukazatele *well* z vygenerovaného množství výskytů z celého korpusu Europarl. Do vyhledávání v korpusu Europarl byly ukazatele *so* a *well* zadány s velkým písmenem, aby se omezil počet výskytů, které nejsou diskurzivními ukazateli. Přes toto opatření se našla spojení, která neodpovídala definici diskurzivních ukazatelů, jako např. *so much*, *so many* nebo *well done*. V korpusu Europarl byly v anglickém textu objeveny diskurzivní ukazatele a poté nalezeny jejich překladové protějšky v českém textu. Korespondence ukazatelů v jednom jazyce s řadou odpovídajících ekvivalentů se lišila frekvencí. Dále byla použita metoda kvantitativní analýzy, která se zaměřila na četnost výskytů nalezených překladových ekvivalentů pro dva vybrané ukazatele *so* a *well*. Podle frekvence výskytu byly určeny vhodné, prototypické a naopak ojedinělé, méně se hodící překlady.

Poslední částí této kapitoly byly body výzkumu pro diplomovou práci. Výzkum se soustředí na nejčastěji se vyskytující překladové protějšky ukazatelů *so* a *well*, ptá se také, zda mají společné ekvivalenty. Velkou otázkou bylo, zda v překladu hraje roli pragmatická funkce ukazatelů strukturovat diskurz nebo jejich vlastnost nemít propoziční význam a tím pádem možnost je z věty vypustit. Výzkum se tudíž zabývá nulovými ekvivalenty, četností jejich výskytu, a zda jich mají oba zkoumané výrazy stejný počet. Dalším bodem výzkumu byly kombinace s dalšími elementy a jejich překlady, otázkou také bylo, shlukují-li se s podobnými výrazy. Posledním zájmem bylo zjistit, jestli je první pozice ve větě stejně důležitá pro české odpovídající překlady jako pro *so* a *well*.

Čtvrtá kapitola obsahuje analýzu diskurzivních ukazatelů *so* a *well* a diskusi výsledků. Výsledky práce poukazují na to, že korpusová analýza je důležitým prostředkem pro analyzování překladových ekvivalentů diskurzivních ukazatelů. Primárním zaměřením práce bylo najít překladové ekvivalenty ukazatelů *so* a *well*, což mělo poukázat na základní

význam těchto výrazů. Důvod pro tento výzkumný cíl byl fakt, že se překladatelé výrazně liší v interpretaci těchto ukazatelů a nejčtenější překlady by význam lépe nastínily.

Prvním bodem výzkumu byla otázka týkající se odpovídajících překladů ukazatelů *so* a *well*, zájem byl především o jejich nejčastěji se objevující české ekvivalenty. Výzkum potvrdil, že oba ukazatele mají velké množství protějšků, dohromady se jednalo o více než padesát různých překladových ekvivalentů. Nejčastějším překladem diskurzivního ukazatele *so* bylo české slovo *tedy/teda*, dalším v pořadí byl výraz *takže*. Druhý ukazatel *well* nebyl naopak z většiny případů přeložen vůbec. Za jeho možný překlad by se dalo považovat slovo *tedy*, které bylo druhé v seznamu použitých překladů. Výraz *tedy* byl ale použit výrazně méně.

Z výzkumu dále vyplynulo několik zajímavých rozdílů mezi dvěma ukazateli, například ukazatel *well* měl čtyřikrát více překladových ekvivalentů než ukazatel *so*. Dalším rozdílem byl způsob nejčastěji použitý k překladu jednotlivých ukazatelů, výraz *so* byl přeložen slovně, zatímco *well* se nepřekládal a vynechával. Výsledky výzkumu také ukazují, že *so* a *well* mají jeden společný překladový ekvivalent, a to *tedy*. Výraz *tedy* je nejčastějším překladem ukazatele *so* a druhým nejčastějším překladem ukazatele *well*, avšak je nutno znovu zdůraznit, že frekvence výskytu obou *tedy* se značně liší.

Předmětem druhého bodu výzkumu byl předpoklad, že se mezi překladovými ekvivalenty bude vyskytovat i možnost nulové korespondence, neboli vynechání a nepřeložení ukazatele. Na tuto možnost poukazovala schopnost diskurzivních ukazatelů nepřispívat nic k významovému obsahu výpovědi a tedy možnost jejich vypuštění z textu, aniž by to mělo vliv na gramatickou správnost textu, a především jejich malý nebo žádný propoziční význam. Otázka se konkrétně vztahovala na to, jestli množství těchto nepřeložených nebo vynechaných ukazatelů je stejné pro oba ukazatele, *so* i *well*. Ačkoli výzkum ukázal, že oba ukazatele nemusí být vůbec překládány, pro *well* byla tato možnost nulového ekvivalentu ve více než polovině případů (56%), zatímco pro *so* jen v 16%. Otázka byla tímto jasně zodpovězena negativně, protože výrazy *so* a *well* neměly ani zdánlivě stejný počet případů, kdy nebyly přeloženy. Tento výsledek je přisuzován tomu, že výraz *well* na rozdíl od *so* nemá navíc funkci spojky.

