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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.

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Title:

Discourse Markers in Political Speeches

Annotation:

The diploma paper "Discourse Markers in Political Speeches" draws upon phenomena which hold together utterances in the discourse context; particularly it is concerned with the presence of discourse markers within speeches made by politicians. The main purpose of the work is to provide a contrastive Czech-English 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. The domain of discourse markers is often idiosyncratic. They 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. Moreover, most of the all-purpose dictionaries are of little help for translators because they do not provide all functions of discourse markers. 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 tedy jedná o diskurzivní ukazatele v projevech politiků. Hlavním cílem této práce je poskytnout kontrastivní 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 jsou idiosynkratické, to znamená, že mají 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

Content

Introduction	1
1 Discourse Markers	3
1.1 Terminology	4
1.2 Definition	10
1.3 Classifications.....	15
1.4 Properties of discourse markers	18
1.5 DMs in this thesis	30
1.5.1 The marker <i>so</i>	31
1.5.2 The marker <i>well</i>	34
1.5.3 Cooccurrences of <i>so</i> and <i>well</i>	38
1.6 Major approaches	39
1.6.1 Corpus-linguistic approach	40
2 Political discourse	44
2.1 Political speech.....	47
2.1.1 DMs in political speeches.....	49
3 Data, methodology and research questions.....	52
3.1 Data description.....	53
3.2 Research methodology.....	56
3.3 Research questions	58
4 Analysis	59
4.1 Translation equivalents of <i>so</i> and <i>well</i>	60
4.2 Zero-translations in the corpus.....	65
4.3 Cooccurrences of <i>so</i> and <i>well</i> in the corpus.....	68

4.4	Distribution of Czech translation equivalents.....	75
4.5	Conclusion.....	79
	Resumé.....	82
	Secondary sources.....	89
	Appendix.....	97

Introduction

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 expressions such as those in bold in the following sentences:

1. *I'm not sure what time I'll arrive, maybe seven or eight. **Anyway**, I'll certainly be there before eight thirty.* (the words in bold are original, this holds for the rest of the examples as well; Swan, 2005: 144)
2. *Tommy's really stupid. He **actually** still believes in Father Christmas.* (ibid)
3. *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)
4. *I hope you passed the exam. B: No, **as a matter of fact**, I didn't.* (ibid: 145)

In the last few decades, DMs have become an important topic in applied linguistics, cross-linguistic pragmatics and text analysis. There are studies where authors work with a whole range of DMs (Fraser 1988 (1993); Schourup, 1999; Schiffrin, 1987), and also other researches, which focused on individual DMs (Carlson, 1984; James, 1983; Lakoff, 1973; Oven, 1981; Svartvik, 1980; Watts, 1986). Predictably, different approaches have resulted in different outcomes, and disagreements and open controversy in the research of DMs have emerged.

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 and definitions of DMs based on past researches and studies on DMs. This will be followed by various classifications of DMs. Further, an overview of central properties of DMs along with the range of functions DMs are believed to perform will be provided. Chapter 2 will introduce the domain of political discourse and the attention will be paid to political speeches and DMs within them. A detailed description of the data

will be given and the research methodology adopted in the study will be introduced in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 will provide in-depth analyses of the two markers *well* and *so* 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

The notion of DMs brings several contentious issues. First, it is the variety of terms used to represent these phenomena. A great deal of studies has approached DMs from many different points of view. Despite this extensive investigation, there is no group of linguists who would agree on one term. The term “discourse markers” is one of many terms which label these elements. The names often reflect different linguistic approaches and perspectives on the functions and status that these elements are said to fulfil. Second, the description of the domain of DMs reached no general agreement among researches. Further, the attempts to capture some of the characteristics identified with DMs proposed different results as well. Last but not least, the number of different definitions influences the inclusion or exclusion of certain markers and their classification. Thus, this chapter will focus on how these issues were dealt in previous researches of DMs. Their definition and various classifications are interdependent with multi-functionality, which is another aspect of DMs which makes almost impossible to suggest what exactly the phenomena of DMs are. A set of defining characteristics attributed to discourse markers will be presented along with their multiple functions. And last, discourse markers *so* and *well* and with their presence in clusters will be discussed.

1.1 Terminology

This chapter will focus on terminology based on the numerous researches carried out on the phenomena of DMs. Among them studies in other languages, especially French, German and Slavic languages will be mentioned.

The terminology of DMs poses a particularly difficult issue for linguists. The term “discourse marker” is probably the most commonly used, for example, by Schiffrin, 1987 or Schourup, 1999 or Jucker and Ziv, 1998. Other competing terms include but are not limited to “cue phrases” (see, for example, Moser and Moore, 1995), “discourse connectives” (see, for example, Lisbeth Degand and Sandrine Zufferey, 2013), “discourse operators” (see, for example, Redeker, 1990, 1991, 2006), “discourse particles” (see, for example, Aijmer, 2002; Fischer, 2006; Schorup, 1983; Werner Abraham, 1991), “markers of discourse structure” (see, for example, Redeker, 1990), “mystery particles” (see, for example, Longacre, 1976), “modal particles” (see, for example, Weydt, 1979), “parenthetic phrases” (see, for example, Corum, 1975), “pragmatic connectives” (see, for example, van Dijk, 1979), “pragmatic formatives” (see, for example, Fraser, 1987), “pragmatic expressions” (see, for example, Erman, 1992), “pragmatic markers” (see, for example, Briton, 1996; Fraser, 1988, 1990; Schiffrin, 1987), “pragmatic operators” (see, for example, Ariel, 1993), “pragmatic particles” (see, for example, Fried and Östman, 2005), “semantic conjuncts” (see, for example, Quirk et al., 1985), “sentence connectives” (see, for example, Halliday and Hasan, 1976).

Obviously, a great deal of authors carried out extensive researches into the topic. Dealing with this grammatical phenomenon, some of the studies were conducted back in the 1970s. For example, the tradition of German linguistics focusing on the problematic of DMs has proliferated. One of the authors dealing with German DMs is Harald Weydt in *Die Partikeln der deutschen Sprache* (1979). His book includes the contributions to DMs by various authors who started discussions

about the functions of “modal particles” (Abtönungspartikeln). Among them, Jutta Lütten who focuses on the role of the markers *doch*, *eben* and *ja* as well as Barbara Sandig who describes the use of DMs in dialogue. Further, Dietrich Hartmann comments on syntactic functions of DMs such as *eben*, *eigentlich*, *einfach*, *nämlich*, *ruhig*, *vielleicht* and *wohl*. There is also the article by Wolf Thümmel who is interested in the rules applied for the expression *ja*. Moreover, it includes Harald Weydt’s studies on markers such as *immerhin*, *dich jedenfalls*, *schließlich*, or *wenigstens*.

Another reference to German markers while calling them “discourse particles” was made by Werner Abraham. It was presented in his book *Discourse Particles: Descriptive and theoretical investigations on the Logical, Syntactic and Pragmatic Properties of Discourse Particles in German* (1991). He works with items such as German *auch*, *ausgerechnet*, *genau*, *gerade*, *noch*, *schon*, *den*, *doch*, *ja*, *mal* (among others).

The linguists have begun to probe the linguistic phenomena in South Slavic languages referring to them as “discourse particles” as well. A pioneering study *South Slavic Discourse Particles* (2010) by Mirjana Dedaic and Mirjana Miškovic-Lukovic belongs among the first of its kind for a related group of languages. The study outlines an explanation of the use of Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbian, Bosnian, Croatian and Slovene markers and it draws from naturally occurring data, written media and constructed examples.

DMs were attested in Czech as well by Karsten Rinas (2006) who presents Czech equivalents to German markers. She provides pairs of expressions, e.g. *vlastně/eigentlich*, *ale/aber*, *přece/doch*, *jen/nur*, *právě/eben*, *klidně/ruhig*, and so on. In her article, *Abtönungspartikeln, das Mittelfeld und die Wackernagelposition* (2006), she refers also to other linguists who deal with DMs, for example Karlík, Nekula and Pleskalová. These Czech authors call them “částice modifikační”, and include

under this phenomena Czech expressions, such as *ale, copak, holt, jen, klidně, prostě, přece, taky, však*, and so on (Rinas, 2006: 321).

Further reference to Czech DMs was made in Rinas's article *Tschechische Abtönungspartikeln – Entlehnungen aus dem Deutschen oder autochthone Entwicklungen?* (2007). As the title of the article suggests, it is referred to DMs as "Abtönungspartikeln" which is a term previously used by Masařík. In this contribution to DMs, Rinas discusses especially Czech ones: *schválně, normálně*, and *jako*. She uses Masařík's examples (1982) of DMs in Czech with their German equivalents, for example *Prostě to řekni! – Sag es einfach!*, *To jsou ale vousy! – DAS ist aber ein Bart!*, *Ty seš mi taky kousek! – Du bist mir aber auch einer!*, or *Kolik je vlastně hodin? – Wie spät ist es eigentlich!* (the words in bold are original; Rinas, 2007: 391).

Furthermore, the Czech marker *snad* was debated by Rinas in her study *Partikeln als semantische Mumien Zur Bedeutung von wohl, vielleicht und snad in Ausrufesätzen* (2010). Additionally, her article discusses German *wohl* and *vielleicht* which cover the meaning of Czech *snad*. It also explains the semantic and pragmatic behaviour of the markers.

In terms of Czech language, in *Construction Grammar and spoken language: The case of pragmatic particles* (2005), Miriam Fried addresses grammatical patterns found in spoken language, particularly what she calls "pragmatic markers" within Czech spoken discourse. She pays a particular attention to a commonly used subordinating conjunction *jestli* as well as its phonetically reduced forms found in spontaneous discourse *esli, jesi*, or *esi*.

Moreover, Halliday and Hasan mentioned DMs as "sentence connectives" in *Cohesion in English* (1976). This publication along with *Text and Context* (1977) by van Dijk are two ground-breaking landmarks in the study of DMs. This term was later echoed in Mann and Thompson's work (1988). Another such reference

was made by Labov and Fanshel (1977) whose study delved into the use of a specific discourse marker *well*.

The interest in the domain has emerged in French as well and the linguists refer to it as “discourse markers”. In *The semantic status of discourse markers* (1997), Maj-Britt Mosegaard Hansen proposes a definition of DMs, discusses their status within linguistics, and especially from the syntactic point of view. In addition, she presents a brief exemplary analysis of the French discourse marker *bon*. In her other work, Hansen investigates the function of the French marker *eh bien* as it is used in spoken language (Hansen, 1996).

Further, Degand et al. (2013) investigate the problem of the selection between the term “modal particles” and “discourse markers” within the context of categorization in *Discourse markers and modal particles: two sides of the same coin?* (2013). The authors examine the literature providing the definitions for both labels, investigate the intersection between them, and review to what extent they constitute one single class.

Another contribution to French research on DMs is ‘*So, very fast then*’ *Discourse Markers at left and right periphery in spoken French* (2014) by Liesbeth Degand. It includes the description of the linguistic expressions occurring in initial position and bearing the function of “relating their host utterance to the discourse situation” (Degand, 2014: 1). The study explores the frequency of two DMs in spoken French, *alors* (equivalents in English are *then, at that time, so*) and *donc* (English equivalents is *so*).

Lisbeth Degand along with Sandrine Zufferey also attempt to design a method of studying DMs cross-linguistically using corpus data and referring to them as “discourse connectives” in *Annotating the meaning of discourse connectives in multilingual corpora* (2013). They discuss DMs in five languages, namely English, French, German, Dutch and Italian. Their aim is to compare and annotate DMs

while using the *Penn Discourse Treebank* (PDTB) which provides an annotation over the *Wall Street Journal Corpus*. They deal with journalistic texts gathered from the Press Europe website and the size of the corpus used in the study was around 2,500 words per language. Additionally, they present a monolingual annotation experiment in French and provide a list of connective types from French corpus with their token frequency.

A number of formal and conceptual distinctions are associated with different terms. As Jucker and Ziv hold “there is of course no easy correlation between a given approach or a function and a particular term” (Jucker and Ziv, 1998). Thus, each of the mentioned terms slightly differs from the others depending on the research, and also each of them is a subject to objection to other linguists.

There are linguists who differentiate between the terms. For example, Jucker and Ziv believe that the label “discourse connectives” is relatively restricted and is mostly used in the reference to the words like *so* and *therefore*. Also, they say that the term “discourse particles” is applied rather for German, Dutch or Norwegian expressions such as *ja, doch, eben* (German), *dan, toch, even* (Dutch), and *vel, visst, nok, da* (Norwegian) than in the reference to English elements (Jucker and Ziv, 1998). On the contrary, in English the term “discourse markers” is commonly known.

Further, Risselada and Spooren see the difference between “discourse particles” and “discourse markers”. They say that “discourse particles” focus on the semantics and the role they play in reflecting the speaker’s attitude and the illocutionary force of utterances, while “discourse markers” are based on discourse analysis and oriented towards the use of corpus-based data (Risselada and Spooren, 1996: 131). This view was proper at the time of writing, the current researches show otherwise, for example, Aijmer (2002) studies “discourse particles” within the London-Lund Corpus data and discusses the attitudinal meaning and textual meaning of the particles.

Furthermore, Fraser differentiates between the terms “discourse markers” and “pragmatic markers”. He says that DMs “signal a sequential relationship between the current basic message and the preceding discourse” (Fraser, 1990: 383) and the latter ones “indicate the types of direct (in contrast to implied) messages the speaker intends to convey in uttering the sentence” (Fraser, 1990: 386).

On the other hand, there are linguists who do not distinguish between the terms and use different labels to refer to the same phenomena, as Östman who uses the label “pragmatic particles” for what Schourup calls “discourse particles” or to what Schiffrin refers as “discourse markers”.

The research on DMs and similar phenomena has expanded and the greatest break-through in discourse marker studies came in the 1980s and early 1990s. Schiffrin’s 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 ground-breaking monograph provides the delimitation of the phenomena of DMs along with key definitional and taxonomic issues. Although the approach outlined in Schiffrin’s book is too broad for the description of the class, the name of the category was retained and is widely used.

The term “discourse markers” as introduced by Shiffrin is preferred over a plethora of competing terms and it will be used for further purposes in this thesis as it is considered the most appropriate for it most aptly conveys what a linguistic items such as *well* and *so* do and also it has the widest currency in the field.

