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**THEORETICAL AND APPLICATIVE INSIGHTS
INTO THE DYNAMICS OF SPOKEN COMMUNICATION**



Banská Bystrica
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and Socio-Communication Dynamics*

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PREFACE

The scientific study of direct and spontaneous communication that is done through a live, open parole has been the merit of interest not only in the field of linguistics, but also in a wider interdisciplinary scientific environment for more than the last two-three decades. The focus of our attention – historically the oldest, structurally variable, typologically multidimensional and at the same time user-friendly, the most practical and convenient way of communicating between people and communities of any type, composition and amount – still successfully fulfils its mandates and missions with a considerable degree of versatility. Taking figurativeness into consideration we can say that the oral, or in other words spoken communication will never reveal its real face.

Also in this light, we can see the inspirationality of research ideas, short-term or permanent, very often continuing and repeating motivation to achieve new goals and to investigate those methodological fields that still have not been researched, which requires both the implementation of proven and convincing methodical approaches or verification of the new ones. In brief that means that direct, spontaneous communication in any form, during which also non-verbal components are activated and simultaneously individual and/or social status of its participants is uncovered, constantly creates challenges and gives stimuli towards syntheses, interpretations and perspectives of a higher value and more benefits. This theme is also evident both with regard to the knowledge of natural development of linguistic thinking as well as intersections, clashes and confrontations of linguistics with other areas of the scientific world that show their potential, tendencies and, above all, also courage to undergo such contacts and clashes.

This scientific monograph contains and integrates 15 selected scientific studies made by the same author. The initial articles were written, critically reviewed, and (several of them after conference meetings and expert disputes at the domestic or international scientific conferences) that were at that time published in scientific journals and proceedings.

The ambition of this publication is to present *pars pro toto* specific domestic sources and developmental specificities of the research of spoken communication in its broader international as well as inter-lingual relations,

and through this to effectively reflect and interpret challenges and perspectives of the scientific disputes related to these specific issues over the last quarter of a century. An important part of the selection in this publication is the introduction of origins, validity, transformations and verifications of the terminology that are related to the field of spoken communication as well as to the related, intersectional or new theoretical challenges and methodological opportunities concerning the linguistic and inter-disciplinary fields from the point of view of socio-linguistics. Pragmatic, i.e. comparative and applicative dimensions of these key concepts, are represented by the demonstrations of authentic communications. They reflect their relationship to the oral form of communication, including the conditions and assumptions for its “ingrowth“ into written (printed) form of communication as well as rapidly expanding electronic communication, which is nowadays successfully bound to visual interactions.

The intent, mission and purpose of this monograph correspond to its hierarchically-conceived concept, structure and composition. Besides the standard parts, this work is constituted by three motivational areas that are obviously interconnected. The source material that is incorporated in the work is presented in the form in which it was originally published. In this case, the thematic aspect is prior to the time of their publication. An aspect of spokenness in various environments in a specific time, including multiple and repeating signs related to its origin, manifestation as well as impact on the text (a piece of communication, discourse) with its creators and users, functions as a link between parts of this book.

The first, theoretically and methodologically oriented chapter includes general background, limits and methodological specialties of spoken communication research focused on the situation of immediate communication in a contemporary city. The second chapter represents entrances into the selected communication spheres and situations interrelated with the communication standards, language stratification concepts and culture of language in common communication. Finally, the third chapter consists of applicative studies dedicated to the elements from other languages, means and procedures acting in spoken communication, secondary naming units (school nicknames), and especially the dynamics of the standards and socio-cultural aspects of colloquial Slovak plus their future prospects in the field of spoken communication. Arrangement of chapters and subchapters creates a balanced

pattern, conceptually and compositionally differentiated on the line from the general to the specific.

In this context it is necessary to remind a more personal, but still very significant motive of the book. There are not many researchers who get an opportunity to go back to the early areas and resources of their scientific interest after they have travelled a long stretch of their research road. On the threshold of the author's career in research, there were both duty and challenge to focus on spoken communication in the city. The results of socio-linguistically schemed and performed field research were presented in a dissertation thesis in the early 1990s. At that time it was unusual to edit and publish books of this kind. However, in the following years the above mentioned dissertation, despite its persisting manuscript form, has gained several tens of both domestic and foreign responses and it has still been effectively resonating in the concepts and intentions of the research successors. Therefore, the author created several pillar studies on its grounds and results, and kept developing spoken communication research by enriching the original concept with new ideas. Thus he created a necessary comparison platform which enabled him to verify the research outcomes from two-three decades ago.

Institutional comeback to spoken communication took place in the first and second decennia of the new century through two scientific projects supported by the Scientific Grant Agency of the Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport of the Slovak Republic (project periods 2007 – 2009 and 2014 – 2016). In the first one, the author acted as a deputy lead researcher and administrator, in the second one as a lead researcher. It is obvious they both included observation and multidimensional valuation of the past, future and contemporary research of spoken communication done by several local and foreign scientist, either in the group or in individual projects. In regards to this, the intention to present the integral of one's own partial results gathered throughout twenty years becomes fully feasible. It is the scientific deposit in the knowledge thesaurus of spoken communication proven by time and further research, not just an individual research story or fictionalized contemporary testimony. Regarding the intention to blend the selected, originally independent studies created and published in different time periods into one, a demanding recipient will certainly tolerate occasional fragmentariness and repetition of passages that will quite naturally be brought into sight.

Along with its basic mission – through the carried out linguistic, communication and especially sociolinguistic research to inform the domestic addressee about the state and level of understanding of some communication interactions that take place in social or group oral communication and bring special values into it – the book is meant to get onto an other-language recipient. The work was translated into English and so it aims to present a specialized fraction of Slovak linguistic research to the international audience accordingly and worthily. Hopefully, this will support the ambition to instigate further creative research, interesting discussions and valuable contributions.

The author expresses his sincere thanks to the manuscript reviewers, prof. Daniela Slančová and doc. Ján Bosák, for their thorough study of groundwork, critical attitudes, comments and valuable recommendations. Both of them have been close to the author for three decades and have inspired him not only as professionals, personalities and human beings, but also in the field of spoken communication research. They have really deep, substantial knowledge of the research topic and the relevant scientific context, both have done their important share in the field of spoken communication and still get back to it. Therefore, their contribution will certainly help the book fulfil its mission and goal.

Banská Bystrica

Autumn 2016

1.

**SPOKEN COMMUNICATION
IN THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL CONTEXTS**

1.1. Sociolinguistic Profile of Common Spoken Communication in Banská Bystrica (in the nineties)

While trying to locate, describe and explain the function of characteristics and properties of unprepared spoken communication in a particular city's macrosociety, we should start from the axiom: a current city (in opposition to the countryside) manifests itself as a multi-dimensional social-spatial system within a society with its complex, inherently hierarchical structure. It should be stressed that such approach to the concept of urban units does not only reflect the so called urbanization-material specifications (industrial facilities, transport network, housing conditions, supply, etc.), but also the main specific social context. Varied vertical (age-generational) and horizontal (socioprofessional) stratification of the population then quite naturally corresponds to a complex, more plastic oral communication system.

It is obvious that each urban agglomeration is distinguished by a specific profile of its unprepared spoken communication, depending on particular (historical, economic, geographical, cultural) conditions and prerequisites. Also spontaneous pieces of communication of city residents – members of the characteristic macrosocieties who form cities, or of various (age, educational, occupational, denominational, interest, etc.) microsocieties – within the context of general social conditions saturate language elements, components and mechanisms of different provenance. Apparently, the common spoken pieces of communication are eventually „tuned-up“ through the unity of sociodemographic data of communicators.

While defining the status of an unprepared spoken medium in the urban environment, the vector of spokenness/colloquiality has to be considered. Generally, *spoken communication* (all oral language pieces of communication which are implemented in the common communication sphere and, at the same time, they belong to any style or genre) and *colloquial communication* (that in fact belongs only to the colloquial style – see Lesňák, 1980, p. 15; or that which fills the communication gap between the codified language and the language of the common communication – the so called colloquial Slovak; see Bosák, 1993, p. 174) are distinguished between them.

Spokenness, in terms of functional confrontation with the term *colloquiality*, will acquire broader, but at the same time less specifically clear contours (of course, if the colloquiality is understood as the characteristic feature of the oral communication, predominantly that of the users of the codified form of the language). This neutrality also ultimately affects an intricate structuring and internal stratification of the common unprepared communication in the modern city. In order to specify this system more precisely as well as to profile it more exactly, it is necessarily needed to come from a particular time and space (in our case it is Banská Bystrica in the first half of the nineties) and also outline the historical, geographic and language-communication conditions and prerequisites.

Banská Bystrica is a medium-sized town (with approximately 85,000 residents), which is located in the Zvolenská fold (with the altitude of 352 metres) on both sides of the river Hron. This original Slavic settlement (*Bistricia*, Lat., *Bistritz*, Germ., *Besztercebánya*, Hung.) belonged to the Zvolenský estate. In the year 1255 the locality acquired town privileges and the new name of *Neosolium* (Lat.), *Neusohl* (Germ.). The town developed and was gradually integrated into the European context as a center of silver and copper mining. Interest in precious metals attracted German colonists, who moved into the middle Hron area. Over the centuries, after the mines had been opened, they had an impact on the economic and political life in the city and its surroundings, which substantially influenced also the language in this area.

Depending on the development of mining, the social structure of the population in Banská Bystrica was being changed. Miners were gradually leaving the town and settled down in surrounding villages near the mines (Špania Dolina, Piesky, Ľubietová, Staré Hory); only mining officers together with wealthy German businessmen stayed in the town. On the other hand, besides the residents of German origin, the Slovak community (craftsmen, merchants, journeymen, day-labourers, servants) was getting bigger in the town, which was basically caused by the influx of migrants from the nearby tributary and supporting villages and smaller towns.

Coexistence of two ethnic groups affected the sphere of communication as well: settlers from the neighbourhood and immigrants who came to these areas reacted to the expansiveness of the „hard“ German language in their dialects adversely, either by **a)** adaptation (depalatization) of consonants which were originally in soft positions, or **b)** palatization of consonants *d*, *t*, *n*, *l*, which were originally in hard positions (the so called secondary softness: *d'im*,

do d'ed'ni, mo'ika). Relicts of the secondary softening are still inherent as a characteristic feature in the common spoken pieces of communication of current residents of Banská Bystrica (regardless of their age), since they are associated with a local dialect through a stronger contact.

After the era of the anti-Turkish wars and rebellions on the societal levels, mining began to be an unprofitable venture. Despite this, the town was henceforth developing economically, owing to its location (a crossroad of trading routes) as well as its raw material resources (wood, building materials, etc.). The town area was being formed and the number of town inhabitants was increasing, which was, on the one hand, due to the population growth, and on the other hand, a result of urbanization-administrative changes (affiliation of several nearby villages to the town). At present, Banská Bystrica is an economic, educational, culture and tourist center of the mid-Slovak region. Considering the sociologic aspect, the town might be characterized as an economically and functionally mixed entity with a considerable share of industries, services, educational institutions, small and medium sized enterprise activities.

Heterogeneous manufacturing activities are, besides its historic and geographic specificities, characteristic for the town as an individual socio-economic entity. This fact results in a non-homogeneous structure of the city macrosociety, and for that reason, in existence of several language groups and communities. These language groups use different varieties of the national language in a wide diapazon, which depends on their objectives and communication circumstances – starting with the „school“ (codified) variety of the Slovak language, through the forming of colloquial Slovak, dialects of several territorial levels, sociolects, elements, components and mechanisms of other language systems to the expansive idiolect components.

Obviously, under the city circumstances it is impossible to consider just one complex system-communication formation (such as the codified language, or a dialect), but instead of this a communication conglomerate should be taken into consideration. This conglomerate is manifested as a higher socio-functional variety of the national language, which is understood as the intersection of a number of more autonomous varieties. Speakers use elements, components or mechanisms of particular varieties in specific communication situations and are in accordance to the communication objectives, individual and social conditions and in such a way pieces of communication are profiled as sets of a number of varieties. In terms of the initial research of the common

unprepared communication in the city, this plastic entity was defined as *the spoken form of Slovak in the city* (SFSC; see Patráš, 1990).

The concept of SFSC may also indicate the subject of dichotomous relationship between a relatively concise form of many pieces of communication and a variable intrinsic structuring of the city communication conglomerate. When SFSC is executed within the common spoken communication, constant units (specificity of the city agglomeration, age, education, social inclusion, and length of residency) and variable units (fashionableness, gestation, recession, etc.) will participate as components which form communication. Furthermore, these units are reinforced by specific aspects of particular communication acts. Plasticity and adaptability of the city communication conglomerate then enable the creation of links between a particular SFSC and SFSC of other cities, or between the nationwide spoken univerzum. This coexistence results in **a)** an inner enrichment of SFSC by means of using varieties with nationwide relevance; **b)** transfer of expansive elements, components and mechanisms of a particular SFSC into the sphere of the national language. In addition to its internal flexibility, SFSC is also a higher social-functional variety, which is the source of changes in the national language.

The communication base, which functions as the platform for communication acts, is in the city generally represented by the codified variety – a local dialect, or a semidialect (with the absence of primary characteristics of a dialect – in other words the most striking divergencies from the codified norm; see Švejcer – Nikol'skij, 1983, p. 107). In SFSC, both poles function as prestige varieties. In addition, they form a frame of the functional area for the possible implementation of other varieties of the national language. It should be emphasized that it is a vector of spontaneity, which is modified by constant and variable socio-communication parameters of communicators, which plays the crucial role in terms of operational choice, arrangement and use of a number of varieties in the common communication.