Aspekt kombinace ukazatelů a kolokace s jinými prvky byly dalšími body výzkumu. Analýza ukázala, že oba ukazatele *well* a *so* se vyskytovaly s řadou dalších ukazatelů, z nichž jeden byl pro ně společný, a to ukazatel *then*, který je pravidelně následoval.

Diskurzivní ukazatel *then* je zařazován do stejné funkční skupiny jako ukazatel *so*, konkrétně do skupiny inferenčních diskurzivních ukazatelů (Fraser, 1993). Tato shoda funkcí dokazuje tvrzení Gonzálezové (2008) a Aijmerové (2002). Ve zkoumaném korpusu byl zaznamenán i výskyt *so* v přítomnosti s dalšími ukazateli se stejnou funkcí, například *firstly, finally, in short*, které mají funkci shrnutí a závěru (Redeker, 1990). Slovo *well* se vyskytovalo s výrazy jako *of course, then, actually*, nebo *in fact*, které mají stejnou funkci jako *well*, tj. jako ukazatele vztahů ve sdělení (Fraser, 1993), a tudíž také podporují slova Gonzálezové (2008) a Aijmerové (2002).

Dalším předmětem výzkumu byly překlady těchto komplexů a analýza ukázala, že ukazatel *then* v kombinaci se *so* a *well* byl jen zřídka překládán. Zajímavostí byl překlad páru ukazatelů *well* a *then*. Pro samotné *well* měli autoři obvykle tendenci použít nulovou korespondenci, zatímco *well* následované *then* bylo ve většině případů přeloženo slovně. S ostatními párovými ukazateli se ale *well* znovu nepřekládalo. Co se týče ukazatele *so*, autoři jej v překladu vynechali jen zřídka. Většina ukazatelů, které následovaly *so* a *well* byla přeložena. Ve výzkumu se ale objevily i kombinace dvou ukazatelů, kde nebyl přeložen ani jeden.

Posledním bodem výzkumu byla pozice ukazatelů ve větě. Oba jazyky se typologicky liší, a pokud jde o umístění větných členů ve větě, čeština je v porovnání s angličtinou mnohem pružnější. V tomto ohledu analýza poskytla zajímavé výsledky. Co se týče anglických ukazatelů, ty se vyskytovaly na začátku věty, otázkou tedy bylo, zda se tato tendence objevuje i u českých ukazatelů. Výzkum se soustředil na české překladové ekvivalenty *tedy/teda, takže a proto* pro *so* a na ekvivalenty *dobrá, tedy a nuže* pro *well*. Výsledkem analýzy překladových protějšků *so* bylo, že *takže a proto* se vyskytovaly na začátku věty stejně jako jeho anglický protějšek, zatímco *tedy/teda* se zřídka objevovalo na začátku věty, mnohem častěji však na místě ve větě za přísudkem, podmínkem nebo tázacím zájmenem. Podobný výsledek byl u ukazatele *well*, kdy se *tedy* vyskytovalo na jiném místě ve větě, zatímco druhé dva ekvivalenty *dobrá* a *nuže* byly výlučně na začátku věty. Závěrem tohoto bodu výzkumu byla tedy odpověď, že české ukazatele nejsou omezeny výlučně na první pozici ve větě.

Závěrem lze říci, že korpusová analýza může výrazně přispět k výzkumu lingvistických elementů, jako jsou diskurzivní ukazatele. Způsob, jakým jsou tyto ukazatele přirozeně používány během lidské interakce, pomáhá lingvistům porozumět jejich významu a tak i překladatelům najít jejich správný ekvivalent. Navíc díky korpusu Europarl je o mnoho

snazší najít adekvátní překladový protějšek, jelikož poskytuje paralelní texty v anglickém a českém jazyce. Použitím kontrastivní analýzy v tomto korpusu pak překladateli velmi usnadní najít určitou shodu mezi prvky dvou různých jazyků, a tak i možnosti překladu pro jisté elementy, v tomto případě diskurzivní ukazatele. Korespondence nalezené v překladovém paradigmatu tedy napomáhají k rozhodnutí, jaký překladový ekvivalent může autor použít v českém překladovém textu. Tento výzkum dokonce naznačuje, že v určitých případech je možné diskurzivní ukazatele v překladu vynechat.

Výzkumná část této práce demonstruje použití korpusu EuroParl a využití korpusové analýzy. Celá práce tak předkládá diskurzivní korpusovou analýzu, jejímž výstupem je velké množství překladových protějšků, z nichž ty nejčastěji použité mohou být považovány za ty nejpřesnější možnosti překladu a odráží základní význam anglických diskurzivních ukazatelů *so* a *well*. V případě nulových ekvivalentů pak z výzkumu vyplývá, že vypuštění diskurzivních ukazatelů v českém překladu je možným způsobem, jak se vypořádat s těmito výrazy v překladovém textu.