1.2 Definition

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 as they were studied in a rich variety of disciplines and were analysed within different frameworks.

The history of DMs has different readings, which greatly depend on the linguist's perspective. In the United States, Deborah Schiffrin is regarded as the most important precedent; there are, however, also European perspectives considered by Michael Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan, Teun van Dijk, Oswald Ducrot and Claude Anscombe, H. Paul Grice, Michael Swan, Harald Weydt, Wolfram Bublitz, Gisela Redeker, Stephen C. Levinson, Diane Blakemore, Robyn Carston-Dan Wilson and Deirdre Sperber, Bruce Fraser and others.

According to Swan's definition, a discourse marker is "a word or expression which shows the connection between what is being said and the wider context" (Swan, 2005: xviii). He adds that DMs connect a sentence with what precedes or follows, or shows the speaker's attitude towards what he is saying (ibid).

One of the first studies concerned with the defining the phenomena in English is Jan-Ola Östman's study *You Know: A Discourse Functional Approach* (1981), where he refers to DMs as "pragmatic particles" and says that they "implicitly anchor an utterance to a situation. They implicitly convey the speaker's attitudes and emotions." (Östman, 1981: 6). This conception, which approaches the interpersonal aspect of communication, was later used for the expression "discourse marker" as well (see, for example, Redeker, 1990 and Andrsen et al., 1999).

Another early reference to DMs and related items was made by Schourup in his book *Common Discourse Particles in English Conversation* (1983). He calls them "discourse particles" and views them as items that indicate to the listener what is

in the speaker's mind while he is speaking, since "what gets spoken (in conversation) is only part of what comes to mind" (Schourup, 1983: 3).

DMs were also described as the syntactic (Halliday and Hasan, 1976) or semantic (van Dijk, 1977) glue in the binding of sentences, as well as a bridge between sentences. Both authors referred to DMs as "sentence connectives". This was later echoed in Mann and Thompson's work (1988), and they regard DMs as elements which provide coherence in their Rhetorical Structure Theory (Mann and Thompson, 1988)

In another study, Redeker expresses an interest in DMs referring to them as "discourse operators". She claims that a discourse marker is

a word or phrase, for instance, a conjunction, adverbial, comment clause, interjection – that is uttered with the primary function of bringing to listener's attention a particular kind of linkage of the upcoming utterance with the immediate discourse context (Redeker, 1991: 1168).

She holds that this formulation does not require a specific discourse context, and thus elements which have a function of indexing a relation to the non-linguistic context can be included (Redeker, 2006: 3). Her conception places great importance on the fact that "discourse operators need not be optional, need not be syntactically or intonationally independent, and may add truth-conditional content" (ibid). This view is in disagreement with Schourup's formulation, which encompass that among the most common features of DMs are "multi-categoriality, connectivity, non-truth conditionality, weak clause association, initiality, and optionality" (Schourup, 1999: 230).

Schiffrin agrees with Redeker on the function of DMs. Moreover, she claims DMs to be verbal and non-verbal devices, particularly, she describes DMs as

linguistic, paralinguistic, or non-verbal elements that signal relations between units of talk by virtue of their syntactic and semantic properties and by virtue of their sequential relations as initial or terminal brackets demarcating discourse units" (Schiffrin, 1987: 40).

Her best known definition of DMs is that they are "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (Schiffrin, 1987: 31) and that they occur "at the boundaries of units as different as tone groups, sentences, actions, verses, and so on" (Schiffrin, 1987: 36). After further analysis, her definition was modified in the way that "markers propose the contextual coordinates within which an utterance is produced and designed to be interpreted" (Schiffrin, 1987: 315). She also suggests that DMs are linguistic expressions comprised of various word classes as conjunctions, interjections, adverbs and lexicalized phrases (Maschler and Schiffrin, 2001: 4). Fraser extends this list and except for the traditional grammatical inventory, he adds literal phrases (such as, *to repeat, as a result*) or idioms (e.g., *by and large, still and all*) (Fraser, 1993: 5).

Schiffrin's view on DMs is supported by Fraser who made a comprehensive account on DMs and says 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). He claims that DMs are identified as the elements that signal a relationship between adjacent discourse segments (Fraser, 2009: 296). Thus, he defines a discourse marker as "a lexical expression which signals the relation either of contrast, implication, or elaboration between the interpretation of S2 and the interpretation of S1" (Fraser, 1998: 302).

In *Cohesion in English* (1976), Halliday and Hasan hold a similar approach, they claim that there exist certain relations between the sentences in the text and they identify five main cohesive devices in English discourse, these are reference, substitution, ellipsis, lexical cohesion and conjunction (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 291). They state that conjunctions, or "connective elements" which is how they

label DMs, relate sentences and supply missing information. They propose that DMs link the entire environment of a text and also relate two sentences together (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 226).

Similar arguments are applied by Lenk, who suggests that DMs are used “to signal the hearer how the speaker intends the present contribution to be related to preceding and/or following parts of the discourse”, she defines DMs as “short lexical items” (Lenk, 1998: 52). Lenk’s definition focuses on the function of DMs in discourse organization.

Maj-Britt Mosegaard Hansen discusses the approaches to DMs and diverse formulations of the phenomena made by other authors, for example by Schiffrin, Redeker or Fraser, and consequently, she proposes her own conception of the class of DMs. According to Hansen, DMs are “linguistic items of variable scope, and whose primary function is connective” (Hansen, 1997: 160). She adds that

they do not contribute to the propositional content of their host units (...) and that they function as instruction from the speaker to the hearer on how to integrate the host unit into a coherent mental representation of discourse (Hansen, 1997: 161).

As Lenk pointed out, “not one single definition of the term discourse marker remained undisputed or unaltered by other researchers for their purposes” (Lenk, 1998: 37). None the less, all the definitions above imply that DMs are elements which are defined in terms of the structure of the discourse and their role then is to connect, link or relate utterances or discourse segments; they are tools utilized to structure and organize the discourse, and also indicate the boundaries within and bracket the discourse. DMs are defined further from the perspective of interaction as the pragmatic devices which signal, infer, indicate or imply some kind of interpretation, assumptions, attitudes, instructions and emotions.

The essential definition for this thesis will be the one used by Schiffrin. To recall her stance, she says that DMs are the devices which “help speakers express interactional alignments toward each other and enact conversational moves” (Schiffrin, 1985: 281). Her way of defining DMs is suitable for this thesis because the markers will be analysed within the Europarl corpus texts which were drawn from the proceedings of the European Parliament.

Yet another definition will be crucial for this thesis, it will be the one proposed by Hansen. The definition will be also recalled again. He holds that DMs are elements which make no contribution “to the propositional content of their host units” (Hansen, 1997: 161) and “function as instruction from the speaker to the hearer on how to integrate the host unit into a coherent mental representation of discourse” (ibid). The definition proposed by Hansen will be taken into account because of the fact that he suggests that DMs represent the instructions of how to integrate the sentence into the discourse, and he stresses that they do not contribute anything to the propositional content of the sentence. Moreover, this definition seems to be the most suitable one for the following research.

1.3 Classifications

As well as the terminologies and definitions dramatically diverge in this field, the classification of DMs poses 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.

M. Swan (2005) provides a broad classification of DMs based on the most common functions of DMs along with examples of particular markers as is: focusing and linking (*with reference to; regarding; as for...*), balancing contrasting points (*on the one hand, on the other hand; while; whereas*), emphasising a contrast (*however; nevertheless; still; yet...*), similarity (*similarly; in the same way; just as*), concession (*it is true; certainly; of course...*) and counter-argument (*even so; but; all the same...*), contradicting (*on the contrary; quite the opposite*), dismissal of previous discourse (*at least; anyway; at any rate...*), change of subject (*by the way; incidentally; now; ok...*), return to previous subject (*as I was saying...*), structuring (*first of all; finally; to start with...*), adding (*moreover; furthermore; in addition...*), generalising (*on the whole; in general; to a great extent...*), giving examples (*for example; in particular...*), logical consequence (*therefore; as a result; so; then...*), making things clear/giving detail (*I mean; actually; in other words...*), softening and correcting (*I think; I reckon; I'm afraid...*), gaining time (*let me see; kind of; you know...*), showing one's attitude to what one is saying (*honestly; frankly; no doubt*), persuading (*after all; look...*), referring to the other person's expectations (*in fact; to tell the truth; well...*), summing up (*in conclusion; to sum up; briefly...*) (Swan, 2005: 138-145). Although Swan's classification represents a comprehensive

account on DMs, it seems to be too general and indefinite. It is rather an exhaustive list of DMs than a possible set for any analysis.

Fraser (1993) proposes a less general classification. He holds that DMs mark certain comments, and presents three types (Fraser, 1993: 11):

...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, say, speaking of, alright, in fact, listen, look, well,* and so on), discourse activity markers (consisting of *after all, of course, on one/other hand, once again, overall,* and so on), and message relationship markers, which are further classified into parallel markers (i.e., *also, similarly, otherwise, alternatively...*), contrastive DMs (such as *however, nevertheless, despite, on the contrary, 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, therefore, thus...*) (Fraser, 1993: 11-15). In his later work, *Pragmatic Markers* (1996), Fraser classifies DMs as a subcategory to the group of pragmatic markers and further categorizes them in the similar way as in his previous work into topic change markers (which relates to parallel markers mentioned above), contrastive markers, elaborative markers, and inferential markers (Fraser 1996: 186-188).

What follows will focus on the markers which Fraser (1999) excludes from the class of DMs.

Fraser (1999) suggests which markers should be excluded from the class of DMs. In the following sentences, particular expressions will illustrate his suggestions (Fraser, 1999: 942):

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

In the examples (5-7) 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 (8-9) and pause markers like *Hum...*, *Well...*, *Oh...*, *Ahh...* as in (10-11) (Fraser, 1999: 942).

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

Likewise, vocatives as in (12-14) do not signal a relation between segments, hence they are excluded. Moreover, they signal a message in addition to the primary message which is conveyed by the sentence, which also excludes them. The same applies to interjections like in (15-17) (Fraser, 1999: 942):

12. A: *We shall arrive on time.* B: **Sir**, *I fear you are sadly mistaken.*
13. A: *Are there any questions?* B: **Mr. President**, *what do you think of Mr. Dole?*
14. *Who know the answer.* **Anyone?**
15. A: *The Chicago Bulls won again tonight.* B: **Oh!**
16. **Wow!** *Look at that shot"*
17. A: *You have to go to bed now.* B: **Shucks!** *I really wanted to see that movie.*

To sum up this chapter, the categories proposed by Swan and Frazer describe how DMs operate and their function is the criterion for the classification. The poly-functionality of DMs (which will be closely mentioned in Chapter 1.4.4) is echoed in multiplicity of categories.

1.4 Properties of discourse markers

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the general properties of DMs. According to Schourup, it is possible “to identify a small set of characteristics most commonly attributed to discourse markers” (Schourup, 1999: 230). Among the most common features that he mentions are “multi-categoriality, connectivity, non-truth conditionality, weak clause association, initiality, and optionality” (Schourup, 1999: 230). Additionally, Briton provides a structured form of the list of features, which is represented in Table 1.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Phonological and lexical features:
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"> • Syntactic features:
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"> • Semantic feature:
g) They have little or no propositional meaning.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Functional feature:
h) They are multifunctional, operating on several linguistic levels simultaneously.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sociolinguistic and stylistic features:
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 Briton, 1996: 33-35)

According to Briton, 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. The criteria by Brinton refer especially to the type of data where DMs are typically found, i.e. in speech and in particular in conversation.

Another suggestion to the set of defining characteristics which should be shared by DMs is proposed by Schiffrin (Schiffrin, 1987: 328):

- a. "it has to be syntactically detachable from a sentence
- b. it has to be commonly used in initial position of an utterance
- c. it has to have a range of prosodic contours (e.g. tonic stress and followed by a pause, phonological reduction)
- d. it has to be able to operate at both local and global levels of discourse, and on different planes of discourse this means that it either has to have no meaning, a vague meaning, or to be reflexive (of the language, of the speaker)."

The attempt to capture some of the features of DMs proposed also different characteristics. In this thesis, the features that were mostly agreed upon, such as connectivity, propositional meaning, indexicality and reflexivity, multi-functionality, non-truth-conditionality, positioning, syntactic diversity, and optionality of DMs, will be discussed in detail in what follows.

The characteristic which is prominent to many definitions of DMs is connectivity. Hansen mentions this property in his account on DMs and interprets them as linguistic items of variable scope whose primary function is connective (Hansen, 1998: 236). Similarly, Fraser highlights the common function of DMs, which is to "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). He provides examples which illustrate how are the segments related by DMs (ibid).

18. *He drove the truck through the parking lot and into the street. Then he almost cut me off. After that, he ran a red light. **However**, these weren't his worst offenses.*
19. *A: I don't want to go very much. B: John said he would be there. A: **However**, I do have some sort of obligation to be there.*
20. *(on entering the room and finding the computer missing) **So**, where'd you put it?*
21. *You want to know how my garden grew this summer. **Essentially**, the tomatoes grew well. The broccoli was fair as were the peppers. The eggplant and carrots were terrible.*

He points out that the markers do not relate only adjacent segments. In (18), the marker *however* relates not only the immediately prior segment but several prior segments. In (18), the element *however* does not relate the immediately prior segment but the one before it. In (20), the word *so* has not linguistic context at all preceding it. In the last sentence (21), the expression *essentially* relates the segment it occurs in and also several segments which follow. Consequently, there are cases when DMs relate not only the segment of which they are a part to the immediately preceding segment (Fraser, 1999: 938).

The connectivity is mostly understood as a crucial property for DMs, none the less this characteristic alone is insufficient for distinguishing DMs and thus cannot be the only criterion.

To analyse the DMs Aijmer and Simon Vandenberg (2004) propose a model based on the combination of concepts that explain the anchoring of utterances in the discourse context. They name two crucial aspects to DMs: reflexivity and indexicality.

The concept of reflexivity is explained as the ability to comment on the utterance and thus assist in the interpretation of the utterance (Aijmer et al., 2006). Verschueren further defines reflexive or metapragmatic awareness as the "self-monitoring" by language users which "at whatever level of salience, is always going on" (Verschueren, 2000: 444). Its various explicit indicators include DMs. In other words, the expressions such as *of course*, *actually*, *in fact* explicitly

indicate the speaker's awareness of the communication process as taking place in a context and thereby help to shape that process in a particular way (Verschueren, 2000: 445). The reflexive property of DMs is crucial for structuring ongoing discourse and speakers using them prove they realize how what they are saying fits in the preceding or following discourse (Aijmer and Vandenberg, 2004).

