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home: <http://www.phil.muni.cz/linguistica/>

email: linguistica@phil.muni.cz

editor-in-chief:

Aleš Bičan (Masaryk University / Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic)
bican@phil.muni.cz

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FOREWORD

Aleš Bičan (Masaryk University / Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic)

The publication of this issue has been a little delayed due to the lack of time on the part of the editor. It is for that reason that only three papers are published in this volume, even though we have been offered several more papers in the past few months. Not all of them have, however, been peer-reviewed yet and we did not want to delay the publication any longer. Having said that, we expect another issue to be published soon.

All of the three papers have not been published elsewhere and appear here for the first time, though the previous version of the paper by Yoichi Sato was read on a conference. Its topic is sociolinguistic so as is that of the second paper by Ana Cristina Neves. Sociolinguistics has recently become an area of interest for the present editor and he is happy to publish these articles in *Linguistica* ONLINE. As usual, all articles were peer-reviewed, so it was not just the editor's wish that made the publication of these papers possible.

Sato's article "A new insight on the pragmatic function of code-switching as a politeness strategy in intercultural communication" explores the claim that the choice of a language in plural-lingual settings is also triggered by face-work and demonstrates this on several examples of code-switching between Chinese and Japan.

The title of the article "Young learners and phonological variation in the Portuguese mesolect of Cape Verde" by Neves suggests its topic: the author examines here the process of acquisition of sounds by young learners (aged 8–16) in the indigenized variety of Portuguese spoken in Cape Verde.

Finally, the article "Ještě ke kulturnímu kontextu pražské školy: lingvistika a typografie" [Once again on the cultural context of the Prague School: linguistics and typography] by Vít Boček makes an excursion to the First Czechoslovak Republic and focuses on topics common to linguists of the Prague School and a famous theoretician of typography, Karel Teige.

We hope you will enjoy these articles.

* * *

A NEW INSIGHT ON THE PRAGMATIC FUNCTION OF CODE-SWITCHING AS A POLITENESS STRATEGY IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION^{1[*]}

Yoichi Sato (*Meisei University, Japan*)

Abstract. This paper addresses the issues of intercultural communication by focusing upon a function of code-switching as a politeness strategy. Conventionally, the notion of code-switching has been viewed as a representation of intercultural conflict, or linguistic difficulty. However, O'Driscoll (2001) identified that the language choice in plural-lingual settings is also triggered by face-work (Goffman, 1967). Based on this claim, this study attempts to explore the pragmatic function of code-switching, which is the contingent manifestation of language choice, not only as a compensation strategy (Tarone, 1977), but also as a politeness strategy (Brown & Levinson, 1987). In doing so, this study employs conversational analysis as its study basis, which has been conventionally regarded as the most suitable approach in politeness studies. Lastly, the shortcomings of the sole reliance on conversation analysis will be clarified, and finally, an implication for an alternative research methodology on politeness studies will be presented as a concluding remark.

1. Introduction

Recently, intercultural communication has become a very big issue. Quite a few foreign language conversational schools have advertised the importance of understanding different cultures through the use of foreign language learning. As a premise to this social paradigm shift, it should be noted that Japan, which used to be a nation of relative homogeneity, has gradually become more multicultural due to a number of immigrant groups coming to work in Japan. One of the biggest immigrant ethnic groups in Japan is Chinese. Zhang (2008) suggested that the day will soon come when the Japanese people constantly encounter intercultural communication in their daily lives even in domestic settings, particularly with the Chinese that have made a great deal of social translocation in various aspects of lives in Japan.

¹ This paper was developed out of a conference paper presented at 4th International Symposium on Politeness, Budapest, Hungary. This paper was honorably granted with Young Scholar Award then. My sincere appreciation also goes to all the professor faculties who have been always encouraging me to continue studying throughout these six years of foreign language studies at the department of English, Meisei University, particularly to Prof. Hiromasa Tanaka (my MA thesis supervisor) and Prof. Shunji Iwashita (my graduation thesis advisor).

[*] Previously unpublished. Peer-reviewed before publication. [Editor's note]

There have been many studies on intercultural communication conducted so far in the field of sociolinguistics, one of these concerns “code-switching” (e.g. Gumperz, 1982; Hymes, 1974; Li, 2005; Milroy & Muysken, 1995; Saville-Troike, 1982; Tarone, 1977; Tasaki, 2006; Tokita, 2006), or the alternative use of two or more languages. However, most of these studies tend to view the phenomenon as the representation of intercultural conflict. For example, Tarone (1977) claimed that code-switching functions are a compensation strategy to make up for the lack of competence in communicating in foreign languages. Firth and Wagner (1997), on the other hand, saw problems in this view of intercultural communication, indicating the necessity of some reconsideration and reassessment.

Inspired by this, for example, Li’s (2005) investigation on English-Chinese bilingual children, residing in the United Kingdom, suggested that code-switching is frequently motivated by the rationality of conversation, including the language accommodation to your counterparts’. Furthermore, O’Driscoll (2001) discovered that the choice of language in plural-lingual settings is often triggered by face issues, which will be illustrated in the following section. Thus, code-switching not only merely signals the communication breakdown, but also helps the speakers establish rapport in communication, and thus has something to do with politeness theory.

Based on this social-cultural background, this study attempts to address issues of intercultural communication in Japan’s domestic setting; particularly, between Japanese and Chinese, which would most probably occur in recent Japanese society due to the increase in the total number of immigrants from China. The focus of this study is not upon linguistic deficiency, but upon face and politeness issues, which will be illustrated below.

2. Overview of Politeness Research

Erving Goffman, an American sociologist, suggested that communication consists not only of pure linguistic resources, but also other social skills. According to Goffman (1967), one of the constituents of communication is face. The idea of face is originated in Hu’s (1944) assertion based on the traditional Chinese concept of “*mianzi*” and “*lian*”. *Mianzi* is a social image of self that you accumulated throughout your social life, such as success, achievement, and accomplishment. On the other hand, *lian* is internal, and frequently related to the moral regard, including niceness (a want to be well-liked) and integrity (a want to do something right). Goffman (1967) found that this is seen not only in Chinese, but also western settings, discovering some universality of this discussion.

For further discussion, he also referred to the study of a French anthropologist of religion, Emile Durkheim. Durkheim (1915) investigated how people behave toward deities. There, she discovered some ritual behavior on human attitudes and named it “ritual order”. She also distinguished two different rituals: 1) positive rites and 2) negative rites. The former refers to the ritual attitudes toward deities to get close to the sacred; meanwhile the latter is an attitude to keep the deity intact from something filthy. This ritual attitude, as Goffman insisted in 1967, can be transformed into interpersonal communication and labeled them as “positive face” and “negative face”. The former is related to positive rites, and it is people’s want to be liked by other people. On the other hand, the latter one, relating to negative rites, is people’s need to keep themselves away from being impeded or in-

tervened by others. Goffman (1967) further argued that any kind of human communication contains some degree of face threatening acts (FTA), and he named the appropriate volition to such face issues as face-work.

In 1987, Brown and Levinson developed the notion of face-work and proposed the idea of politeness as a part of it. While face-work deals with ego's own face, politeness is concerned with the protection of alter's face. Furthermore, Brown and Levinson (1987) dichotomized two distinctive ways of predicating politeness based on Goffman's (1967) argument: one is positive politeness, and the other negative politeness. The former one refers to some friendliness and closeness between two individuals to emphasize their positive face; whereas the latter one refers to the volition to your counterparts' negative face by means of either deference or demeanor. Brown and Levinson (1987) also postulated that the predication of politeness is a goal-oriented strategy so as not to threaten the face to realize harmonious interaction.

Moreover, as the title of their seminal work indicates, "*Politeness: Some universals in language usage*" (Brown & Levinson, 1987), the notion of politeness is universal although its cultural variation should be acknowledged. This has led to the production of many other relevant works on culture-specific politeness norms (e.g. Gu, 1995; Ide, 1989; Ide, 1998; Matsumoto, 1988; Mills, 2003; Pan, 2008; Sato, 2009; Scollon & Scollon, 2001; Tanaka, 2008; Usami, 2002; Zhang, 2008).

As studies of politeness continued, some micro-level approach to the linguistic etiquette was required. For example, Usami (2002) insisted that the politeness norm should be, unlike the argument of universality by Brown and Levinson, always context-dependent. Watts (2003) also claimed that any kind of lingual expressions themselves are potentially neither polite nor impolite: it is our afterward-evaluation that judges whether the expressions are polite or not along with the culture-specific politeness norms. Moreover, Watts (1992, 2003) distinguished the notion of politeness into 1) first-order politeness and 2) second-order politeness. The first one refers to pragmatic politeness, or so-called "polite expressions", perceived by socio-cultural group members; whereas, the second one is the use of the word of "polite" and "politeness" as theoretical concepts to refer to forms of social behavior. In other words, the latter one refers to some discourse-specificity of politeness: and some expressions that sound polite at first impression, including "would you mind if I ask you to do...", are not always polite as social behaviors, which can even lead to an FTA in some discourse. This distinction has suggested us "politeness researchers" that the context-dependency of politeness norms should be taken into account as its study-basis.

Spencer-Oatey (2000, 2005) argued that politeness strategies are implemented not only as a part of "face-work" to mitigate FTA in interaction as Brown and Levinson (1987) insisted, but also as a "relational-work" (Locher & Watts, 2005) to realize harmonious human interaction. Bargiela-Chiappini (2003) also indicated that politeness plays a significant role in the studies of business communication to realize harmonious business interaction. Koester (2001) claimed that the sequential code-switching between relational talk and transactional talk functions as politeness in business settings. Locher (2004) further explored the well-balanced between power and politeness, which he defines to be in the *yin-yang*² relations, essential in realizing the smooth and harmonious of business negotiation.

² *yin-yang* is a Chinese expression literally meaning "shadow and sun". This metaphorically refers to mutual and interchangeable interrelations inseparable from each other.

Particularly in international business settings where native speakers of a language naturally gain power over his/her non-native counterparts. This occasionally leads to a conflict in establishing rapport due to the difference of positionality. In which case, politeness implementation leads to realizing the mitigation of the disequilibrium along with power relations. Thus, politeness plays a significant role in considering what communication consists of.

3. Research Methodology

This study was conducted as one of the research topics in relation to the continuous development of Meisei Summer School Project (MSSP), which is a summer intensive foreign language teaching project (English and Chinese) held at Meisei University, Tokyo, Japan every summer (2002–2008). Other than this paper, many other various kinds of research projects on foreign language teaching/learning have been on-going in this research site (e.g. Fukada, 2004; Kawamata, 2005; Sato, 2007; Sugiyama, 2006, 2009; Tanaka, 2006, 2007; Tanaka & Fukada, 2004; Tanaka & Ogane, in press).

Beginning in 2005, the MSSP was expanded to be integrated as an international project presented by the Council of International Educational Exchange (CIEE). As a result, it began to invite several international volunteers from all over the world every year, which made the MSSP a multicultural/multilingual environment. In 2007, when this research project was conducted, there were eleven international volunteers invited from various countries all over the world (e.g. American, Chinese, Irish, Hungarian, Korean, etc.), and they co-worked with other Meisei students to set up the curricula of the MSSP 2007. In addition, 2007 was the first year for the Chinese course. According to Tanaka (2007), the background of the introduction of this one-week intensive Chinese course is that student teachers of Chinese are now available, and the need for developing a teaching methodology of Chinese is increasing as the demand for learning the language increases (p.8). Thus, great expectations were poured into the establishment of this Chinese course as well as its success.

Thus, all the data analyzed in this study was obtained in the Chinese course of the MSSP 2007 for the purpose of continuous development of the project. This study employs CA as its study basis. Brown and Levinson (1987), in their seminal works on politeness, argued that no other research methodology could make more contribution to the studies on politeness than conversation analysis (p. 41), or CA. In CA, communication is viewed as a joint activity of talk-based interactions (e.g. Firth, 1990; Huchby & Woofit, 1988; Sacks & Shegloff, 1979; Sacks, 1972; Sacks, Shegloff, & Jefferson, 1989). This micro and localized perspective enables the researchers to capture the constant moment of communication in which politeness implementation resides. Hence, the actual recording of the participants' interactions were recorded to be transcribed. Utilizing this method, the empirical qualitative data analysis will be presented in the section below.

Lastly, this study was conducted based upon strict research ethics: all the participants in this study were required to fill in the consent form in advance to guarantee privacy protection. All the names of the participants will be presented as pseudonym so the general readers cannot identify them.