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## Appendix

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1. *Hello, John. ~ **Actually**, my name's Andy.* (Swan, 2005: 144)
2. *Why did you do that? B: Oh, **well**, you know, **I don't know**, really, **I mean**, it just **sort of** seemed a good idea.* (Swan, 2005: 144)
3. ***So** anyway, this man came up to me and said 'Have you got a light?'* (Swan, 2005: 145)
4. *Debby: I don't like that. ~ Zelda: I don't like that. **And**, is he accepting it?* (Schiffrin, 1987: 38)
5. *He drove the truck through the parking lot and into the street. Then he almost cut me off, he ran a red light. **However**, these weren't his worst offences. He was driving without a licence.* (Fraser, 1999: 938)
6. *Susan is married. **So**, she is no longer single.* (Fraser, 1993: 6)
7. *John was tired. **So** he left early.* (Fraser, 1993: 6)
8. *Attorney: And how long were you part of the crew? Witness: Five years. Atty: **So** you were employed by G for roughly 5 years?* (Fraser, 1993: 6-7)
9. *Son: My clothes are still wet. Mother: **So** put the drier on for 30 minutes more.* (Fraser, 1993: 7)
10. *Red and black are colours that suit me very **well**.* (Swan, 2005: 183)
11. ***Well**, we've agreed on a price, and I'm going to buy it.* (Swan: 192)
12. *You can either come with me **now** or walk home.* (Swan, 2005: 156)
13. *I waited for her till eleven, and **then** went home.* (Swan, 2005: 177)
14. ***Now**, I'd like to say something about the exam...* (Swan, 2005: 141)
15. *The last bus has gone. ~ **Then** we're going to have to walk.* (Swan, 2005: 143)
16. *The weather was awful. **Actually**, the campsite got flooded and we had to come home.* (Swan, 2005: 145)
17. *Hello, John. ~ **Actually**, my name's Andy.* (Swan, 2005: 144)
18. *Harry is old enough to drink. **However**, he can't because he has hepatitis.* (Fraser, 1999: 938)
19. *It is freezing outside. I will, **in spite of this**, not wear a coat.* (Fraser, 1999: 938)
20. *We don't have to go. I will go, **nevertheless**.* (Fraser, 1999: 938)
21. *I'm willing to ask the Dean to do it.*
  - A. *However, you know he won't agree.*
  - B. *You, however, know he won't agree.*
  - C. *You know, however, he won't agree.*
  - D. *You know he won't agree, however.* (Fraser, 1993: 6)
22. ***Well**, I'm thankful that's over.* (Swan, 2005: 576)

23. *I'm thankful that's over.*
24. A: *Harry is old enough to drink.* B: **Frankly**, *I don't think he should.* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
25. *I want a drink tonight. Obviously, I'm not old enough.* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
26. A: *We should leave fairly soon now.* B: **Stupidly**, *I lost the key so we can't* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
27. *The exam was easy. Even John passed.* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
28. *They are fairly restrictive there. Only poor Republicans are allowed in.* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
29. *What am I going to do now? Well ... I really don't know.* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
30. A: *Do you know the answer?* B: **Ah** ..., *I will have to think about it.* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
31. A: *We shall arrive on time.* B: **Sir**, *I fear you are sadly mistaken.* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
32. A: *Are there any questions?* B: **Mr. President**, *what do you think of Mr. Dole?* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
33. *Who know the answer. Anyone?* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
34. A: *The Chicago Bulls won again tonight.* B: **Oh!** (Fraser, 1999: 942)
35. **Wow!** *Look at that shot"* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
36. A: *You have to go to bed now.* B: **Shucks!** *I really wanted to see that movie.* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
37. *So what else is going on?* (Bolden, 2009: 992)
38. A: *Mary behaved so well yesterday.* > B: *Well, John behaved the other day. John is really such a great kid, he's been getting straight A's in all of his classes, has come home on time, ...* (Markus, 2009: 218)
39. *He is so nice.* (Bolden, 2009: 976)
40. *He took the taxi so as not to be late.* (Bolden, 2009: 976)
41. *I was sick, so I stayed in bed.* (Van Dijk, 1979: 453)
42. *John is sick. So, let's start.* (Van Dijk, 1979: 453)
43. A: *I am busy.* B: *So, you are not coming tonight?* A: *I'm sorry.* (Van Dijk, 1979: 453)
44. *John was sick. So, don't expect him.* (Fraser, 1993: 6)
45. *John was sick, so he went to bed.* (Fraser, 1993: 6)
46. *...and he says your're gonna have to leave here. So he/he- kind of uhm kicks the guy out.* (Redeker, 1990: 373)
47. *He talks to the girl and says that she has uhm her father has money due, uhm and so she gives him the sixty dollars asking if that would cover it. And so he leaves.* (Redeker, 1990: 373)