It is known that within the last three decades, a dialect variety rearranges its positions also in spontaneous communication. It does not mean that it is doomed to failure. Research of SFSC indicates that a (local, regional) dialect either functions as a local mutation (semidialect), or it meets more than just the communication objectives: it supports gestation, manifestation, attractivity of a person, or a piece of communication of a sender/being condescending to a recipient, alternatively to a third person who generally does not participate in the process of the communication act. The dialect with all the aforementioned

aims is used rather smoothly in Banská Bystrica and – as the latest research shows – it acquires wider dimensions, which means that it also operates in other Slovak towns and cities.

In Banská Bystrica, a local dialect, or a semidialect, still preserves the following characteristics: **1.** the functioning of diphthongs in their unchanged version (except the type *djouka*); **2.** the occurrence of a low middle vocal *ä*, even in positions after velars (types *kärovať* (to drive), *gäťe* (trousers)); **3.** a hard *l* in the position before vocals *a, o, u* (type *gula* (ball)); **4.** an overuse of soft consonants *d', t', ň*; **5.** a reduction of consonant clusters *-st-/-zd- na -s-/-z-*, e. g. *šťasliví* (happy), *prázňi* (empty); **6.** the substantives in masc. ending in *-k, -g, -h*, and fem. in *-ka, -ha, -cha* have versions according to the declination patterns of *stroj* (machine) and *ulica* (street) (nom. pl. *viťahe* (lifts), *krke* (necks); *haluške na miski* (gnocchi in the bowl)); **7.** the dat. and lok. sg. of the pattern of *žena* (woman), gen. sg. of the pattern of *ulica* (street) and *dlaň* (palm) have the form with *-i*: *f Prahi* (in Prague), *na perinki* (on a duvet), *z Bystrici* (from Bystrica), *do maštali* (into a stall); **8.** the adjectives are used in three forms *pekňi* (nice, pretty), *peknuo*, *pekňie/peknie*, *dobriho* (good); **9.** the occurrence of specific forms of *rias[t']* (to grow); *nak* (may, let) „nech“, *nahať* (let, leave) „nechat“; **10.** the abundance of lexems of German and Hungarian origin, which are quite often deformed. It should be mentioned that elements with other than standard language relevancy are, in general, the most marked in the role of constituents of SFSC.

It seems that a non-violent cooperation of both opposing varieties in SFSC reprofiles also the language awareness of communicators. Residents of Banská Bystrica do not find the highest aim of the unprepared spoken communication only in meeting its codified level. A direct, effective/impressive and at the same time characterizational-individualized communication is considered to be the prime aim in a spontaneous interpersonal communication. The „school“ variety of Slovak is conceived as one of a number of varieties; city residents are at the same time aware of system differences between the colloquial and non-colloquial communication. A codified norm is, in general, regarded to be an optimal state, but on the other hand some of the codified pieces in the common spoken communication are supposed to be non-functional. [Even 60 % of communicators do not use the „correct“, which is the codified communication, in their everyday communication; see the SFSC questionnaire research results, Patráš, 1992a, p. 11.]

Even in the city environment, the profile of the unprepared spoken communication is determined by its aims (intentions) and a subject of the communication. However, there are still differences among particular age, profession, interest and microcommunity groups. Currently, fundamental factors of inner differentiation and key normative constituents of SFSC are mainly referred to the age of communicators, then to the environment, temporal moment (time period related to the process of formulating the communication), regional origin, and, eventually education and social inclusion (see Patráš, 1991, p. 200). Higher preference for an education factor is manifested in the case of the communication with an intellectually more demanding thematic spectrum (e.g. professional issues), or in the case of transfer from the non-official/semiofficial communication towards the official version.

An endeavour to easily pronounce and manipulate the sound elements comfortably is one of the main principles in the mechanism of SFSC. This is a symptomatic aspect of members of all age groups, not considering any education or social differences. However, simplifying the pronunciation (mostly omitting vowels and reduction of diphthongs, such as *môž[e]me* (*we can*), *ved'[i]et'* (*to know*), *mus[i]et'* (*must*), *m[u]oj* (*my*), *p[u]ojdeme* (*we will go*), *hrůza* (*it is dreadful*); omitting consonant clusters, e. g. *-tň-*, *-tl-/dn-*, *-dň-*, *-dl-*, *-stn-*, *-stň-/zdn*, *-zdň-*, *-stl-/zdl-* etc.) has different dimensions in particular age groups.

In pieces of communication of older people (over 60), simplification of the pronunciation is very similar to the situation in dialects. Older communicators (mainly those with lower levels of education) quite often reduce clusters of consonants that are difficult to be articulated, which may even have an impact on their clarity: *šťas[t]ňie d'eti* (*happy children*), *šťas[t]l'ivie sviatke* (*happy holidays*), *dáž[d]ňike* (*umbrellas*), *práz[d]ňiňi* (*holidays, vacations*), *s[t]reda* (*Wednesday*), *fpros[t]rietku* (*in the middle*), etc.

In pieces of communication of younger and middle-aged generation (not considering education and social context), only simpler articulatory features may be observed. These are typical of semidialects, such as extinction of consonant elements and formation of glided pseudovocalic combination: *še[s'td]esiat* (*sixty*), *pe[t'd']esiat* (*fifty*), etc.

Neither professional users of the codified language avoid simplifying of consonant clusters in the common spoken communication. However, they often neutralize consonant clusters at the edge of word forms (morphemes) in contrast to the same, or structurally similar consonants, which have a different

character of correlation attribute, such as *ta[m] má* (*that one*), *tera[z] si otvoriš* (*now, you will open*), *o[n]ňemá* (*he does not have*), *vie[š] že* (*you know that*), *je[j] ju priňies[t']* (*to bring it to her*), *ve[d'] doftedy* (*but so far*), etc. In official/semiofficial oral pieces of communication, communicators are able to reduce simplification of pronunciation to the minimum acceptable extent (see Král', 1988).

A specific phenomenon (with overgeneration and overregional relevance), which is related to the pronunciation of consonant clusters, is mutilation of speech elements (e. g. metathesis *kareláp* (*kohlrabi*), *pernametka* (*season ticket*), *pirulka* (*a pill*), *d'elako* (*far*), etc.). „Garbles“ are rooted in different motives: it might be either an attempt to transfer information very fast, momentary health state, or ignorance of a proper form, gestation, alternatively overexposed expressiveness of communication. Differences related to deformed forms and their use have a generation background: in communication of middle-aged groups (over 40) these are mostly used spontaneously, while the generation up to the age of 39 (not considering education hierarchy) is usually aware of the existence of their proper forms. Mutilations are then used in spontaneous, very private, or microgroup and friendly pieces of communication as means of reinforcing the dialogue, diminishing of interpersonal communication distance, etc. It seems that in groups of younger communicators, this phenomenon is related to decrease in spontaneity and strengthening of gestation in pieces of communication.

Phonic aspects of SFSC in Banská Bystrica are related to the use of elements, components and mechanisms which are characteristic of oral communication in general: negligence, simplification of articulation, appropriateness/effectiveness in terms of prioritizing some sound forms. In the end, this process has an impact on profiling a more relaxed communication norm of SFSC (in its narrow sense), which is constituted as an intersection of a number of norms depending on an inherent age, socioprofessional and other stratification of SFSC (Patráš, 1991, p. 201).

A phonic communication subsystem of SFSC is influenced by particular microsocieties of city residents to a different extent. A high degree of vocalic and consonant simplifications, frequent occurrence of palatalized correlates *d'*, *t'*, *ň*, sporadic occurrence of an open *ä*, substitution of diphthongs and vocalic clusters by vowels – these are characteristic features of pieces of communication of older speakers (over the age of 60). This group of speakers generally has an elementary or lower secondary school education; is usually aware of local

dialects or their city derivatives; speakers that have had experience as common labourers, in technical-administrative fields, or the sphere of small and medium-sized businesses (craftsmen, self-employed, businessmen, etc.). In these sociodemographic groups, the most significant specificities of a phonic communication subsystem of SFSC are formed.

Occurrence of phoneme changes, which are characteristic of SFSC, gets lower with the descending age and higher education of users of SFSC. Communicators up to the age of 39 are usually aware of system differences between the codified colloquial variety of SFSC. They command a higher range of sound elements, although they are not willing or able to decide for an appropriate (communication convenient) component. In general, they tend to favour standard (spoken) forms. On the other hand, they try to distort the codified norm by implementing dialect (sociolect) elements, or trendy-recessionary non-structural elements in communication. Communicators with completed compulsory education, or those who study, or with completed higher and master (humanity) degrees (aged 15 – 39) have quite poised attitude towards the codified norm (codification), since they often command a high level of language self-control (see Patráš, 1992a).

A considerable migration of the current city population, which in majority of nowadays city agglomerations does not create tight bonds with their domicile due to unified housing conditions, brings some specific attributes typical of other Slovak places into SFSC of Banská Bystrica. These attributes **1.** help determine more general constituents which make connections between SFSC and phenomenon of common spoken communication in cities, and at the same time **2.** reflect age, socioprofessional and interest specificities of a particular SFSC. [The first ambit is pointed at by e.g. Bosák, 1988, 1993; the second ambit is mentioned by Dvornická, 1992; Krčmová, 1981; partially Šoková, 1983.]

The shared (middle Slovak, or countrywide) characteristic attributes of the phonic subsystem of the common spoken communication, which are also typical of SFSC in Banská Bystrica, contain the following: **1.** more frequent use of *e/a* instead of the original *ä*; **2.** omission of vowels and change of diphthongs to monophthongs (type *môž[e]me* (*we can*)); **3.** preference of a middle variant of *l* in positions before *e*, *i* and hard *l* in positions before *u*, *o*, *a*, where the softness is in the written form marked with its sign: *lucky* (*human*), *malovať* (*to paint, decorate*), *gula* (*ball*); **4.** simplification of consonant clusters of various types, etc.

The specificities which indicate local socio-communication sources of SFSC in Banská Bystrica contain the following: **1.** variable use of the open *ä* in the communication of older people: *d'evät'* (nine), *pät'* (five), but *d'evä[t']d'esiatpet'* (ninety five); **2.** sporadic use of *l'* in positions before *u*, *o*, *a*; **3.** omission of semivocalic *i*, or constricted *j*: *z[i/j]edla* (she has eaten), *in[i/j]ekcija* (an injection); **4.** a wide range of resonance neutralizations and simplifications of doubled consonants which result in a flowing pronunciation, etc.

Completed field research of SFSC indicates that a phonic communication subsystem in its Banská Bystrica mutation, on the one hand, corresponds with the countrywide (spoken) variant of the Slovak language in relatively high use, while, on the other hand, it preserves its own specific sound elements and mechanisms. It intentionally resists assimilation tendencies, but simultaneously it operates as one of the constituents of a higher (overregional) spoken variety of the codified Slovak language – colloquial Slovak. This one has ambitions to be used as a functional communication univerzum, as its legitimacy and viability is supported by its use as well as dynamic communication norms.

A lexical inventory of the spontaneous spoken pieces of communication, as the most formable and exposed subsystem, undergoes the most extensive changes. It is the field of lexis where the maximum functional intersection of a countywide relevance with the local (group) communication norms might be observed. Spontaneity as a crucial parameter „drives“ the communicator, it has an influence on his vocabulary and eventually on the final form of the communication. Of course, the lexicon of spontaneous spoken pieces of communication is, except for a situation of communication, an extra-linguistic context and psychophysiological aspects, affected also by a set of social-communication attributes:

- a)** fashionableness/variability – traditionalism/stereotype attributes;
- b)** language game, humor, prominence – cliché attributes, meaninglessness;
- c)** emotionality – imprudence;
- d)** intellectualization – democratization;
- e)** conciseness – figurativeness, verbosity, etc.

A higher tendency to one of the opposing attributes depends, to a great extent, on the attitude to the national language. Communicators with the active attitude to the codified communication (professional users of the language – lecturers, teachers, editors, and also managers, advertisement agents, real estate agency officers, bank officers, etc.) usually have tendencies to either make

a choice of lexemes in the spontaneous communication more precise or play a language game, make it more fun and the verbal communication more aesthetic. Communicators with the passive approach to the codified language mostly concentrate on nomination process; in these terms they very often try to eliminate problems related to adequate management of situations of communication. They use various denominations, terms, phrases, which they may have taken from mass media, although they do not consider their pertinence (see Oravcová, 1990, p. 105).

The material acquired from the research of the common unprepared communication in Banská Bystrica (Patráš, 1990) supports the concept of relatively unambiguous positions of the spoken (codified) form of Slovak in the common pieces of communication of the mid-Slovak city residents. Neither priority nor a generally stable status of this variety ensure the sufficient immunity against (more or less deliberate) distraction of the codified communication. The factor of complex spokenness functions as a filter of an intersection of marked lexemes. This attribute encourages a continual motion in the SFSC conglomerate and ensures that communication needs are covered any time, without consideration of communication situations and participants of communication acts.

A choice of vocabulary and word expressions is significantly influenced by spontaneity, which is one of the key parameters of SFSC. The need of fast and non-problematic exchange of information raises, except the use of colloquialisms, also tendencies to an automatic choice of lexemes, a high frequency of one-word denominations, or simpler unverbized variants, a high amount of contact, deictic and expletive elements, etc.

Communicators react to predominance of nomination models and leveling-schematic patterns by means of intellectualization tendencies (euphemization, multiverbization processes – significant for the common spontaneous communication, slang, tabuisms as fillers, etc.).

The oldest members of a city's communication community (over the age of 60) quite frequently use expression units which come from the local dialect, or semidialect, in their pieces of communication. Bearers of the dialect communication, who have elementary or lower vocational education, use less than 2/3 of the words and expressions with the evidence of their (dialect) origin. Of course, these are not only proper dialectisms, since several local dialect specificities correspond to individual phonic, or grammar aspects of the common spoken communication in Banská Bystrica.

As it is evident from the history of the city, the Slovak language, and mostly the sphere of the common spontaneous communication in Banská Bystrica, came into contact not only with the Latin language, but also with the German and Hungarian languages, not in such a great extent, within the period of its earlier development. It was predominantly German that had an influence on the situation in local dialects, which was due to its direct ethnic contacts.