The second aspect of DMs is indexicality. This notion summarises the functional property of linguistic elements to relate the current utterance to its immediate linguistic co-text, to contribute to discourse coherence (Schiffrin, 1987: 315), and convey extra-linguistic information, such as the speaker's background assumptions, beliefs, emotions or attitude towards the addressee or the conversation (Aijmer and Vandenberg, 2003: 1123). In other words, they index certain non-linguistic entities or situational dimensions (Aijmer and Vandenberg, 2004). Several situational dimensions are distinguished: apart from the temporal and spatial, there are social identity, social act, activity, affective stance, and epistemic stance.

Furthermore, DMs are identified with the feature of carrying no or little propositional meaning (Brinton, 1996: 33; Aijmer, 2002: 2). The reason for it is the fact that DMs have undergone a "pragmaticalization process", so is to say that their lexical meaning has been replaced, or partly replaced, by pragmatic one (Aijmer, 2007: 36). 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:

22. *I cook very well.*

23. *Well, it was quite good, but I've seen better films.*

In the first sentence (22), the word *well* is used as an adverb, while in the second sentence (23) the expression *well* is a discourse marker.

The absence of or little propositional meaning of DMs also means that the presence of DMs in the sentence does not affect its propositional content. Östman puts it as follows: the marker “does not directly partake in the propositional content of an utterance” but “implicitly anchors” the propositional content (Östman, 1982: 153).

Another essential characteristic is based on the view that DMs exhibit non-truth-conditional behaviour and this property belongs to their defining properties. 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 do not contribute anything to the propositional content of the sentence, they 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). 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 affect the meaning. Although the truth value of the proposition remains unaltered, the propositional meaning may change.

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.

Further, the multi-functionality as well as the major functions of DMs reported in the literature will be examined. DMs are considered as multifunctional (Brinton, 1996: 35) and there are more ways how the multi-functionality can be represented.

First, particular linguistic forms of the elements can represent the multi-functionality as they can have both pragmatic and non-pragmatic functions as in the sentences (23) and (22) above. In other words, DMs can both convey meaning and have the function to structure the discourse. The expression *well* can, for example, function as the head of a noun, verb, or adverb phrase and also it can carry the function of a discourse marker (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg, 2011: 228).

Moreover, the study of DMs brought a question how to represent their meaning. Linguists differ in this view and some of them propose analyses where DMs have a single core meaning, while others identify a range of different uses, functions, or sub-functions (Östman, 1981).

The notion of a unitary meaning of DMs is adapted within Relevance Theory. In this sense, the principles of the theory bring a unified account on the different functions of DMs. Among the authors dealing with this is Jucker (1993) who proposes a relevance-theoretical account focusing on a particular discourse marker *well*. He claims that the marker *well* has several uses and all of them have one core meaning, which is being “some kind of signpost, directing the way in which the following utterance should be processed” (Jucker, 1993: 438).

According to Lewis, there are three main approaches to the problem of multi-functionality in the sense of unification: First, the homonymy approach, where there are two or more quite separate senses for the marker; second, the pragmatic (or monosemy) approach, where the expression has a single core meaning and the different interpretations reflect pragmatic ambiguity that is resolved by the context; last, the polysemy approach, where the element has two or more related meanings (Lewis, 2006: 12).

As far as the influence of context is concerned, the number of discourse functions of DMs is influenced by it (Schiffrin, 1987: 31). This can be demonstrated on the following example:

24. *It's quite hot, right?*

In (24), the marker *right* can have multiple functions depending on the context, for example, when uttered by a stranger it can serve as a polite conversation starter, while if it is uttered by your roommate in the dormitories, it can imply a request to turn off the heat.

Apart from the multi-functionality of DMs which makes it difficult to determine their function in different contexts, DMs may serve more than one pragmatic function, even several functions at the same time. Schiffrin suggests that they may operate on different discourse levels, particularly “at both local and global levels of discourse” (Schiffrin, 1987: 328).

Another kind of multi-functionality is seen when DMs are analysed in terms of the Theory of Politeness as they have similar function at one level and differ in their function at another (Schiffrin, 1987).

Owing to the multi-functional nature of DMs, there are divergent taxonomies and investigations into their functions. A generally agreed functional typology of DMs is missing thus far. Among the numerous studies on DMs (e.g. Schiffrin, 1987; Fraser, 1999 ...), 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 (Schiffrin, 1987) or old information (Quirk et al. 1985: 1482);
- 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 (Levinson 1983: 128-129, 162-163, what he calls a “maxim hedge”);
- 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 “hedges” 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).

This list of functions is based on general studies of DMs, and is useful for identifying of DMs in the text.

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 of DMs. Brinton claims that DMs are “restricted to sentence-initial position” (Brinton, 1996: 33). Also, one of the 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 says 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 few illustrative examples when a discourse marker need not introduce the segment which it is part of (Fraser, 1999: 938):

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

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

27. *We don't have to go. I will go, nevertheless.*

Similarly, Schourup's view is that the potential position of DMs is not restricted only to the initial position, thus it does not suffice as a sole criterion for classification (Schourup, 1999: 233).

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. Hence, “different positions are responsible for subtle changes in meaning or function” (Hansen, 1997: 156).

With respect to the function of DMs which occur in the initial position, Aijmer holds that they “call attention to something new or 'preface' a new utterance, they serve as responses to the preceding message and simplify the transition to the new utterance” (Aijmer, 1996: 216).

The occupation of the sentence-initial position seems to be predominant and common case for DMs. Most items considered as DMs are at least possible to occur in initial position. As a consequence, it is a distinctive feature of DMs. The present paper will hold this view.

Furthermore, the issue of multi-categoriality will be reviewed as the placing of DMs within one traditional word class presents linguists with a problem. As far as the placement within a syntactic category, DMs are said to form a heterogeneous set. This means that they belong to diverse word classes and thus are syntactically diverse.

That DMs do not represent a recognized word class is proposed also by Liesbeth Degand (2013) and in her work she cites Lewis (2011) who observes that there is

little consensus on whether they are a syntactic or a pragmatic category, on which types of expressions the category includes, on the relationship of discourse markers to other posited categories such as connectives, interjections, modal particles, speaker-oriented sentence adverbials, and on the term “discourse marker” as opposed to alternatives such as “discourse connective” or “pragmatic marker” or “pragmatic particle” (cited from Degand 2013: 5).

Schiffrin proposed that DMs could be considered as a set of linguistic expressions comprised of members of word classes as varied as coordinating and subordinating conjunctions (such as *and, but, or, so, because*), interjections (such as *oh, gosh, boy*), adverbs (e.g. *now, then, actually, anyway*), verbs (such as *look, say, see*), and lexicalized phrases (including *y’know, I mean, you see, the way I see it*) (Maschler and Schiffrin, 2001: 4; Schiffrin, 1987: 64; Brinton, 1996: 34). The list of categories is solicited to be shorter or longer respectively by authors dealing with the topic.

The property of heterogeneity of the class poses a great difficulty in describing DMs as a group. As they are drawn from diverse grammatical sources, it is hard to define them structurally. Schiffrin explains that each of the markers could bring some features from its original class into the class of DMs (Schiffrin, 1987:40). Thus, DMs are described as “a functionally related group of items drawn from other classes” (Schourup, 1999: 236). Consequently, the heterogeneity of the class allows linguists to describe two DMs from the different categories, for example

the DMs *however* and *look*, in terms of the same schemes because they share certain functions and are used in same ways.

Further, 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 have the “privilege of absence” (Fraser, 1988: 23). 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:

28. *Honestly, I don't believe it.*

29. *I don't believe it.*

In the second sentence (29), the marker *honestly* is omitted without rendering the utterance ungrammatical, uninformative or nonsensical. Both sentences (28) and (29) may be understood in the same way. When the marker is removed, the utterance remains grammatical and intelligible (Brinton, 1996: 267). 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). Likewise, Fraser talks about the clue which relates the current and prior text which will be missing if DMs are omitted (Fraser, 1988: 23). Also in the example (29), the utterance changed into a simple declarative statement without any pragmatic

function, in contrast to the sentence (28). Moreover, the absence of DMs in the sentence may make the interpretation process more difficult (Brinton, 1996: 34).

Nevertheless, while DMs have no syntactic impact on the utterance in which they appear and are syntactically optional, “they are not pragmatically optional or superfluous” (Brinton, 1996: 35). If DMs are missing in the discourse, it “would be judged unnatural, awkward, disjointed, impolite, unfriendly, or dogmatic within the communicative context” (ibid).

1.5 DMs in this thesis

This chapter will focus on two probably most frequently occurring DMs in spoken language. DMs *so* and *well* belong to the markers which enable or facilitate the opening of some topic in the discourse. DMs in general are specific devices of textual structure and organization. And *so* and *well* usually open the flow of the discourse in relation to the immediately foregoing context, i.e. a question or some other impulse from the other speaker. So, in a way they may represent a start of some reaction to the previous context. In what follows, particular discourse functions of the two markers *well* and *so*, respectively, will be presented. Such DMs as *so* and *well* may imply that in parallel to their use, the speaker may make a use of another kind of discourse marker. Thus, the collocations of the two DMs will be discussed.

1.5.1 The marker *so*

This section will focus on the marker *so*. Particularly, the key discourse functions proposed by numerous authors will be presented.

The discourse marker *so* belongs to one of the best known devices of this kind. Van Dijk holds that this connective occurs often in the sentence-initial position. Its core function is to link “two speech acts of which the second functions as 'conclusion' with respect to the first speech act” (van Dijk, 1979: 453).

Likewise, Redeker holds that the marker *so* is used to indicate a sequential relation between “successive elements in a chain of events” (Redeker, 1990: 373) or (a similar view to van Dijk’s) to preface a conclusion made by the speaker. In her later work (2006), she describes the use of *so* as a marker of transitions in discourse, in the sense that *so* signals the start of a message, in her study particularly, of a short fragment from the narrative episode retelling a silent movie (Redeker, 2006: 344).

The use of *so* as a starter of a message is agreed by Müller (2005) as well. Particularly, the speaker uses *so* when he wants to start expressing his opinion. The expressing of an opinion is sometimes accompanied by phrases such as *I think*, *I guess*, *I assume* and so on (Müller, 2005: 84).

In a similar fashion, Quirk et al. claim that when the marker *so* is used in utterance initial position, it marks an inference made by the speaker based on the preceding linguistic context (Quirk et al., 1972: 527).

Quirk et al. agrees with van Dijk that the marker *so* is used in utterance initial position (Quirk et al., 1972: 527). This is supported by Bolden, who proposes that the expression *so* is perceived as “a marker of emergence from incipency” (Bolden, 2009: 977). In other words, *so* is usually used to initiate an interaction. This is in agreement with Redeker’s proposal as well.

Bolden argues in the same way that the marker *so* is most commonly said to “preface new (or previously abandoned) topics” (Bolden, 2009: 977). This means that the marker *so* signs the upcoming topic or a course of actions, which does not need to emerge from the immediately prior context, or it can accomplish a change of the topic to what was abandoned or interrupted or delayed, therefore, it might be regarded as incipient or pending (ibid).

As Bolden says, “So helps answer the question 'why that now' by instructing the recipients to understand the current turn by reference to some pending interactional agenda” (Boden, 2009: 996).

This means that the sequence-initial *so* as a marker of emergence from incipiency accomplishes a shift to the pending information of a conversation (Bolden, 2009: 980).

The prefacing functions of *so* apply when the participants of the conversation share an orientation to a particular action. In the case, when there is no shared expectation for a relevancy, the marker *so* may be used to deploy with new courses of action, or to resume some course of action (Bolden, 2009: 988).

There are even more reasons why to start an interaction with *so*. Swan provides two possible uses for the marker *so*, first as a general-purpose connector, and second as a counter-argument. He involves the first function under the functions of logical consequence, where he explains: the expression *so* “is used as a general-purpose connector, rather like *and*, in speech” (Swan, 2005: 143). This is illustrated in (30):

30. **So** I told him no, I hadn't. **So** he looked at me and... (the words in bold are original, this holds for the rest of the examples as well; ibid: 143).

In (30), the speaker uses the marker to indicate that he reached certain point in his narrative or speech; it also marks an implied result (Müller, 2005: 84).

Swan also mentions the marker *so* in collocation with the word *even*. The combination *even so* has the function of counter-argument, as in the following sentence (31):

31. ...cannot agree with colonialism. ***It is true*** that the British may have done some good in India. ***Even so***, colonialism is basically evil. (ibid: 140)

Further, Fraser includes the expression *so* under the class of inferential markers “which signal that the current utterance conveys a message, which is, in some sense, consequential to some aspect of the foregoing” (Fraser, 1988: 31).

To sum up, the word *so* has been associated with various functions. The marker has a function of concluding, prefacing, deploying or resuming some course of action. It usually provides a solution to a problem of an interaction. Further, it was agreed by a number of authors (Quirk et al., van Dijk, Bolden, Redeker) that the discourse marker *so* usually initiates the interaction. This aspect will be taken into account in further analysis, particularly for the choice of the data.

1.5.2 The marker *well*

The discourse marker *well* 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, who accounted on them in terms of Relevance Theory. Jucker (1993) 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.

Particularly, 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. The function of the face-threat mitigator, on the other hand, shows some problems in the social interaction. When the marker *well* is used as a frame, it indicates a topic change or introduces direct reported speech.

In terms of insufficiency, Jucker refers to Schiffrin, who 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, 1993: 443).

Jucker’s function of a face-threat mitigator was agreed by Swan, who presents the marker *well* with the function of softening and correcting (Swan, 2005: 143). This is illustrated in (32)

32. *Do you like it? – Well, yes, it’s all right.* (the words in bold are original, this holds for the rest of the examples as well; *ibid*: 143)

In the small fragment of a conversation (32), the second sentence is an evaluative utterance where the speaker uses *well* to preface his answer which is not direct and to be polite and safe the addressee’s face. As Swan puts it, the marker *well* is “used to show that one is not speaking very exactly, or to soften something which might upset other people” (*ibid*: 143).