48. *an oil well* (= a well that produces oil) (Swan, 2005: 357)
49. *He teaches very well.* (Swan, 2005: 609)
50. *She works in television as well as writing children's books.* (Swan, 2005: 70)
51. *A-nd he says well I don't want to make a profit on it.* (Redeker, 1990: 374)
52. *Do you like it? – Well, yes, it's all right.* (Swan, 2005: 143)
53. *You live in Oxford, don't you? – Well, near Oxford.* (Swan, 2005: 143)
54. *What did you think of her boyfriend? – Well, I was a bit surprised...* (Swan, 2005: 145)
55. *You know that new house? – Well, you'll never guess who's bought it.* (Swan, 2005: 145)
56. *How much are you selling it for? – Well, let me see...* (Swan, 2005: 144)
57. *Why did you do that? – Oh, well, you know, I don't know, really, I mean, it just sort of seemed a good idea.* (Swan, 2005: 144)
58. *Coach: How many can you take in your car? > Parent: Well...at least 6 if they squeeze.* (Fraser, 1993: 9)
59. *<p> Concerning the border dispute between Croatia and Slovenia , I was listening carefully to what Hannes Swoboda , István Szent-Iványi and many others said , so let me just repeat that we as the Presidency welcome the fact that both Slovenia and Croatia have now agreed to pursue their work on Commissioner Rehn 's initiative concerning this dispute . [Cz-En. Europarl]*
60. *<p> What we are actually trying to do now is to get some restitution , because we not only lost our ability to look at what is going on with the Commission , but we also lost the accountability process and the transparency process , so I want to ask Mr Mitchell ... </p> [Cz-En. Europarl]*
61. *Now , the European Commission is frantically looking for excuses to avoid a general ban on discrimination , such as that more study is needed - as if we cannot all see that there is discrimination all around - or that there is no consensus in the Council - well , , that never stopped the European Commission from pushing its proposals in other areas such as energy policy . [Cz-En. Europarl]*
62. *There are those who are nervous and say, well, let us just use the idea of a toolbox. [Cz-En. Europarl]*
63. *A: So here we are today at stage two of Mr Corbett's efforts to groom Parliament still better as the lapdog of the politically correct Eurocrat taste.*  
*B: Dnes jsme se dostali do druhé fáze úsilí pana Corbetta udělat z Parlamentu ještě většího domácího mazlíčka politicky korektní eurokratické kasty. [Cz-En. Europarl]*

64. A: *Well, that Prime Minister was Tony Blair, the man who made the last deal on the financial perspectives.*  
B: *Tím premiérem byl Tony Blair, člověk, který sjednal poslední dohodu o finančních výhledech. [Cz-En. Europarl]*
65. A: *So then the question arises: why do we need accession to the Convention ?*  
B: *Pak se tedy nabízí otázka: proč potřebujeme přistoupit k Úmluvě ? [Cz-En. Europarl]*
66. A: *So to sum up, to sum up , I do not expect any easy discussions with the Council over the future .*  
B: *Abych to tedy shrnul , neočekávám žádnou snadnou diskusi s Radou ohledně budoucnosti . [Cz-En. Europarl]*
67. A: *So, , firstly , what do we know about the reasons for the collapse ?*  
B: *Takže zaprvé, co víme o příčinách zřícení ? [Cz-En. Europarl]*
68. A: *So, finally , I would like to thank those who initiated the resolution we adopted today , and especially our rapporteur , Mr Mikolášik .*  
B: *Proto bych na závěr chtěla poděkovat těm , kteří iniciovali vznik usnesení , které jsme dnes přijali , především našemu zpravodaji , panu Mikolášikovi . [Cz-En. Europarl]*
69. A: *So, , in short , let us not keep having this discussion , since we are very familiar with this directive , having discussed it for months .*  
B: *Vzhledem k tomu , že jsme o této směrnici diskutovali měsíce , nepokračujme dál v diskusi , protože jsme s touto směrnicí již dobře obeznámeni . [Cz-En. Europarl]*
70. A: *Well then , two consequences inevitably flow from this .*  
B: *Z toho pak nevyhnutelně plynou dva důsledky . [Cz-En. Europarl]*
71. A: *Well then , we need to establish standards and uniform minimum objectives , but also best practices and financial incentives .*  
B: *Pak tedy musíme stanovit normy a jednotné minimální cíle , ale také nejlepší postupy a finanční pobídky . [Cz-En. Europarl]*
72. A: *So the bottom line is that fishermen cannot survive , they are going out of business and I think some of our proposals in this resolution will help to improve the situation .*  
B: *Tedy závěr toho je , že rybáři nemohou přežít a vytrácejí se z obchodu . Myslím si , že některé z návrhů v našem usnesení pomohou zlepšit tuto situaci . [Cz-En. Europarl]*

73. A: *So I think from this point of view , again , it is about making sure that we convince both Member States and all our institutions to do everything to implement our targets .* </p>  
B: *Tedy i z tohoto pohledu si myslím , že znovu jde o to , abychom přesvědčili jednak členské státy a jednak všechny naše instituce , aby udělaly vše pro to , aby bylo stanovených cílů dosaženo .* [Cz-En. Europarl]
74. A: *So we have to find a way of reconciling free trade with human security .* </p>  
B: *Musíme tedy nalézt způsob , jak usmířit volný obchod s lidským bezpečím .* [Cz-En. Europarl]
75. A: *So that is the main issue , but if you would allow me to go off at a tangent to your question a little , it is also about protectionism : that would be the devil in our midst and we should fight to prevent it becoming a reality .*  
B: *To je tedy hlavní věc , ale pokud mi dovolíte trochu odbočit od tématu vaší otázky , jedná se také o protekcionismus - to by byl ďábel mezi námi a proti jeho příchodu musíme bojovat .* [Cz-En. Europarl]
76. A: *So the Commission is pursuing various activities in the field to improve overall cybersecurity and to prevent and to tackle cybercrime .* </p>  
B: *Komise tedy v této oblasti provádí řadu činností ohledně zlepšení celkové bezpečnosti na internetu a boje s počítačovou trestnou činností .* [Cz-En. Europarl]
77. A: *So, politically the decision has been taken .*  
B: *Politické rozhodnutí tedy bylo přijato .* [Cz-En. Europarl]
78. A: *So what can be done?*  
B: *Co tedy můžeme dělat?* [Cz-En. Europarl]
79. A: *So why can we not give the companies to which strict rules apply a European market to work on ?*  
B: *Proč tedy nemůžeme společně , pro které platí přísná pravidla , zajistit evropský trh , na němž by podnikaly ?* [Cz-En. Europarl]