Up to these days the oldest generation of the city uses denominations related mainly to the traditional town crafts (carpentry, blacksmithing, mining and ore processing, construction, etc.), household, trade, food processing, and others (see Patráš, 1990, p. 100 – 102; 1994). Within this age-generation group of users, the inventory of petrified, also called „kitchen“ Germanisms, have had a predominantly informational function. These denominations are at the same time used also by the younger speakers, who will borrow them to economize their communication in the interest-professional spheres. The youngest communicators (up to the age of 23) are mostly familiar with the modern German. They shunt the „kitchen“ variants into the sphere of a passive vocabulary, or use them on manifestation-gestation (celebrational) purpose, mainly as „synonymous“ series with their inclining expresiveness, such as *špic/špička* (Spitze „extraclass“) – *špica* – *špik* – *špiko/špika* – *špikola* – *špicába* (clear interference with the Hungarian language system) – *super* (see Patráš, 1992b, p. 83; 1994).

Occurrence of Hungarisms, which are typical of the common spoken communication in Banská Bystrica, is far more rare; mostly the forms generally known throughout Slovakia are used. Their use in particular age-generation groups is similar to Germanisms. Nevertheless, we should mention that loan expressions from the Hungarian language have been influenced by a desemantization process to a higher extent. However, this process has had quite a positive impact within SFSC, in terms of an extension of communication ambitions of the lexeme *gazda* (reeve, farmer) – 1. farmer; 2. villager; 3. a person with a stocky figure; 4. a wealthy person (polysemy), etc.

Contrary to Germanisms, phonic specificities of Hungarian parts of SFSC are more often used, mainly an intonation and articulation of some vowels and consonants, such as back labialized *a*, an exchange of *k/ch/h* on significant gestation purpose. These findings relate mostly to the younger and youngest age-generation groups (up to the age of 39; see Patráš, 1992b, p. 87n).

Anglicisms operate relatively seamlessly in production, technical, commercial and sports shperes. Besides an intensive study of the English

language at schools, it is predominantly domestic journalism that has recently supported their proliferation in common spoken communication. In addition to this, an increase in satellite broadcasting of foreign television programmes have also considerably helped Anglicisms to penetrate into SFSC. Within a short period of time, in terms of our earlier research (towards the end of the 1980s and early 1990s), a specific use of Anglicisms in the common communication was observed besides their significant quantity.

In terms of the primeval massive extension of expressions such as *briefing*, *dealer*, *joint venture*, *know-how*, *market*, *pressclub*, *press(foyer)*, *session*, *shop*, *show*, etc., their penetration has been observed without any considerable adaptative changes (see Patráš, 1990, p. 124). Contrarily to this and considering their expansion into the spoken communication, the following phenomena have been reported **1.** weakening of their markedness (a foreign language aspect), **2.** adaptation to the domestic phonic communication subsystem, and moreover **3.** their fast omission from the sphere of the common unprepared communication and their exchange for the domestic equivalent.

With regard to the third condition above, we assume that there are defensive potencies of the accepting language which play an important role. The reason might be seen in an excessive enforcement of Anglicisms as well as their violent adaptation to the Slovak environment, even in the whole paradigms (type *number one*: „namber-uany“, „namber-uanov“, gen. pl., etc.). This way of communication is, besides magazines with the so called „teenager“ focus (*Bravo*, *Maxi super* and others), also used by moderators of some domestic radio stations in terms of the „pseudotrendy“ (youth quasi) communication. Anglicisms, as characteristic idiolect elements and procedures, predominantly influence the common pieces of communication of younger speakers (up to the age of 23), who incorporate significant expressive-gestation aspects into it once they have been acquired. The older and middle aged generation usually avoid these denomination procedures, or negatively comments on their communication value.

On the one hand, a growth in Anglicisms in the common unprepared communication is observed. On the other hand, a considerable decline in Russianisms and the fall in frequency of Bohemisms in SFSC might be observed at the same time. The reason is apparent – changes in the social situation after the year 1989, formation of an independent Slovak Republic, and in addition to these, a consequent decrease in Czech texts, mostly in the masmedial sphere. The field of lexicon clearly reflects on these changes

except, of course, in the sphere of contact elements, non-equivalent lexicon and slang.

Loan words coming from foreign languages, or their domestic variants are, apparently, of different origin, frequency and use in the unprepared communication of city residents, who differ internally mainly according to the age-generation criterion. The middle-aged generation (over the age of 40) and the older speakers (over the age of 60, with their close relations towards the rural community or a local dialect) use mostly Hungarisms and Bohemisms. Younger communicators, provided that they can not speak German, Hungarian or Czech languages, or particular city variants, either **1.** use domestic equivalents, **2.** create occasionalisms or neologisms, or **3.** still use residues or garbled expressions. The latter case concerns abilities to style, to be condescending or socially underestimate people (their language).

Tendencies to use garbled variants of lexemes are typical also in the case of loan words taken from the Romani language. In this case an ironic context is obviously intensified by mixing of lexemes of a foreign origin with the domestic communication system. For example, if we consider a greeting *čau* (hello), then we can claim that the forms of *čaveles* – *čavindel* and (aspirated) *čhávo* function as very specific components of the whole chain.

In SFSC two tendencies are typical. On the one hand, there is a tendency to economize communication, and on the other hand, an opposing tendency relates to the process of (with the updating approach) creating and using multi-word expressions. Functioning of phraseoschemes has specific sociocommunication reasons when communication of different age groups is taken into consideration. The younger generation (up to the age of 23) almost every time puts aside expressive communication phrasemes which are on the other hand, theoretically most typical of the common pieces of communication (e.g. sayings). As the substitution, their defective updated expressions with microgroup relevance and a quite high recessional intention are mostly used (see also Glovňa, 1992).

On the contrary, expressive nominal phrasemes become relatively highly frequent and with a wider extent of relevance: *byť mínus* (to be a loser), *nebyť béčko* (not to be a loser); *vyliat' (niekoho) zo skúšky* (make someone failed in an exam); *liezť na mozog* (to be fed up with something), *nebyť fér* (not to be fair), etc. It should be added that these sets of expressions have not only a high degree of expressiveness, but are also synchronously dynamic. Provided that their „proper“ communication relevance is no longer of any validity, then they

are substituted by a new, more expressive component, such as *prekaziť niekomu plány* (to thwart somebody's plans) – *odsunúť n. nabok* – *odpísať n.* – *odfajčiť n.* (to condemn sb.).

In spontaneous spoken communication, a (younger) middle aged generation (up to the age of 39) uses, besides expressive phrasemes, also word phrases with their much wider relevance in a group: *byť v role niekoho* (to play the role of somebody), *pozitívne vedieť* (to know positively), *ventilovať problémy* (let off steam), etc. Considering the profile of referred pieces of SFSC, their markedness – in terms of their literary aspect – might be assumed. Communicators of this age spectrum do not avoid using more fixed notional (marked) phrasemes as well, such as: *perspektívne matky* (perspective mothers), *to (nie) je sila* (that is (not) awesome), *to (nie) je víťazstvo* (hollow victory).

In the pieces of communication of older speakers (up to the age of 59), expressive communication phrasemes are commonly detected, in terms of proverbs; apparently, most of them are unique regional mutations. Notional expressions of components *malá voda* (shallow water), *amen tma* (dark prospects/God save us!), *nula bodov* (worthless/bad job), etc. take the effect of microgroup relevance. A number of phraseoschemes of this type exiting from this typical age group, come into a wider age and communication sphere and acquire an „overgeneration“ relevance: *nebyť fér* (not to be fair), *debatovať s niekým* (to chat with somebody), *tým pádom* (in that case, consequently), *amen tma* (dark prospects/God save us!), etc. This group, in fact, defines the core of phraseology of SFSC, in regards to the aspect of research.

In conclusion, the aim of this synthetizing article is not only about a complex profile of the spoken form of Slovak in the city of Banská Bystrica. There are two reasons for this – on the one hand, it is almost impossible, and on the other, extensive research has been done before (see Patráš, 1990). This article focuses on such partial language subsystems (phonic and lexical subsystems) that signal unique marked characteristics of the spoken communication conglomerate in a particular city unit. To be able to profile this conglomerate, a number of basic sociocommunication parameters of a representative sample, which consists of the city residents, have to be taken into consideration. In acts of communication, the city residents played the role of more dynamic speakers. Dichotomic parameters in terms of their official – non-official aspects, individuality – (group aspects) – „overindividuality“, and eventually codification – non-codification of the inventory of language-

communication elements have been taken into consideration as secondary criteria.

There is no question that a multidimensional, multilevel (hybrid) communication formation is profiled inside the city environment as a very flexible and structured set. Indeed, it has to saturate communication needs of all residents of the city, not only those with a higher level of education, the younger age, as well as bank officers. In relation to the surrounding environment, this formation operates as a relative monolith, since it is one of the essential socioculture parameters that characterizes the city. Moreover, it is inherently dynamic (with leap borders among particular varieties) and at the same time it becomes a significant source of dynamics in the national language.

1.2. Methodological Specificities in Regards to Research of Live Communication in (Slovak) Cities

„...at least 90 % of all communication is in the spoken form. However, very little research has been done in this area of common pieces of communication...”

(K. Buzássyová, 1996, p. 148)

There is no greater discussion than that subject about a city which is too complicated to be defined as a unique type of territorial community. When it comes to several definitions, six variables are normally used: an ecological, demographic, social, economic, organizational criterion and a subjective perception. In accordance with these individual features, *a city* might be defined as a specific type of a community, which is typical of a high density of socially heterogeneous residents with the social difference, impersonality and anonymity in a social interaction, a considerable division of labour, formal mechanisms of a social control, etc.; a city differs from other communities by its size, a type of integration, relations, structure and a social organization (see Geist, 1992, p. 224). Social interaction among members of a city society is multiplied by concentration of a city's population and the period of personal contact among people is shorter (see Křivohlavý, 1986, p. 15). *Interpersonal communication of city residents* is a consequential phenomenon of the city life environment. This communication becomes an appropriate periscope in order to investigate the structure of a city society.

Provided that polygonality (multidimensional connection, intersection, or change in levels) of characteristics that form a city is accepted, we may prove an opinion about the existence of a mixed „formation“ that is used by residents of a city to ensure their (socio-) communication needs. Obviously, due to various social stratification, complicated economic relations and cultural and historical specificities, a city communication conglomerate is very difficult to be defined, named and distinguished.

In the recent decades, a number of scientific disciplines have carried out research focused on communication interaction in cities. Sociology

and psychology obviously conceive a city as a pyramid of social groups: family or work groups are perceived as minimal social groups that is integrated into the so called small social groups (like children who are perceived to be inherent members of families of parents, work groups and their implementation into production and organizational units, etc.); these elements consequently form bigger social groups (nations, or religious, professional and age groupings). Tendencies with the frame relevance towards the whole social hierarchy are *pars pro toto* modelled in accordance with the knowledge of the state in a microgroup (see also Křivohlavý, 1986, p. 17 – 18). This indicated methodological procedure is successfully used also by scientific disciplines in the interface, i.e. sociolinguistics.

The sociolinguistic research that focuses on an investigation of a real communication state in cities has been done in the European scope for several decades. This research started in the 1920s in the former Soviet Union environment; in the 1960s, this process was revitalized. In that period, a big project with the focus on sociology was carried out in the Slovak environment as well, (*The spoken form of Codified Slovak*, 1972), but its findings were not adequately appreciated in Slovak linguistics.

In the 1970s, the broad-based research of the spoken form of Polish was also carried out in the Polish linguistics (mostly focusing on the spontaneous colloquial language). The researchers were trying to identify structural features of colloquiality/spokenness, differences between a written and spoken form, and official and non-official verbal contact. In the 1980s, the research in terms of sociolinguistic programme was done in Cracow, Wrocław, Łódź, Poznań, Szczecin, and mainly focused on phonetic-phonological specificities of the common communication as well as expressiveness of the language. At the end of the 1980s, the research gained a pragmalinguistic approach (the theory of speech acts) and in the 1990s, a considerable ethnolinguistic parameter was involved as well, mainly in the sphere of a style as means of realization, manifestation and verbalization of „the colloquial thinking“ (see the synthesizing study – Adamiszyn, 1995; for a relevant review of issues concerning the research of the spoken city Polish language see also Dunaj, 1995).

The research of the common „city language“, i.e. „městskej mluvy“ (the common spoken language) was carried out in Bohemia. The similar

methodological principles were applied in this research; they predominantly concentrated on localization of phonic peculiarities, or syntactic specificities on the background of confrontation with the state in the codified language (see e.g. Brabcová, 1973, Dejmek, 1975, Krčmová, 1981, Svěrák, 1971, Valíková, 1971, and others). Since the end of the 1980s, this research has not systematically continued in the Czech environment.

In Slovakia, the area research has not been done since the mid 1960s, when it was completed; the research continued in the cities of Eastern Slovakia (Muránsky, 1978, 1979, 1983, 1986, 1988, 1990, etc.; Múcsková, 2000), and there were several sociolinguistic insights into communication of Bratislava and Banská Bystrica carried out (see Patráš, 1998).

When the outcomes of the research that was based on various methodological approaches in the European environment is taken into consideration (until the end of the 1980s), then a number of theoretical postulates (relevant also to the situation in Slovak cities) might be formulated:

1. a national language is an intricately structured system (diasystem) that consists of a number of mutually corresponding systems; a codified subsystem is apparently its directional formation which shows signs of prestige in comparison to other levels.

2. *The spoken form of Slovak in the city (jazyk mesta / mestský jazyk / mestská reč; běžně mluvený jazyk / městská mluva; gorodskoje prostorečije; język potoczny / mówiony / ustny / kolokwialny / codzienny / oralny, polszczyznia potoczna* [Adamiszyn, 1995, p. 183 – 184]; *casual speech, vernacular; Umgangssprache, städtische Sprache*, etc.) is a „formation“ that is saturated by elements which are also typical of other varieties with the parameter of orality/spokenness. Its interrelatedness with the process of acquiring the knowledge about the state of the language helps to profile contours of this hybrid formation much clearly (see Chloupek, 1996, p. 40).