4. Data analysis

In this section, four cases of data analyses will be presented: 1) intercultural conflict caused by language choice; 2) code-switching as intercultural competence; 3) transactional talk on classroom management; and 4) Nobita's code-mixture to fulfill accountability. The data analysis will be conducted in the following way: first, the CA transcription will be presented along with its English translation; then, the analysis will be presented based upon qualitative interpretation.

4.1. Intercultural conflict caused by language choice

This is where Shun was talking with Fang, an international volunteer invited from China. Shun has majored in Chinese for two years at the time of this study. Hence, as a Chinese-speaking practice, he attempted to use Chinese to talk with her. Then Hina, an English major student, came in and interrupted their Chinese conversation by compiling it into Japanese. The actual discourse is presented as follows. To ease reference, the line numbers and the speakers' names are included. In addition Chinese is shown in regular font, **English** in bold, and *Japanese* in italics.

Transcription Convention:

(1.0)	pause	(.)	pause shorter than 0.2 seconds
a:	extension of vowels	.	falling intonation
?	raising intonation		

Excerpt 1 (2007/8/3):

1. Shun zhe shi nide zhaopian ma?
2. Fang shi a. Shi wo chuan hefu de zhaopian.
3. Shun hefu?
4. Fang **uh... Japanese traditional cloth.**
5. Shun ah, mingbai mingbai.
6. Hina *chugokugo tsukawanai deyo! Wakaranai n dakara!*
7. Shun ni shang Huang laoshi de zhongwenke, shiba!
8. Na, dagai meiwenti
9. Hina **Don't speak Chinese! I don't understand.**
10. Wo buzhidao!
11. Fang **Oh, you can speak Chinese!** ((laughter))

English Translation:

1. Shun Is this your picture?
2. Fang Yeah. It's a picture of my wearing Hefu.
3. Shun What is "Hefu"?
4. Fang **uh... Japanese traditional cloth.**
5. Shun Ah, ok ok.
6. Hina *Don't speak Chinese! I don't understand!*
7. Shun You take Prof.Hunag's Chinese course, right? So, it must be no problem!
- 8.

9. Shun **Don't speak Chinese! I don't understand.**
 10. I don't know!
 11. Fang **Oh, you can speak Chinese!** ((laughter))

To begin with, they talked about Fang's picture in which she wears Japanese traditional clothes (line #1). Then, on the second line, Fang happened to use a word HEFU (Japanese traditional clothes), which Shun could not understand as shown in the next line, so he repeats the word with raising intonation. (line #3) to ask for paraphrasing. Recognizing Shun's calling for help, Fang switched her code into English, as a "compensation strategy" (Tarone, 1977) on the fourth line. Up to this point, they had harmonious interaction.

Suddenly, Hina, who was an outsider of this discourse, interrupted them (line #6) by using her mother tongue, Japanese, and she complained about their using Chinese, of which she did not have a good command. Shun, meanwhile, stayed in Chinese language shown in the line #7 and encouraged her to use Chinese there. To Hina, however, Shun's code-switching into Chinese triggered further frustration, and so as to intervene, she deliberately employed English and then Chinese, which are accessible languages in this discourse, (line #9 and #10) to further complaint about his use of Chinese. Through these series of reciprocal conflicts whose overwhelming intonations are marked by "!" (Line #6, #7, and #8), their relationship as well as face seemed to be quite threatened.

Lastly, worrying about their face, Fang also switched to English, the neutral language among them, and mitigated the tension between by highly evaluating Hina's effort to speak Chinese in front of them. Without this code-switching by Fang, further conflict might have occurred. Hence, Fang's careful observation and sensitivity stopped their conflicts and harmonious interaction between them resumed. Thus, her code-switching into English by accommodating Hina's language choice on the previous line functioned as a positive politeness strategy as a second-order politeness, and thus the FTA in this situation was mitigated.

4.2. Code-Switching as an Intercultural Competence

Converse to the use of code-switching described in the previous excerpt, Fang employed code-switching as an intercultural competence. The following Excerpt 2 depicts a situation where Fang asked Shun about the gift-giving to a supervisor of MSSP, which is the cultural norm of the Chinese.

Excerpt 2 (2007/7/23)

1. Fang wo wen ni (.) nei ge li wu?
 2. Shun ah nei ge (.) **present** ma?
 3. Fang dui
 4. Shun wo yi jing gei (0.5) gei ta
 5. Fang gei ta le?
 6. Shun un
 7. Fang hao
 8. Shun (1.0)
 9. Fang **thank you**
 10. Shun (1.0)
 11. Fang wo zenme xie ni a?

English Translation

- | | | |
|-----|------|----------------------------------|
| 1. | Fang | May I ask (.) about the present? |
| 2. | Shun | Oh the (.) present right? |
| 3. | Fang | Yes |
| 4. | Shun | I already gave (.) gave him |
| 5. | Fang | You gave him? |
| 6. | Shun | Yes |
| 7. | Fang | Nice |
| 8. | Shun | (1.0) |
| 9. | Fang | Thank you |
| 10. | Shun | (1.0) |
| 11. | Fang | How can I thank you? |

On the line # 1, Fang started talking to Shun only in Chinese, since she knew Shun was eager to practice speaking Chinese with her. Hence, the language choice at this moment was triggered by her concern for Shun's ethno-linguistic face (O'Driscoll, 2001) in addition to her polite face (O'Driscoll, 2001) predicating to him. On the line #2, however, he happened to code-switch in the middle of the sentence: "ah nei ge, **present** ma?". Since "neige" in Chinese language represents some kind of hedging, the function of this code-switch was to confirm the meaning of "liwu". To that, Fang said "dui (yes)" to indicate that his understanding was correct.

However, on line #11, another code-switching technique was observed, whose function should be differentiated from Shun's obtained on the line #2. Her redundant use of confirmation expressions checking (e.g. "gei ta le? [you already gave him?]" and "hao [I see]") reflects her conception of discomfort in communicating with Shun in Chinese at that moment. Moreover, Fang's production of several incomplete fragmental sentences along with two hedges: 1) wo wen ni (Could I ask you) and 2) nei ge (Well) also represents her discomfort in communicating. Shun, meanwhile, also had some difficulty in communicating with Fang at that moment as is represented in his frequent silence in between conversation. Therefore, she decided to code-switch to English in order to mitigate the communication breakdown like the one observed in the previous Excerpt 1. In so doing, she retrieved the equilibrium of the discourse by eliminating conversational suffocation through the predication of the cosmopolitan face (O'Driscoll, 2001). Therefore, the code-switching obtained in this excerpt eventually functioned as a means of politeness strategy to realize harmonious intercultural communication.

4.3. Transactional talk on the classroom management

The next excerpt was obtained while observing the interaction between Yu and Fang. Yu was a postgraduate student at Meisei learning Chinese for three years during this study. Moreover, he was one of the leading students of the Chinese course. Here, they were talking about some issues regarding their classroom management, including what and how to teach.

Excerpt 3 (2007/7/25):

1. Yu **What you are supposed to do during this session is the**
2. **introduction of your culture (.) I mean (.) Chinese culture**
3. Fang **uh-huh**
4. Yu **You are going to show some cultural things to the students and**
5. **(.) maybe (.) give them some kind of quiz**
6. Fang **Ah ok (.) Actually (.) I've brought some material for the class**
7. Yu **uh-huh**
8. Fang **Not only me (.) but also all the international volunteers**
9. Yu **Okay (.) That's nice (.) It makes it easier for you to conduct the**
10. **class and for the students to understand you**
11. Fang **Yeah (2.0) Zhege shi hou ni dang fanyi ma?**
12. Yu **Dangran keyi (1.0) Meiyou de hua (.) xueshengmen dou**
13. **tingbudong ba**
14. Fang **[[((laughter))]]**
15. Yu **[[((laughter))]] Yeah (1.0) Okay So (.) do you have any other**
16. **questions?**
17. Fang **No not really (.) Uh, do you have any other things to tell me?**
18. Yu **No not really (.) Now (0.5) that's all**

English Translation:

1. Yu **What you are supposed to do during this session is the**
2. **introduction of your culture (.) I mean (.) Chinese culture**
3. Fang **uh-huh**
4. Yu **You are going to show some cultural things to the students and**
5. **(.) maybe (.) give them some kind of quiz**
6. Fang **Ah ok (.) Actually (.) I've brought some material for the class**
7. Yu **uh-huh**
8. Fang **Not only me (.) but also all the international volunteers**
9. Yu **Okay (.) That's nice (.) It makes it easier for you to conduct the**
10. **class and for the students to understand you**
11. Fang **Yeah (2.0) Are you going to translate then?**
12. Yu **Of course (1.0) If no translation (.) our students cannot**
13. **understand right?**
14. Fang **[[((laughter))]]**
15. Yu **[[((laughter))]] Yeah (1.0) Okay So (.) do you have any other**
16. **questions?**
17. Fang **No not really (.) Uh, do you have any other things to tell me?**
18. Yu **No not really (.) Now (0.5) that's all**

On the first line, Yu described what he wants her to do in the Chinese class in English. Then, on the line #3, she made a back-channel in English by accommodating her language with Yu's. Then, on the line #4, he continued to explain what he wanted her to do in English. On the following line #6, she comments to show agreement. In response, Yu back-channeled in English, just like Fang did on the line #3. Then, on line #8, Fang further commented, which signaled her proper understanding of the conversation, and then Yu also comments as to the efficacy of their decision.

Then, on line # 11, after Fang's back-channeling in English and 2.0 silence, she suddenly switched her code into Chinese to ask Yu to be a translator in one of her classes. As Brown and Levinson explained, any kind of "inquiry" contains some degrees of face-threatening act (FTA). Likewise, her inquiry for Yu to be a translator was an FTA in that it somehow imposes some mental burden. However, considering the classroom situation where all the participants are beginners in learning Chinese and it was rather tough for them to listen to Chinese at that stage, it was unnecessary for her to employ a translator in her classroom. Therefore, she conducted this inquiry out of necessity. Then, it should be noted, she deliberately switched back to Chinese, her mother tongue at this point. Considering her proficiency in English, shown above, she must have been able to convey the same message to him in English.

This could be motivated not by the linguistic difficulty, but by the face-work (Goffman, 1967). What counted in this situation was the issue of ethno-linguistic face (O'Driscoll, 2001). Since Chinese is her mother tongue, and another common language for them other than English, she deliberately switched into Chinese to emphasize their ethno-linguistic face as a means of positive politeness strategy (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Moreover, for the purpose of translation, those who are in charge of it should know a lot about both languages: language to translate, and language to be translated. Therefore, the acceptance of the inquiry also leads to the promotion of his ethno-linguistic face, and its refutation would mean the lowering of it.

In line #12, Yu accommodated his language to hers and pleasantly accepted it. His accommodation also functioned as a positive politeness strategy to emphasize their ethno-linguistic face. Moreover, the following simultaneous laughter between Yu and Fang further emphasized their closeness and friendliness leading to the mitigation of FTA accompanied by the inquiry.

Another thing to be noted here is, after their accommodating code-switching into Chinese, Yu suddenly switched back to English, their first language choice, to make a concluding remark in this meeting. In response, Fang also accommodated to Yu by switching her code into English to represent her satisfaction. In addition, she asked back to Yu whether there are any other things that she should do. Then, on the final line, he stayed in English and repeated the very same phrase that Fang employed in the previous line to show that he was as much satisfied with the result of this talk as she was. Thus, by means of code-switching as a positive politeness strategy, and the co-constructive meaning accompanied by this, they conducted some meaningful relational work, leading to the establishment of rapport.

4.4. Nobita's Code-Mixture to Fulfill Accountability

The previous excerpt dictated cases of intercultural communication by relatively proficient language users. However, the data of a similar phenomenon was also obtained in another discourse by a student of Chinese with relatively low proficiency. Nobita, who was a second year student and had been learning Chinese for two years, had a chance to talk with Fang in Chinese. However, as it is his first attempt to use the language in a practical situation, he sometimes had difficulty in using the language and expressing himself clearly. The following Excerpt 4 clearly shows his struggles.