80. A: *So of course we have to keep the balance and I think that the balance has not been much disturbed by a 10 % increase in the use of external credits in the non-ETS sector , because this is what we are talking about.*

B: *Samozřejmě tedy musíme zachovat rovnováhu a domnívám se , že rovnováha nebyla 10 % zvýšením využívání externích kreditů v odvětví , na které se nevztahuje systém obchodování s emisemi , příliš narušena , protože právě o tom hovoříme.*  
[Cz-En. Europarl]

81. A: *So the ball is back in our court and above all perhaps in the Council 's.*

B: *Na tahu jsme proto opět my a možná i Rada.* [Cz-En. Europarl]

82. A: *So, if Iraq is a sovereign country , they should respect and implement the European Parliament resolution of 24 April 2009 on Ashraf , which calls on Iraq to stop any forcible displacement of Ashraf residents within Iraq.*

B: *Proto , je - li Irák suverénní zemí , měl by respektovat a provést usnesení Evropského parlamentu ze dne 24 . dubna 2009 o táboru Ašraf , které ho vyzývá , aby ukončil veškeré nucené přesuny obyvatel tábora Ašraf v Iráku .*  
[Cz-En. Europarl]

83. A: *Well, there are three main areas of action.*

B: *Tedy, jsou tu tři hlavní oblasti, kde lze jednat.* [Cz-En. Europarl]

84. A: *Well, we cannot do that much.*

B: *Tedy, mnoho toho nezmůžeme.* [Cz-En. Europarl]

85. A: *Well, for Ireland the challenges are particularly great.*

B: *Tedy pro Irsko jsou tyto výzvy obzvlášť velké.* [Cz-En. Europarl]

86. A: *Well, perhaps, but let us first acknowledge that the policy failures , the dashed hopes and the creeping extremism of the past seven years have taken place under the Quartet 's watch .*

B: *Tedy možná, ale dovolte nám nejdříve uznat politický neúspěch , zklamání naděje a plíživý extremismus posledních sedmi let , který se odehrával před zraky Kvartetu .* [Cz-En. Europarl]

87. A: *Well, we have to provide some balance.*

B: *Musíme tedy nastolit určitou rovnováhu.* [Cz-En. Europarl]

88. A: *Well, are we now a European Union or have we reverted to a collection of Member States ?*

B: *Jsmo tedy Evropská unie , nebo jsem se vrátili ke shromáždění členských států ?*  
[Cz-En. Europarl]



89. A: *Well, that is the limit!*  
B: *To je tedy vrchol!* [Cz-En. Europarl]
90. A: *Well, standardisation is a topic that we , too , would like to facilitate and support .*  
B: *Normalizace je tedy tématem , které bychom i my chtěli umožnit a podpořit .*  
[Cz-En. Europarl]
91. A: *Well, on Wednesday, we will have the opportunity to state loud and clear our priorities for genuinely harmonised procedures in this area .* </p>  
B: *Ve středu tedy budeme mít příležitost vyjádřit se hlasitě a jasně ke svým prioritám , pokud jde o skutečně harmonizované řízení v této oblasti .*  
[Cz-En. Europarl]
92. A: *Well, then , what do I believe to be the essential components of this new directive?*  
B: *Co tedy musíme ve směrnici především zachovat?* [Cz-En. Europarl]
93. A: *Well, individuals can have such thoughts.*  
B: *Dobrá, lidé tak mohou uvažovat.* [Cz-En. Europarl]
94. A: *Well, ladies and gentlemen, that is not the case.*  
B: *Nuže, dámy a pánové, není to pravda.* [Cz-En. Europarl]
95. A: *In the recent Bosphorus judgment that we all know very well, the European Court of Human Rights said that there was no need to re-examine the case because the EU, as such, offers an adequate level of protection of human rights. So then the question arises: why do we need accession to the Convention?*  
B: *V nedávném rozsudku Bosphorus, který všichni velmi dobře známe, Evropský soud pro lidská práva uvedl, že není třeba případ přezkoumávat, jelikož EU jako taková nabízí přiměřenou úroveň ochrany lidských práv. Pak se tedy nabízí otázka : proč potřebujeme přistoupit k Úmluvě ?*
96. A: *So of course we have to keep the balance and I think that the balance has not been much disturbed by a 10 % increase in the use of external credits in the non-ETS sector, because this is what we are talking about.*  
B: *Samozřejmě tedy musíme zachovat rovnováhu a domnívám se, že rovnováha nebyla 10 % zvýšením využívání externích kreditů v odvětví, na které se nevztahuje systém obchodování s emisemi, příliš narušena, protože právě o tom hovoříme.*