Swan identifies with Jucker in the use of *well* as the marker of insufficiency. *Well* has also the function of softening some corrections or apparently faulty

utterances, in the sense that it suggests that it is nearly right. The following piece of conversation (33) illustrates the point.

33. *You live in Oxford, don't you? – Well, near Oxford.* (ibid: 143).

In the case above (33), 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.

Another function of *well* is to gain time. Swan again agrees with Jucker on this function. Additionally, Swan holds that in this sense the expression is often called 'filler'. By using this filler the speaker is given some more time to think (ibid: 144). An example is shown in the following conversations excerpts (34, 35):

34. *How much are you selling it for? – Well, let me see...* (ibid: 144)

35. *Why did you do that? – Oh, well, you know, I don't know, really, I mean, it just sort of seemed a good idea.* (ibid: 144)

In both conversations, the second speaker needs to gain more time to give a proper answer (in 34) and to express his/her view or attitude (in 35). Additionally, in the latter sentence (35), 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, particularly *you know, I don't know, really, I mean* closely followed by markers *just sort of*.

Referring to the other person's expectations is another function of the discourse marker *well* proposed by Swan, in such case the marker is used when the speaker gives a response which is not fully in agreement with the prior expectations. The conversations in (36), (37) show the use:

36. *What did you think of her boyfriend? – Well, I was a bit surprised...* (ibid: 145)

37. *You know that new house? – Well, you'll never guess who's bought it.* (ibid: 145)

In the examples (36) and (37), the second speaker expresses that her/his expectations about the topic mentioned by the first speaker were quite different. As Swan puts it “after a new subject has been announced, *well* suggests that something new or surprising is going to be said about it” (ibid: 145).

Later, Redeker (2006) investigates the functions of DMs in the narrative structure. She debates that the marker *well* signals returns after parenthetical discourse units. Her example of such function of *well* is shown in the fragment of the narrative episode in (38):

38. ...*in the room where the pilots were*
and- one of the pilots –
who had/ who
after- the/ they had made accusations,
the one who was feeling very down,
was uh v/ uh upset by the whole thing,
well, the other pilot was trying to comfort him... (Redeker, 2006: 344).

In the example (38), the function of the marker is to return to the beginning of the narrative episode after providing some extra information referring to a character in the narrative.

Further, in agreement with Jucker’s use of *well* as the indicator of a topic change, Müller distinguishes between two different functions of *well*, the first one is to “move to the main story” and the second one “introducing the next scene” (Müller, 2005: 118). Then, Schiffrin claims that *well* is a topic-change marker or a subtopic-transition marker. In this respect, she compares *well* to the discourse marker *now* and concludes that both markers are close in meaning, yet they are not freely interchangeable. She assumes that in formal context *now* is more accurate and she cites Charlson when saying that *well* would be considered “informal, improvised, or colloquial as it suggests that the speaker is not really beginning

from the beginning but already responding to his audience or to his own implicit deliberations. On informal occasions, particularly after an introduction, such a beginning is quite normal" (Schiffrin, 2002: 71).

The function of topic change may also be a new contribution to the discussion and *well* in this case marks the speaker's start of expressing his opinion. It can be either contradictive to the previous utterance or there does not have to be any discrepancy between the previous and current one (Müller, 2005: 127).

Schiffrin mentions another function of *well* citing Quirk et al., which is seen in the following example (39):

39. A: *That man speaks extremely good English.* B: *Well he comes from a village in Mongolia.* (ibid: 72)

Well in (39) indicates an acceptance, as if it was a fact and the speaker believed that the man clearly must have good English because in Mongolia everyone has. The marker *well* here has the similar meaning to the phrase *well, of course* (ibid).

To sum up, the utilization of the marker *well* is in most cases oriented to the attitude or emotions of either the speaker or the listener.

1.5.3 Cooccurrences of *so* and *well*

This chapter will discuss a parallel linguistic phenomenon which belongs among the typical properties of DMs; 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’s formulates a similar definition but he refers to such co-occurrence as “a compound pragmatic marker” (González, 2004: 208).

According to González, the co-occurrence of DMs is functional, which is agreed by Aijmer who says that clustering of DMs signals their similar function, which is “to get more time for planning what to say next, to make a new start, or to reformulate what they have just said” (Aijmer, 2004: 185-6). González adds some other functions: to change the attention of the speaker and to emphasize the illocutionary point of the utterance (González, 2004: 208).

Collocations with other DMs can emphasize their description of the meaning or function because “there must be an overlap of meaning or at least meaning compatibility between the collocates” (Aijmer, 2002: 104). This is agreed by Dyvik (2002) who talks about DMs as words with wide meaning and thus similar functions (this will be discussed in Chapter 3.2.).

Montserrat González provides an analysis where there are clusters with *so*, such as *so, you know* in his book *Pragmatic Markers in Oral Narrative: The case of English and Catalan* (2004).

Further, 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).

1.6 Major approaches

DMs have been studied and analysed within a large number of theoretical frameworks and models which reflect different research interests, methods and goals.

Most commonly, they were discussed within Relevance Theory. Further, the notion of coherence is widely associated with the study of DMs. They were also related to Speech Act Theory and Theory of Politeness. Their genesis and development was also described in terms of grammaticalization. There were also alternative approaches dealing with pragmaticalization.

Moreover, the corpus evidence was incorporated in the examination of DMs. This corpus-linguistic approach has gained popularity in recent years and the following chapter will delve into the researches which were made within this framework.

1.6.1 Corpus-linguistic approach

The principles of corpus linguistics have been laid by lexicographers and dictionary makers who collected examples of language to define words since late 19th century. The advent of computer technology has led to the growth in corpus linguistics as we know it nowadays. It comprises of hundreds of millions words in size and makes outstanding contributions to the research in linguistics (Bennett, 2010: 2). Corpus linguistics approaches the study of language through corpora and seeks patterns associated with lexical and grammatical features including frequency in use, differences between spoken and written language, use of particular words and so on (Bennett, 2010: 4).

The use of computer corpora steadily increases owing to the easy accessibility and processing of the vast electronic collection of texts. Also in the study of DMs, a number of analyses based on computer corpora has emerged, both qualitative and quantitative.

For example, Uta Lenk analysed a collection of roughly half a million words including conversation, interviews and speeches. As an instance, in her recent study *Marking Discourse Coherence: Functions of Discourse Markers in Spoken English* (1998), she provides a coherence-based study using two computer corpora of spoken English, the *London-Lund-Corpus of Spoken English* (quoted as LLC in the study), particularly, the conversational half of the *Survey of English Usage Corpus*, and the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English* (quoted as CSAE throughout her study). Lenk discusses the role of a selection of markers, namely the expressions *actually, anyway/anyhow, however, incidentally, what else* and *still*, and also reports their functions in real conversation and the use of the markers in collocation with other DMs. With respect to the functions of DMs, she uses Sperber and Wilson's model of Relevance Theory. Further, she compares the uses

of DMs in (spoken) British and American English and mentions the differences of their use in the two varieties.

Similar attempts were made by Aijmer (2002), who presents a study of DMs which draws upon the data from the LLC, a corpus consisting of about half a million English words at the time of the analysis. However, in contrast to Lenk, Aijmer doesn't use the corpus data to support her research of DMs but her analysis is guided by the corpora. According to Aijmer, the use of corpora for the study of DMs derives advantage from the fact that "corpora represent actual performance and provide the opportunity to study the distribution and function of particles in extensive text extracts representing different registers" (Aijmer, 2002: 3), moreover it allows to "analyse the functions of discourse particles in their social and situational context" (Aijmer, 2002: 277). She offers a comprehensive account on the theme of distribution of DMs examining all the text types represented in the LLC. Additionally, she matches the data from the LLC with written data from the *Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus* (LOB). For comparative purposes, she occasionally employs more recent data from the *Corpus of London teenager speech* (COLT). By studying a broad perspective on DMs, she describes their properties and explains DMs with reference to their prosodic and colloquial factors, in particular she examines the markers *now, oh* and *ah, just, sort of, actually* and *and all that sort of thing* (Aijmer, 2002).

More recently, Aijmer in her book *The meaning and functions of the Swedish discourse marker *altsa* – Evidence from translation corpora* (2007) explores DMs for the purposes of cross-linguistic studies while using evidence from parallel translation corpora. In accordance to her assumption:

Translations and translation corpora make it possible to be more objective about which meanings are the same or different since they give us access to a large number of interpretations besides the linguist's own introspective judgement of what a discourse marker means (Aijmer, 2007: 33).

Her contrastive analysis of the Swedish discourse marker *altsa* and its German cognate *also* is based on the English-Swedish Parallel Corpus as the main source of data, and the Oslo Multilingual Corpus as the English-German contrastive data are concerned. The data in the analysis comprises of almost three million words found in 80 texts from the field of fiction and non-fiction. Moreover, Aijmer explains DMs while considering the grammaticalization and pragmaticalization of DMs (Aijmer, 2007).

Simone Müller's (2005) corpus-linguistic-based study of DMs uses the *Giessen-Long Beach Chaplin Corpus* (GLBCC), collected in the study by Andreas Jucker in cooperation with Sara Smith, and it compares the use of DMs in native and non-native English discourse. Most of the data used in the study were made by Müller herself. The corpus was collected in an experimental setting as her research works with German non-native speakers of English and American native speakers retelling and discussing a silent Chaplin movie. Their interpretations of the movie were recorded and DMs contained within analysed. The research provides valuable insight into the analysis of the functions of DMs *so, well, you know, and like*. It shows that the speakers differ not only in the frequency of use of DMs but also in their actual use. The analysis also develops a two-level model of functions of DMs consisting of a textual and an interactional level (Müller, 2005).

Another corpus study is provided by Maite Taboada (2006). Two different corpora, particularly a corpus of conversations, and a corpus of newspaper articles, were compared in order to investigate the signalling function of DMs. The data for the study of dialogues were collected by Carnegie Mellon University and the University of Pittsburgh as part of the translation project JANUS. The second corpus data were represented by a collection of articles, letters to the editor, and editorials from the *Wall Street Journal Corpus* from the *Penn Discourse Treebank* (PDTB), which is directly available from the *Linguistic Data Consortium*

(LDC). Similarly, the corpus data from the *Wall Street Journal Corpus* was used by Lisbeth Degand and Sandrine Zufferey (2013) in their attempt to study DMs.

The study of DMs within computer corpora could greatly help the quality and efficiency of the research on the translation equivalents. The advantage of the use of corpora is that it gives an authentic account of the use of DMs in real-life situations, in terms of this thesis in the political discourse.

2 Political discourse

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

Language is a particularly important tool in communication and it is intensely involved in human interaction. It is also one of the pillars for maintaining the status quo of an individual in relation to others. This is a complex process where the linguistic substance blends together with a scale of other non-linguistic, context factors. There are certain conditions, for example socio-cultural, historical, ideological, or institutional ones, which determine the linguistic interaction. In terms of politics,

the specific political situations and processes (discursive practices, such as parliamentary debates, political press briefings) determine discourse organization and textual structure of a variety of discourse types (or genres) in which political discourse as a complex form of human activity is realized (Schäffner, 2010: 2).

Indeed, there is a blend of the level of linguistics, pragmatics and the universal, contextual level, and also there is a close relation between language and politics. Every political action is prepared, connected to, affected and performed by language. The speakers choose and utilize a variety of linguistic forms in certain time under particular circumstances and with deliberate intention to convey the message and communicate their ideas, emotions or needs. Davy Crystal holds that the language of politicians is marked by the use of the ritual phraseology, a variety of rhetorical and dramatic techniques. As politicians no longer assume that their opponents are telling the truth, on the contrary, they believe that the others are saying lies, they are playing a language game where their performance must be authoritative, consistent and convictive (Crystal, 2003: 378).

As the majority of researches in the field of political discourse deal with the texts, speeches and talks provided by presidents, prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or numerous political parties, concerning whether local, national or international issues, political discourse (hereinafter named PD) is produced by its authors, i.e. politicians. (van Dijk, 1977: 12).

However, there are more participants in the domain of politics. The political scene involves not only the creators of PD who appear on the stage, but also various recipients, such as the public, the people, citizens, the masses, and other groups. The vast number of participants who take part in the political process significantly extends the scope of the notion of PD. (van Dijk, 1977: 13).

Still, the participants of PD are only those who are involved in political actions and practices and take part in the world of politics, which means they govern, rule, legislate, protest, demonstrate, dissent, debate, argue, or vote. In the reference to discourse, van Dijk points out that “the political actions or practices are at the same time discursive practices”, which means that the form of the text, speech or talk has certain political functions and implications (van Dijk, 1977: 14). In other words, politicians express their ideologies in texts and the linguistic form of the text communicates them as well.

PD is not only defined with the two core elements, the participants and actions, but there is another crucial element to be encompassed, that is to say, the whole political context. The context defines participant's experience; it also interprets and represents the relevant aspects of the political situation. There are specific properties relevant to the political context. A selection of these properties along with examples characterizing a parliamentary debate is offered by van Dijk: societal domain or field (e.g. politics), political systems (e.g. democracy), political values, political ideologies (e.g. democracy, group and party ideologies), political institutions (e.g. parliament), political organizations (e.g. political parties, lobbyists), political groups, political actors (e.g. members of parliament, cabinet

ministers), political relations (e.g. legislative power), political process (e.g. legislation), political actions (e.g. political decision making), political cognition) (van Dijk, 1977: 16-19).

Moreover, 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”. This implies that an informal conversation of a politician is not considered as PD. What is more, “the text and context mutually define each other” (van Dijk, 1977: 14). For instance, when a parliamentary session is held, it is conditioned by the participation of elected politicians debating in the parliament building in an official way (ibid).

To sum up this chapter, PD deals with political contexts and political actors, such as presidents, members of parliament and other politicians operating in political environments in order to achieve certain political goals.

2.1 Political speech

In connection to PD, political speeches need to be discussed as a specific subcategory. The notion of political speech poses a problem as far as what kind of media it is, whether spoken or written or both. David Crystal gives an account on this issue and presents the political speech as a mixed medium. He holds that “both mediums jointly work together to produce a successful use of language (Crystal, 2003: 292). Political speech as a sub-genre of PD can be identified with prepared speech, non-spontaneous oration, or spoken monologue (Hernandez-Guerra, 2013: 59).

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.” 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).