Excerpt 4 (2007/8/3):

1. Nobita Xia xingqi wo you(.) wo you *Kokusai*
2. *Kankei Ron de fabiao.*
3. Fang Shi ma? You shenme fabiao?
4. Nobita *Etto(.) Chugokugo de ienai.*
5. Fang Yingwen Riwen ye keyi.
6. Nobita **(0.5) about diamond or (.) diamond of**
7. *(.) Funso (.) tte nante iunda?*

English translation

1. Nobita Next week we will (.) we will discuss
2. *international relations*
3. Fang Oh really? What is that?
4. Nobita *Well (.) I cannot say it in Chinese.*
5. Fang English or Japanese is also fine
6. Nobita **(0.5) about diamond or (.) diamond of**
7. *(.) Funso (.) how can I say that?*

By code-switching using compensation strategy, he tried frequently to convey what he really wants to say from line #s 1 through 4. Particularly on line # 4, he proclaims “*chugokugo de ienai* (I cannot say it in Chinese)”, which represents that he had some trouble in using Chinese. However, as an illocutionary force, he attempted to express his will to fulfill his own communicative responsibility. On line # 5, Fang sensed his discomfort in expressing himself only in Chinese, she offered him, in Chinese, an alternative language choice (i.e. English and Japanese). To this, he reacted by choosing English, representing that the use of English was his “negative politeness strategy” (Brown & Levinson, 1987) and, in doing so, he attempted not to impose a further burden on Fang by using Japanese, which she was not used to using. Since English is another foreign language to him, rather than using Japanese (his mother tongue, where he can manage interactional issues comfortably), he deliberately chose English to present “situated appropriateness”.

Furthermore, this language choice also represents his willingness to fulfill the communicative responsibility assigned to him. Thus, his code-switching was not only employed as a means of compensation strategy, but also functioned as a means of face-work (Goffman, 1967). In other words, by using code-switching, he tried to maintain a cosmopolitan face, which enabled Nobita to implement some positive politeness strategy toward Fang by hindering her from making trajectory to the periphery of this discourse.

5. Summary

This study attempts to make a contribution to further explore the issue of code-switching (Gumperz, 1982). So far, Li (2005) discovered that the motivation of language choice via code-switching was concerned with the contextual rationality of the chosen code. However, the assessment of rationality is highly dependent on the context. O’Driscoll (2001) provided some insight regarding this point by alluding to face issues. Nevertheless, few studies have extended the discussion to include more spontaneous and contingent manifes-

tation of language choice, or code-switching. Henceforth, this study attempted to explore the applicability of employing face-work as the harness of assessing rationality.

The data analyses of this study indicates that the conversational code-switching in intercultural communication not only represents the intercultural conflict, including the lack of competence and communication breakdown, which is the conventional view of it, but also functions as face-work (Goffman, 1967) and, to some extent, a politeness strategy (Brown & Levinson, 1987) to enhance harmonious human relationships. However, one of the shortcomings of this study is its relatively small size. Therefore, further studies, on a much larger scale, need to be conducted to enhance the validity and credibility of the hypothetical discoveries included in this research.

6. Methodological Implication

This paper, based on the CA approach, addresses the issue of intercultural communication in relation to code-switching, tries to conclude that the choice of language in multilingual situation, not only is triggered by the linguistic difficulty as Tarone (1977) pointed out, but also functions as a politeness strategy (Brown & Levinson, 1987). However, some new questions arose: Is the Fang's last phrase in Excerpt #1 really face-work? If so, how can you tell? It is appropriate to conclude that Fang highly evaluated Hina's effort to speak Chinese. However, is the last illocution, "Oh, you can speak Chinese!", done to protect Hina's face, or was it just Fang's sarcasm toward Hina? Similar things can be said to Excerpt #2 as well. In order to answer those kinds of questions properly, relying solely on CA is not valid. Thus, it is vital to propose an alternative research methodology to answer these questions properly.

However, there has been no proper way discovered to justify and legitimize the validity of the author's interpretation on these issues. This is, therefore an example of the shortcomings in relying solely on the CA approach in doing the empirical qualitative data analysis.

Regarding this, Roberts (2001) pointed out that in the studies in which the notion of language use is viewed as a co-construction activity rather than just a message conveyance, the investment of ethnographic data, or further information to deepen our understanding of the research context, helps by way of supplementation, which is being employed more frequently (e.g. Nakane, 2007; Samra-Fredericks, 2004; Sato, 2009). Samra-Fredericks (2004) further emphasized the practicality of combining these two research methodologies. She pointed out that the ethnographic approach should be expanded to include talk-based routines. Although ethnography and conversation analysis have been traditionally regarded as mutually exclusive due to their difference in philosophical basis, Samra-Fredericks (2004) innovatively claims that the combination of ethnography with CA helps to achieve "thick description". She claims that:

[W]hile numerous insightful analytical points can easily be derived from remaining transcript-intrinsic, given the researcher's specific interest and to discern the full import of what they accomplished, careful consideration and inclusion of 'transcript-extrinsic data' (Nelson, 1994) arising from the ethnographic component was also deemed necessary. ..., efforts to

trace and understand both density and constant moment necessitated the inclusion of the ethnographic component.’ (Samra-Fredericks, 2004, p. 129)

She also pointed out that “the traditional ethnographic approach needed to be extended to include actual recordings of natural occurring talk-based routines” (Samra-Fredericks, 2004, p.139). She explains that the inclusion of “transcription-extrinsic data, or ethnographic components” into the CA approaches is necessary “to trace and understand both density and constant moment” (Samra-Fredericks, 2004, p.139). Moreover, Bargiela-Chiappini et al. (2007) also pointed out that combination of multiple data collection methods is useful in dealing with the multinational discourse just like what this study focused upon as its area of interests.

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YOUNG LEARNERS AND PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION IN THE PORTUGUESE MESOLECT OF CAPE VERDE^[*]

Ana Cristina Neves (Zurich University, Switzerland / University of Saint Joseph, Macau)

Abstract. Only limited sociolinguistic research which takes special account of young learners has been carried out on creole contexts. In the case of Cape Verde, phonetic descriptions of the several varieties within the Capeverdean Language (CVL) have been reported by Cardoso (1989), Veiga (1982, 1996a, 2000) and Quint (2000a). This last author does refer to the mesolectal spectrum of Cape Verde, but there are no sociolinguistic surveys on young learners. — The subject under study is set between the Capeverdean language (CVL) and standard European Portuguese (EP); it is the indigenized variety (IV) of Portuguese spoken in Cape Verde by children aged 8–16 at school, a mesolectal element in this linguistic continuum. The purpose of this paper is to shed light on the acquisition of sounds which undergo phonological variation among young learners. — The findings of this paper demonstrate that the field of phonology is more susceptible to the horizontal continuum, i.e., between regions and islands, than to the vertical one, which is related to pupils' age and cognitive development. Tokens with /r/ and vowels prove to be more sensitive to phonological variation with effects on territorial delimitation. Interestingly, the geographical continuum of this IV at this stage does not correspond to the conventional division of the Cape Verdean language into northern and southern varieties. Instead, a division between western and eastern islands has emerged.

Introduction

No sociolinguistic research which takes special account of young learners has been carried out on Capeverdean creole language. Phonetic descriptions of the several varieties within the Capeverdean Language (CVL) have been reported by Cardoso (1989), Veiga (1982, 1996a, 2000) and Quint (2000a). Only the last author does refer to the mesolectal spectrum of Cape Verde, although he does not refer to young learners either.

For the present study, the target population consists of 266 bilingual Capeverdean- and Portuguese-speaking children aged 8 to 16 at school who were asked to orally retell a story based on a given picture. This age group includes the two grades most often repeated in this school system, namely grades 4 and 6, which also mark transitions between levels of compulsory education. Portuguese is for these children their second language, whereas CVL is their mother tongue or first language. Thus, the subject under study is set between the Capeverdean language (CVL) and standard European Portuguese (EP); it is the indi-

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genized variety (IV) of Portuguese as spoken by Capeverdean children at school, a mesolectal element in this linguistic continuum. The following table lists the number of recordings on each island which were carried out and taken into account for the data analysis:

Island		Number of Recordings	
		4th grade	6th grade
B	Brava	16	14
BV	Boavista	12	14
F	Fogo	15	16
M	Maio	16	16
S	Sal	11	16
SA	Santo Antão	15	16
SN	São Nicolau	16	12
ST	Santiago	15	11
SV	São Vicente	17	18
Total		133	133

This paper is divided into two main parts – the first concerning consonants and the second vowels – which are followed by the conclusions. The tokens most susceptible to phonological variation were selected: /r/ and /R/ in word-initial, -middle and -final position; /l/ in coda position; /v/ in word-initial position; /ʃ/ in word-initial position; the phoneme /d/; and, finally, the vowels. For each subsection, only variation instances with a minimum of three cases per class were taken into account, with exceptions being noted.

Notes between brackets identify the speaker: school grade, island, and speaker number. Thus, (4ST2) refers to speaker number 2 of the 4th grade on the island of Santiago.

1. Consonants

1.1. The consonant /r/

The phoneme /r/ is phonetically realized in several ways, which are influenced in part by factors inherent to speech, such as speed; thus, the same speaker can use several variants of this consonant. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify some biases with respect to geographical and age groups.

When in word-final position followed by a vowel-initial word, the phoneme /r/ generally occurs as a voiceless consonant on the islands of S, SA, SN, SV, F and less frequently on ST and B. With the exception of BV, this phone emerges, in this phonetic context, on all of the northern islands as an alternative to [r]. When realized phonetically as a voiceless alveolar flap [ɾ], this phone changes the preceding vowel into a longer and more open one, while the alveolar may be dropped:

- (1) [uʒ_mɨ'ninuʃ_ʃ'tɐ̃u v fɛzɛ:ɾ v 'kɔdɐ i uʒ_mɨ'ninuʃ_ʃ'ta v plɛn'tar 'arvuri||] (4S7)
- (2) [i... i tɾɛʃ v'miguʃ_ʃ'tɐ̃u v sa'ta:ɾ a 'kɔɾdɐ | i doɨʃ ʒu'ga:ɾ a 'maʎa | dɨ'vɨr'tir | i ũ v bɛloɨ'saʒ ||] (6S2)
- (3) [iʃtu'dar 'muɨtu | fa'zɛ_ʃ'kɔdɐ naʃ 'arvuriʃ | ti'raɾ ũ... se'mja:ɾ u'maʃ pɨ'lãntɛʃ | ɛt'ɛtɨrɐ ||] (4SA2)
- (4) [ɛra u'ma mɨ'nina | ki'riɔ ɛra sɛ'ta:ɾ a 'kɔɾdɐ ||] (6SA10)
- (5) [i uʃ lɛ'drõɨʃ fi'karɛ̃u kɔ 'sɔɾti di pi'gaɾ u pi'nɔkiu 'pɛrɐ ro'baɾ ɛʒ_mwɛdɛʃ ||] (4SN16)
- (6) [di'poɨʃ u 'zʒani foɨ... foɨ bɾi'ɾɨ'kar... bɛlɛ'sjaɾ aʊ bɛ'oɨsu ||] (6SN7)
- (7) [ɛliʒ_vɛ̃u plɛn'tɛɾ 'umɐ vɛ'vuri i vɛ̃u bɾi'ɾɨ'kɛɾ 'toduʃ di'bɛ̃ɨʃu 'dɛlɐ i nɛ̃u vɛ̃u dɛɨ'ʃar ki u mi'ninu lfi'kɛ̃i ɛ'vɨrgulɨɾɐ ||] (4SV9)
- (8) [ɛ'gɔɾɛ aʒ_mɨ'ninɛʃ vɛ̃u pɛ'ga: uʒ_ɛ'paziʃ ||] (6SV13)
- (9) [ɛrɐ u'mɐ mi'ninɛ ɨʃ'ta v pɛ'saɾ 'kuɛ̃ndu ɛlɛ ɨʃ'tavɐ v bɾi'ɾɨ'kar 'numɛ 'sõbrɐ dɨ_u'mɐ 'arvuri | bɾi'ɾɨ'ka: 'kɔdɛʃ ||] (4F4)
- (10) [a'i ʃ'ta ũ mi'ninu 'aki a daɾ bo'lɛ i tɾɛʃ sa'ɾtar v 'kɔɾdɐ ||] (6F12)

The phoneme /r/ in the word-final position may be dropped when it is followed by a uvular fricative in the initial-word position:

- (11) [na 'kuɔɾtɐ doɨʒ_mɨ'ninuʃ a pi'lã'tar 'uma_ʃ'arvuri | i na 'kĩnta 'veɨʒu a'l'gũʒ mi'ninuʃ a fa'zɛ: 'kɔdɐ... v bɾi'ɾɨ'ka: 'kɔdɐ ||] (6SA6)

The use of the uvular fricative [ʁ] may also occur in the word-final position. In this case, it is probable that this fricative will become voiceless when followed by a vowel. When speech is quicker, which is the case with those speakers who feel more at ease, the fricative becomes voiced. This trace is evident on the islands of M and BV, as well as in the 4th grade of ST:

- (12) [i v'kɛl 'otɾɐ 'pɛsɔ k... ki ɛlɛ ɨʃ'ta kɔ uʒ_v'miguʒ_v bɾi'ɾkaʒ... 'numɐ 'ɾɔdɐ 'numɐ 'aɾβuri ||] (4BV1)
- (13) [i ɛʃ 'oʊtɾɛʃ ɨʃ'tavɛ̃u v sɛɾ'taʒ v 'kɔɾdɐ ||] (6BV12)
- (14) [ɛn'tɛ̃u u 'otɾu ʃu'to v 'bɔlɐ i u 'otɾu foɨ ɛpɛ'ɾnaʒ i u 'kaɾu ɨʃ'tavɐ v... v i... v ɛ̃n'daʒ i ɛn'tɛ̃u v mɛ'ninɛ foɨ ɛpɛ'ɾnaʒ v 'bɔlɐ] (4M1)
- (15) [u 'kĩntu ɨʃ'ta v pɛ'saʒ kɨ_ɛli_ɨ u sɛu a'migu ɨʃ'ta a plɛn'taʒ 'umɐ 'aɾvɨɾɨʃ ||] (6M13)

On the island of B, the use of the alveolar vibrant [r] is preferred. Interestingly, this phone is used mainly by 6th grade pupils:

- (16) [i sɛɾ ũ bõ v'lunu 'paɾɐ sɛɾ 'paɾɐ sɛɾ ũ bõ pɾufi'sɔɾ tɛ'βɛ̃i ||] (6B17)

When the coexistence of both the uvular [ʁ] and the alveolar [r] vibrant in word-final position is registered, the former is generally used when preceded by an open vowel [a], the latter when preceded by a closed mid-vowel:

- (17) [i ɛu 'gɔʃtu di pi'lɛn'taɾ pɨ'lɛntɛʃ tã'βɛ̃i || mɛʃ u mɛu 'soɾnu 'mɛʒmu ɛ maʃ di lɛɾ ||] (6SN10)

When it is part of a pivotal consonant cluster¹, the phoneme /r/ may also occur as an alveolar vibrant [r] on B and SV, and as a uvular fricative [ʁ] on the islands of M, ST and BV. It must be emphasized that this last island is the one among the northern islands which has more immigrants from ST:

- (18) [i 'outru pe'so ki_ɨ'f'tavɐ v pɨ'lɛn'tak 'umɐ 'akvuʁɨ i 'outru pɛ'so ki_ɨ'f'tavɐ v bʁɨŋ'kaʁ 'numɐ 'akvu: | |] (4BV12)
- (19) [ũ di'ziʒ au 'otru ki goʃ'tavɐ 'sɛmpri di lɛʒ | u 'otru diʒ ki_ɨ'eli 'sɛmpre_ʃ'ta_a bʁɨŋ'kaʁ | |] (4ST15)
- (20) [ʔ'elɨʃ fɛ'lakɛũ v bʁɨŋ'kaʁ | |] (4M2)
- (21) [v sɨ'gɨʁ 'elɨ 'vɔtɔ i dɨ'poɨʃ 'elɨ 'iʁõ bʁɨŋ'kaʁ... bʁɨŋ'kaʁ i... 'elɨ foɨ v bʁɨŋ'kaʁ... i dɨ'poɨʃ... iʁ ä bʁɨŋ'kaʁ... kõ uʃ ku'lɛgɛʃ i... | |] (6M4)

It is worth mentioning that the deletion of /r/ in this phonetic context was registered in the phase of the proto-creole (Quint 2000a: 64), just as it happens in this IV.

In word-initial position, the phoneme /r/ can also be manifested phonetically as an alveolar vibrant in the 6th grade of ST. In BV, S and SV it is realized, nevertheless, as an uvular fricative:

- (22) [i e'lɨʃ fi'zɛrɛũ 'ɛsɐ ʁɛuni'ẽũ di bɨŋ'kaɨ | |] (4S5)
- (23) [v min... v ʁɛpɛ'rɨgɛ ɨ'f'ta v pɛ'sar ki 'toduʃ ðivi'ẽũ bɨŋ'kaɨ i v ʁudi'aʁ 'umɐ 'arvuri | |] (6S14)
- (24) [ʔ'ɛʁɐ 'umɐ mɨ'nɨɨ i 'kwatɐ ʁɛ'pa:ʃ | |] (4BV6)
- (25) [v'kelɨʃ ki_ɨ'f'tɛũ a 'ʁõdɐ di_ɨ'umɐ 'arvuri | |] (6BV10)
- (26) [v mi'nɨɨ ʃɛ'mavɐ si kɛtɛ'rɨnɐ i ũ ʁɛ'paʃ ʃɛ'mavɐ si zu'ẽũ i 'otru zu'zɛ | ũ 'pedru | |] (4SV15)
- (27) [i... maʃ sɔ ki u zu'ãũ i v ʁitɛ nãũ ki'riãũ lɛr 'livruʃ | |] (6SV1)

This also applies to situations when this phoneme is in the syllable-initial position; it then occurs as [ʁ] on ST and M, and sporadically on S and BV.

- (28) [ʔõntɛɨ vɨ 'pɛʁɛ v ɨ'f'kɔlɐ | |] (4M3)
- (29) [ʔ'ɛʁɐ 'umɐ vez ɨŋ_mɛ'nɨɨ ki ʃ'tavɐ a kõn'taʒ 'uma ɨ'f'tɔrɨɨ k... 'pɛʁɛ iʒ kõn'djaʒ ũ kaʁ... kõn'djaʒ a 'akvuʁ kõ_ũʃ 'otruʃ a'miguʃ | |] (6M5)
- (30) [ɛn'tɛũ u_u'go 'disɨ | eũ ki'ʁɨʒ ʃ'tak nũ bɛ'lɛsu v bɛ'lɛ'sak | |] (4ST8)
- (31) [ʔ'sɛʁtu 'diʒ uʒ_mininuʃ da_ɨ'f'kɔlɐ kɛpɨ'liŋɐ tɨ'verɛũ 'fɔʁɐ nu ãtivalu maɨʃ 'tɛmpu | |] (6ST3)

At the end of syllables, the phoneme /r/ is dropped or becomes voiceless on F and SN, while there are sporadic cases of this usage on B and in the 4th grade of SV. In the 6th grade of B, there is a preference for the alveolar vibrant, especially when it precedes a plosive. On S this phone emerges in both grades, its usage being extended to other contexts:

¹ By a pivotal consonant cluster we mean consonant blends built with a plosive or an unvoiced labial fricative followed by /l/ or /r/.

- (32) [ʔotruf v brĩŋ'ka: ʔkɔdɛʃ ʔpɛrtu d_u'mɐ 'aʁvuri ||] (4F11)
 (33) [v'ki_s'ta 'duʒʃ kri'ẽsɐ v trɛ'tar d_i_ʔaʁvĩri ||] (6F15)
 (34) [i... ũ diʒ v'kelɐ 'a:rvi nɛʃ'sɛu i fi'karɛu ʒi v d_i... v ti'raʃ 'frutuʃ i... v fɛ'zɛ bɛ'lɛsuʃ i v ti'ra:r 'frutuʃ ||] (4SN1)
 (35) [ʔɛrɐ u'mɐ vɛʃ ũʒ mi'ninuʃ ki guʃ'tavɛu d_i zu'gar a 'bɔlɐ i ũ diʒ 'foʒɛu pi'lɛn'tar 'aʁvĩrʃ | ʔotruf 'forɛu bɛ'lɛ'sja:ʒ ||] (6SN8)
 (36) [ʔumɛʃ ʃ'ta v sa'tar a 'kɔrdɐ ||] (4S11)
 (37) [i... i trɛʃ v'miguʃ ʃ'tɛu v sa'tar a 'kɔrdɐ | i doʒʃ zu'gar a 'maʎɐ | d_i v i'r | i ũ v bɛ'lɛ'saʒ ||] (6S3)

In word-final position the phoneme /r/ is closer to its usage in the Brazilian Portuguese (BP) variety when the deletion of the final /r/ is registered (Mateus 1992: 32). On BV, M and ST the occurrence of the uvular fricative [ʁ] in this phonetic context may be registered:

- (38) [i lɛʒ | sɛ'taʒ a 'kɔʒdɐ i fɛ'zɛʒ sɪrku'laʒ v 'vɔltɐ d_i_ um_ʔaʁvuʒ ||] (4BV7)
 (39) [u zu'ɛu 'disi | ɛu nɛu 'kɛru bʒĩŋ'kaʁ || ɛn'tɛu | puʒ fi | u 'kaʁluʃ vɛʒi'to ||] (6BV3)
 (40) [ɛn'tɛw u 'otʒu ʃu'to v 'bɔlɐ i u 'otʒu foj vɛpɛ'ŋaʒ i u 'kaʁu ʒʃ'tavɐ v... v i... v ɛn'daʒ i ɛn'tɛw v mɛ'ninɐ foj vɛpɛ'ŋaʒ v 'bɔlɐ i u 'kaʁu bɛ'tɛw nɛ 'aʁvɪ ʔuʒki v mi'ninɐ_ʃ'tavɐ v vɛpɛ'ŋaʒ v 'bɔlɐ i u 'kaʁu tɛʒ ki_ʔ d_i vɛ'gaʒ ||] (4M1)
 (41) [ũ ʃ'ta v pɛ'saʒ ki ʃ'ta 'lɛndu 'livʒu i u'otru ʃ'ta v pɛ'saʒ kɐ ʃ'ta v bɛ'lɛ'saʒ ||] (6M8)
 (42) [ɛ'liʃ ʃ'ta... goʃ'tavɛu di zo... d_ʒi bʒĩŋ'kaʒ kɔm'pɔr... di bʒĩŋ'kaʒ di sa'taʒ a 'kɔʒdɐ ||] (4ST2)
 (43) [ɛ mi'ʎɔʒ v pɛ'saʒmuʃ a'tʒumɐ 'koʒzɐ 'pɛkɐ 'iʁmuʃ bʒĩŋ'kaʒ ||] (6ST7)

On the islands where the usage of the alveolar vibrant [r] is preferred, the retroflex approximant [ɻ] also occurs: SV, SA, SN, and B. This does not apply on the islands where the usage of the uvular vibrant [ʁ] is more significant: M, BV and, partially, ST. These isoglosses seem to divide the dialectal varieties into north-western and south-eastern areas, with S and F representing the transitional ones.

1.2. The alveolar lateral [ɭ]

In contrast to European Portuguese (EP), the place of articulation of this lateral also undergoes some change whenever it is at the end of a syllable preceding a plosive, such as /t/. Due to the acoustic quality of the recordings, it was not always possible to determine with certainty the type of change: voicelessness, deletion, replacement by a voiceless alveolar flapped vibrant [ɭ], or absolute velarization [L]².

The deletion of this lateral seems to depend on the existence of an /r/ at the end of syllables in the regional varieties of CVL where this phenomenon is found. The voicelessness of this same lateral occurs mainly on the islands of M, SA, SN and SV, i.e. on more than half of the northern islands:

- (44) [i ɛ u 'sɛ'tɛʒ 'kɔʒdɐ ʒũntu kɔ 'miɲɛʃ ku'lɛgaʃ] (4M10)

² This phone is mentioned in the descriptions of the CVL by Cardoso (1989: 89) and Veiga (1982: 35–40).

- (45) [u pʁi'mekʊ iʃ'ta v pɛ'sak ki 'eli iʃ'ta v * | u si'gũndu iʃ'ta v pɛ'sak ki uʃ me'ninuʃ'ta v fa'ze... v sa'tak a 'kɔkɔ i sa'tak a 'maʎa | |] (6M13)
- (46) [i uʒ'otruʒ mi'ninuʃ iʃ'tɛv v sɛ'tar 'kɔkɔ i... u 'kapajʃ i a mi'nina iʃ'ta a ler u 'livru... ũ 'livru | |] (4SA15)
- (47) [i_ɛn'tɛv fi'karɛv ʎai a diʃku'tir i vizo'verɛv fa'ze ũ 'ʒɔgu sɔ | | pri'mɛjru fi'karɛv a ler | |] (6SA9)
- (48) [i sɛ'temus v 'kɔkɔ | |] (4SN4)
- (49) [i di'pojʃ nɔʃ'tivemʊʃ v sɛ'tar 'kɔkɔ i u 'otruʃ fi'karɛv v zu'gar gɛvi'ɛv i di'pojʃ nɔʃ ri'grɛ'samʊʃ a 'kazɛ | |] (6SN5)
- (50) [ũʃ iʃ'tāv... a sɛ'tar a 'kɔkɔ | |] (4SV13)
- (51) [u 'kubɛn 'disi ki 'gɔʃtɛ di sɛ'tar v 'kɔkɔ kɔ uʒ'v'miguʃ | |] (6SV3)

The transition of this lateral to a voiceless alveolar flapped vibrant [ɾ] is found mainly on F, but also on ST. On the latter island, this process is registered only among 4th grade pupils.