97. A: *So, to conclude , the European Union - the people , regions and countries of the Union - is standing shoulder to shoulder with Chile in the face of this disaster , and that is how it should be in a civilised and human world .* </p>  
B: *Na závěr chci tedy říci , že Evropská unie - občané , regiony a země Unie - stojí po boku Chile vůči této katastrofě a tak by tomu mělo být v civilizovaném a lidském světě .* [Cz-En. Europarl]
98. *So , Mr Stevenson – I have no doubt whatever that you have ovine animals in your constituency , as I do myself – the five Member States with the biggest ovine and caprine flocks are , besides your country and mine , France , Italy and Greece . Well now , these four Member States have undertaken the task , which seems so abhorrent to you , of convincing their farmers to tag ovine and caprine animals , because we were told that the regulation said that electronic identification was going to be obligatory from 1 January 2008 .* </p> [Cz-En. Europarl]
99. A: *So, firstly, what do we know about the reasons for the collapse?*  
B: *Takže zaprvé, co víme o příčinách zřícení?* [Cz-En. Europarl]
100. A: *So, in conclusion , we are looking forward to constructive and productive discussions with you and with the Council over the next months on this proposal .*  
B: *Závěrem tedy konstatuji , že se v příštích měsících těšíme na konstruktivní a produktivní diskuse o tomto návrhu s vámi a s Radou .* [Cz-En. Europarl]
101. A: *So, finally , I would like to thank those who initiated the resolution we adopted today , and especially our rapporteur , Mr Mikolášik .* </p>  
B: *Proto bych na závěr chtěla poděkovat těm , kteří iniciovali vznik usnesení , které jsme dnes přijali , především našemu zpravodaji , panu Mikolášikovi .* [Cz-En. Europarl]
102. A: *Well then, I still proceed from the assumption that we here are representatives of our electorates in the Member States , of our populations in the Member States , and not just abstract citizens of the European Union .*  
B: *Dobře tedy , stále vycházím z předpokladu , že jsme tu zástupci našich voličů v členských státech , našich obyvatel v členských státech a nejen abstraktních občanů Evropské unie .* [Cz-En. Europarl]

103. A: *Well, then, regional policy now and in the future constitutes the European integration framework for the realisation of these objectives.* [Cz-En. Europarl]  
B: *Tak tedy, regionální politika dnes a v budoucnosti představuje evropský integrační rámec pro realizování těchto cílů.* [Cz-En. Europarl]
104. A: *Well, actually I think his dream has gone further...*  
B: *Vlastně mám dojem, že jeho sen pokračuje...* [Cz-En. Europarl]
105. A: *So, to conclude , the European Union - the people , regions and countries of the Union - is standing shoulder to shoulder with Chile in the face of this disaster , and that is how it should be in a civilised and human world .* </p>  
B: *Na závěr chci tedy říci , že Evropská unie - občané , regiony a země Unie - stojí po boku Chile vůči této katastrofě a tak by tomu mělo být v civilizovaném a lidském světě .* [Cz-En. Europarl]
106. A: *So of course we have to keep the balance and I think that the balance has not been much disturbed by a 10 % increase in the use of external credits in the non-ETS sector , because this is what we are talking about .*  
B: *Samozřejmě tedy musíme zachovat rovnováhu a domnívám se , že rovnováha nebyla 10 % zvýšením využívání externích kreditů v odvětví , na které se nevztahuje systém obchodování s emisemi , příliš narušena , protože právě o tom hovoříme .* [Cz-En. Europarl]
107. A: *Well, first of all , I should say that when negotiating with third countries , namely the countries which I mentioned , we negotiate on behalf of the 27 Member States and we take a multilateral approach in negotiating issues relating to tax evasion .*  
B: *Především bych chtěl říci , že jednání se třetími zeměmi , tedy s těmi , které jsem zmiňoval , vedeme jménem 27 členských států a jednání o problematice daňových úniků jsou tedy mnohostranná* [Cz-En. Europarl].
108. A: *Well, of course, the plan was flawed and their fanciful monetary scheme collapsed.*  
B: *Samozřejmě že plán byl špatný a jejich vymyšlený měnový systém zkolaboval.* [Cz-En. Europarl]

## Tables and graphs

**Table 1:** List of basic features of DMs (based on Brinton, 1996: 33-35)

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Phonological and lexical features:</b></li> </ul>
m) They are short and phonologically reduced.
n) They form a separate tone group.
o) They are marginal forms and hence difficult to place within a traditional word class.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Syntactic features:</b></li> </ul>
p) They are restricted to sentence-initial position.
q) They occur outside the syntactic structure or they are only loosely attached to it.
r) They are optional.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Semantic feature:</b></li> </ul>
s) They have little or no propositional meaning.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Functional feature:</b></li> </ul>
t) They are multifunctional, operating on several linguistic levels simultaneously.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Sociolinguistic and stylistic features:</b></li> </ul>
u) They are a feature of oral rather than written discourse and are associated with informality.
v) They appear with high frequency.
w) They are stylistically stigmatised.
x) They are gender specific and more typical of women's speech.