3. The common communication in the city environment is a signal of an evident presence of features of complex spokenness (a stylistic-communication, but also semantic-cultural category, which is based on antropocentrism; see Adamiszyn, 1995, p. 188 – 190). *Variableness* – its symptoms and localization inside a city organism, but on the other hand

towards other cities – remains to be the essential issue of researchers. A sociolinguist is attracted not only by grammar or phonic variableness, but also by social and stylistic ones, which requires respecting of social-biologic characteristics of communicators – age, gender, education, social inclusion, social and regional background (see Dunaj, 1995, p. 5).

4. The research between the 1960s – 1980s was done in terms of the intentions of *traditional dialectology* – *stylistics*: both of them are fields investigating the formative variableness of a language in accordance with its various statement functions (see Furdal, 1996, p. 30).

5. Slovak is a modern European language which has shown its resilience throughout its historic development. The resilience of the language is manifested by the spoken communication and its tendencies towards variableness, which has been used according to social-biologic and demographic-cultural specificities of the communicators. Although a more rigorous language norm is typical of this language, this is not considered to be a symptom of its “non-full-functionality”, i.e. its authentic positioning (at least before 1989) among the Breton, Basque, Lausitzer, or Macedonian languages (Furdal, 1996, p. 33 – 34), but it is an evident symptom of a close proximity between an oral and written variant of Slovak.

6. The so called echo of paradigmatic change, i.e. the change in the research of semantic-syntactic characteristics of the language system towards the functions of the language in a social interaction (see Ondrejovič, 1995, p. 9) has been observed in the (Slovak) linguistics as well. The research with its sociolinguistic approach respects the social aspect of interpersonal interaction: social intimacy, or social distance, attitudes towards the topic (subject) of communication, towards a partner in communication (see Křivohlavý, 1986, p. 99). Apparently, an awareness of a multicode aspect of the spoken communication altogether with the common spoken communication has become a prime issue of the field of sociolinguistics: besides its own oral components also para- and extralingual codes become a focus of interest. These are taken into consideration as a complex phenomenon, in their mutual interaction (e.g. substitution in terms of the deficit of an oral code will strengthen a communicative value of a text); an entirety is considered primarily, its components are considered afterwards (a holistic – integral orientation concerning the research of the spoken pieces of communication; see Kořenský, 1996, p. 38).

A necessity of an integrative approach towards the research of (the common spoken) communication seems to be of a very high importance these days, mostly in terms of real pieces of communication of – a non-seldomly profaned – *philosophical postmodernism*. A principle of *a game* (with the language, a partner in communication) also appears in the spoken communication in the city environment. Besides structural-systemic symbols, a communicator, who takes part in a communication act, contributes also with his own personality (a sociobiologic background). At the same time he uses pragmatic aspects of communication, such as strategies of speech, intentions of speech acts, etc. It is obvious that the term *language situation* does not provide the relevant image of a real state of an interpersonal communication any longer. Moreover, there is a tendency to use the term *a communication situation*, which is apparent in these terms. This term also „supports“ a tendency to define a basic element of the research: an investigation of „systemic“ elements (within the range of a sound – style level) is substituted by consideration of a text category – *a discourse*, which should be able to identify a person, place and moment of a piece of communication much better (see Labocha, 1996, p. 53).

An introduction of „suprasystemic“ elements into a sphere of the research has resulted in slight changes in regards to the status of more traditional, recently petrified aspects, such as strictness of oppositions in regards of spokenness – writtenness, non-officiality – officiality, spontaneity – readiness, privacy – publicity. In the sphere of the recently localized „spoken form of the language in the city“, a concept of communication situation has become to be used: an evident hybridism of a city communication conglomerate is stifled by a parameter of „situationalness“. A communication form which operates in favour of direct communication interactions of members of a city society is no longer localized as a „(sub)standard“, „variety“, but as a set of pieces of communication in terms of a communication situation. In this situation, a (mandatory) use of the codified language, i.e. under informal circumstances, in which a language form is not privileged, is not more expected; at the same time it a repertoire of various means of expressions from the spectrum of *codification – non-codification*, which are normally used in this type of pieces of communication (see Daneš, 1995, p. 8).

In relation to globalized views of the common spoken communication – and altogether considering a narrow concept of the terms

spokenness/orality – a necessity to search for a term that would be suitable also for a status of a „city“ communication conglomerate becomes real. A term *sound form of the language* (Kraus, 1995, p. 13) seems to be proper and viable to cover the whole sphere of the spoken communication, of course, if transient forms are respected. The author – in relation to synchronisation of oral and written forms of communication („...*places for business and political negotiations concerning important issues are not office rooms any longer, but also golf greens, dressing rooms of tennis courts, or wine cellars...*“; cited Daneš, 1995, p. 13) – indicates a much wider meaning of the term *sound form of the language* in comparison to the phenomenon of *the spoken* language. The range of meanings of this term is supported primarily by sociocommunication and social circumstances: a member of the current „*spectator – listener*“ generation (Schanker, 1982, p. 5 – 6) daily comes into contact with synchronized, secondary spoken texts, which is due to the influence of developed mass media in everyday life (television, commerce radio, newspapers, billboards).

Implementation of the term *sound form of the language* into the city environment also reprofiles semantics in the term of spokenness. Spokenness is not only modelled in the dependence on the oral form (code), but by means of spontaneity in terms of the process of formation of a text, e.g. an e-mail piece of communication (see Krčmová, 1995, p. 27). In this context a set of constituent parameters to define the common sound piece of communication should be indicated. Provided that more specific determinants (age, education, social inclusion, regional and social origin of a speaker) are extended, then not only the research ambitions in the sphere of the common spoken communication in the city environment, but also the common communication outside the specific city environment will be covered. Apparently, *a communication situation* will more precisely reflect a real state of communication (interaction of partners in communication, time and space of communication acts, a general experience basis of speakers, aesthetization effect, etc.).

J. Chloupek (1995, p. 36) identifies the following as the factors which constitute the spoken pieces of communication: a number of members in a dialogue, social relations among the members, their individual roles, a degree of a public intention of communication, motivation of a dialogue, a communication intention, strategy and the aim,

modal approach of members, frequency and form of an exchange of speakers, contribution of pieces of communication in a situation, complex of an auditory and visual channel, i.e. a proportion between something what has been heard and seen. Of course, this wide range of the referred parameters – according to our opinion – is not in favour of a norm-forming generation vector: substitution of an (individual) age by a social age cannot be accepted without any objections – a pre-war, war, after-war generation (Chloupek 1996, p. 39). It seems to be more convenient to consider and use the concept of e.g. a school, productive generation, a „third-age“ generation“; when these concepts are used, a universality of classification except a particular time might be ensured, e.g. in the middle of the 1990s (see also Patráš, 1991).

Globalization of the research and a multidisciplinary approach towards the common communication together with consequences of its own processual aspects appear to be desirable, especially at the end of the century. The research of live communication is revitalized in the Slovak environment as well (also in the cities in accordance with the results of the research from the 1960s). A substantial base of texts is being built, however, in various environments: it is inevitable to operate with an audiovisual programme to carry out a complex research [a live communication in unprepared, casual conditions, mapping of the so called *silent language* (Myers – Herndon, 1988, p. 97), an active contribution of computer technologies, a network of possibilities for exploration, etc.]. Obviously, such research strictly requires keeping a code of ethics from the side of the researcher, which will secure the rights of individuals researched (see Nachmias – Nachmias, 1987, p. 93 – 97). An expectation to map a real communication environment which will result in a norm-forming and codification process as well as in the theory of the language culture is not, apparently, just an exaggerated ambition of this research.

1.3. *Echo of Paradigmatic Change* and Further Research of the Common Communication

A direct impulse for investigations, reflections and remarks within the title of this paper has been stimulated by three circumstances. The first one, which does not need to be stressed as it was very occasional, is a social, and at the same time individual-personal, and predominantly human frame of the conference event that was dedicated to a personality of the Slovak linguistics. This pivotal motif in its variations is, more or less, the essential base of all articles. The second impulse has been stimulated by a phase of completed preliminary works within a scientific project that was submitted for an approval process to The Scientific Grant Agency (VEGA) of the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic and the Slovak Academy of Sciences. The majority of the members of Bystrica's sociolinguistic school under the supervision of J. Findra took part in the preparatory stage. The project was in progress within the period from 2007 to 2009. The project focused on a multilevel definition and interdisciplinary investigation of dynamic tendencies in the Slovak language and mainly on their reflection in stratification of the national language in the 21st century. In the meantime, which was the period from its submission to the approval, initial conceptual considerations were developed. Eventually, they resulted in the first realization stage. At last, the quoted statement by an honoree, which is also the title of this article, became a unifying impulse for all.

In the first half of the 1990s, S. Ondrejovič repeated the statement about „the echo of a paradigmatic change“, which was anyway reflected in the Slovak linguistics, on the same page in the first proceedings issued by a newly formed edition *Sociolinguistica Slovaca* (Ondrejovič, 1995, p. 9). This statement had its substantiation. The author made the statement purposely – besides the content which is indicated by a so called paradigmatic change, the term in its wider – social and philosophical – content includes an idea of stimulations, processes and trends which have always been tackled by Slovak linguistics. His debates also reflect substantiations as well as the future of research with multi- and interdisciplinary approach.

Apparently, the subject of these reflections is embedded in the referred methodological-methodical scope. Also a number of more general

circumstances connected with the state, perspectives and visions in the researched territory are included in these reflections – as J. Kraus stated (1995) – the sound form of the language. Nowadays, there are almost no doubts in regards to the communication throughout oral or spoken pieces of communication which is supposed to be permanently present and even more specific initiator of synchronous dynamics of the natural form in a language. An importance of the spontaneous live communication is undisputable even in the times when the language situation has considerably changed (see Daneš, 1995).

Within the new media, a considerable overlapping or concealing of traditionally distinguished attributes of orality and writeness, and expanding, „blurring“, „melting“ of boundaries between varieties of the national language have caused lots of changes in a current social stratification (see Dudok, 2004). In addition to this, that is also a natural openness of Slovak towards the influence of systems of other languages which has had an impact on metamorphoses of the language situation through the interlingual contacts. Permanently changing preconditions, terms, and requirements in terms of generally and (micro) groups determined societies towards a current level of spontaneous communication create an in-depth and sustainable source of dynamics within the language/speech as well as communication through a language. Also without dispute and arguments, it is apparent that the socioculture, language-communication and scientific situation in the first decade of the 21st century are significantly different from the one in the 1960s or 1980s, and particularly before the 1990s of the previous century.

This article will, within its admissible scope, look into the research of semiofficial and non-official language situations that quite often use an oral communication contact, or in other words the spontaneous way of communication. Communication in this area is provided by direct interactions and live, open pieces of communication. It means that communication situations are not influenced by any technical devices, such as telephone sets, modern phones, television channels, or multimedia devices in terms of modern computers equipped with software and internet connection. Primarily, we will take an open, available and eventually possible theoretical-methodological platform of the research into consideration. A perspective research field as well as successful and beneficial results of the research will not be avoided.

An ambition of this research, which is quite challenging but not unreal, lies in all these preconditions. In particular, this should result in acceptance

of outcomes and the consequential implementation into their constituents with the normative and codification function. More than two decades since „capturing the echo“, through the precisely carried-out research of the oral communication with its representative findings, would be more than a wish. Another aim of this article, obviously after considering the advantages as well as obstacles of particular concepts, is also to state the basic clues which should help to meet these objectives.

The research of the live spontaneous communication has come to a very high level within the last decades. The domestic and foreign scientific community is aware of their formidable level. In this article it is impossible to take an evaluating stance to all outcomes. Anyway, a number of substantial findings of timeless validity have to be stated, since they have become a source of thought, material consideration, and a methodological approach. The precisely prepared and realized research of the spoken codified Slovak of the 1960s is stated as a traditional and convincing example. Its results were published almost one decade later (see the proceeding *Hovorená podoba spisovnej slovenčiny I., II.*, 1972). In terms of the project of the Banská Bystrica's sociolinguistic school, its aims and future outlook, the projects with communication-pragmatic and interdisciplinary orientation dated back to the former Czechoslovak environment seem to be relevant. Their „federal“, but relatively scantily represented Slovak era, was concluded by presenting the findings of the research of the vocabulary of the Slovak language (Horecký – Buzássyová – Bosák et al., 1989) at the international conference *K diferenciaci súčasného mluveného jazyka (On the Differentiation of the Current Spoken Language)* (1994) in Ostrava. The conference proceeding with the same name was issued one year later; the articles of F. Daneš, J. Kraus, O. Uličný, M. Krčmová, J. Chloupek and G. Neščimenko are a valuable contribution.

The Czech colleagues continued the research also after the renewal of the Czech statehood and the establishment of the Slovak Republic. Their scientific syntheses are presented in monographies that were published at Ostravská University, since this was one of the workplaces that carried out the research of the oral communication (Davidová et al., 1997; Bogoczová et al., 2000 – with the representative bibliography of the Czech, Slovak and Polish resources on the page 149 – 153). In the 90s J. Kořenský, J. Hoffmannová, O. Müllerová, J. Zeman and A. Jaklová (see Kořenský et al., 1999) contributed to this programme and in cooperation with the European linguistic groups they contributed also to its development. An echo of the research – of course with

their wider, comparative and synchronic-diachronic context including – is presented in the latest works of the authors who considerably contributed to the research of the spoken communication. With regards to this, a publication *Teorie a empirie. Bichla pro Krčmovó* (*Theory and Empirism. A Book for Krčmovó*) dedicated to M. Krčmová should be introduced (for more details see Hoskovec – Šefčík – Sova, 2006).