- (52) [ũ 'diɣ 'elɛ vaʃ a iʃ'kɔlɛ i nu ãntɛr'valu 'elɛ fi'kɛ v sɛ'tar a 'kɔkɔ 'elɛʃ i 'otruʒ mi'ninuʃ | |] (4F4)
- (53) [v'ki ʃ'ta 'outruʃ a sa'tɛnduʃ... a sɛ'tar v 'kɔkɔ | |] (6F15)

It should be noted that, also in BP, this phone underwent the process of velarization when in word-final position (Mateus 1992: 32).

1.3. The labiodental fricative /v/

The labiodental fricative /v/ tends to become bilabial, especially, when preceding the oral vowel /ɔ/, as in the stressed syllable of the word *você*, exactly as it occurs in BP. This allophone is often used, especially among 4th grade pupils of B and SA. On ST, the same phenomenon is registered only in the 6th grade:

- (54) [u ʃi'neʃ swa v pɛ'sarɔ 'kwãndu iʃ'taβɛ a bɛlã'sjar | |] (4SA10)
- (55) [pʊrk_ɛ k_βɔ'sɛʃ ʃ'tɛv 'trɛʃti? | |] (6ST10)
- (56) [βɔ'sɛ tɛʃ ũ 'nɔmʃ 'lĩndu | ɛʃ 'lĩndɛ i uʃ sɛuʃ paʃ tɛβɛʃ tɛʃiʃ ũ 'nɔmʃ lĩndu i ʃ'pɛru ki 'sɛzɛ 'muʃtu 'felɛʃ 'outra βɛʃ | |] (4B2)

1.4. The postalveolar fricative /ʃ/

Only on SA is there a process of voicing the postalveolar fricative /ʃ/, which is replaced by [ʒ], when preceding either plosive consonants or vowels. By doing so, the voiced fricative becomes voiced by assimilation. In some cases, there is also a change of the place of articulation from the alveolar ridge to the hard palate [s], exactly as it occurs in BP:

- (57) [divi'r'tiʃ ko uʒ'v'miguʃ | |] (6SA3)
- (58) ['eliʒ tɛʃ ũ su'rɪzu... 'muʃtu... ɛntɛrɛ'sɛnti | |] (4SA1)

- (59) [nuʒ tẽmpuʃ 'livriʒ u k_εu 'gɔʃtu majʃ d_ʒu'gaʃ a 'bɔla || ... i ɐ kɪʒpi'rar u aʃ 'freʃku ||] (4SA4)
- (60) [i ũ kɐ'pajʃ ɐ kuɿ'dɐ dɐ 'plãntɐ i u 'otru rɐ'pajʃ ki_ʃ'ta kɔ 'eli_s'ta ɐ pɛ'sa ki_s'ta ɐ bɛlã'sjar kɔ ũ bɛ'lɔjsu ũsz_ʔotruʃ is'ta ɐ pɛ'sa ki_s'ta ɐ ver us kɐ'pajʃ i as rapa'rigɐs a brĩŋ'kar ||] (4SA5)
- (61) [i... i 'vemu_ũʒ mi'ninuʃ ɐ brĩŋ'kar a 'maʎɐ | sɛʔ'tar ɐ 'kɔrdɐ ||] (4SA8)
- (62) [u... a tɛ'reza 'disi | εu ka prɛ mĩ vo brĩŋ'kar a 'kɔdɐ kɔ_uʒ mɛuʃz_ʔotruʃ a'miguʃ || u lu'iʒ 'disi ||] (6SA9)

It is worth mentioning that the replacement of the phone [ʃ] by [ʒ] is also found in EP; this fricative undergoes a process of voicing, but only when it precedes voiced consonants. That is not the case here, since this replacement is generalized to other phonetic contexts. In this sense, the speakers adapt away from the BP variety, in which sibilants in coda position occur in the ridge alveolar, with the exception of the Rio de Janeiro region (Mateus 1992: 32). N. Quint (2000a: 68) mentions the shift of place of articulation in the proto-creole phase of CVL, although the transition from the phoneme /s/ to /ʃ/ when preceding the closed vowels /u/ and /i/ is preferred.

1.5. The alveolar plosive /d/

The alveolar plosive /d/ undergoes a process of palatalization by the addition of the voiced post-alveolar fricative [ʒ] whenever it precedes the phoneme /i/, as is done in BP (Mateus 1992: 32). This phenomenon is registered only in the 4th grade on ST, where this plosive may also become a retroflex consonant, but only in isolated cases:

- (63) [ʔotru ʔavɐ ɐ brĩŋ'kar i ɐ brĩŋ'kar di 'kɔrdɐ | ʔotruʒ_ɐ brĩŋ'kar dʒi... dʒi sikũn'did ||] (4ST4)
- (64) [εu ki'viɐ ʃ'taʃ ɐ bɛŋ'kaʃ kɔ uʒ_mɛuʃ ɐ'miguʃ aʒ 'ladu... aʒ pɛ d_ʒi 'umɐ 'arvori ||] (4ST7)

2. Vowels

Phonologically, this is the group of phonemes which exhibits more variation than any other. Closed vowels in EP are realized in the IV of Cape Verde in a similar way to BP.

Thus – as noted by N. Quint (2000b: 246) on the Portuguese of ST – the phoneme /i/ of EP occurs as [e]³ on all islands and in both school grades on the southern islands, undergoing a change either of tongue position, which is no longer central, and of tongue height, which is no longer closed, although the degree of lip rounding is maintained:

- (65) [ũ kɐpɛ'ziŋu i 'umɐ mɛ'ninɐ ʃ'tavɛu ɐ lɛʃ ũ livku ||] (4ST6)
- (66) [i uʒ_mɛ'ninus rɛʃpoŋ'derɛu | εu ʃ'to bɛi ||] (6ST9)
- (67) [ɐ pɔfɛ'soʃɐ lɛ'vo 'ɛlɐ 'pɛkɐ 'kazɐ i u 'titu fi'ko 'kwazi ɐ ʃu'kaʃ | fi'ko 'triʃti ||] (4M2)

³ N. Quint (2000b: 246) uses the phone [ɛ] while here [e] is used.

- (68) [ɐ 'ɛnɐ rɛʃpõn'deɹ | nɛɹ pu'demuʃ iɾ kõn'tigu? |] (6M15)
 (69) [kʷatru mɨnɨ'ninu ʃ'ta a pɛ'gar nɐ 'plɛntɐ i u 'otru ʃ'ta ɐ kuʃ'da...] (4F14)
 (70) [i 'umɐ mɛ'ninu i ũ ʁa'paʃ a kuʃ'dar dʒ_u_pɛ d_ʔaʁvir dɛʃ 'plɛntɛʃ] (6F13)
 (71) [ɐ protɛ'zɛ:ʃ u mɛɹu ɛlβiçɛntɨ |] (4B14)
 (72) ['otru ʃ'ta ɐ pɛ'sa: rɛ'ma: |] (6B5)

Similarly, on the southern islands and on SA and SV, regardless of school grade, closed vowels tend to become mid or open, especially in unstressed syllables:

- (73) [l'elɨʃ gos'tarɛɹu 'muʃtu di ʒo'gar a 'bɔlɐ | l'elɨʃ 'ɛrɛɹu tɛɹu 'felɨʃ |] (4ST1)
 (74) [i ũ 'ɛrɐ u lu'ɨʃ kɛ goʃ'tavɐ 'sɛmpɾɨ di ʒo'gar a 'bɔlɐ | mɛʃ aʃ 'vezɨʃ naʃ 'feriɛʃ 'eli goʃ'tavɐ 'sɛmpɾɨ d_ʃtu'dak o lɛʁ |] (6ST1)
 (75) [ɛɹ 'aʃɛɨ 'ɛʃtɨ de'zɛɹu 'muʃtu legatʷ | ɛɹ 'aʃɛɨ kɨ_ɛsɨ de'sɛɹu tɛɨ 'aʔgũz_mɛ'ninuʃ a kõver'sar | 'outru a brɨŋ'kar * | 'outru a ʃtu'dar | 'outru a sa'tar a 'kõrdɐ | 'outru a fa'zer plɛntɛ'sõɨʃ | 'outru a ʁɛ'mar |] (4B1)
 (77) [ɐ'ki ɛɹ ʒa vi ũ_mɛ'ninu ɐ... ɐ bɛlɛ'sar nũ_bo'le | ɐ dar bo'le | i tɐ'βɛɨ ʒa vi ũ_m_mɛ'ninu ɐ... ɐ fɛ'zer u'mɐ lɨm'pɛ... u'mɐ lɨm'pɛzɐ nu pɛ du 'aʁvi |] (4F1)
 (78) [ʃ'tɛɹu tɾɛʃ a... sɛɨz mɛ'ninuʃ a'legɾi |] (6F10)
 (79) [ɛn'tɛɹu ɛl_ɛ'vaxɛɹu 'ɛla 'pɛʁɛ_u oʃpi'taʃ | ɛn'tɛɹu ɐ mɛ'ninɐ 'fiko i... nɛɹu foɨ 'pɛʁɛ_ɐ ʃ'kɔlɐ |] (4M1)
 (45) [u pɾɨ'mɛku ʃ'ta ɐ pɛ'sak ki 'ɛli ʃ'ta ɐ * | u sɨ'gũndu ʃ'ta ɐ pɛ'sak ki uʃ mɛ'ninuʃ_ʃ'ta ɐ fa'ze... ɐ sa'tak a 'kõrdɐ i sa'tak a 'maʁa |] (6M13)
 (80) [na 'bãndɐ dʒɨ'padɐ 'vezɹu ɐ... mõntʃ di ga'rotuʃ a... ɐ pɛ'sarɛɨ nu ki vãɹu fɛ'zer nu sɛɹu fɨ dʒ sɨ'mõnɐ |] (4SA1)
 (81) [ɛn'tɛɹu 'ɛlɨ ka'iu |] (6SA10)
 (82) [ʃ'to ɐ ver ki uʒ_m'ninuʃ nãɹu... nãɹu pɨr'tɛsɛɹu 'kãdɐ ũ dɐ 'mezɹu lukɛli'dadi | 'kãdɐ ũ pɨr'tɛsɨ a suɹ lukɛli'dadi |] (4SV6)
 (83) [ɛʃ'tavɛɹu ɐ... a rɨfrɛ'kar aʃ i'dɛɨʃ | a ʁiso'tver u kɨ vãɹu fɛ'zer |] (6SV11)

In some other cases and unlike EP, there is a change in the position of the tongue, which moves to the front, and in tongue height, which moves to the mid-position. This phenomenon usually occurs when the vowel is in word-final position or followed by a voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ]. This characteristic is found throughout the islands and school grades:

- (73) [l'elɨʃ gos'tarɛɹu 'muʃtu di ʒo'gar a 'bɔlɐ | l'elɨʃ 'ɛrɛɹu tɛɹu 'felɨʃ |] (4ST1)
 (74) [i ũ 'ɛrɐ u lu'ɨʃ kɛ goʃ'tavɐ 'sɛmpɾɨ di ʒo'gar a 'bɔlɐ | mɛʃ aʃ 'vezɨʃ naʃ 'feriɛʃ 'eli goʃ'tavɐ 'sɛmpɾɨ d_ʃtu'dak o lɛʁ |] (6ST1)
 (75) [ɛɹ 'aʃɛɨ 'ɛʃtɨ de'zɛɹu 'muʃtu legatʷ | ɛɹ 'aʃɛɨ kɨ_ɛsɨ de'sɛɹu tɛɨ 'aʔgũz_mɛ'ninuʃ a kõver'sar | 'outru a brɨŋ'kar * | 'outru a ʃtu'dar | 'outru a sa'tar a 'kõrdɐ | 'outru a fa'zer plɛntɛ'sõɨʃ | 'outru a ʁɛ'mar |] (4B1)
 (78) [ʃ'tɛɹu tɾɛʃ a... sɛɨz mɛ'ninuʃ a'legɾi |] (6F10)
 (45) [u pɾɨ'mɛku ʃ'ta ɐ pɛ'sak ki 'ɛli ʃ'ta ɐ * | u sɨ'gũndu ʃ'ta ɐ pɛ'sak ki uʃ mɛ'ninuʃ_ʃ'ta ɐ fa'ze... ɐ sa'tak a 'kõrdɐ i sa'tak a 'maʁa |] (6M13)
 (81) [ɛn'tɛɹu 'ɛlɨ ka'iu |] (6SA10)