A considerable number of spoken monologues are written texts read aloud with the audience present. Many of the speeches are in principle uninterruptable, for instance very formal speeches, such as the Queen's speech at the opening of Parliament (Crystal, 2003: 296). In this case, there is rather no expectation of response. On the other hand, there are situations when the interruption is permitted, for example in public speaking, the speaker is sometimes confronted (Crystal, 2003: 297).

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.

Owing to the property of being multi-functional in terms of contextual dependence, DMs were examined in a variety of genres and interactive contexts, for instance, newspaper articles (Taboada, 2006), spontaneous speech (Verdonik, et al., 2007), religion (Verdonik and Kčić, 2013) political discourse (Wilson, 1993; Dedaic, 2005), discourse of court interpreting (Hale, 2004), broadcasting (Kolář, 2011).

The attention to DMs applied in the field of political discourse can be also represented by Redeker in her article *Discourse markers at attentional cues at discourse transitions* (2006), where she identifies DMs in two hours of Dutch television talk, and one of the segments used for her analysis was drawn from political discussions.

In terms of society and linguistics, language is one of the most significant means of communication and interaction. Language used in political speeches is expected to be ordered and “satisfy a number of constraints, e.g. those of semantic coherence, in order to be acceptable as discourse” (van Dijk, 1979: 447). The sentences are to occur in sequences which are not arbitrary, thus the relations between the sentences are expressed by specific words or phrases (ibid). DMs are considered as such linguistic tools. Crystal observes that “a great deal of speech depends on a shared context, and thus uses many situation-dependent expressions”. In public speeches, he adds, there is a relatively high score of explicit referential devices (Crystal, 2003: 293). Schiffrin states that DMs “help speakers

express interactional alignments toward each other and enact conversational moves" (Schiffrin, 1985: 281), which can be applied towards the audience as well. She adds 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; they are oriented to the thematic aspect of the speech and minimize the hearer's effort to interpret the message. Then, they show the connection between what a speaker/a politician is saying and what has already been said or what is going to be said. Further, DMs indicate the author's attitude and what he thinks about what he is saying or what others have said. Politicians also use the markers to make a connection, 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. Sometimes the choice of certain markers can cause such a considerable influence upon the listeners that it could be said that the politician exerted this influence to control or manipulate the audience and their view or attitude. The markers are devices which manage both, they dictate and organize, and at the same time influence the relation between the participants and the development of the whole interaction.

To sum up, PD 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. Furthermore, DMs as strategies of communications are devices which 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.

To sum up Chapter 2, PD is concerned with the special language choice with the purpose of reaching a particular political effect. Here, language is employed as a strategy for achieving a specific objective, thus DMs are present throughout political texts as cohesive devices helping to communicate the message. Moreover, through the utilization of DMs, politicians deliberately manipulate the addressee.

3 Data, methodology and research questions

This chapter will introduce the data description and research methodology. First, the source for the data will be discussed. This will be followed by the explanation of the underlying methodological principles used in the present study. Last, research questions will be formulated.

3.1 Data description

The data used for this study come from InterCorp, particularly from EuroParl: A Parallel Corpus for Statistical Machine Translation. InterCorp is a parallel corpus 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 its previous releases remain available as well. The access to the corpus is provided via a standard web browser. After signing-in, texts from the InterCorp can be acquired as bilingual files including shuffled pairs of sentences.

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).

The above mentioned texts have been aligned automatically, thus there is a higher possibility of misaligned segments, and the collections do not contain all text from the original source, for example, certain corrections and omissions were made in some texts from EuroParl corpus. Frequently, the authors used free translations.

The EuroParl parallel 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 the members of European Parliament. The initial release of the corpus was in 2001 and it consisted of 11 languages of the European Union (EU) (Koehn, 2005: 79). Owing to the fact that the EU grows larger, the number of languages which need to be translated increases as well. At the end of the year 2014, a new (seventh) release of the parallel corpus was issued, and the number of languages represented in the corpus raised to 39, and the actual overall size of the corpus

increased to the amount of over 1 billion words (Ústav Českého národního korpusu).

The present paper makes use of the multilingual Europarl corpus to investigate DMs used by politicians in political speeches. The data used for the paper consists of 1000 examples drawn from the corpus, where the results are shuffled, 500 instances of two sentence-initial DMs, namely *So* and *Well*. All the amassed data from the Europarl corpus are provided on the compact disk enclosed in this thesis.

The Europarl corpus generated nearly 23 thousand English concordances 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 (40-44) below, which were drawn from the Europarl corpus as English concordances for word forms of *so* and *well*. These cases will be eliminated in this thesis.

40. *You said that you were going to support Gerogia's peace plan, so my question to you, High Commissioner, is...*

41. *You never did reply to my question, Mrs Reding, so I would like to have an answer today.*

42. *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...*

43. *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.*

44. *There are those who are nervous and say, well, let us just use the idea of a toolbox.*

English concordances for the word form *So* counts 3468 appearances. Although the capital letter as a criterion was used, there still appeared some instances, when it was not a discourse marker. For example, sentences which started with *So* accompanied by adverbs such as *So far ...*, *So often ...*, or by auxiliary verbs such as *So does ...*, or by determiners such as *So much for ...*, *So many of ...*, and so on. Such cases, particularly 52 from the 552 first concordances, 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 concordances, 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.

3.2 Research methodology

In this chapter, an aspect of methodology used in this thesis will be discussed. In particular, quantitative method and the method of contrastive analysis in terms of “semantic mirrors” will be introduced.

The method of contrastive Czech-English analysis will build upon the Europarl corpus, where there are pair texts, one text in English and a parallel one in the Czech language. The analysis of the political texts will be made, this means that DMs will be identified within the English text and then the translation equivalents will be detected in the Czech text.

The process of translation is connected to the ability of the translator to choose a correct equivalent for a particular expression in order to adequately render the message from the source language into the target language. DMs are seemingly insignificant expressions but their presence can influence the interpretation of the whole utterance. In this respect, Hale mentions Green’s point that although DMs are little words and often overlooked, they may speak volumes about the author (Hale, 2004: 61). This suggests a great importance of finding a proper equivalent in the target language.

The use of translation equivalents in a corpus was proposed by Helge Dyvik (2002). His approach deals with the words which carry wide meanings and serve different context-dependant functions.

In accordance to Dyvik’s assumption, words with wide meanings are believed to have the tendency to carry a higher number of translations (Dyvik, 2002: 1). Applied to DMs, which are multi-functional and context-dependant, it can be deduced that the multiple functions of DMs are mirrored in multiplicity of their translations. This thesis will focus on two particular English markers *so* and *well* and their various corresponding Czech equivalents. This will demonstrate which

translations are more frequent and prototypical, as well as the translations which are individual entities and peripheral.

In addition, Dyvik assumes that “semantically closely related words tend to have strongly overlapping sets of translations” (Dyvik, 2002: 1). Thus, DMs which are semantically close are expected to share a number of translations. In this thesis, the markers *so* and *well* will be analysed while taking in consideration the overlapping translations.

Following Dyvik’s view, the analysis will attempt to map a set of translation equivalents in the Europarl corpus. Thus, the method adopted for the analysis will be not only the one of contrastive analysis but also a quantitative one.

The main purpose will be to locate the expressions which belong to the phenomena 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. In other words, the contrastive analysis is to mark the frequency of occurrence of particular translation equivalents of the two DMs *so* and *well* respectively which will be identified in the corpus of political speeches.

3.3 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 corpus data.

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

- a. What are the translation equivalents of DMs *so* and *well*? Particularly, what are their most frequently occurring Czech translation equivalents?

There is, of course, a possibility that the translated text will not carry any of Czech lexical translation equivalents for the two markers, but instead there will be used zero-translation. In such case, there will be raised the following question:

- b. Do the two DMs have the same number of zero-translations?

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). In this view, the combinations with other items will be questioned as follows:

- c. Which combinations of DMs are typically found with the two DMs? Do they combine with similar elements?

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:

- d. Is the sentence-initial position a criterion for Czech translation equivalents as well?

4 Analysis

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*

This chapter concentrates on the semantic mirrors of the DMs *so* and *well* in the Europarl corpus.

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
<i>tedy/teda</i>	153
<i>takže</i>	150
zero-translation	77
<i>proto</i>	72
<i>tak</i>	17
<i>a tak</i>	11
<i>takže ano</i>	5
<i>čili</i>	3
<i>tudiž</i>	3
<i>a</i>	2
<i>a tedy</i>	2
<i>z tohoto důvodu</i>	2
<i>takto</i>	1
<i>ted'</i>	1
<i>znamená to, že</i>	1

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

Table 2 highlights the fact that the discourse marker *so* has a tendency to carry a high number of semantic mirrors, which supports Dyvik's (2002) claim about multiplicity of possible translations of DMs. 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%. Third most frequent mean of translation was zero-translation which turns in a score of 77 occurrences. Very close number of occurrence has the Czech equivalent *proto* with 72. Every other translation equivalent is far behind these two, with the translation *tak* with 17 occurrences, *a tak* is represented by 11 occurrences, *takže ano* by 5, *čili* as well as *tudíž* by 3 occurrences. The translations *a, a tedy, z tohoto důvodu* appeared two times, and *takto, ted', znamená to, že* occurred only once.

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*, the expressions such as *a, a tedy, z tohoto důvodu, takto, ted', znamená to, že* are rather marginally used translations. This analysis suggests that these 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.

In what follows, the semantic mirrors of the discourse marker *well* in the Europarl corpus will be presented. The analysis of the occurrence of the marker *well* within the corpus is shown in Table 3 below:

Czech translation equivalent of English <i>well</i>	Number of cases
zero-translation	278
<i>tedy</i>	34
<i>dobrá</i>	28
<i>nuže</i>	26
<i>ale</i>	19
<i>a</i>	14
<i>no</i>	11
<i>ano</i>	10
<i>nu</i>	9
<i>tak; však</i>	8
<i>takže</i>	7
<i>inu</i>	6
<i>dobře</i>	5
<i>sice</i>	4
<i>ovšem, víte</i>	3
<i>je pravda, že; nicméně; pravda; tak tedy</i>	2
<i>ale samozřejmě; bohužel; budiž; co k tomu říci;</i> <i>dobrá tedy; dobře tedy; jednoduše; je pravda; jistě;</i> <i>na druhou stranu; ne; nyní; nyní tedy; pak;</i> <i>pak tedy; prosím; přiznávám se, že; také; totiž</i>	1

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

The variety among semantic mirrors of *well* occurred as well, with over 40 mirrors observed; they are listed in the Table 3 above. In comparison to the discourse marker *so*, the marker *well* has in this research even wider collection of translation equivalents. It is most frequently translated via zero-translation, coming out on top with 278 occurrences. Very far behind the zero-translation, Czech translation equivalents *tedy* (34 occurrences), *dobrá* (28 occurrences), or *nuže* (26 occurrences)

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.

Interestingly, the data indicate that there were 28 cases 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*. This applies for the translation equivalent *dobře* which was found five times in the corpus, as well as for marginally used equivalents *dobrá tedy* and *dobře tedy*. None the less, these correspondences were very infrequent in comparison to zero-translation or the expression *tedy*, and as a result it is not always possible to use them as equivalents because they could sound unnatural.

The analysis indicates that the authors who translate political speeches do not usually translate the discourse marker *well* as the majority of concordances from the corpus were zero-translations. The reason for the omission of the discourse marker *well* in the translations of the political speeches can be explained by the tendency of translators to avoid unnecessary verbalism. Still there are numerous examples of how the discourse marker *well* can be translated.

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 interpretations utilized for the marker *so* and nearly four times more, particularly 41 concordances 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. The discourse marker *so* is mostly translated explicitly by lexical means, particularly by expressions *tedy/teda* and *takže*, while the discourse marker *well* is in majority of cases translated implicitly by means of zero-translation.

It was expected that because the markers *so* and *well* are semantically close, they will share a number of translations. This expectation proved right and there are some overlaps in their translation equivalents. Interestingly, the second mostly utilized translation equivalent for the marker *well* is the expression *tedy*, which is at the same time the most frequent equivalent for the marker *so*, moreover the second most frequent (so as to say, equally frequent) equivalent for *so*, *takže* was also represented in the list of translations of *well*, as well as words, such as *proto*, *tak*, or *a*.

4.2 Zero-translations in the corpus

In this chapter, the choice of zero-translations as means of translation of the two markers *so* and *well* will be discussed. The figures from the research provide striking evidence on this matter.

To illustrate the issue of zero-translation, few 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-translations in the Czech sentences will carry the sign Ø.

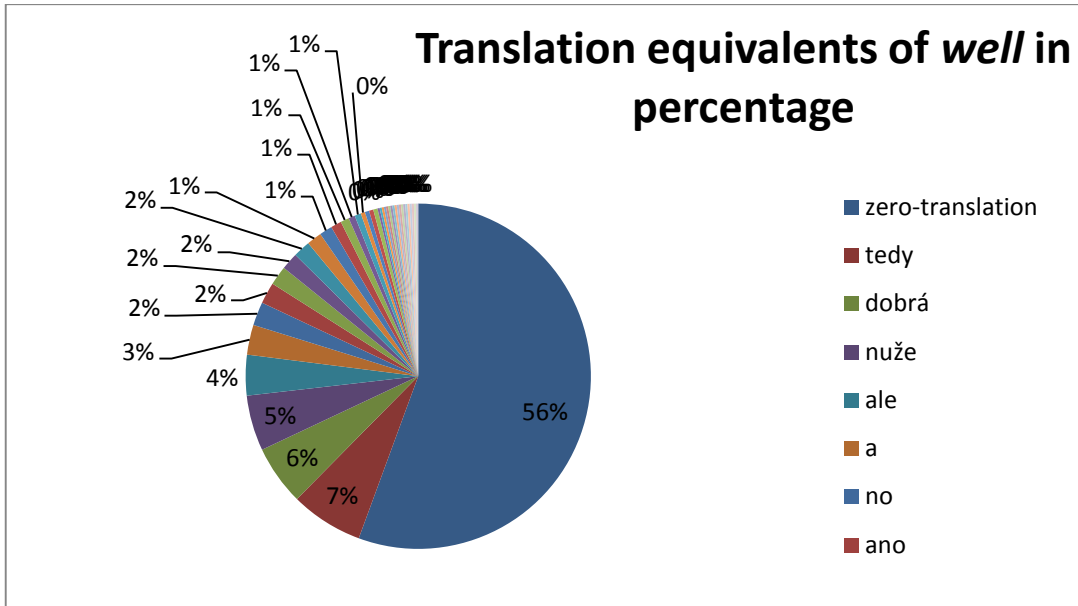
45. A: **So** the European School is an admirable project, and I support it.