The 1990s represent the period of syntheses in the Slovak linguistics as well. The Polish researchers contributed to the research of the common spoken communication in the city environment with the interdisciplinary and comparative approach (see the proceedings *Wielkie miasto. Czynniki integrujące i dezintegrujące I, II*, 1995, a *Miasto – teren koegzystencji pokoleń*, 1999). The oral/spoken communication, as an object of the scientific research, has permanently been studied in a wider professional and cultural-social relations also in the Russian scientific environment (see the latest proceedings *Kulturno-rečevaja situacija v sovremennoj Rossiji*, 2000). The completed research and methodological impulses have become an introduction into the further research and an inspiration in the Slovak environment in terms of their open opportunities for an international cooperation.

The latest findings which reflect the situation in the Slovak environment are presented in annuals *Sociolinguistica Slovaca* (in the 5th volume of a monography; 2000), and previously also in the jubilee proceedings that was dedicated to J. Bosák (2004; see mainly the articles of J. Dolník, M. Krčmová a M. Dudok). The oral communication in its wider relations is regularly discussed at the international conference about communication in Banská Bystrica (see mainly the after-conference proceedings from the years 1991, 1994 and 2004). The outcomes of these conferences have always been of a great contribution in this field. The research continuum and a comparison base have been basically retained. On the one hand, theoretical orientations, specifications of the objects of interest, and social requirements have changed. On the other hand, the base – an oral, live, spontaneous, specifically dialogical communication including also its non-verbal components and perception of the social status of the members of communication acts – still remains as the permanent motif with its high utterance.

In spite of the effort from the side of groups or individuals, the scientific intentions have diversified into different areas, fragmented into challenging and compelling tasks, which have unfortunately been only partial. A lower interest in the spontaneous pieces of communication might be reported also

in the case of a number of new, or „seemingly new“ theoretical-methodological approaches which have recently penetrated from other linguistic environments, research fields, or scientific disciplines into the Slovak linguistics. These are often typical of an inappropriate, electrical adaptation to the conditions of the accepting environment, or of poised orientation towards practice, or of uncritical use of terminological expressions. All of these phenomena cannot be claimed to be of high benefit if it comes to investigation of spontaneous spoken pieces of communication, of course considering its specificities. Consequences of this diversification are apparent: in the last decades, the programmes of monolithic orientation, team involvement and considerable institutionalized support have not been systematically developed. Apparently, it is time to react to strong, reasonable challenges or their resonances from recent history. That means to compile representative, convincing projects, to call for domestic and international cooperation as well as professional support and social prestige.

And what adequate knowledge and methodological background for an accountable preparation and reasonable research is available today? Of course, entirely in terms of discussions, – leave aside the basic assumptions, which hypothetically do not have to be involved in a prepared conceptual skeleton. We are referring to the research of a relation of a language and speech, active cooperation of language layers in a specific communication sphere, definition of orality and writtenness, concurrence or tension between codification and non-codification, and predominantly an effort to discern and identify a „proper“ specific variety in terms of a national language. In the tandem with the referred phenomena, considerations concerning a tension between norms and their disruption, or inconveniences of different origin, or a meticulous investigation of speech communication, in terms of an investigation of communication through relations of verbal and non-verbal components might come to the sideline, but only temporarily. Apparently, when uttered and recorded oral pieces of communication are studied, we come to the phenomena and characteristics of their language level every time. These might be considered only as the cognition of a momentary, relative and transient state, which does not claim to have any universal, or normative, codification and prognostic ambitions. In terms of this, besides communication disciplines, it is for example also (pragma-/socio-) stylistics with its interdisciplinary methodological base and apparatus that may serve to identify and explain limits of this type.

In this regard, a question may be raised: why is it reasonable to put a number of traditional, „compulsory“ ambits to the periphery of the scientific interest while a particular scientific objective is being defined? From the point of view of a concept, which is clear and fundamental within the research of the common communication, a notion of J. Dolník seems to be inspirational. This concept concerns a principle of expansiveness in a language (Dolník, 2004). This principle should be taken into consideration especially in the era of a post-life with its state of a permanent instability. All in all, „a permanent incompleteness, unfinishedness, returns“ in a language – that is supported by the research of communication in specific language environments and situations – have been also approved by the latest findings (see the proceedings *Komunikace – styl – text (Communication – Style – Text)*, 2006, and articles of S. Čmejrková, M. Dohnalová, J. Dolník, J. Hoffmannová, O. Müllerová, V. Patráš and J. Zeman). Right in front of our eyes, language communications and communication forms which are overlaid and mixed due to a prestige social communication sphere are created. Symptoms of hybridization are higher in relation to a bigger distance of a particular piece of communication form its domestic language-communication environment. A profoundly floating communication and research area is then opened owing to the shifts and pressures of an „aggressive“ communication centre towards peripheries. This area, considering its core (a centre of language changes) and peripheries, „successfully“ resists any conventional approaches and analyses that are applied in the environment of written or printed communication.

We have to say that only texts of verbal provenience belong to this „mixed“ area. The centre of live, open and immediate speech contacts is considered as a source of incentives towards shifts, or as incentives towards changes regarding a state of particular forms and peripheries of a characteristic oral communication situation. Due to dynamic rearrangements, synchronously stable layers of communication means support an existence of other transient language varieties. While researching the state of communicating within the spontaneous spoken communication, the main aim does not concern a concept, description or respecting of another particular model. Within this research, consideration of two-pole tendencies – anomalies as well as returns to a well-established communication model seems to be much more productive. There are several reasons for this – this well-established communication model has been permanently verified by a communication practice, and it is at the same

time implicitly reinforced by a very high level of social effectiveness and communication commitment owing to its traditions and conventions.

From the aspect of causality as an element of this approach, primary observation of behaviour of more or less organized, but still just isolated language system units – in terms of their both structural and normative definitions - does not seem practical. Research of immediate live communication first requires discerning, relating and explanation of the sources of movement, occurrence and effects in the characteristic communication situations, and their oscillation between the extremities. With support of the socio-demographically determined and justified isoglosses, social and communicative value of the common spoken contacts in a defined communication sphere can be exposed. For the purpose of effective exploration, we can thus use a so called prototype evaluation standard which is dependent on the external circumstances, especially the environment (Dolník, 2004). Ultimately, such socially and individually determined renaissance of the modelness helps and benefits the natural language as the universum. Then the logically abstracted construct is quite clearly open to the argumentative “materialisation” through the always unique arrangement of the means of expression obtained in the field research. Therefore the outlined concept framework for discerning and approximation of the internal dynamics resources in the immediate communication contacts is based on incompleteness, ephemerality and variable unfinishedness of ordinary communication, its social determination and situation fixity. So we turn the popular idea of G. Neščimenko (1995) concerning the subordinate position of the communicative approach in relation to the unit classification upside down – just in the sense of the paradigm change.

Let us at least suggest some focal points, or the fields of the said orientation. For its real, convincing and argumentatively firm consolidation, which will objectively allow the management of research of this kind and purpose, it is needed to think over and relate the necessary determinants. Note that the constituents are of a non-verbal essence, they cooperate within the network of complimentary relations, and do not form a singularly closed system. In that regard, the answer to the following question is clear: is a special variety, e.g. the so called colloquial Slovak, being created within the natural language, under the influence of oral/common spoken communication? It seems at the preparation stage, its special assignation or characterization is not necessary. If we, however, prefer an intersection of the trends understood

as vectors, directions, temporality etc., we are “only“ interested in an indefinitely localizable, and thus really natural reflection of the situation and life of the language, demonstrative in its “program turbidity.“ The extralingual circumstances playing a primary role attract language resources according to a rather accurate algorithm, influenced by the above mentioned network.

All in all, each orally produced text carries and reveals the interconnected signs-trends of a double kind in each moment and at any place in the communication chain. On the one hand, there are invariant, synchronic, fixed, and so less active, or even inactive tendencies with placement and expressions at the periphery of the communication sphere. Let us call them *constants* for now. They attract a normative or codification potential and in oral communication they are realized at the communicatively more stable peripheries. Concurrently with them, variant, “incomplete“, synchronically more active tendencies placed in the centre of the communication sphere are exposed in the direct communication. Let us name them *variables*. This group has insistently been seeking a more general application, i.e. also beyond oral communication. To sum up: the apparent paradox



appears to be the result of a combination of the often contradictory relation on the axis language/speech – communication, i.e. a narrower versus broader approach. This approach needs the well-established intersectional terminology instruments and procedures using the beneficial interaction of the closest scientific disciplines – sociology, psychology and linguistics – for research of immediate communication.

To sum up: from the aspect of theory, within the research teams it is necessary to think over, define, relate the building vectors, and with their support, define a clear research matrix. Its main constituents should be the aforementioned hierarchically arranged circumstances. Here they are in the non-context form with the orientators choosing a suitable research procedure.

1. Tendencies and trends

1.1. Social situation, communication situation (CSit), communication event (CE);

- 1.2. Fixity (generality) – variability (speciality) of CSit/CE;
- 1.3. Convergence – divergence of the determinants, centredness – peripheriness of CS it;
- 1.4. (Individual) attitudes and (social/group) values = setting of the prototype evaluation standard;
- 1.5. Communication etalons.

2. Explorer – respondent and research methodology

- 2.1. Sociometric maps – age in the sense of generation, education, social status, regional/social origin, communication readiness of the explorer and respondent;
- 2.2. Gathering and processing of the text samples – selection – hierarchization – analysis – comparison;
- 2.3. Observer's Paradox and its refinement through the methodological turn (hidden vs uncovered microphone, inquiry);
- 2.4. Ethical issues of research.

3. Text file

- 3.1. Common topic vs topic spectre;
- 3.2. Monologue – guided dialogue;
- 3.3. Primary – secondary orality (spokenness);
- 3.4. Code/s – their importance, interaction.

4. „Colloquial Slovak“ (?)

1.4. The Spoken Form of a Language in the City as a Methodological Message and Challenge

The leitmotif, intentions and inspirations of these reflections are determined by several circumstances. The head position is occupied by interconnection with the central theme of an international scientific event. In the individual sequels of the Banská Bystrica Communication conference series, the theme is traditionally updated as a call for monitoring of bipolar, dynamically interconnected categories. In this regard, the object of the study is a contrastive methodological view of the immediate oral utterances applied in an urban and a nearby rural socio-communication areas. Therefore, in the core there is a stratified communication unit which, apart from the reflection of its environment speciality (Banská Bystrica at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s), did not conceal its ambition to generalize linguistic and communication circumstances of spontaneous communication acts.

Apart from the communication unit model, the title of *Hovorená podoba slovenčiny v meste* (*The Spoken Form of Slovak in the City*, SFSC; Patráš, 1990) attracted attention at its time. It was also incorporated in the concept instrumentarium of the similar, parallel or sequence papers. In the expert context, it is at least synonymically used to this day (see e.g. Kralčák, 2008a; Urbancová, 2007; Luptáková, 2009). Its strengths, in addition to its direct continuity with the 1960s collocation *The Spoken Form of Standard Slovak*, are the interfaces with stratification models of the national language. They finally point at the always special arrangement and use of the participating varieties, depending on nonverbal communication terms. That is why the accompanying motive is to think over, or even revalue the explanatory power of the model with the title, and the use of their methodological potential in future research after two decades.

In the 1980s, under the influence of the “parolization“ of linguistics and the increase of interdisciplinary research, there was even more research of the spoken/oral form of communication. Although there were no institutional “performances”, the convincing and interesting results were achieved. For now, other reflections on the said phase and its importance can be found in the jubilee

proceedings in tribute to S. Ondrejovič. *Jazyk a jazykoveda v pohybe (Language and Linguistics on the Move)* (2008).

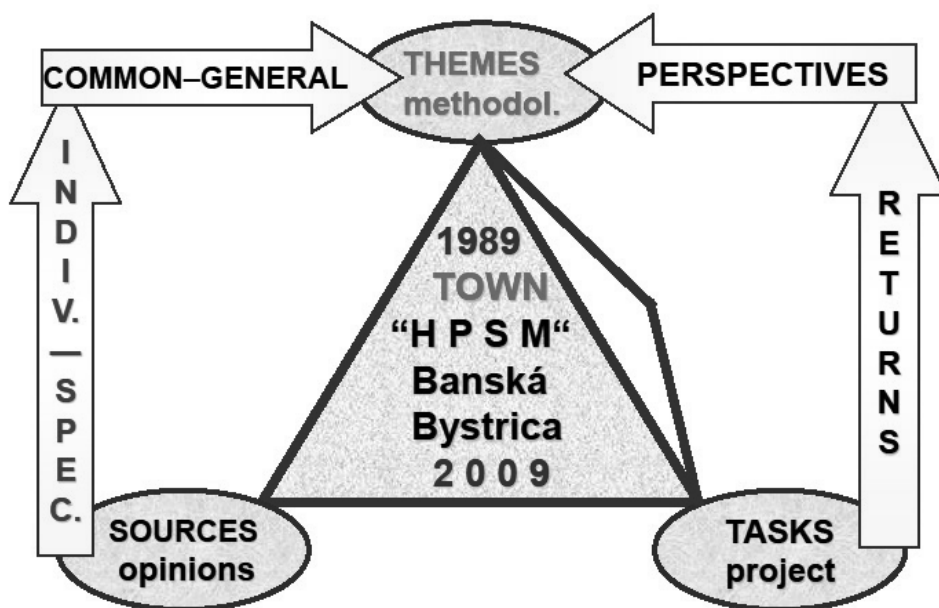
In 2006 several members of Banskobystrická sociolingvistická škola (The Banská Bystrica School of Sociolinguistics)¹ decided to pick up on this fruitful research periods and it is still an interesting problem. The program platform of an interdisciplinary project was introduced at the beginning of the research period (Findra, 2007). In order to compare the results of the observations on the diachronic axis, it is important to say that one of the respected methodological principles of the current spoken communication research is a division of the research area with the so called territorial research points. In selected towns of central Slovakia, field research is being completed. In cooperation with the respondents, questionnaires of high informative value, as well as live pieces of communication are being gathered. Banská Bystrica had become one of the research points again.