- (84) [eʃ kri'ẽseʃ nãu sẽu i'gwajʃ || i 'umɐʃ sẽu di umɐ 'iʎe i 'otrɐʃ sẽu di 'otrɐ 'iʎɐʃ || i...
'elɨʃ ʒũn'tarẽu i reu'nirẽu 'ũmɐ... ãʒ_e'miguʃ ||] (4S4)
- (85) [e'viɐ 'sĩŋku... 'erɐ 'umɐ vɛʃ 'sĩŋku mi'ninuʃ ki iʃ'tavẽu proku'rar u ki fa'zer || i 'kadɐ
ũ iʃ'tavɐ v dar v suʒ i'dɛjɐ || ã mi'ninu ʃɐ'madu 'karluʃ ʃ'tavɐ v pɛ'sar 'purki nẽu iẽu
bɛlɛ'sjar nu 'paʃki ||] (6S1)
- (86) [ʉʒ_mi'ninuʃ iʃ'tẽu a sa'tar a 'kɔrdɐ || 'outruʃ iʃ'tẽu v ʒi'mar i iʃ'tẽu v brĩŋ'kar 'ũmɐ
'arvuri ||] (4B11)
- (87) [ʃɐ'marẽu 'elɨʃ i 'elɨʃ nẽu riʃpõn'derẽu ||] (6ST11)

Some cases of epenthesis [i] between two elements of a pivotal consonant cluster are also found, although not in a significant number of the phonetic transcriptions:

- (3) [iʃtu'dar 'mujtu | fa'ze_ʎɔdɐ naʃ 'arvuriʃ | ti'raʒ ã... se'mja:ʃ u'maʃ pɛ'lãntɐʃ | ɛ'tɛtirɐ ||]
(4SA2)
- (11) [na 'kuartɐ doʒ_ʒ_mi'ninuʃ a pɛ'lã'tar 'uma_ʎarvuri | i na 'kĩnta 'vejzu a'l'gũʒ mi'ninuʃ a
fa'ze:_ʎɔdɐ... v brĩŋ'ka:_ʎɔdɐ ||] (6SA6)

Among the written data, syllable addition through the insertion of an epenthetic vowel is registered in a significant number of cases. The following contexts have proved to be more susceptible to this phenomenon: in closed or checked syllables in word-final position, such as <BALASARE> ('balançar' or 'andar de baloiço', *to swing*); when preceding the alveolar consonant in <PL> such as <PALANTAR> ('plantar', *to plant*); or, finally, when preceding the vibrant in <VR>, such as in <LIVERO> ('livro', *book*). In this case, the IV adapts away from the syllable structure of EP and BP, the usage of /CVCV/ being preferred, although only the pivotal consonant clusters are susceptible to this phenomenon. This happens neither with digraphs nor with double consonants or other consonant clusters, as can be seen in the following examples:

- (88) gerupue de mnenino/outeros/liveros/saltara corda (4BV11)
- (89) pensare/plantare (4BV21, 4SN18)
- (90) estudare (4BV23)
- (91) palantara uma arova (4BV26)
- (92) pilantar/outire (4BV31)
- (93) regara a planta (4BV36)
- (94) palantar a arvore (4BV37, 4SN8)
- (95) pelantare a pelata/balasare (4M15, 6M21)
- (96) Luize[Luís] (6M22)
- (97) Eu vês os meninos a ler a brincar a palantar. (4SA21)
- (98) manegueira de agua (6SN2)

This process smooths the consonant clusters and promotes the emergence of open syllables. It also occurs in BP, but only between two consonants, which usually do not form a consonant cluster in Portuguese (Mateus 1992: 33). N. Quint (2000a: 67) has described the inclusion of an epenthetic vowel in the proto-creole phase during the formation process of the CVL.

There is evidence of vowel reduction when the phone [a] in EP is replaced by [ə] if followed by a stressed syllable. It is still realized as a central vowel, although an open-mid one, especially on BV, F, and SV, and partially on SN (among 4th grade pupils):

- (13) [i ɐʃ 'outrɐʃ ʒɨ'tavɐ̃u ɐ sɐʃ'taɾ ɐ 'kɔɾdɐ | |] (6BV12)
 (99) [ʰotruʒ_ɐ sɐʃ'taɾ a 'kɔɾdɐ | |] (4BV5)
 (100) [ʒa vi 'umɐ mɨ'ninɐ i ũ ɐ'paɨʃ a sɐʃ'taɾ ɐ 'kɔɾdɐ | |] (4F1)
 (101) [ä'ki ʒɨ'ta seɨʃ kri'ɛsɐ ɐ sɐʃ'taɾ a 'kɔɾdɐ | |] (6F8)
 (102) [ũʃ ʒɨ'tãu... a sɐʃ'taɾ a 'kɔɾdɐ | |] (4SV13)
 (103) [maʃ uʃ ɐ'paɨʃ nãu ki'riɐ̃u ʒu'ga: ɐ 'bɔlɐ i ɐʒ_mɨ'ninɐʃ ki'riɐ̃u sɐʃ'taɾ a 'kɔɾdɐ | |] (6SV1)
 (104) [ʰotru sta ä ler | ʰotru sta ä * | | ʰotru sta pen'sɐ_ɐ brɨŋ'ka: a 'ɾɔdɐ | ʰotru sta ɐ plɛn'taʃ u'mɐ_'arvr | |] (6B5)

Nevertheless, when tongue height is unchanged, as in EP, vowels often become almost inaudible or of relatively short duration. This occurs on all northern islands, except on BV. On the island of S, it is important to note that vowel voicelessness occurs only when a vowel is in word-final position; this places the island of S in a transitional position between the island of BV and the southern islands, on one side, and the rest of the northern islands on the other:

- (7) [ʰelɨʒ_vɐ̃u plɛn'tɐʃ 'umɐ 'ɐʃvuri i vɐ̃u brɨŋ'kɐʃ 'toduʃ di'bɛɨʃʃu 'dɛlɐ i nɐ̃u vɐ̃u dɛɨ'ʃar ki u mɨ'ninu ʰɨkɛ̃ɨ ɛvirguluɾɐdu | |] (4SV9)
 (104) [ʰɛra 'umɐ vɛʒ 'muɨtuʃ ir'mãuʃ ki ɡɔʃ'tavɐ̃u di brɨŋ'kaʃ | |] (6SV10)
 (105) [ũʒ tɛɨɨ kɐ'beluʃ 'prɛtuʃ | ʰotruʒ tɛɨɨ kɐ'belu amãreluʃ | | iz_ɐ'ki kɐʃ di'zer ki e'ʰɨʃ ʃ'tɛ̃u ɐ brɨŋkar | |] (4S1)
 (106) [i 'outru ɐ ɛn'daʃ d_ba'loɨsu | |] (6S5)
 (107) [ɛu 'ɡɔʃtu di fɛ'ze:ʃ bɐ'ʰɛsu 'puɾki ɛ 'miɲɐ bɨŋkɐ'dɛɨrɐ ki ɛu 'ɡɔʃtu pɾɐ 'miɲɐ 'vidɐ | | ɛu 'ɡɔʃtu di brɨŋ'ka:ʃ 'ɾɔdɐ kɔ ɐʒ 'miɲɐʃ ku'ʰɛʃ | |] (4SN7)
 (108) [ũʃ... ũʃ plɛn'tavɐ̃u 'plɛntɐʃ | i... ɡuʃ'tavɐ̃u di brɨŋkar i ler | mɐʃ kuɲnd... 'kuɲndu ɐkɐ'basɛ̃ɨ di fɛ'zer uʃ seʃ trɛ'baʃuʃ 'sɛmpri_ɨ̃u brɨŋ'kar | i di'poɨʃ nɐ̃... | |] (6SN1)
 (109) [nuʃ 'tɛmpuʃ 'livɾɨʃ brɨŋ'kaɨʃ 'muɨtu | | ... ʒu'gamuʃ sɐʃ'tamuʃ 'kɔɾdɐ | |] (4SA3)
 (110) [ɛ mɨ'ɫɔ: du ki fɨ'kaʃ a'ki a diʃku'tir | |] (6SA10)

Vowel denasality also occurs on some islands; however it is not consistent with the standard territorial division of northern and southern groups. This phenomenon is registered mainly on the islands of F, M, and SA. Vowel denasality is evident when it is followed by a nasal consonant, while it seems likely that the denasalized setting invokes a short, almost inaudible, vowel:

- (46) [i uʒ_ʰotruʒ_mɨ'ninuʃ ʒɨ'tɛ̃u ɐ sɐʃ'taɾ 'kɔɾdɐʃ i... u ɐ'paɨʃ i a mɨ'nina ʒɨ'ta a ler u livru... ũ livru | |] (4SA15)
 (111) [di'poɨʃ ũm_mɨ'ninu ɐ pɛ'saʃ ʃ'taɾ nũ bɛ'ʰɛsu ɐ balɔɨ'sar | bɛlɔɨ'sar ɛ̃ɨ vɛʒ di_ʃ'taɾ ɐ fɛ'zer fɔtɔgrɛ'fɨʃ | |] (6SA1)
 (112) [i ũm_mɛ'ninu dis ki vaj dar di bɔ'ʰɛ | |] (4F8)

- (113) [ɛ̃'kiʃ'ta tɾeʃ'kɾi'ẽsɐ v sɛɣ'tar a 'kɔrdɐ | i 'umɐ mɨ'ninɐ i um'mɛ'ninu a lɛr 'livɾuʃ ou
kɨ'viʃtɐ |] (6F11)
- (114) [iʃ'ta v lɛɣ̃ ũ 'livɾu i tɔm'bɛ̃j | iʃ'ta v kɛŋ'tak || 'eliʃ_zɛ 'siŋkuʃ... a'miguʃ] (4M7)
- (115) [l'ɛkɐ u'mɐ vɛʒ... ũ_mɨ'ninu 'ʒɔkɜʒi |] (6M4)

It must be pointed out that N. Quint (2000a: 63) referred to the occurrence of the same phenomenon in the earliest phase of CVL development. The process of denasality has also been registered in other phonetic contexts, although much less frequently:

- (57) [aʃ kɾi'ãsaʃ 'pɛsãũ 'kɔmu 'pɔdɛj bɾiŋ'kar nu... kɔ̃ u 'mũdu | mu'da: v nɛtu'rezɐ |
divɨ'r'tiɣ̃ ko uʒ_v'miguʃ |] (6SA3)

Conclusion

From the phonological point of view, there are some characteristics common to all the islands, as is the case with the replacement of [ɨ] by [i] when followed by a voiceless post-alveolar fricative or the word is in final position; otherwise it is replaced by the mid vowel [e]. This process, along with the insertion of an epenthetic vowel, reveals similarities to an earlier phase of CVL formation. It results in louder and longer vowel pronunciation, longer in pitch and more central in quality, and it promotes the emergence of open syllables. Cases of vowel reduction of the phoneme /a/ or of the relatively brief duration of vowels are also found, although not on all the islands. However, the island of S seems to represent a transitional area for these processes.

With respect to consonants, the realization of the phoneme /r/ reveals a territorial distinction. The occurrence of this phoneme as an alveolar, either as a trill or a flap, is more likely to occur on B, SA, SV and SN, while the islands of S and F represent a transitional area for this tendency. On the other islands, the use of the uvular vibrant prevails, although it varies according to phonetic context. The division between northern and southern islands gives way to a distinction in phonological terms between western (B, SA, SV, SN) and eastern (BV, M, ST) islands, whereas F and S, the first and one of the last islands to be settled, become transitional areas of these isoglosses.

These data do not support any relevant conclusions on phonological variation according to the vertical axis, i.e. in connection with pupils' age and cognitive development.

Interestingly, there are some similarities between the phonemes which underwent linguistic shift during the process of CVL formation and those discussed here. N. Quint refers to the denasality occurring in the earliest phase, and, in the proto-creole phase, the shift of place of articulation of some sibilants, the deletion of /r/ in pivotal consonant clusters, and the inclusion of the epenthetic vowel.