B: Ø *Evropská škola je obdivuhodný projekt, a já jej podporuji.*

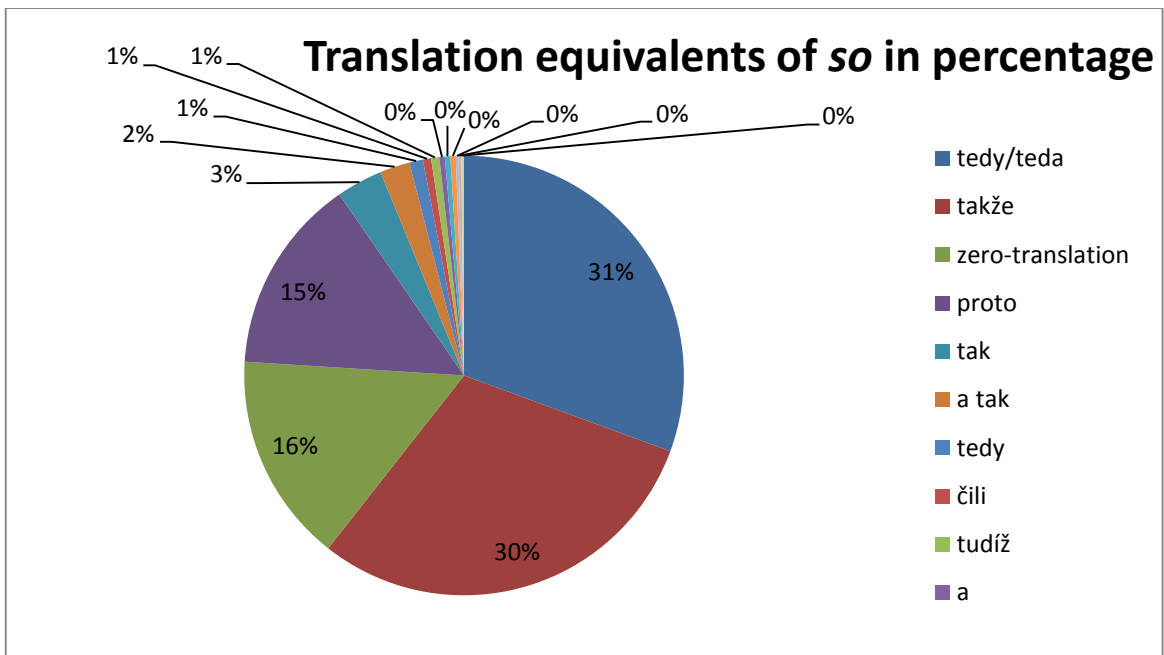
46. A: **Well**, that Prime Minister was Tony Blair, the man who made the last deal on the financial perspectives.

B: Ø *Tím premiérem byl Tony Blair, člověk, který sjednal poslední dohodu o finančních výhledech.*

The sentences (45, 46) demonstrate the fact that the interpreters omitted the markers *so* and *well* in their interpretation and that the zero-translation is possible for both markers. However, as it is obvious from Graph 1 below, for the discourse marker *well* zero-translation is predominantly used. The occurrence of 278 zero-translations from the total uses of the marker *well* represents 56%. On the other hand, Graph 2 shows that the omission is not so significant because the use of zero-translation as the equivalent for the marker *so* is not as frequent and with 77 occurrences from the total it is only 16%, which is in comparison to the other marker very low.



Graph 1: Translation equivalents of *well* in percentage



Graph 2: Translation equivalents of *so* in percentage

The pie charts above, Graph 1 and Graph 2, show the percentage of the translation equivalents of the selected DMs. These percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. The exact figures are shown in Table 2 and Table 3. Both tables and pie graphs are attached in the appendix.

The fact that the DMs can be omitted in text translations reflects their property of being non-truth conditional, i.e. possibly omitted in the utterance and causing the meaning of the utterance to remain unaltered. So, if the original English sentence contains a marker, it does not have to occur explicitly in the Czech translation because the propositional meaning will be the same even without the marker. The question is, nevertheless, to what extent the propositional content will change when the marker is omitted in the utterance. The prosodic use of markers would influence this aspect, so it cannot be the object for the analysis in this thesis.

As for the research question concerning the equality of the numbers of zero-translations for the markers, the existing research suggests a negative solution because its use for the discourse marker *well* outnumbered the use for the marker *so* almost three times.

Although the use of zero-translation is not equal for the selected DMs, the research implies that to omit a discourse marker in the resultant text is a possible treatment in the process of translation.

4.3 Cooccurrences of *so* and *well* in the corpus

The fact that certain clusters formed from DMs and collocations with other items can be found will be imparted in this chapter. A moderate amount of combinations of the two English markers *so* and *well* analysed within the Europarl corpus will be discussed.

Among the elements which occurred in the combination with the discourse marker *so* was in many instances the word *then*, which is considered by Swan (2005) as the discourse marker of logical consequence. Several other clustering instances appeared in the corpus including DMs of structuring and summing up, such as *firstly*, *finally*, or *in short*. There were also cases when the marker *so* occurred with the word for expressing an affirmation, *yes*.

First, the marker *so* combined with the adverb *then* will be discussed. Remarkably, according to Swan the two markers belong to the same group of DMs of logical consequence. This correlation between *so* and *then* supports the view of Aijmer and González that the words with a similar function occur together in clusters.

The word *then* is an adverb and it is typically translated into Czech as *pak* or *potom*. A number of various instances of this combination was analysed in the corpus. The instances differ in the use of punctuation, and their translations are distinct as well. In the following four sentences (47-50), the differences will be shown. Note that the English sentences are signalled as A, and the Czech translations as B.

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

B: *Pak se tedy nabízí otázka:*

48. A: *So then, what principles...*

B: *Takže jaké zásady...*

49. A: *So, then, some people are surprised...*

B: *Někteří lidé jsou tedy překvapeni...*

50. A: *So these, then, are the sources.*

B: *Toto jsou tedy dané zdroje.*

In the sentence (47A), there is no punctuation used. In comparison, commas are used in the sentences (48A-50A). In (48A), the comma appears after the discourse marker and the adverb. In (49A), there are two commas and they occur after the marker *well* and after the adverb *then*, too. In the use of commas, the sentence (50A) is similar to the sentence (49A), but additionally, the word *these* is inserted between the marker and the adverb.

The sentences (47-50) also indicate different positional distribution of the DMs in English and Czech. Both English DMs are positioned at the beginning of the utterance, as in (47A-50A). Their Czech equivalents happen to be on different positions, as in (47B, 49B, and 50B).

Moreover, the authors translated the combinations in the sentences (47A-50A) differently. In the sentence (47B), the zero translation was used for the marker *so*, and the adverb *then* was translated as *pak*. In (48B), the marker was translated as *takže* and there is no translation for the adverb. Similarly, in the sentence (49B) and (50B), there is no translation for *then* and the marker is represented by the Czech word *tedy*.

Now, the focus will be on the other clusters of DMs. The marker *so* appeared in the company of DMs which were classified by Swan (2005) as structuring or summing-up markers. The following sentences (52A-55A) will demonstrate the clustering:

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

B: *Abych to tedy shrnul...*

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

B: *Takže zaprvé, co víme o...*

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

B: *Proto bych na závěr chtěla poděkovat těm, kteří...*

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

B: *...nepokračujme dál v...*

In the instances (51B-53B), there are translation equivalents for each of the markers. The marker *so* is translated as *tedy* (in 51), *takže* (in 52) and *proto* (in 53). The other DMs are *to sum up* translated as *abych to shrnul* (in 51), *firstly* translated as *zprvé* (in 52) and *finally* translated as *na závěr* (in 53). On the other hand, in the sentence (54B), none of the DMs is 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*.

Last, the occurrence of the discourse marker *so* with the word *yes* will be taken into account. When the marker was accompanied by *yes*, it was usually translated as *takže ano*, as is shown in the following excerpt:

55. A: *So, yes, it was a good day for Europe...*

B: *Takže ano, byl to dobrý den pro Evropu...*

The Czech equivalent *takže ano* is the literal translation of the discourse marker *so* in the combination with the affirmative word *yes*.

Now, the discourse marker *well* and its co-occurrences within the Europarl corpus will be debated. Similarly to the marker *so*, the combinations with *well* include the adverb *then*, and the clusters with other DMs, then it occurred with the affirmative expression *yes*, and interestingly also with its opposite, the negative word *no*.

In the first place, the discussion will be held on the co-occurrence with the adverb *then*. As it was already said before, the expression *then* is usually translated as *pak* or *potom*. Just as in the case of the marker *so*, a large amount of various instances of

the combination of *well* and *then* was analysed in the corpus. In a similar way, the co-occurrences differ in the utilization of commas, and their translations are diverse. The point will be demonstrated on the following sentences (56-61). Again, the English sentences are signalled as A and their Czech translations as B.

56. A: *Well then, we need to establish standards and uniform minimum objectives.*

B: *Pak tedy musíme stanovit normy a jednotné minimální cíle.*

57. A: *Well then, what have we proposed?*

B: *Co jsme tedy navrhli?*

58. A: *Well, then, regional policy now and in the future constitutes...*

B: *Tak tedy, regionální politika dnes a v budoucnosti představuje...*

59. A: *Well, then we would have to close this loophole in international law.*

B: *Dobrá, potom bychom museli zacelit tuto mezeru v mezinárodním právu.*

60. A: *Well then, there are plenty of opportunities for making serious savings.*

B: *Dobrá tedy, existuje řada příležitostí, jak dosáhnout výrazných úspor.*

61. A: *Well then, we just need North Korea to join the club...*

B: *Nyní tedy už jen potřebujeme, aby se do tohoto spolku přidala ještě i Severní Korea...*

The placement of punctuation within the sentences (56A-61A) is diverse as well as in the case of *so*. Few times the comma is placed after the combination *well then* (in 56A, 57A, 60A, and 61A), other times the comma is right after the marker *well* (in 59A), the possibility is also that two commas are present, one after *well* and the second follows *then* (in 58A).

An interesting aspect of the utilization of the combination *well then* is the translation of the expressions. In some instances, e.g. sentences (57B, 58B, 60B, 61B), only the discourse marker was translated. Among the translation equivalents of the combinations are *tedy* (in 57B), *tak tedy* (in 58B), *dobrá tedy* (in 60B), and *nyní tedy* (in 61B). In the sentence (61B), the translation equivalent *nyní tedy* is quite interesting because the Czech word *nyní* is usually translated into English

as *now*. In the other examples (56B and 59B), both the marker and the adverb are translated. In particular, the first one has the equivalent *pak tedy* and the latter is translated as *dobrá, potom*.

Further, the other clusters with the marker *well* will be addressed. *Well* was found in the company of the markers classified by Swan (2005) as referring to the other person's expectations (i.e. *in fact, actually*) and as markers of concession (i.e. *of course*). Such clusters will be shown in the sentences (62-64):

62. A: *Well, in fact, if we think about it more deeply, it is only a good and important beginning.*

B: *Pokud o tom uvažujeme hlouběji, je to jen dobrý a důležitý začátek.*

63. A: *Well, actually I think his dream has gone further...*

B: *Vlastně mám dojem, že jeho sen pokračuje...*

64. 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.*

In contrast to the results from the analysis of the marker *so* (together with other DMs) which was in the majority of cases translated by lexical means, the discourse marker *well* is in clusters translated via zero-translation as in (62B-64B). As can be seen in the sentence (62B), even the second discourse marker *in fact* was omitted in the resultant text. Clearly, the omissions of the equivalents of the marker *well* are harmless and avoid unnecessary redundancies.

In the second place, an account will be given to the discourse marker accompanied by the expressions for affirmation and negation, respectively. This aspect of the marker *well* was discussed earlier in this thesis, where Schiffrin describes it in terms of insufficiency and face-threat mitigating. Just to recall her view, when there are some problems with the propositional content, *well* is used to repair the insufficiency, on the other hand, when there are some problems in the social interaction, *well* is used as a face-threat mitigator (Jucker, 1993: 443). To start with the combination *well yes*, there will be provided two examples:

65. A: *Well, yes, that is precisely what this entire debate is about!*

B: *Ano, přesně tato otázka je jádrem celé rozpravy.*

66. A: *Well, yes it does, because...*

B: *Ano, to jistě, neboť...*

In (65A and 66A), there was probably some problem in the social level and the speaker wanted to mitigate his/her answer, thus used *well*, it could have been also used to avoid any clear confirmation. The sentences (65B and 66B) show an interesting case where the affirmative *yes* takes over the marker *well* and thus, in (65B), the marker and the affirmative expression were translated as one word, particularly as *ano*, which is the Czech translating equivalent for *yes*. It could be also said that the zero-translation was used for the marker *well* and only the affirmative word *yes* was translated. The same can be applied to the second sentence (66B), where the translation *ano* can refer either to both, the marker and the affirmation, or it can express only the word *yes* and not the expression *well*.

To proceed, some more examples of the negative *no* will be placed:

67. A: *Well, no, it seems that...*

B: *To je zřejmě považováno za...*

68. A: *Well, no, it is not especially bureaucratic.*

B: *Ne, není nijak zvlášť byrokratická.*

In (67A and 68A), the speaker tries to avoid a clear denial and by using *well*, he/she makes his utterances softer. Also he/she could have been correcting the insufficiency of the previous speaker because there could have been some problem on the content level of what he had said. The sentence (67B) shows that sometimes neither of the expressions needs to be translated. In the sentence (68B), the marker *well* was not translated and only the translation of *no* as *ne* is present.

To conclude, the present analysis of the combination *well* with *yes* or *no* supports Schiffrin's view that the discourse marker *well* is used when the respondent wants to avoid a clear confirmation or denial to yes/no question.