In summary: the message of the study is the contrastive view of the situation, level and developmental changes of common spoken communication (using the example of Banská Bystrica) within two decades. The figure unites the following circumstances: methodological resources of previous explorations of their kind, theoretical premises of the research grant project, and the common result of both factors in the form of several themes for analyses, interpretations and generalizations. The objective is framed with social and space coordinates *social/general – individual/specific*, and a time-based pair *returns – perspectives*. The object is meant to be fulfilled by introducing more possibilities of further understanding of oral communication in the defined communication sphere.

The combination of the above mentioned circumstances is shown in the Figure 1.

¹ Project of Vedecká grantová agentúra Ministerstva školstva SR (Scientific Grant Agency of the Slovak Ministry of Education) and Slovenská akadémia vied (Slovak Academy of Sciences) VEGA No. 1/4713/07 *Dynamika spoločenských zmien a stratifikácia slovenčiny (Dynamics of social changes and stratification of Slovak)*.

Figure 1:



When pursuing the goal, let us base it on the first circumstance. From the aspect of general methodology, research in the 1960s was continuously based on “langue“ structural and systemic language characteristics. The basic objective of the research program was to monitor the tension between the literary and dialectic communication form in the so called language of the city. The same methodological background framed the research of the language of the city/“městská mluva“ (urban language), or “běžně mluvený jazyk“ (commonly spoken language) in the Czech environment in the 1970s and at the beginning of the following decade.

In relation to the stratification model of the Slovak language, relying on the term-notion of the *national language*, according to J. Horecký from the late 1970s, along with the development of the parole linguistics and interdisciplinary approaches, semantization and pragmatization of linguistics, the research of the so called language of the city came to a close relation with the text (piece of communication, discourse; a constructive collocation *content-pragmatic unit* – for the name and notion, see Kořenský et al., 1999). Methodological shift appeared also in the observations of oral communication in Slovakia. “Stratification experience“ was enriched with the attempts

for multidimensional analysis and interpretation of the live pieces of communication as the relationship between the locution aspect of current spontaneous communication and sociodemographic features of its bearers or users. The speech/parole understood as a process with its social context, in its complexity as well as incompleteness (for the application of the interdisciplinary analytical procedures, see Kořenský et al., 1999) has become the convincing basis of the dynamic interpretation approach. Thus the effective shift and benefit cannot be seen in decoupling of the classic dichotomies *langue – parole*, but in their “critically creative“ connection.

Research of the spoken form of Slovak in Banská Bystrica (Patráš, 1990) manifests the 1980s and 1990s, i.e. the time of accelerating interdisciplinary research. The most important output was the dissertation mentioned above. It was never published by press but it became a platform for several scientific studies presented locally and internationally between 1990 – 2000². There are dozens of registered references to all those further steps.

Although it is unusual to get back to the first results after years, especially to own early works, while “comeback to the first author’s period“ (1987 – 90) can be perceived as not being a very critical self-presentation as excursions of this kind do not pursue such a goal. They are meant to become a solid starting point for a contrastive outline of the situation in the current spoken communication in the same research object (Banská Bystrica) after a twenty-year-long generation gap. From the author’s point of view, such a concept is just logical. As a member of the research team paying the repeated attention to the so called language of the city/urban language, he has a timely opportunity during the closing phase of field research within the unfinished research project.

Comparing the language situation in a relatively identical research points seems advantageous for several reasons. Apart from getting to know the current state in communication, it outlines the necessary scientific ground plan complying with the requirements of modern interdisciplinary research with sociolinguistic orientation.

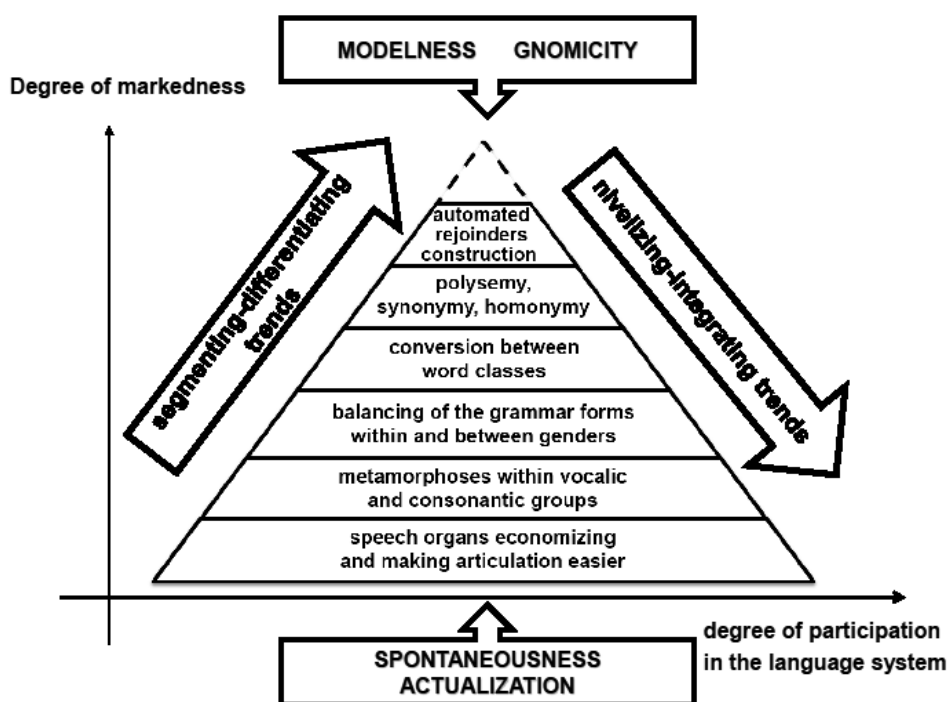
The methodological base for the approach to the analyses at the first stage was the awareness of the dynamics between the poles of constant (model disposition – gnomonic disposition) and variable (spontaneity – foregrounding)

² http://www.juls.savba.sk/slovenski_jazykovedci/1986-1995/Patras,%20Vladimir.html .
(Online. Cit. 14-10-2009.)

http://www.juls.savba.sk/slovenski_jazykovedci/1996-2000/Patras,%20Vladimir.html .
(Online. Cit. 14-10-2009.)

determinants in the spoken communication of the city agglomeration residents. Within given limits, the dynamizing potencies of the individual language levels are gradually ranked and activated. In the pieces of communication of the city residents – members of various groups defined by age, education, society, profession, etc. – the **naturally** contradictory ways of **natural** communication are being applied. Segmenting and differentiating trends reinforce the stage (awareness) of the language standardization; levelling and integrating trends, on the other hand, support variation potential in language (Figure 2; see Patráš, 1990, p. 256):

Figure 2:



In the operative, never finished balancing of both lines there is one of the profound resources of the inner dynamics of the spoken form of Slovak in the city, concluding into the real awareness of the existence of at least its three communication norms. The norms are dominantly activated on the basis of a generational group of speakers (in the social, not physical or individual sense; Patráš, 1991). Certainly, in the first research the relational networks between the expression (selection, organization and use of parts of the language

inventory *ad hoc*) and socio-demographic characteristics of the communicants were respected, but insufficiently specified. The outcomes were ranked in the research order which was still followed until the mid-1990s. In the Slovak context, e.g. Slančová – Sokolová, 1994, a similar approach was taken; In the Czech environment there were also such programs presented in the proceedings *K diferenciaci súčasného mluveného jazyka* (On Differentiation of Contemporary Spoken Language), 1995; and Bogoczová et al., 2000. Eventually, an accessible objective for scientific research was gradually covered by other, sometimes even more attractive topics. Thus research of common communication, despite its elaborate methodology, favourable methodological atmosphere and emphasized necessity, was hushed.

The situation in the 1980s/1990s – from the 1960s, and *pars pro toto* through the peephole of the dissertation (Patráš, 1990) – can be condensed in several evaluating comments. Research was built on precision, methodological purity and capacity of the opposing categories of *structure – system, centre – periphery, constant – variable, invariant – variant, standard – erosion of standard*, on the interpretation anchoring on the language levels, and a significant single-disciplinarity with support in linguistics. Based on real communication practice there was plausibly found and presented local/regional language usage. Organized building of reliable text files (audio recordings) and their detailed description were proven as a convincing basis for argumentation. The description took advantage of the contrast between the most remarkable varieties as a reflection of the differences between city and country. The results indicate constitution of more relaxed oral communication variant, usually with a stronger regional differentiation - “colloquial Slovak“, or a standard variety of Slovak. Altogether they make space for comparison of the older and newer observations, assuming repeated research of yet to be explored locations.

Statements had also become the idea and concept of preparation, implementation and evaluation of the ongoing research (in a VEGA project, see Findra, 2007; potential reference framework for the research, see Patráš, 2008). One of the main current work intentions does not focus on the name of the communication form itself. Rather, it strives for the clear identification of its parts in the synchronic dynamics and localization of its non-verbal resources.

Comparison of the ending research with the older ones shows determinants of two kinds. The respective language (intra-system and communication) circumstances are joined by the increasing “colloquial“ markedness of the phonic and morphologic levels, registration and multilevel

evaluation of variants in oral communication, respecting of the “pressure“ of the non-verbal conditions and their ability to influence usage/standard in the respective communication sphere, with support in the socio-demographic maps of the respondents. All signs operate in the dynamic bindings with various competing ambitions, hierarchical arrangement and, in the first place, the ambition to fulfil the communication intentions and goals of the speakers adequately and free of error. The external circumstances include technological conditions. Unlike in the past, only digitalized audio recordings of spontaneous pieces of communications with transcription of the representative parts according to the agreed code system are obtainable. What is important is the chance for their exact processing by computer³, including the cooperation with Oddelenie slovenského jazykového korpusu JÚLŠ SAV (The Slovak Language Corpus Department, Ľ. Štúr Institute of Linguistics, Slovak Academy of Sciences) in Bratislava, building the Slovak spoken corpus⁴, and parallel comparison and verification of the analytical statements based on the questionnaire background. The intersection of the aforementioned circumstances shows the main, valuable and achievable goal: recognition of the synchronic situation and the level of common communication in the defined environments and locations, with its dynamic stratification potential.

Through Figure 3 (see Patráš, 1990, p. 32), let us come back to the conglomerate model of the Spoken Form of Slovak in the City, and to the time of its origin. With an aim to prove the meaning and mission of the study, it is necessary to compare the main socio-communication features and trends that seem synchronically marked in the communication sphere of an everyday life of the citizens of a particular city.

³ Freely accessible web programs, e.g. *Speech Filing System*

– <http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/resource/sfs> or *Praat: Doing Phonetics by Computer*

– <http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat> (Online. Cit. both 17-10-2009.)

⁴ <http://korpus.juls.savba.sk>; <https://data.juls.savba.sk/oral> (Online. Cit. 24-10-2009.)

1 ← oral form of standard (codified) Slovak.

2 ← spoken form of standard Slovak ("colloquial Slovak" being formed),

3 ← dialects (half-dialects, regional dialect, interdialect) and sociolects,

4 ← Czech and the ingredients of other language systems (Hungarian,

an, Russian, English, ..., Yiddish, Romany language),

5 ← idiolects.

6 ← Spoken Form of Slovak in the City (SFSC).

The initial analyses⁵ show that, compared to the situation in the 1980s-1990s, after 20 years spoken communication in Banská Bystrica functionally reinforces oral prestigious standard variety of the national language (level **1**, so called School Slovak, and **2**). This fact is more significant in communities of middle and older generations of speakers, i.e. the communicants over 41, even without big education differences. Within the limited space of this study, for now the increase of the importance of standardness in the SFSC (Spoken

⁵ The subject for primary investigation was the collection of digitalized audio recordings with 300 minutes of total length (including the unusable parts) and 81 completed questionnaire reports. Research material comes from the period between September 2008 and July 2009.

Form of Slovak in the City) can be condensedly substantiated by the intersection of some external (extralingual) circumstances.

The main position is occupied by the reflections of a reliable education level in Slovak as a mother tongue at the time when its bearers/users from the “city-forming“ group were subject to regular schooling at elementary and secondary levels.

The second initiator of the expansion of the standard language zone (spokenness, colloquialness) seems to be the expansion of the media communication sphere with its trends and vigorous ingrowth into the public and private lives through the so called new media. As a result of our own effort, right before our eyes the borderline of orality is being reprofiled (for more details, see Patráš, 2009). The socio-demographic group of communicants above usually knows and also applies the local communication usage, including the traditional dialect. However, they are aware of the relationship between the poles of *formality* – *half-/in-formality* of the communication situation and expediently pass to the respective variety according to the communication needs. They mix, or switch the codes according to the given nonverbal conditions and requirements.

More striking, the “city” phenomena are limited to the segmentation and intonation levels. Obviously, they exceed to some syntactic structures, especially to compound sentences. Along with decrease of the traditional dialects proportion, vocabulary is still the more saturated by sociolects, mainly the professional and slang expressions including the macaronized other-language components.

The trend of subjectivisation, verbal expresivisation, “spokennessation“ of communication towards the younger age group is being accelerated. Some of the so called school generation (15 – 21-year old communicants) often do not discern between (do not know how to – cannot – do not want to – refuse to perceive?) vertical, i.e. socio-communicative levels between the participants of the communication acts. Even in interactions outside the informal zone, they try to apply a relaxed, jovial, but generatively unified way of communication. Here is the right moment for the supporting argument, or the inspirational, attitude-motivated idea related to the relaxation of communication. If the speakers do not communicate in compliance with the codification, it does not necessarily mean they are not aware of the way they speak. They can be using the code that they consider as standard language; the norm of their expression then can be different from the codified norm (Chromý, 2009, p. 254).