**Table 2:** Czech translation equivalents of English *so* and their frequency

<b>Czech translation equivalent of English <i>so</i></b>	<b>Number of cases</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<i>tedy/teda</i>	153	31%
<i>takže</i>	150	30%
zero-correspondence	77	16%
<i>proto</i>	72	15%
<i>tak</i>	17	3%
<i>a tak</i>	11	2%
<i>takže ano</i>	5	1%
<i>čili</i>	3	1%
<i>tudíž</i>	3	1%
<i>a</i>	2	less than 1%
<i>a tedy</i>	2	less than 1%
<i>z tohoto důvodu</i>	2	less than 1%
<i>takto</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>ted'</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>znamená to, že</i>	1	less than 1%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 3:** Czech translation equivalents of English *well* and their frequency

<b>Czech translation equivalent of English <i>well</i></b>	<b>Number of cases</b>	<b>Percentage (rounded)</b>
zero-correspondence	278	56%
<i>tedy</i>	34	7%
<i>dobrá</i>	28	6%
<i>nuže</i>	26	5%
<i>ale</i>	19	4%
<i>a</i>	14	3%
<i>no</i>	11	2%
<i>ano</i>	10	2%
<i>nu</i>	9	2%
<i>však</i>	8	2%
<i>tak</i>	8	2%
<i>takže</i>	7	1%
<i>inu</i>	7	1%
<i>dobře</i>	6	1%
<i>sice</i>	4	1%
<i>ovšem</i>	3	1%
<i>víte</i>	3	1%
<i>je pravda, že</i>	2	less than 1%
<i>nicméně</i>	2	less than 1%
<i>pravda</i>	2	less than 1%
<i>tak tedy</i>	2	less than 1%
<i>ale samozřejmě</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>bohužel</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>budiž</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>co k tomu říci</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>dobrá tedy</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>dobře tedy</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>jednoduše</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>je pravda</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>jistě</i>	1	less than 1%

<i>na druhou stranu</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>ne</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>nyní</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>nyní tedy</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>prosím</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>přiznávám se, že</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>také</i>	1	less than 1%
<i>totiž</i>	1	less than 1%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 4:** Co-occurrences with *so* and their functions according to Fraser (1993)

Discourse marker	Function of the second element in the cluster		Examples	Frequency	Percentage
<i>So+</i>	Message relationship markers	Inferential markers	<i>So then,...</i> <i>So, of course ...</i>	4 1	31%
<i>So+</i>	Discourse activity markers	Markers of summarizing	<i>So to sum up,...</i> <i>So, in short,...</i> <i>So, in general,...</i> <i>So at this point</i>	1 1 1 1	63%
		Markers of sequencing	<i>So, firstly,...</i> <i>So, finally,...</i> <i>So, in conclusion,...</i> <i>So, to conclude,...</i>	1 1 1 1	
		Markers of repeating	<i>So once again,...</i>	1	
		Markers of conceding	<i>So, all in all,...</i>	1	
		<i>So+</i>	Discourse topic markers		
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>16</b>	<b>100%</b>



**Table 5:** Translations of *so*-clusters

Co-occurrence of DMs	Translation	Frequency of translation	Percentage
<i>So then, ...</i>	<i>tedy</i> ∅	2	25%
	<b><i>Pak tedy</i></b> ∅	1	
	<i>Takže</i> ∅	1	
<i>So to sum up, ...</i>	<b><i>Abych to tedy shrnul...</i></b>	1	75%
<i>So, firstly, ...</i>	<i>Takže zaprvé</i>	1	
<i>So, finally, ...</i>	<i>Proto na závěr</i>	1	
<i>So, in short, ...</i>	∅	1	
<i>So, in conclusion, ...</i>	<b><i>Závěrem tedy</i></b>	1	
<i>So, to conclude, ...</i>	<i>Na závěr tedy</i>	1	
<i>So, all in all, ...</i>	∅ <b><i>Celkově</i></b>	1	
<i>So, in general, ...</i>	<i>Tudíž celkově řečeno</i>	1	
<i>So, of course ...</i>	<b><i>Samořejmě tedy</i></b>	1	
<i>So at this point</i>	∅ <i>v tomto bodě</i>	1	
<i>So, again, ...</i>	<i>Takže znovu</i>	1	
<i>So once again, ...</i>	<i>Takže ještě jednou</i>	1	
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>16</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 6:** Co-occurrences with *well* and their functions according to Fraser (1993)

<b>Discourse marker</b>	<b>(Function of the second element in the cluster)</b>		<b>Examples</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<i>Well</i> +	Message relationship markers	Inferential discourse markers	<i>Well then, ...</i>	14	86%
			<i>Well, of course, ...</i>	3	
		Elaborative discourse markers	<i>Well, in fact, ...</i> <i>Well, actually, ...</i>	1 1	
<i>Well</i> +	Discourse activity markers	Markers of sequencing	<i>Well, first of all, ...</i>	1	5%
<i>Well</i> +	Discourse Topic Markers		<i>Well now, ...</i>	2	9%
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>22</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 7:** Translations with *well*-clusters

Co-occurrence of DMs	Translation	Frequency	Percentage
<i>Well then, ...</i>	$\emptyset$	4	64%
	<i>tedy</i> $\emptyset$	2	
	<i>pak tedy</i>	1	
	$\emptyset$ <i>pak</i>	1	
	<i>dobrá tedy</i> $\emptyset$	1	
	<i>dobře tedy</i> $\emptyset$	1	
	<i>tak tedy</i> $\emptyset$	1	
	<i>nyní tedy</i> $\emptyset$	1	
	<i>takže</i> $\emptyset$	1	
	<i>ale</i> $\emptyset$	1	
<i>Well, of course, ...</i>	$\emptyset$ <i>samořejmě</i>	3	14%
<i>Well, in fact, ...</i>	$\emptyset$ <i>vlastně</i>	1	4%
<i>Well, actually, ...</i>	$\emptyset$ <i>vlastně</i>	1	4%
<i>Well, first of all, ...</i>	$\emptyset$ <i>především</i>	1	4%
<i>Well now, ...</i>	<i>a</i> $\emptyset$	1	10%
	$\emptyset$	1	
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>22</b>	<b>100%</b>