Abbreviations and Symbols

B	Brava	SA	Santo Antão
BP	Brasilian Portuguese	SN	São Nicolau
BV	Boavista	ST	Santiago
CVL	Capeverdean language: <i>kabuverdianu</i>	SV	São Vicente
EP	Standard European Portuguese		
F	Fogo	*	Unintelligible part or word
IV	Indiginized Variety	...	Break
M	Maio	[n.p.]	No place/no publisher
S	Sal		

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Appendix – Map of Cape Verde



Quoted from:

<http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/africa/ciamaps/cv.htm>
(retrieved 7 June 2009)

JEŠTĚ KE KULTURNÍMU KONTEXTU PRAŽSKÉ ŠKOLY: LINGVISTIKA A TYPOGRAFIE^[*]

Vít Boček (*Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic*)

Abstract. The paper deals with the cultural context of the Prague school of linguistics in its classical period (First Czechoslovak Republic). There are several topics common to the linguists of the school and the leading theoretician of the modern typography, Karel Teige, such as combination of structural and functional approach, strong rejection of the past-oriented intellectual currents in the respective fields, positive appreciation of the role of tradition. Some concrete parallels between theoretical thinking in linguistics and typography at the time are discussed.

Úvod

Jindřich Toman uvedl svou knihu *The Magic of a Common Language* dvěma pozoruhodnými citáty: v roce 1911 pobýval v Praze několik měsíců Albert Einstein a svůj dojem z tamního prostředí shrnul slovy „intelektuální poušť“; zato o tři desítky let později, roku 1943, charakterisoval Roman Jakobson první československou republiku jako období „převratného kulturního rozvoje“ (Toman 1995: 1n). S tím, že v prvních desetiletích samostatného československého státu opravdu došlo (i přes nejrůznější obtíže) k nebývalému myšlenkovému i uměleckému rozmachu, lze jen stěží polemizovat. Snad nikdy předtím ani nikdy potom u nás neexistovalo takové názorové rozpětí a šíře pohledů, a to v nejrůznějších oblastech lidského snažení – v politice, filosofii, vědě i umění (pro přehled viz např. Marek 1998: 261–313). Charakteristickou je také velmi úzká propojenost zmíněných sfér: kupříkladu na Hradě sedí filosof, který o pátečních odpoledních sestupuje do podhradí rozprádat debaty s umělci a vědci, z nichž leckteří zase bouří nejenom při hospodských schůzkách, ale i na politických schůzích.

Nechybí ani názory, které toto vzepětí považují – a dodejme hned, že oprávněně – za sebevědomý pokus národní elity o vymanění se ze středoevropsky provinčního osudu (Vykypěl 2007: 150). První republiku lze pak také vidět jako jakousi houbu, která do sebe nasávala nejrůznější vlivy ze všech možných stran. Impulsem ke vstřebávání cizích podnětů byla i skutečnost, že mladý československý stát byl velkoryse nakloněn imigraci ze států, které právě procházely spletitým politickým vývojem.¹ Ve dvacátých letech se jednalo především o ruskou a ukrajinskou inteligenci prchající před následky bolševické revoluce,

[*] Previously unpublished. Peer-reviewed before publication. [Editor's note]

¹ Onu velkorysost Československa k imigrantům lze ovšem zčásti zpochybnit poukazem na to, že se týkala především kulturní a intelektuální elity, srov. o tom naposledy Čapková 2008, Frankl 2008 a Čapková–Frankl 2008.

v letech třicátých k nám směřoval podobný proud z hitlerovského Německa. Zároveň se pochopitelně silně prosazovaly i vlivy méně bezprostřední, dané kontaktem našich osobností se zahraničím a jejich poučeností o tom, co se ve světě děje. Přijímání cizích myšlenek ovšem nebylo mechanické a nekritické, často z nich bylo u nás vytvořeno něco nového a specifického, a to i kombinací s myšlenkovým odkazem domácím.

Pražská škola a Karel Teige

Oblastí, na které lze uvedené skutečnosti dobře pozorovat, je meziválečná česká jazykověda, respektive její hlavní proud, který představovala takzvaná pražská škola, institucionálně ukotvená v Pražském lingvistickém kroužku. O kulturním kontextu Pražského lingvistického kroužku a myšlenkovém spříznění jeho členů s moderními uměleckými směry bylo již napsáno mnohými mnohé. Nejčastěji se přitom pojednává o kladném přijetí, jemuž se u avantgardních umělců těšily názory a myšlenky (o životním stylu ani nemluvě) Romana Jakobsona (srov. např. Toman 1995: 217–241) a Jana Mukařovského (srov. např. Chvatík 1970). Upozorňuje se také na spříznění pražských funkčních strukturalistů s teoriemi funkcionalistických architektů (srov. Šoltys 1991).² Spojující a nejčastěji citovanou osobou je v tomto ohledu Karel Teige jako náš zřejmě nejzasvěcenější a také nejplodnější teoretik moderní kultury v širokém záběru. V tomto příspěvku se budeme věnovat některým Teigeho textům,³ které dosud v kontextu pražské jazykovědné školy citovány nebyly, snad proto, že v celku Teigeho díla zaujímají okrajovější místo, neboť se věnují méně exponovanému odvětví moderní kultury: jde o texty zabývající se typografií. Právě v nich lze ovšem nalézt nejednu myšlenku dokreslující intelektuální ovzduší první republiky vůbec a ukazující – snad zajímavé – paralely k tehdejší jazykovědě zvláště.⁴

Přístup strukturální a přístup funkční aneb hra v šach

Jak je až notoricky – a proto snad leckdy i poněkud povrchně – známo, Pražský lingvistický kroužek byl uskupením vědců, které se ve druhé půli dvacátých let vyvinulo z původně neformální skupiny několika přátel se společnými odbornými zájmy v početnou, dobře organizovanou a při prosazování oněch zájmů i poměrně bojovnou instituci. Od počátku zde významnou úlohu hráli nejenom vědci čeští, jako především hlavní hybatel tohoto hnutí anglista Vilém Mathesius, ale též cizinci, především Rusové a Ukrajinci. V Kroužku se

² Přehled teoretických východisek a vývoje architektonických funkcionalistů podává např. Švácha 2000a a 2000b. Osobitý pohled přináší Michl 2003, jehož místy provokativní úvahy nad funkcionalistickým heslem „forma sleduje funkci“ jistě stojí za promýšlení a také domýšlení i v jiném než jen architektonickém kontextu, například právě jazykovědném.

³ Zabývat se naopak nebudeme vnějšími projevy spřízněnosti Teigeho se zástupci pražské školy. Pro zajímavost si zde připomeňme jen slavnou fotografii z roku 1933, na které hoduje Teige spolu s Jakobsonem a Nezvalem v bazénu Krohovy vily v Brně, či skutečnost, že v Teigeho pozůstalosti se v přijaté korespondenci zachovalo 21 dopisů od Mukařovského z let 1939–1949 (srov. Hamanová 1968: 7).

⁴ Pozoruhodná je například už skutečnost, že v Teigeho pozůstalosti se zachoval také plán na napsání knihy mající souhrnně pojednávat o autorových typografických názorech; Šestá kapitola plánované knihy měla nést název „Slovo a písmo. Vliv literatury a lingvistiky“ (srov. Srp–Bregantová–Bydžovská 2009: 7).

rozdíjela nejen jazykověda, ale i další spřízněné obory, jako literární věda, estetika, teatrologie či etnografie.

Společným východiskem a sdíleným programem se stal záměr pracovat pomocí funkčně-strukturální metody. Ta má dvojí stránku: zaprvé aspekt strukturální, v němž je třeba jazyk zkoumat jako strukturu, tj. autonomní a vnitřně hierarchizovaný systém, jehož prvky jsou spolu spojeny nejrůznějšími druhy vztahů; zadruhé aspekt funkční, podle něhož je zapotřebí zároveň sledovat vnější fungování jazyka jakožto nástroje komunikace. Podrobnosti tohoto programu a jeho důsledky pro jednotlivé jazykovědné disciplíny zveřejnil Kroužek především v tzv. Tezích, kolektivním dokumentu předloženém v roce 1929 na prvním mezinárodním sjezdu slavistů v Praze (Thèses 1929).

Dva zmíněné aspekty „pohledu na věc“, tj. strukturální a funkční, nacházíme i u Teige. Přiblížit se k jeho textům o typografii jde asi nejlépe přes známější texty o architektuře. Tam se Teige stal naším patrně nejradičtějším prosazovatelem tzv. konstruktivismu, hnutí kořenícího v Sovětském svazu a výrazně spojeného s marxistickou sociologií. Konstruktivistická architektura měla pomáhat budovat nový svět založený na novém společenském uspořádání. Hlavním kritériem kvality stavby se přitom měla stát organizovanost a účelnost. Právě tyto dva rysy lze vnímat jako paralelu k strukturálnímu a funkčnímu pohledu na jazyk. Např. návrhy tzv. koldomů – kolektivních domů složených z množství obytných buněk, doplněných o zařízení jako kantýny, prádelny a podobně – byly vlastně jasně strukturovanými systémy, jejichž prvky k sobě měly být v určitém jasně daném vztahu a které měly plnit jasně daný účel, tj. absolutně uspokojovat materiální lidské potřeby (Teige 1932c).

Teoretickým rozvíjením konstruktivismu se Teige zabýval z nejrůznějších hledisek. Radikálnost jeho celkového přístupu spočívala v ostrém odlišení dvou pólů lidské činnosti: umění a vědy. K prvnímu patří báseň, poetismus, emoce, subjektivismus, k druhému naopak (a analogicky) architektura, konstruktivismus, ratio, objektivismus. Někdy proto bývá jeho přístup k architektuře označován jako vědecký funkcionalismus, v protikladu k druhé větvi, funkcionalismu estetickému, kam lze řadit většinu ostatních českých architektonických funkcionalistů, zastávajících v otázce vztahu architektury a umění umírněnější stanovisko (Švácha 2000b).

Do druhého z obou pólů Teigemu ovšem vedle architektury spadala i typografie, jíž se věnoval i prakticky.⁵ Více jak desítky Teigeho teoretických textů formulujících zásady konstruktivistické typografie byla publikována v dobových periodikách, především v časopise Typografia, který je sám o sobě pěkným příkladem zmíněného překročení provinčnosti, neboť právě v době první republiky se stal revuí světové úrovně. V typografii Teige hlásal podobné principy jako v architektuře, jsou zde však méně zatíženy politicko-sociologickými konotacemi. Patrně zde také zásadní roli sehrál vnější vliv nikoli pouze východní sovětský, ale také německý. Teige byl v názorové shodě především s myšlenkami slavného typografa a písmaře Jana Tschicholda. S Tschicholdovou knihou *Die neue Typographie* (Tschichold 1928), která se stala jakousi biblí moderní typografie,

⁵ K jeho grafickým návrhům srov. Primus 2001 a monograficky Srp–Bregantová–Bydžovská 2009. Za pozornost stojí fakt, že Teige navrhl obálku k Jakobsonovým Základům českého verše z roku 1926 a ke sborníku Čtení o jazyce a poezii z roku 1942, redigovanému Havránkem a Mukařovským.

pozoruhodně souzní Teigeho stať *Moderní typy* (Teige 1927).⁶ V tomto článku představil Teige především „konstruktivistické šestero“, základní body svého typografického programu (Teige 1927: 196n a 206). Oba základní aspekty, strukturální a funkční, jsou zahrnuty v bodu 2: „Výběr typů dokonalé, jasně čitelné a geometricky jednoduché kresby, pochopení ducha toho kterého typu, užívání těchto typů podle povahy textu, kontrastování typografického materiálu k vůli většímu zdůraznění obsahu.“ Funkční pohled je pak samostatně formulován v bodu 3: „Dokonalé vystižení účelu a splnění úkolu. Rozlišení mezi jednotlivými účely. Jiné postuláty klade reklama, jež má být viditelná z dálky, jiné vědecká kniha, jiné poesie.“ A strukturálnímu přístupu se věnuje bod 4: „Harmonické vyvážení plochy a rozvrhu sazby podle objektivních optických zákonů; přehledné rozčlenění a geometrické organisování.“

Snad nejvýstižnějším formulováním funkčně-strukturálního stanoviska je v obou disciplínách přirovnání předmětu svého bádání (v případě jazykovědy), resp. předmětu své činnosti (v případě typografie), ke hře v šach. V jazykovědě se tato metafora stala slavnou především díky Ferdinandu de Saussurovi. V jeho *Kursu obecné lingvistiky* (1916) je jazyk přirovnán k šachové hře především za účelem vysvětlení strukturálního přístupu k jazyku: jazyk je systém, jehož prvky nemají hodnotu samy o sobě, ale pouze ve vztahu k jiným prvkům; jejich hodnota není dána pozitivně, tím, z čeho jsou, ale negativně, tím, z čeho nejsou. Rovněž šachy jsou systémem pravidel o tom, jak která figura táhne; nezáleží na tom, zda jsou celé ze dřeva či slonoviny, ale na tom, jak může ta která figura táhnout. I pokud nějakou figuru ztratíme, můžeme ji konvenčně nahradit třeba pečetním prstenem, a přiřkneme-li mu tutéž hodnotu, jakou měla ztracená figura, hraje se bez problémů dál (Saussure 1996: 58, 116n, 137).⁷

De Saussurovo přirovnání pražská škola nezavrhuje, ale domýšlí je dál, když k onomu strukturálnímu aspektu přidává jako komplementární právě aspekt funkční. Explicitně toto stanovisko formuloval představitel druhé generace pražské školy Vladimír Skalička: „Šachová hra – to není těch několik pravidel, kterým se snadno naučí desítiletý školák. Smysl dávají hře v šachy ona těžko zachytitelná a neustále se měnící pravidla o tom, jak třeba hrát, aby partie došla k úspěšnému cíli. Závislost na sociální realitaci je tu stejně platná jako v životě ekonomickém. Šachová hra se přirozeně mění podle toho, zda je zábavou několika málo lidí nebo zjevem masovým atd. A tím spíše je tato závislost na sociální realitaci platná v jazyce“ (Skalička 1947–1948: 138). Pro jazykovědu to znamená nutnost zkoumat jazyk v jeho užívání, v tom, jak funguje v sociální komunikaci. I tam chceme vyhrát, jsme hráči, kteří v rámci pravidel používají jednotlivé prostředky, aby úspěšně naplnili své komunikační potřeby a cíle.