Finally, to sum up the whole chapter briefly, the analysis produced satisfactory outcomes as far as the research question about similar co-occurrences of the two DMs is concerned. It shows that both *so* and *well* can be combined with the adverb *then*, with other DMs, and expressions *yes* and *no*. Further, it suggests that the adverb *then* in combination with the markers *so* and *well* is rarely translated. In terms of discourse marker clusters other than

with *then*, both analyses of *so* and *well* happened to report cases when neither of the markers in the cluster was translated. When the two markers co-occur with the affirmative word *yes*, it is mostly reflected in the translation.

4.4 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 appeared 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*, *takže*, and via zero-translation, but for the research on the distribution of the marker, it will be skipped and the equivalent *proto* will be analysed.

As far as the translation of *takže* is concerned, it was found out that in the analysed corpus, it was always sentence-initial, similarly as the equivalent *proto*, which was almost entirely sentence-initial. The exceptions (69-70) were as follows:

69. A: *So I am very happy that...*

B: *Jsem proto velmi ráda , že...*

70. A: *So we must set real...*

B: *Musíme proto stanovit reálné...*

On the contrary, the equivalent *tedy/teda* occurred at the beginning of the sentence only rarely and it mostly held some other positions in the sentence. The examples of *tedy* at the beginning of the sentence analysed within the corpus are the following ones:

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

B: *Tedy závěr toho je...*

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

B: *Tedy I z tohoto pohledu si myslím...*

The distribution of the Czech marker *tedy/teda* was not limited to the sentence initial position, which can be seen in the following examples (73-80):

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

B: *Musíme tedy nalézt způsob...*

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

B: *Komise tedy v této oblasti provádí řadu činností...*

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

B: *Samozřejmě tedy musíme zachovat rovnováhu...*

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

B: *Co tedy můžeme dělat?*

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

B: *Proč tedy nemůžeme společnostem...*

78. A: *So while we are granting more rights to third-country citizens...*

B: *Zatímco tedy občanům třetích zemí udělujeme větší práva...*

The examples (73-78) provided above place the Czech *tedy* on the second position in the sentence, in terms of syntax it is particularly behind the predicate, subject, or adverbials.

79. A: *So this is our approach at the moment.*

B: *Takový je tedy náš momentální přístup.*

In the sentence (79), *tedy* is found on the third place as it is preceded by the subject and predicate.

80. A: *So, compared to all other sectors in the European Union, fisheries are proportionally less affected by the rise in oil prices...*

B: *Ve srovnání se všemi ostatními odvětvími v Evropské unii je tedy rybolov zvyšováním cen ropy relativně méně zasažen...*

In the sentence (80), the marker is not even on the third place but far more to the centre of the utterance.

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

The most frequent translation equivalent for *well* was zero-translation, thus the next most frequent equivalents will be debated, particularly *tedy*, *dobrá* and *nuže*.

The research shows that *dobrá* and *nuže* are entirely sentence-initial as there were no other placements within the corpus. Consequently, the main focus will be on the Czech marker *tedy* as well as in the case of *tedy* as the equivalent of *so*.

Tedy as the Czech equivalent of *well* is distributed in several positions in the sentence. The initial position in the utterance can be seen in the following examples:

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

B: *Tedy, jsou tu tři hlavní oblasti, kde lze jednat.*

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

B: *Tedy, mnoho toho nezmůžeme.*

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

B: *Tedy pro Irsko jsou tyto výzvy obzvlášť velké.*

Other than initial position in the sentence is illustrated in the following instances (84-89):

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

B: *Musíme tedy nastolit určitou rovnováhu.*

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

B: *Jsme tedy Evropská unie...*

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

B: *Co tedy musíme ve směrnici především zachovat?*

In the cases above (84-86), syntactically, *tedy* is positioned behind the predicate or the question pronoun.

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

B: *Normalizace je tedy tématem...*

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

B: *Ve středu tedy budeme mít...*

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

B: *To je tedy vrchol!*

The sentences above (87-89) place *tedy* in the third position in the sentence, in terms of syntax, it is particularly behind the subject and predicate.

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

To conclude this chapter, the analysis shows that the Czech semantic mirrors of the marker *so*, *takže* and *proto*, are sentence-initial as well as their English counterpart. On the other hand, the Czech word *tedy* is found in the initial position only rarely, and far more frequently it is placed on the second place in the sentence. The research on the distribution of the semantic mirrors of the marker *well* shows that *dobrá* and *nuže* are entirely sentence-initial and the equivalent *tedy* is more frequent in the second or third position. Thus, as far as the question whether the sentence-initial position is a criterion for the Czech DMs as well as for the English ones is concerned, this analysis provides a negative solution, namely, the marker *tedy* usually occurs in the second or third position in Czech utterances.

4.5 Conclusion

The conclusion provides a bare outline of the thesis. The main purpose of the present work was to provide a contrastive analysis and a particular focus was on the interpretation of DMs *so* and *well* within political discourse. In the first chapter, the phenomena of DMs and related items were discussed. This was followed by the introduction to the political discourse in Chapter 2. The data, research methodology and research questions were introduced in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 provided in-depth analyses of the markers *so* and *well* based on the Europarl corpus data.

This chapter summarises the findings and points out the importance of contrastive analysis as a tool for analysing the translation equivalents of DMs as the primary focus of the present paper was to find the semantic mirrors of the markers *so* and *well*. Thus, the first research question concerned the translation equivalents of the markers and their most frequently occurring Czech translation equivalents. The analysis showed that there are plenty of semantic mirrors; all of them were listed in Table 2 and Table 3. The most frequent mirror of English *so* was Czech *tedy/teda* and for *well* it was zero-equivalent. Further, some interesting differences between the markers emerged from the research, particularly that there were nearly four times more concordances for the marker *well* than for the marker *so*. Moreover, the discourse marker *so* was mostly translated by lexical means, i.e. explicitly, while the discourse marker *well* was in 56% translated by means of zero-translation, i.e. implicitly. Also, the expectation of high number of semantic mirrors proved right as 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*.

The expected possibility that there will be omissions, i.e. no lexical translation equivalent in the translated text also proved right. The second research question asked whether the two DMs have the same number of zero-translations. Although the zero-translation 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-translation, while *so* only in 16% instances. Thus the answer is clearly that in this research the number of zero-translations 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) was at question. The combinations with other items were questioned and the research showed that both markers can be seen in the presence of the adverb *then* which usually follows the marker. The occurrences of the two markers in clusters with other markers were also analysed within the corpus. Interestingly, the outcome of the analysis was that in the discourse marker clusters sometimes not even one of the pair was translated. Further, the translations of the combining pairs were discussed, and the research showed that the adverb *then* in combination with *so* and *well* was rarely translated. Another outcome of the research was that the DMs *so* and *well* were sometimes accompanied by the expressions *yes* and *no* in cases when the speaker wanted to mitigate the answer.

The last research question concerned the sentence-initial position which English DMs tend to occupy and its applicability to their Czech counterparts. The analysis concentrated on *tedy, takže, proto* as equivalents for *so*, and *dobrá, tedy, nuže* for *well*. Two Czech semantic mirrors of the marker *so, takže* and *proto*, were analysed and proved to be sentence-initial as well as their English counterparts. On the contrary, the research showed that the Czech equivalent *tedy* rarely occurred in the initial position, and far more frequently it was found on the second place in the utterance. The distribution of the semantic mirrors 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 more frequent in the second or third position. Consequently, the result of the analysis suggests that the sentence-initial position is not crucial for the Czech markers.

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 used the strategy of omitting the markers in their translations, especially the marker *well*.

Resumé

Diplomová práce „Diskurzivní ukazatele v politických projevech“ se zabývá kontrastivní analýzou heterogenní skupiny lingvistických částic, mezivětných či mezipropozičních pojítek ve struktuře politického diskurzu založenou na paralelním korpusu. 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. Z velkého množství názvů, které se k tomuto fenoménu váží, jsou "pragmatické částice", "modální částice", "diskurzivní operátory", nebo "pragmatické ukazatele" jen zlomkem z výčtu pojmů. V této práci se používal výraz "diskurzivní ukazatele", který byl uveden D. Schiffrinovou a patří mezi nejčastěji používaný termín, alespoň v rámci anglických ukazatelů.

Další kapitola poskytuje definice diskurzivních ukazatelů. Mnoho lingvistů projevilo snahu popsat diskurzivní ukazatele, mezi nimi Swan, Östman, Schourup, Redekerová, Schiffrinová, Hansenová, Fraser, Halliday and Hasan, nebo Lenková. Tito lingvisté formulují a popisují diskurzivní ukazatele především jako lingvistické prvky, které slouží k organizaci textu a jako návazné a pojící body mezi textovými jednotkami 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. Zdůrazněna byla pro tuto práci definice navržená Schiffrinovou a Hansenovou. Schiffrinová vysvětluje,

že diskurzivní ukazatele pomáhají mluvčím vyjádřit jejich záměry ve společenské interakci (Schiffrin, 1985: 281) a Hansenová zdůrazňuje, že jejich funkce je instruovat posluchače, aby správně pochopili, co chtěl mluvčí sdělit, přičemž diskurzivní ukazatele nepřispívají nic k významovému obsahu výpovědi mluvčího (Hansen, 1997: 161).

Následující kapitola se soustředí na klasifikační zařazení diskurzivních ukazatelů. Nejdříve uvádí uspořádání do skupin podle Swana, které je založeno na konkrétní funkci diskurzivního ukazatele a je poněkud všeobecné. Další uvedené třídění do kategorií, které je podstatně specifitější a mnohé výrazy vylučuje, je podle Frazera. Frazer kupříkladu nepovažuje výrazy jako *frankly* nebo *honestly* jako diskurzivní ukazatele, zatímco Swan je považuje za ukazatele postoje jednoho mluvčího k tomu, co říká druhý.

Bližší jsou prodiskutovány typické vlastnosti diskurzivních ukazatelů, jako je již zmíněná schopnost nepřispívat nic k významovému obsahu výpovědi, dále s touto schopností spojená možnost vypuštění ukazatelů z textu, nebo vlastnost objevovat se na určitých pozicích v textu, pak také charakteristika ukazatelů mít zástupce v různých gramatických kategoriích, 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.

Na to navazuje kapitola, která se věnuje dvěma konkrétním ukazatelům, *so* a *well*, které se objeví i ve výzkumu práce. Tyto dva ukazatele jsou okomentovány v rámci jejich funkcí. Diskurzivní ukazatel *so* má především funkci zakončení výpovědi, její zahájení, rozčlenění, nebo shrnutí určitého jednání. Funkce ukazatele *well* jsou shrnuty Juckerem (1993), který 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 jejich schopnost objevovat se ve shlucích, neboli schopnost dvou diskurzivních ukazatelů a více být vedle sebe. Aijmerová a González se shodují, že ve shlucích se objevují ukazatele, které mají stejnou funkci. Aijmerová uvádí několik ukazatelů, které doprovází *well*: *well you know, well now, well I think, well you see, or well anyway/anyhow* (Aijmer, 2002: 31).

Krátká kapitola je věnována i diskurzivním ukazatelům v rámci lingvistického přístupu korpusové analýzy. Mezi lingvisty, kteří zkoumali tyto elementy s použitím korpusu, patří např. Lenková, která zkoumala diskurzivní ukazatele v Londýnském korpusu mluvené angličtiny, nebo Aijmerová v Londýnském korpusu řeči teenagerů a také v anglicko-švédském paralelním korpusu, nebo Müllerová v Giessen-Long Beach Chaplin korpusu - jejich studie jsou krátce zmíněny.

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 a může mít i takový vliv, že diváky zmanipuluje. Diskurzivní ukazatele mohou uspořádat projev, udávat tempo, vytvořit vztahy mezi účastníky, v podstatě ovlivňují celou interakci.

Následuje kapitola soustředěná na data použita pro analýzu, kde je zmíněn paralelní korpus InterCorp a dále především Europarl, který je jeho součástí a byl důležitý pro získání dat. Jedná se o 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

diskurzívními ukazateli. Přes toto opatření se našla spojení, která neodpovídala definici diskurzívních ukazatelů, jako např. *so much*, *so many* nebo *well done*.

Součástí kapitoly byla kromě dat i metodologie, která se opírá o metodu sémantických zrcadel formulovanou lingvistou Dyvikem, který předpokládá, že slova s širokým významem mají velké množství překladových protějšků a také, že sémanticky blízká slova mají podobné odpovídající překlady. Z jeho metody sémantických zrcadel vyplývá, že lexikální jednotky spolu s jejich významy jsou zrcadleny v překladech do jiných jazyků. Z toho plyne, že paralelní anglicko-český korpus poskytuje mnoho překladových ekvivalentů. Díky korpusu Europarl bylo možné použít metodu kontrastivní analýzy, kde byly v anglickém textu objeveny diskurzívní ukazatele a poté nalezeny jejich překladové protějšky v českém textu. Korespondence ukazatelů v jednom jazyce s řadou odpovídajících ekvivalentů se lišila frekvencí. Další metodou byla tedy kvantitativní analýza, 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 překladové protějšky ukazatelů *so* a *well*, jejich společné ekvivalenty, kombinace s podobnými elementy a také jestli je první pozice ve větě stejně důležitá pro *so* a *well* jako pro jejich české odpovídající překlady.

Čtvrtá kapitola obsahuje analýzu diskurzívních ukazatelů *so* a *well*, která je založená na datech z korpusu Europarl. Výsledky práce poukazují na to, že kontrastivní analýza je důležitým prostředkem pro analyzování překladových ekvivalentů diskurzívních ukazatelů. Primárním zaměřením práce bylo najít sémantické protějšky ukazatelů *so* a *well*. Důvod pro tento výzkumný cíl byl fakt, že se překladatelé výrazně liší v interpretaci těchto ukazatelů.

Prvním bodem výzkumu byla tím pádem otázka, týkající se odpovídajících překladů těchto ukazatelů, a jejich nejčastěji se objevujících českých ekvivalentů. 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 tedy ukazují, že *so* a *well* mají mnoho sémantických protějšků a navíc jeden společný překladový ekvivalent, a to *tedy*. Výraz *tedy* je nejčastějším překladem ukazatele *so* a druhým nejčastějším překladem ukazatele *well*.

Předpoklad, že se mezi překladovými ekvivalenty bude vyskytovat i možnost vynechání, neboli nepřeložení ukazatele, byl předmětem druhého bodu výzkumu. 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 ve více než polovině případů, 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.