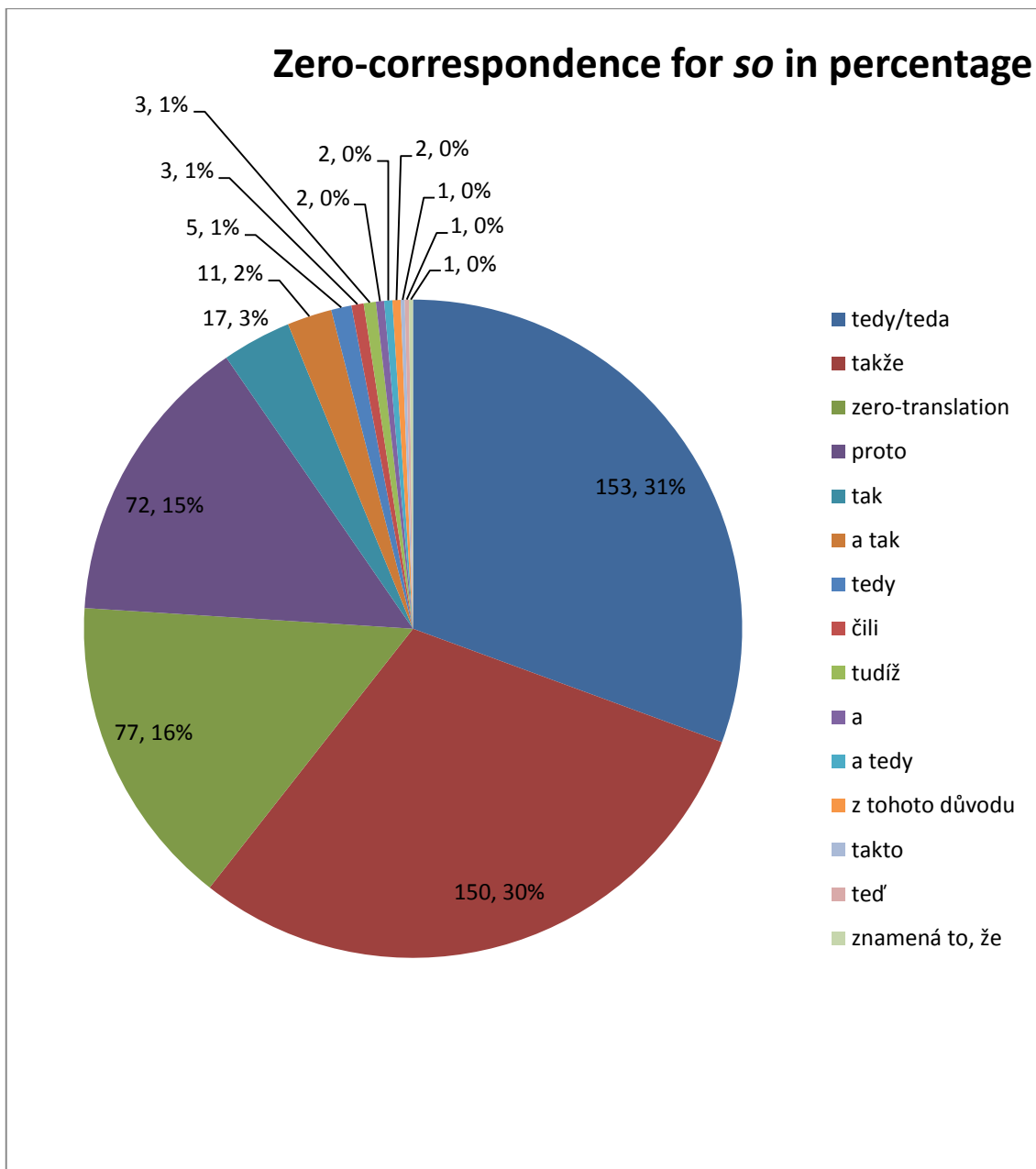
**Table 8:** Positions of *tedy* as the equivalent for *so*

<b>Positions of <i>tedy</i></b>	<b>What precedes <i>tedy</i></b>	<b>Number of occurrences</b>
non-initial	post verbal	120 (79%)
	preverbal	31 (20%)
initial		2 (1%)
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>153 (100%)</b>

**Table 9:** Positions of *tedy* as the equivalent for *well*

<b>Positions of <i>tedy</i></b>	<b>What precedes <i>tedy</i></b>	<b>Number of occurrences</b>
non-initial	post verbal	20 (59%)
	preverbal	10 (29%)
initial		4 (12%)
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>153 (100%)</b>

**Graph 1: Zero-correspondence as means of translating *so* in percentage**



**Graph 2: Zero-correspondence as means of translating *well* in percentage**