It turns out that as a result of the synergic effects, after the generation shift also the proportions of the individual layers in the city communication conglomerate are being modified. Parenthetically, the concept from the 1990s happened upon this trend (see Figure 2). However, today it is not quite appropriate anymore to consider the expansive idiolects (level 5). The reason is their radius of action is getting smaller because of the other levels being reinforced. Under the influence of the media, the idiolects were shortly activated in the time of social changes at the turn of 1980s and 1990s; now their role is only marginal. The change of horizontal orientation of the other-language components (level 4) for vertical, cross-sectional level affecting all participating levels turns out as more realistic. The emptied spots of the conglomerate model could be, hypothetically, occupied by another variety; let us give it a working title “e-Slovak”.

Certainly, analyses and argumentations are being gradually particularised, and thus they claim the increase of their informative value. The modest ambition of (not only, but also) this work is to use the specific example for confirmation of the need to try and find the principles of procedurally understood, comprehensive theory of speech acts presuppositions based on the still valid theorems of the classic structural linguistics, general system theory, cybernetics, logical-mathematical mechanisms and philosophy (Kořenský, 1998a, 2008). Let us add that this way the linguistics itself can defend its privileged position within the system of sciences. Reinforcement of the acquired knowledge by the interdisciplinary and explanatory approaches makes the methodological message of the past, and the challenge of the present and future research of the common spoken communication.

1.5. Sociolinguistic Research of Immediate Communication and Dynamics of the *Concept of Orality*

Oral – spoken, produced by speech, immediate, direct, spontaneous, unprepared, dialogical, acoustic and auditory communication is almost axiomatically perceived as both older by origin and verified by practice, while also mouldable and variable way of communicative interactions in human communities. Its long-term exclusivity made it markedly dominating over the later, or concurrently originating, developing and applying expression modes.

Discovery and formation of the visualized ways – starting with the pictographic and ideographic symbols and systems, through the phonetic alphabetic codes, to finish with the combined (integrated) sign complexes – diversified the choice and existential application of oral communication. At the same time, however, the radius was changed and the conditions for searching the orality parameter got more demanding. The creation and mass expansion of the text documents (see the inspirational reflections on the subject in Cejpek, 1998) which developed indirect social communication in the late half-millennium, mainly since the 19th century, did not deny oral forms of human interactions that is older by origin and typology. Orality worked through from the contrastive – partner, complementary, often also suppletive and dependent – position towards more obligatory, value-straining or even ritualised writtenness (of documentary, or printed character).

The property of orality (spokenness) as an essential building constituent of human communication is a permanent and attractive, but also demanding subject of a wide spectre of scientific disciplines and sub-disciplines. Situational, deictic, economic, unready, ephemeral, amorphous, intentional, sensitive to physical conditions of the environment in the direct communication acts, and considerable effort of the participants to achieve the communication intentions and goals are the properties of orality that usually and rightly require layered, penetrating, or integrated research approaches.

The massive entry of multi- and inter-disciplinarity to the focused explanation of oral communication received the global dimensions at the beginning of the 1960s, in the era of the pragmatic change. The general position of Slovak sociolinguistic research from the 1960s in the said research

paradigm is outlined, among others, by S. Ondrejovič (Ondrejovič, 2007). Methodological and methodical specialties of our own sociolinguistic observations focused on spontaneous communication and city environment based on the Slovak-Polish contrasts are introduced and cross-referenced in the cycle of studies published in Poland (Patráš, 1995; 1996b; 1998a; 1998b; 1999). For the synthetic reflections presented in Poland, including the shifting views of the situation and transformation of orality, touching also the current social and scientific paradigm, see Patráš, 2005.

Contemporary “posthistoric“, “knowledge“, “ludic“ etc. era, or the “e-culture epoch“ is hit and marked by tele-technology with its network applications and multimedia options. Proper communication inter-actions require factual or virtual physically immediate position of the participants (personalization and de-anonymization) and interconnectivity. In central Europe, the implementation of information and communication technology has been taking place at least since the early 1990s. Typical features and consequences of the direct spoken speech acts massively, and often aggressively, fill up the space that was traditionally, or is consistently reserved for the visualized and thus also written/printed communication. The trend of “outspokeness“ of still the wider spectre of communication spheres and situations is multiplied by the constantly changing conditions, possibilities and limitations, or even the risks of the electronic communication environment. The role of a catalyst in this process is played by the emerging mass-medialization of the social, group and individual lives.

The leitmotif of these reflections is reinforced by two concentric circles: **1.** The outline of the adequate and purposeful research paradigm, with respect for the dynamic processes, relationships and interferences between the oral (spoken, acoustic and auditory) and written (printed, graphical, optical and visual) communication with the reflection in the usage dynamization and re-profiling of the norms, and **2.** the possibilities of sociolinguistics as to outlining of the substantial socio-communication vectors within orality, and monitoring the relations and connections between them.

The introduction brings a syncretic overview of the issue and the necessary and suitable theoretical and methodological inspirations and their correlations. They defined the clear passage of our synchronic perception of orality since the 1990s. In the focus of various views there appear impulses which are born in the communication situations where orality meets writtenness in their conceptual and terminological grip. Even at this point

we dare to emphasize and later confirm more active representation of orality as an older, but - under the pressure of the electronic environment – adapted, not side-tracked or liquidated ways of communication. Today a rather simultaneous impact is also an attack on spokenness which results in an intersectional – hybrid text-communication zone. The said zone is firming as a result of the frequent use and qualitatively interferes with the both traditionally “pure“, well-established communication forms. This clash also generates the trend to “upgrade” the intersectional usage features to the more rigorous standard-setting platform. Insights, statements and reflections are argued with support in the communication spheres and the pieces of communication that, in the 21st century, are not dismissive, but rather tolerant to the particular, until recently opposite pole of the pair *orality* – *writtenness*.

The inspirations for the effective fulfilling of the “double-circuit“ resolution are found at the intersection of the two axes, namely *general* – *specific* and *social* – *individual/group*. Their outline evokes a question: which research areas, with their theoretical backgrounds and methodological facilities, allow the observance of the adequate and stimulative coexistence of the two well-tried ways of communication, and can (help) reveal the result of this “favourable collision”? Let us assume the co-acting impulses are agglutinated by usage, i.e. immediate speech-communication base. The usage in the searched conditions demands normative position; it may just be the mission of sociolinguistics, with its double-resource humanoid disposition, to reveal these ambitions.

Let us fill the relational concept with the respective domains. However, the two substantial issues should not be omitted: **a)** in the individual model quadrants the scholastic potential of linguistics or sociolinguistic is always applied, and **b)** the areas are convergent in both vertical and horizontal directions.

Quadrant I is occupied by the sciences with general mission including mediology, resulting in the cognitive space. The greatest potential for the research of orality/spokenness from this circuit seems to be provided by the philosophical papers dealing with the link between *langue* – *parole* while overplaying the *parole* level of communication (Derrida, 1993), works from the area of the theory of systems and social networks (Barabási, 2006), theories of communication and information modified by culturology (Janićijević, 2006), comparative interpretations of the “postmodern media landscape“ (Hallin – Mancini, 2008), and communicology with the accent on

the theory of discourse (Flusser, 2002). Naturally, general linguistic line is traced by the wider sociocultural and evolutionally reinforced works (for the Polish situation, see Ożóg, 2001), and the contributions built on the cognitive-linguistic base (Dolník, 2005).

Quadrant II of the impulses is represented by the lexicographic works. Their reserves make the inventories with domicile in the immediate oral contact. Certainly, apart from the set of words itself, the necessary information value is brought into the said dictionary production by its introductory studies. Let us mention a selection of Polish (Anusiewicz – Skawiński, 1996; Grochowski, 1995) and Croatian (Sabljak, 2001) dictionaries. With regard to the situation in Slovakia, we may not omit the serious lexicographical project of the Slovak linguists which, along with writtenness and standardness rehabilitates spoken communication and its expressions (*Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka/Dictionary of Contemporary Slovak*, 2006 ff.).

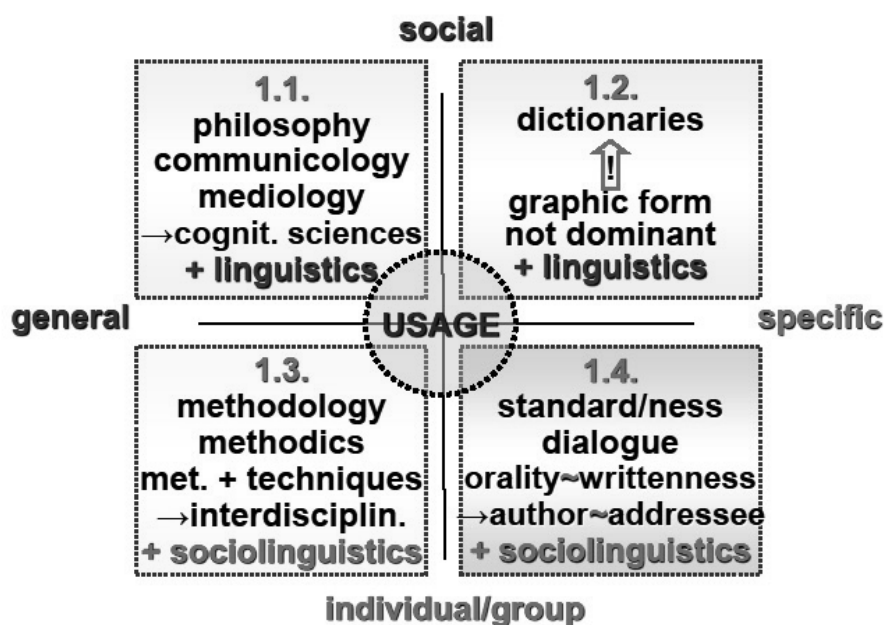
Quadrant III of the impulses is covered by the methodological and methodical, mainly collective volumes evaluating spokenness during the last four decades, focusing the analysis of dialogue, text and discourse (*Dialogue Analysis and the Mass Media*, 1999; *Hovorená podoba spisovnej slovenčiny*, 2007; *Regulacyjna funkcja tekstów*, 2000; *Słowo i czas*, 1998; *Współczesne analizy dyskursu*, 2005). The essential linguistic works of the Soviet era paying attention to the spoken language must also be mentioned (Zemskaja, 1987; *Gorodskoje prostorečie. Problemy izučenija*, 1984). Obviously, strong and persuasive interdisciplinary stimuli can be found in the cycle of scientific proceedings from the so far nine sociolinguistic conferences held in Banská Bystrica, built conceptually since 1991.

Quadrant IV activates sociolinguistics in the narrow sense and represents the platform on which the tendencies along the line *usage – standard* can be successfully uncovered, and the normative tendencies of the oral pieces of communication, stemming from the contrast between the oral and written form of communication, can be confirmed or disproved. The said quadrant allows shaping of the plastic awareness of the standard/standards of oral communication, and especially the increasing and firming normative efforts of the texts-pieces of communication professing to the intersectional, so called blended communication. The supratemporal findings from this circuit seem to be the works with the reflection of colloquiality and a colloquial style (Bosák, 1989), dialogue in the Slavic languages (Hoffmannová, 2003) and, in the first place, one of the first program solutions of the relationship between

the parameters of writtenness and orality at the international level in the *post-era* (*Writing vs Speaking*, 1994).

The mentioned resources and trajectories of oral (spoken) usage, resources arrangement, their analytical and interpretational potential, allocated space for the syntheses and potential for the adequate generalizations shall be illustrated in the working structure (see Chart 1).

Chart 1:



In the graphic presentation of the impulses it is inevitable to draw the attention to the procedural behaviour of the usage which is located in the epicentre of the motive construct. It is about observation of its **a)** development: movement, shift from the intersection to the quadrant IV takes place as a result of the permanent grouping of some socio-communication vectors and from them, mainly the non-verbal pairs *orality* – *writtenness* and *author* – *addressee* follow rules, and **b)** possible shift to the normative stage including the mutual adjusting of the orality – writtenness parameters. The point is that spoken usage aspires to acquire normative characteristics to be able to promptly fulfil the needs of the mixed (hybrid, integrated) – in the sense of J. Labocha “inscribed“ (Labocha, 2004) – text.

Two working conclusions result from the statement at the end of the previous paragraph.

1. after entry to the quadrant IV, prestigious usage characteristics first manifest the specific – individual/group standard-setting determinants, and

2. after testing normative success rate and implantation, they influence not only methodological and methodical skeleton and language inventory of the hybrid communicates, but they concurrently extend to both participating “pure“ environments of oral and written/printed texts. No need to add that it is just sociolinguistics as integrative science that has appropriate qualification for responsible registration, scientific definition and informatively valuable interpretation of this condition with significant linguistic dimension.

How is then up-to-date, synchronically dynamic communication paradigm, one of the basis communication platforms in the current communicates shown? There was the yet mentioned and popular “turning into speech” of until recently canonized communication spheres and situations. An abstract model plan of the paradigm is marked by the clear consequences of for now unbalanced competition of the two communication forms. They are manifested by the rise of the hybrid pieces of communication with simultaneously present properties of both orality and writtenness. Let us remind the fact that mass-medialization of life and electronization of the media discourse in the social and, at the same time, in the individual sense seems to be one of the influential reasons. Let us use the indicated conditions to form the legible bunch of socio-communicationally, culturologically and mediologically relative characteristics. They allow appropriate interpretation and generalization of the monitored communication paradigm.

In the 1990s, in the fast tempo of the social changes and turning points there opens up the domain of the “*e*-phenomenon “ (on the said concept, see also Patráš 2009, p. 5 ff.). With the advent of the so called new media, what increases is intentionality, that is focusing of the media products on the addressee – member of the audience in the mediological sense. Its fixing to the structurally differentiated acceptance of the part of media production also takes place with contribution of the fun-relaxation steps (infotainment), escalation of emotionality and other mainstream tactics. The suggested communication procedures are reflected in condensation of the time and constant expansion of the perceived space, in the ephemeral reduction of proxemics between the communication partners, and in the considerable dialogization of both social and group discourses. Naturally, participation and importance of orality

(spokenness) is increasing. The above mentioned constituents are also supported by the information and communication technology system (ICT). Most of them are equipped by the intermedial potential, similarly to the oldest complex medium – human body. Therefore a man is usually influenced, or even captured naturally, intuitively and as a consumer by ICT, typically without any special socio-communication preparation.