Aspekty kombinace ukazatelů a kolokace s jinými prvky byly dalšími body výzkumu. Analýza ukázala, že oba ukazatele *well* a *so* se vyskytovaly s příslovcem *then*, který je pravidelně následoval. Podle Swana je příslovce *then* také diskurzivním ukazatelem, zařazuje jej do stejné skupiny jako ukazatel *so*, a to do skupiny logického důsledku. Ve zkoumaném korpusu byl zaznamenán i výskyt

v přítomnosti s dalšími ukazateli. Ukazatel *so* byl nalezen v přítomnosti *firstly*, *finally*, *in short* a dalších diskurzivních ukazatelů. *Well* se vyskytoval s výrazy jako *actually*, *of course*, nebo *in fact*. Dalším předmětem výzkumu byly překlady těchto komplexů a analýza ukázala, že ukazatele *so* a *well* v kombinaci s *then* byly jen zřídka překládány. Zajímavostí také bylo, že z kombinace dvou ukazatelů nebyl někdy přeložen ani jeden. Dále pak byly *well* a *so* doprovázeny výrazy jako *yes and no*, a to v případech, kdy chtěl mluvčí schovat nevyhovující odpověď. Je zajímavé, že ve většině případů, kdy byl ukazatel *well* doprovázen potvrzujícím *yes*, překladatel tento ukazatel vynechal a nepřeložil.

Posledním bodem výzkumu byla pozice ukazatelů ve větě. Co se týče anglických ukazatelů, ty měly tendenci se vyskytovat 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 jejich anglické protějšky, zatímco *tedy* se zřídka objevovalo na začátku věty, mnohem častěji však na druhém místě ve větě. Podobný výsledek byl u ukazatele *well*, kdy *dobrá* a *nuže* byly výlučně na začátku věty, zatímco *tedy* bylo na druhém či třetím místě ve větě. Závěrem tohoto bodu výzkumu byla tedy odpověď, že české ukazatele nejsou omezeny výlučně na první pozici ve větě.

Závěrem lze říci, že diskurzivní 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 také napomáhají k rozhodnutí, jaký překladový ekvivalent může autor použít v českém překladovém textu.

Výzkumná část této práce demonstruje použití korpusu Europart, využití kontrastivní analýzy a kvantitativní metody. Celá práce tak předkládá diskurzivní kontrastivní korpusovou analýzu, jejímž výstupem je velké množství překladových protějšků, z nichž ty nejčastěji použité mohou být považovány za ty nejpřesnější možnosti překladu.

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Appendix

1. *I'm not sure what time I'll arrive, maybe seven or eight. **Anyway**, I'll certainly be there before eight thirty.* (Swan, 2005: 144)
2. *Tommy's really stupid. He **actually** still believes in Father Christmas.* (Swan, 2005: 144)
3. *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)
4. *I hope you passed the exam. B: No, **as a matter of fact**, I didn't.* (Swan, 2005: 145)
5. *A: Harry is old enough to drink. B: **Frankly**, I don't think he should.* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
6. *I want a drink tonight. **Obviously**, I'm not old enough.* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
7. *A: We should leave fairly soon now. B: **Stupidly**, I lost the key so we can't.* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
8. *The exam was easy. **Even** John passed.* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
9. *They are fairly restrictive there. **Only** poor Republicans are allowed in.* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
10. *What am I going to do now? **Well** ... I really don't know.* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
11. *A: Do you know the answer? B: **Ah** ..., I will have to think about it.* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
12. *A: We shall arrive on time. B: **Sir**, I fear you are sadly mistaken.* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
13. *A: Are there any questions? B: **Mr. President**, what do you think of Mr. Dole?*
14. *Who know the answer. **Anyone**?* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
15. *A: The Chicago Bulls won again tonight. B: **Oh!*** (Fraser, 1999: 942)
16. ***Wow!** Look at that shot"* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
17. *A: You have to go to bed now. B: **Shucks!** I really wanted to see that movie.* (Fraser, 1999: 942)
18. *He drove the truck through the parking lot and into the street. Then he almost cut me off. After that, he ran a red light. **However**, these weren't his worst offenses.* (Fraser, 1999: 938)
19. *A: I don't want to go very much. B: John said he would be there. A: **However**, I do have some sort of obligation to be there.* (Fraser, 1999: 938)

20. (on entering the room and finding the computer missing) **So**, where'd you put it?
(Fraser, 1999: 938)
21. You want to know how my garden grew this summer. **Essentially**, the tomatoes
grew well. The broccoli was fair as were the peppers. The eggplant and carrots were
terrible. (Fraser, 1999: 938)
22. I cook very well.
23. Well, it was quite good, but I've seen better films.
24. It's quite hot, right?
25. Harry is old enough to drink. **However**, he can't because he has hepatitis. (Fraser,
1999: 938)
26. It is freezing outside. I will, **in spite of this**, not wear a coat. (Fraser, 1999: 938)
27. We don't have to go. I will go, **nevertheless**. (Fraser, 1999: 938)
28. Honestly, I don't believe it.
29. I don't believe it.
30. **So** I told him no, I hadn't. **So** he looked at me and... (Swan, 2005: 143)
31. ...cannot agree with colonialism. **It is true** that the British may have done some
good in India. **Even so**, colonialism is basically evil. (Swan, 2005: 143)
32. Do you like it? – **Well**, yes, it's all right. (Swan, 2005: 143)
33. You live in Oxford, don't you? – **Well**, near Oxford. (Swan, 2005: 143)
34. How much are you selling it for? – **Well**, let me see... (Swan, 2005: 144)
35. 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)
36. What did you think of her boyfriend? – **Well**, I was a bit surprised... (Swan, 2005:
145)
37. You know that new house? – **Well**, you'll never guess who's bought it. (Swan,
2005: 145)
38. ...in the room where the pilots were
and- one of the pilots –
who had/ who
after- the/ they had made accusations,
the one who was feeling very down,
was uh v/ uh upset by the whole thing,
well, the other pilot was trying to comfort him... (Redeker, 2006: 344)

39. A: *That man speaks extremely good English. B: Well he comes from a village in Mongolia. (Schiffrin, 2002: 72)*
40. *You said that you were going to support Georgia's peace plan, so my question to you is , assuming that you take political responsibility for this declaration with all its ramifications , what will be your line of action towards the Member States ?*
</p>
41. *You never did reply to my question, Mrs Reding, so I would like to have an answer today.*
42. <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>
43. *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 .*
44. *There are those who are nervous and say, well, let us just use the idea of a toolbox.*
45. A: *So the European School is an admirable project, and I support it.*
B: *Evropská škola je obdivuhodný projekt, a já jej podporuji.*
46. 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.*
47. 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 ?*
48. A: *So then, what principles , what values , what considerations could ever challenge the absolute power of the market ?*

- B: *Takže jaké zásady , jaké hodnoty , jaké důvody by se mohly postavit proti absolutní moci trhu ?*
49. A: *So, then, some people are surprised : why are we holding a summit so quickly ?*
B: *Někteří lidé jsou tedy překvapeni : proč se koná summit tak rychle ?*
50. A: *So these, then, are the sources.*
B: *Toto jsou tedy dané zdroje.*
51. A: *So 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 .*
52. A: *So, firstly, what we know about the reasons for the collapse ?*
B: *Takže zaprvé, co víme o příčinách zřícení ?*
53. 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 .*
54. 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 .*
55. A: *So, yes, it was a good day for Europe , and the day on which this treaty is finally ratified will be an even better day .*
B: *Takže ano, byl to dobrý den pro Evropu a den , kdy bude tato smlouva podepsána , bude ještě lepší .*
56. A: *Well then, we need to establish standards and uniform minimum objectives.*
B: *Pak tedy musíme stanovit normy a jednotné minimální cíle.*
57. A: *Well then, what have we proposed?*
B: *Co jsme tedy navrhli?*

58. A: *Well, then, regional policy now and in the future constitutes the European integration framework for the realisation of these objectives .*
- B: *Tak tedy, regionální politika dnes a v budoucnosti představuje evropský integrační rámec pro realizování těchto cílů .*
59. A: *Well, then we would have to close this loophole in international law.*
- B: *Dobrá, potom bychom museli zacelit tuto mezeru v mezinárodním právu.*
60. A: *Well then, there are plenty of opportunities for making serious savings.*
- B: *Dobrá tedy, existuje řada příležitostí, jak dosáhnout výrazných úspor.*
61. A: *Well then, we just need North Korea to join the club and we will have pretty much all the rogue states happily sitting alongside each other .*
- B: *Nyní tedy už jen potřebujeme, aby se do tohoto spolku přidala ještě i Severní Korea a téměř všechny ty zlé státy budou sedět hezky jeden vedle druhého .*
62. A: *Well, in fact, if we think about it more deeply, it is only a good and important beginning.*
- B: *Pokud o tom uvažujeme hlouběji, je to jen dobrý a důležitý začátek.*
63. A: *Well, actually I think his dream has gone further and we are seeing the Sovietisation of the EU .*
- B: *Vlastně mám dojem, že jeho sen pokračuje a že jsme svědky sovětizace EU .*
64. 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.*
65. A: *Well, yes, that is precisely what this entire debate is about!*
- B: *Ano, přesně tato otázka je jádrem celé rozpravy.*
66. A: *Well, yes it does, because we will now have in place a similar set of rights for buses and coaches to those that we currently have for other modes of transport .*
- B: *Ano, to jistě, neboť nyní budeme mít podobný soubor práv pro autobusy a autokary , jako máme v současné době pro jiné druhy dopravy .*
67. A: *Well, no, it seems that this is ' discrimination ' , and the entire EU is mobilising against poor Lithuania , which is ' guilty ' of banning proselytising and of encouraging family values .*

B: To je zřejmě považováno za " diskriminaci " a celá EU mobilizuje proti chudáku Litvě , která se provinila tím , že tuto propagaci zakázala a podpořila rodinné hodnoty .

68. A: Well, no, it is not especially bureaucratic.

B: Ne, není nijak zvlášť byrokratická.

69. A: So I am very happy that the President of Lithuania , Mrs Grybauskaitė , former Commissioner , and the government of Lithuania , have already said that this proposed law contravenes Lithuania 's obligations under its own constitution .

B: Jsem proto velmi ráda , že prezidentka Litvy , paní Grybauskaitė , bývalá komisařka , a litevská vláda již prohlásily , že návrh tohoto zákona odporuje povinnostem stanoveným litevskou ústavou .

70. A: So we must set real and effective emission reduction targets for developed countries , as well as substantive actions from developing countries , especially the fast-growing , emerging economies .

B: Musíme proto stanovit reálné , účinné cíle pro snížení objemu emisí pro vyspělé země , jakož i podstatná opatření , která podniknou země rozvojové , zejména rychle rostoucí , rozvíjející se ekonomiky .

71. 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 . </p>

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 .

72. 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 .

73. 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 .

74. 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 .

75. 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 .

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

B: *Co tedy můžeme dělat?*

77. A: *So why can we not give the companies to which strict rules apply a European market to work on ?*

B: *Proč tedy nemůžeme společnostem , pro které platí přísná pravidla , zajistit evropský trh , na němž by podnikaly ?*

78. A: *So while we are granting more rights to third-country citizens , our own citizens are being given fewer rights to travel to third countries such as Libya .*

B: *Zatímco tedy občanům třetích zemí udělujeme větší práva , našim vlastním občanům jsou práva na cestování do třetích zemí , jako je Libye , krácena .*

79. A: *So this is our approach at the moment.*

B: *Takový je tedy náš momentální přístup.*

80. A: *So, compared to all other sectors in the European Union, fisheries are proportionally less affected by the rise in oil prices since they are already exempt from all the taxation .* </p>

B: *Ve srovnání se všemi ostatními odvětvími v Evropské unii je tedy rybolov zvyšováním cen ropy relativně méně zasažen , neboť již je osvobozen od veškerého zdanění .*

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

B: *Tedy, jsou tu tři hlavní oblasti, kde lze jednat.*

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

B: *Tedy, mnoho toho nezmůžeme.*

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

B: *Tedy pro Irsko jsou tyto výzvy obzvlášť velké.*

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

B: *Musíme tedy nastolit určitou rovnováhu.*

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

B: *Jsme tedy Evropská unie , nebo jsem se vrátili ke shromáždění členských států ?*

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

B: *Co tedy musíme ve směrnici především zachovat?*

87. 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 .*

88. A: *Well, on Wednesday, we will have the opportunity to state loud and clear our priorities for genuinely harmonised procedures in this area .*

B: *Ve středu tedy budeme mít příležitost vyjádřit se hlasitě a jasně ke svým prioritám , pokud jde o skutečně harmonizované řízení v této oblasti .*

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

B: *To je tedy vrchol!*

Tables and graphs

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

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Phonological and lexical features:
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"> • Syntactic features:
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"> • Semantic feature:
s) They have little or no propositional meaning.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Functional feature:
t) They are multifunctional, operating on several linguistic levels simultaneously.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sociolinguistic and stylistic features:
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 occurrences

Czech translation equivalent of English <i>so</i>	Number of cases
<i>tedy/teda</i>	153
<i>takže</i>	150
zero-translation	77
<i>proto</i>	72
<i>tak</i>	17
<i>a tak</i>	11
<i>takže ano</i>	5
<i>čili</i>	3
<i>tudíž</i>	3
<i>a</i>	2
<i>a tedy</i>	2
<i>z tohoto důvodu</i>	2
<i>takto</i>	1
<i>ted'</i>	1
<i>znamená to, že</i>	1

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

Czech translation equivalent of English <i>well</i>	Number of cases
zero-translation	278
<i>tedy</i>	34
<i>dobrá</i>	28
<i>nuže</i>	26
<i>ale</i>	19
<i>a</i>	14
<i>no</i>	11
<i>ano</i>	10
<i>nu</i>	9
<i>tak; však</i>	8
<i>takže</i>	7
<i>inu</i>	6
<i>dobře</i>	5
<i>sice</i>	4
<i>ovšem, víte</i>	3
<i>je pravda, že; nicméně; pravda; tak tedy</i>	2
<i>ale samozřejmě; bohužel; budiž; co k tomu říci; dobrá tedy; dobře tedy; jednoduše; je pravda; jistě; na druhou stranu; ne; nyní; nyní tedy; pak; pak tedy; prosím; přiznávám se, že; také; totiž</i>	1

Graph 1: Translation equivalents of *well* in percentage