Metaforu šachové hry nahlíženou z téže perspektivy pak nacházíme také u Teigeho, když hovoří o tom, že v typografii platí jisté stanovené zákonitosti, jimiž je nutno se řídit,

⁶ Oba texty například zavrhují secesi, vedou paralely mezi moderní typografií a abstraktním uměním a předvídají zánik arabských a dálnovýchodních písem. Uvažuje se dokonce o tom, že podobnost těchto myšlenek není náhodná a že autoři byli při přípravě svých textů v kontaktu (Burke 2007: 122n, 2008: 31). Z Teigeho článku Tschichold později přímo citoval jeho hlavní typografické zásady ve své knize *Eine Stunde Druckgestaltung* (Tschichold 1930), na což zase Teige vděčně vzpomínal ještě v roce 1949 v diskusi po své přednášce *Moderní kniha* (o tom viz Bohatec 1965). Teige také referoval o dvou přednáškách, které měl Tschichold v Praze a Brně zkrájí roku 1931 (Teige 1930–1931). Jiné společné téma obou osobností, totiž prosazování malopisu, tedy zrušení velkých písmen, shrnují Srp–Bregantová–Bydžovská 2009: 118–122.

⁷ Podrobně pojednává o de Saussurově přirovnání jazyka k šachu především Greenberg 1971.

leč zároveň je tu i volnost při nakládání s nimi, při jejich uplatňování: „... a jako zákony hry v šachy nevylučují fantasii, vynalézavost a originalitu, jako v šachu je možno nekonečné množství partií, tak ani tyto optické zákony obrazové strojby v ničem neomezují největší živost fantasie, intuitivních nápadů, vynalézavosti a originality, umožňují nesčíslný počet nejrozmanitějších řešení. (...) Tyto zákony jsou nikoliv poutem, ale regulátorem“ (Teige 1927: 195).

Ne archaismu

V obojím případě, lingvistice i typografii, je prosazování nového přístupu spojeno s rasantním vymezováním se vůči svým předchůdcům. V jazykovědě do té doby převládal mladogramatismus, soustřeďující se především na popis historického vývoje jazyků, a to zkoumáním izolovaných jazykových jevů. Právě proti tomu postavila pražská škola požadavek zkoumat také (nikoliv však pouze!) stav jazyka a fungování celého jeho systému. Ve starší jazykovědě se obrácení k minulosti specificky projevilo také v puristickém přístupu v otázce jazykové správnosti. Pro puristy byl správným takový jazykový výraz, který měl historickou kontinuitu, tj. byl doložen v nejstarších fázích jazyka. Ve shodě s tím pak odmítali cizí prvky, u češtiny především jazykové prostředky přejímané z němčiny. Proti hlavnímu puristickému proudu, soustředěnému v časopise *Naše řeč*, vystoupil Pražský lingvistický kroužek v polemické sérii přednášek (Havránek–Weingart 1932), v nichž představil odlišné stanovisko, a to právě funkční. Podle něj o správnosti výrazu rozhoduje právě účel, za kterým se ho používá, tedy i aktuální typ komunikační situace (různé typy jazykových projevů si vyžadují použití různých prostředků). Ne náhodou přivítali toto nové pojetí velké osobnosti prvorepublikové kultury, a to i osobnosti navzájem zcela různého názorového založení, jimž snad bylo společné právě jen kosmopolitní cítění: byli mezi nimi například Karel Čapek (1932) či F. X. Šalda (1931–1932, 1932–1933), a ovšem i Vítězslav Nezval (1932), o něhož vlastně především šlo, neboť bezprostředním impulsem k reakci Kroužku byla kritika některých Nezvalových děl z pera hlavního redaktora *Naší řeči* Jiřího Hallera.

Také typografický konstruktivismus se vymezuje vůči předchozím přístupům. Na konci 19. století se v typografii výrazně prosadil směr reprezentovaný především Williamem Morrisem a Johnem Ruskinem. I jeho nejcharakterističtějším rysem bylo obrácení k minulosti. V době rychle se prosazující průmyslové výroby začal být hlásán návrat k manufaktuře a řemeslné práci, vzorem se staly prvotisky. Na toto hnutí zvané Arts and Crafts navázala potom secese se svou typickou zdobností. V českém prostředí byli těmito směry ovlivněni Karel Dyrynk, Zdenka Braunerová, Slavoboj Tusar či Vojtěch Preissig, patrně nejvýznamnější osobností se stal v tomto ohledu Oldřich Menhart. Naopak Teige varuje před „fantastickou zvůli secesní manie dekorační“ a „nebezpečností archaismu“ (Teige 1927: 190) a staví proti nim kritérium funkční: „Konstruktivistická typografie, přistupující k sestavení knihy, klade si tyto otázky: co? – komu? – proč? a teprve synthesisa odpovědí na tyto otázky je odpovědí na otázku – jak?“ (Teige 1932a: 61). A hned prvním bodem jeho konstruktivistického šestera je: „Osvobození od tradic a předsudků: překonání archaismu, akademismu a vyloučení jakéhokoliv dekorativismu. Nerespektování akademických a tradičních pravidel, které nejsou opřeny optickými důvody, ale jsou pouhou ustrnulou formulí“. Obrácení

formulí“. Obrácení k současnosti, ba budoucnosti, se pak reflektuje i v požadavku využití nových moderních technik, což je pátý bod Teigeho programu: „Využitkování všech možností, které poskytují nové a poskytnou další technické objevy..., spojení obrazu s tiskem v typofoto“ (o fotomontáži viz podrobně Teige 1932b, 1933, 1934).

Ano tradici

Novátorství, spojené v obou případech s širokou obeznámeností se zahraničními směry, neznamenalo ovšem totální zavržení domácí tradice. Představitelé pražské školy nejen chtěli, ale vlastně i museli s dědictvím svých předchůdců nějak naložit. V nejobecnější rovině se to projevilo přihlášením se ke dvěma obdobím českých dějin, kdy jsme přesáhli domácí omezenost a dosáhli širšího evropského významu: v kolektivní předmluvě k prvnímu číslu nového časopisu *Slovo a slovesnost* z roku 1935 nacházíme odkazy na dobu cyrilometodějskou a na dobu Karla IV. (Havránek et al. 1935: 7). V méně obecné rovině pak můžeme návaznost na domácí tradici pozorovat v kladném hodnocení některých starších koncepcí jazyka jednotlivými osobnostmi pražské školy (podrobně o tom viz Vykypěl 2008b, 102n). A v konkrétní rovině pak lze poznamenat, že precizní teorie pražských funkčních strukturalistů byly vždy založeny na důkladné znalosti jazykového materiálu, a tomu se nenaučili jinde než u svých mladogramatických učitelů (srov. Vykypěl 2008a: 74).⁸

Může se zdát, že u Teige se spjatost s domácí tradicí projevila spíše až v závěru jeho dráhy teoretika moderny: v jeho pozdějších pracích jak o architektuře, tak o typografii je patrný jistý ústup z počátečních radikálních posic, což bývá obecněji vnímáno jako vstřícný krok vědeckého funkcionalismu k funkcionalismu estetickému, resp. jako částečné uznání dřívějších námitek, které měl druhý proud vůči prvnímu. Ale na Teigeho povědomí o nutnosti brát v potaz i tradici⁹ ukazuje už poslední bod jeho raného šesterá, týkající se spjatosti s praxí: „Žádoucí jest nejužší spolupráce projektanta-grafika s odborníky v tiskárně...; je tu nutná specialisace a dělba práce a zároveň nejtěsnější kontakt“. Tento bod zní jako desideratum něčeho, co bylo pro naše starší typografy v podstatě denním chlebem. Rozdíl mezi Teigem a třeba Oldřichem Menhartem pak není nutné vnímat příliš kategoricky. Spíše jako by se oba oddíly blížily k témuž táboru, funkčnímu přístupu v typografii, ale každý z jiné strany: k čemu Teige dospíval shora, deduktivně, a někdy i pouhou spekulací, to jiní díky větší spjatosti s praxí (např. sazečskou) vnímali jako přirozenou nutnost. Dále je třeba dodat, že důležitost tradice zastával Teige od počátku v otázce výběru typů písma: „Není důvodu měniti zobecnělý, vyhovující krásný tvar, není-li možné jeho věcné zdokonalování... Dokonalý tvar je neměnný po dlouhá staletí...“ (Teige 1927: 191).

⁸ O vztahu pražské školy ke starším směrům pojednává např. Jakobson 1934. Podnětně píší o domácích zdrojích pražské funkčně strukturální literární vědy a estetiky např. Pospíšil–Zelenka 1996.

⁹ A k důležité roli tradice ostatně srov. i Tschichold 2008.

Neviditelný význam

Závěrem uvedme jeden zcela konkrétní příklad shodného uvažování v lingvistice a typografii. Je jím přiřknutí významu něčemu, co – zjednodušeně řečeno – není vidět. I to, co není bezprostředně patrné, totiž může hrát ve struktuře (v jazyce, v typografickém návrhu) svou roli. V jazykovědě je typicky strukturálním koncept nulové koncovky: určité místo ve struktuře, tj. v systému tvarů, které jsou v oposici, neinterpretujeme jako „prázdné“, ale jako „zaplněné nulou“, protože oposice může být z principu pouze mezi „něčím“ a „něčím jiným“, nikoli „ničím“. V typografii se takový přístup projevuje vědomím, že i prázdné místo hraje v návrhu důležitou úlohu. U Teigeho čteme: „poznalo se, že nepotištěné plochy jsou také důrazným valérem, který se uplatňuje v poměru k potištěné ploše, že jsou aktivními faktory, nikoliv jen neutrálním podkladem“ (Teige 1927: 193).

Závěr

Témat, která spojují na první pohled snad vzdálené obory jako lingvistika a typografie, je více. Čas od času se také některý z lingvistů odváží vydat na pole typografie (Vachek 1989) a naopak některý typograf na území lingvistické (Waller 1987). V tomto textu jsme se pokusili pouze poukázat na jednu zajímavou paralelu (ne-li přímo dotyk či dokonce průnik) mezi přemýšlením lingvistů a typografů v meziválečném Československu. Také jsme chtěli vzpomenout dobu, kdy byly autory sebevědomých individuálních i kolektivních manifestů osobnosti se širokým vzdělanostním zázemím a schopností svá stanoviska důsledně naplňovat. Snad půjde něco podobného časem říci i o naší době, a nějaký budoucí Einstein se tak bude moci o své návštěvě u nás vyjádřit příznivěji než jeho předchůdce...¹⁰

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¹⁰ Za mnoho podnětných věcných i formulačních připomínek ke starším verzím textu a za všechny plodné i neplodné diskuse o typografii děkuji Davidu Březinovi.

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