Orality becomes a key building component of the growing number of communication spheres. They receive several ambiguous features and together they support creation of hybrid communicates. Let us list some most marked properties: immediateness ^ (“at the same time“, conjunction) intermediation of contacts, direct ^ indirect contact; presence ^ absence of contact participants; simultaneousness ^ substitution of several code systems. Colloquialization of communication becomes a common facility in typologically heterogeneous speech acts (reporting, argumentation, warning, instruction, ..., game, manipulation etc.), i. e. also where marked support of orality is inappropriate.

As an argument to support the opinion about the origination of a special paradigm, let us present several journalist examples from the daily newspapers. In cyberspace, inherently equipped with the property of writtenness (the text is coded on the keyboard and is published, visually (“on glass“) presented, clear language-communication manifestations of orality enter the text products with not much hesitation. Inclinations to **attract** primarily and (perhaps) provide the required functions – informative, persuasive, agenda setting etc. – only secondarily, are manifested on both deep and surface levels of the text itself. The results are perceived in the choice of vocabulary with the attribute of orality/spokenness. It can be observed in the headlines and media report bodies including the lexicalized phrasemes, in apposition of the grammar structures, inappropriate word order and marked functions of sentences.

Examples

ŽIVILI SA CESTOVNÝMI LISTKAMI. ODCESTOVALI **DO BASY**

Sériu 31 vlámaní do automatov s cestovnými lístkami a hmotné škody vo výške 135-tisíc eur má na svedomí štvorica Rumunov, zadržaných v novembri v Dolnom Rakúsku. [...]

(MAKING THEIR LIVING ON THE TICKETS. TRAVELLED **TO THE SLAMMER.**

Four Romanians detained in Lower Austria in November are responsible for the series of 31 break-ins to the ticket machines and property damage of 135 thousand euro. [...]

http://dnes.atlas.sk/eu_a_europa/731525/zivili-sa-cestovnymi-listkami.-odcestovali-do-basy (Online. Cit. 23-02-2011.)

**DEUTSCHE TELEKOM TO V USA ZABALIL,
KONKURENTI MU BRALI ZÁKAZNÍKOV**

Materskej firme Slovak Telekomu sa nedarilo na silnom americkom trhu, podnikanie tam preto ukončil.

[...]

Správna rada Telekomu rozhodla, že **dcéru T-Mobile USA** predá za 39 miliárd dolárov koncernu AT&T, ktorý je v sektore krajiny jednotkou.

[...]

Americká dcéra Telekomu mala na celkových výnosoch koncernu podiel 25 % a vytvárala mu 20 % prevádzkového zisku. Súčasne z vyše 250.000 pracovníkov stratí asi 15 %.

[...]

**(DEUTSCHE TELEKOM PACKED IT UP IN THE US,
THE COMPETITORS WERE TAKING THEIR CUSTOMERS**

Parent company of Slovak Telekom failed in the strong American market, therefore they wrapped up their business there.

[...]

Telekom board of directors decided that the **subsidiary T-Mobile USA** will be sold for 39 billion dollars to the concern AT&T, a local No. 1 in the sector.

[...]

American subsidiary of Telekom had a 25 % share in total revenue of the concern and made 20 % of the operational income. It will also lose about 15% of more than 250.000 employees.

[...]

<http://ekonomika.sme.sk/c/5816216/deutsche-telekom-to-v-usa-zabalil-konkurenti-mu-brali-zakaznikov.html> (Online. Cit. 23-03-2011.)

**NA BENZÍNKE LÚPIL 20-ROČNÝ JOZEF.
POLICAJTI HO ZASTRELILI**

Policaĳti pri úteku samopalom zastrelili počas prestrelky lupiča z benzínky.
Podľa informácií agentúry SITA išlo o 20-ročného Jozefa z Hlohovca. [...]

(20-YEAR-OLD JOZEF WAS PLUNDERING THE PUMP.
THE POLICEMEN SHOT HIM DEAD

During a shootout the policemen shot the burglar dead with a tommy on the run from the pump. According to SITA agency, it was a 20-year-old Jozef from Hlohovec. [...]

<http://trnava.sme.sk/c/5815159/na-benzinke-lupil-20-rocnny-jozef-policaĳti-ho-zastrelili.html> (Online. Cit. 21-03-2011.)

NA ČAKÁČKÁCH NEMOCNÍC JE DESAŤTISÍC ĽUDÍ
Okolo desaťtisíc ľudí čaká na zákroky na čakacích listinách.

(THERE ARE TEN THOUSAND PEOPLE ON THE HOSPITAL WAITLIST
About ten thousand people are waiting for surgeries on the waiting list.)

<http://ekonomika.sme.sk/c/5914726/na-cakackach-nemocnic-je-desattisic-ludi.html> (Online. Cit. 11-04-2011.)

A contradictory trend is endorsed by not unique cases when, under the influence of written (formal) communication, the mediated text with reglemented parameter of orality consistently absorbs the petrified parts, usually with the administrative or legal background. What dominates in this kind of usage, however, is the effort to reinforce accuracy and factuality of the utterance by accurate **citations**, or paraphrasing:

VTRHOL DO KAVIARNE A NAPADOL ČAŠNÍČKU

Do bratislavskej internetovej kaviarne vtrhol ozbrojený mladík. Napadol čašníčku a odniesol si 500 eur a drahý mobil!

K prepadu došlo 20. mája 2011 na Vajnorskej ulici v Bratislave. Už obvinený 24-ročný muž vzal okrem tržby aj mobil v hodnote sto eur. Ten patril pracovníčke kaviarne.

Napadnutá čašníčka sa zo zranení liečila dva týždne. **Mladíkovi hrozí po dokázaní viny trest na sedem až dvanásť rokov**, informoval bratislavský policajný hovorca František Peczár.

(BURST INTO A CAFÉ AND ATTACKED A WAITRESS

An armed youth burst into the internet café in Bratislava. He attacked a waitress and walked away with 500 euro and an expensive cell phone!

A robbery took place on 20 May 2011 at Vajnorská Street, Bratislava. Apart from the sales revenue, the accused 24-year-old man also took a cell phone worth a hundred euro. It was the property of the café employee.

The injured waitress needed two weeks off work to recover from her injuries. František Peczár, Bratislava Police Force speaker informed that **if found guilty, the youth may be sentenced to seven to twelve years in prison.**)

<http://www.pluska.sk/slovensko/krimi/vtrhol-do-kaviarne-napadol-casnicku.html> (Online. Cit. 07-06-2011.)

A convincing example of blended communication is e.g. a pseudo-real dialogue – a chat fulfilling mainly the phatic function. The thing is a chat type of communication unites the properties and a mission of both clear-cut forms of communication. They augment expression rendering of the communication event in parallel. The electronic medium, which allows rather comfortable mixing of the attributes, successfully participates in reaching the result. [It is not necessary to explain cooperation of the communication factors in the example below; therefore we present it as an original, retaining all the unique constituents of its usage/standard.]

<mimka> *Ahoy*

<vysoky> ☺

<mimka> *ako sa máš?*

<vysoky> *vyborne. ty? prazninujes?*

<mimka> *Jasné wed tak sa to má a ty?*

<vysoky> *komu ako. ja nemam prazdniny.*

<mimka> *Takže pracuješ? Kolko máš*

<vysoky> *co...coho kolko mam ?*

<mimka> *rokov ja 16 a ty?*

<vysoky> *ahaaa, ja trosku viac. 24.*

<mimka> *waw neviem čím to je s každým s ktorím si píšem má 24???*

<vysoky> *to je asi nahoda. asi pritahujes
24-karov [...]*

(<mimka> *Hy*

<vysoky> ☺

<mimka> *how are you?*

<vysoky> *greet. you? enjoing vacations?*

<mimka> *Sure as it sshould be and you?*

<vysoky> *it depends. i have no vacation.*
 <mimka> *So you work?How*
 <vysoky> *what...what how?*
 <mimka> *old i am 16 and you?*
 <vysoky> *i seee, am a bit older. 24.*
 <mimka> *waw how come each one i am writting to is 24???*
 <vysoky> *must be a chance. seems you attract 24-s [...]*
<http://pokec.azet.sk> (Online. Cit. 07-06-2011.)

With regard to the so far presented premises, relation-theoretical reflections, examples, findings and remarks, let us present our overview, generalized view of the relationship *orality* (spokenness) – *writtenness* (printedness) to be applied in contemporary communication paradigm, and an outline of its perspectives.

Both monitored communication forms are evolutionally and synchronically competent to cover all communication along the line *usage – standard/standards – codification*. Regarding the knowledge of their normative potential, it is the right moment to emphasize a well-known fact. More precise description of the standards, higher degree of their obligation and stronger predestination to fulfil codification mission lies within written/printed texts, with a significant activation of the alphabetic code. [Obviously, the statement cannot be applied across the board, i.e. to the visualized text in general sense, e.g. magazine cover pages, posters, text condensates – charts, graphs, schemes etc. – and multimedia communicates. Condensed texts deeply count on non-verbal codes multiplication.]

It is also appropriate to remark that current, often aggressive normative equipment of orally prepared and disseminated pieces of communication (not only, but also under the influence of the properties of the electronic and mediated environment) expands into the written sphere and has still the sharper impact on their nature and expression. The extracts also suggest that some part of written communication is often penetrated by oral communication standards. Orality enters the working zone of the evolutionally younger writtenness, affects the respective standards and mixes their nature with the elements, resources and procedures of its normative background.

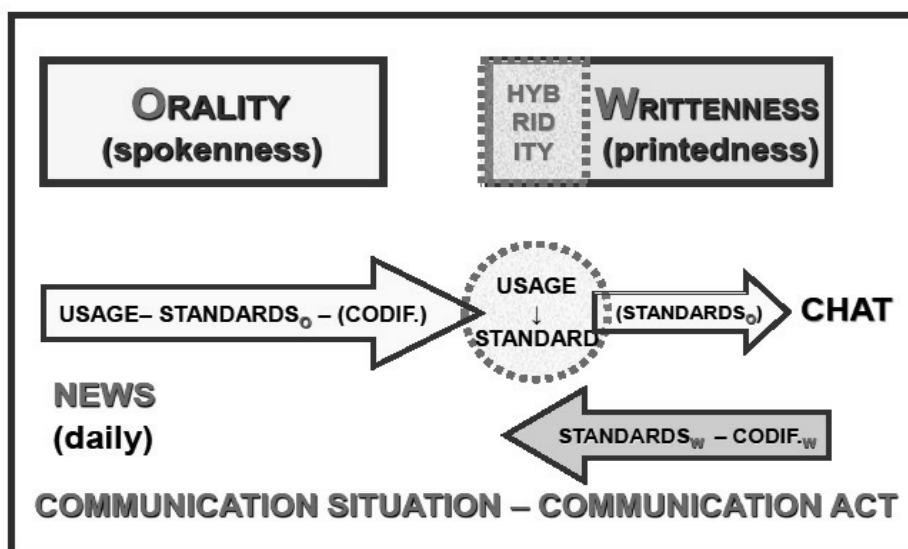
If we agree with the opinion about writtenness/printedness being attacked by orality/spokenness, the analysis of a situation in real communication, e.g. on the axis of electronically determined communicates like a newspaper

report – chat, will bring us to an interesting conclusion. The form of communication affected by the properties of its more expansive counterpart or parallel does not remain in a passive or even submissive position.

Let us compare two examples – a newspaper report in an internet periodical saturated with orality, and a chat that is influenced by a visible linearity of writtenness at all stages of the text-creating algorithm. We can observe at least two lines. **1.** Under the pressure of orality, spontaneousness, virtual immediateness, instantaneous reaction in the computer environment, personalization, fulfilling the phatic function etc., a chat communicate superficially bears clear attributes of the oral code. Because of the computer keyboard and fixation of the text on the screen, however, it comes close to the written/printed, sort of “jotted” ways of expression. Also the communication partner perceives, decodes and interprets a chat product in the suggested mode. **2.** A news report prepared and spread in the cyberspace uses, by and large, a retrograde arrangement of a pair. It evolves and acquires its composition and expression profile by shifting from writtenness to orality.

It is important to realize that such a coexistence also regroups, reviews a usage inventory and a standard-setting potential. As a result of this coexistence and influences, both text representatives adapt to their counterparts. It is important that both are willing to integrate building methods and means of expression typical for both forms. Chat, as a representative of the sum of electronically determined pieces of communication, is not meant as a paradox at all. In a “quasi-oral” environment, it supports written contact standards with reflections of the relationship to the codified rules. On the other hand, printed newspaper text “re-forms” at least usage, and partially also normative aspects of an oral contact. The result of this interesting symbiosis is a sort of unclearly contoured oscillating field of communicates. Hybridity encourages the birth of usage, but does not support the origin of a more fixed standard. The listed reasons, influences and consequences are shown in Chart 2.

Chart 2:



Note on the characters:

O ← **orality (spokenness)** in general-communication – motive, composition, expression and sociopragmatic – definition

W ← **writtenness (printedness)** in general-communication – motive, composition, expression and sociopragmatic – definition

Let us approach the final comments. In the “e-epoch“, it is suitable to consider real, convergent, while only temporarily stable zone of “written up-outspoken“ (“diecious“, „amalgam“) communicates. Definite usage properties and dynamic, although – for now – dull, vague standard-setting aspirations are typical of them. Searching an umbrella term for the studied communicates is a non-productive practice. This is one of the reasons why we use several synonyms in the study. What seems more rewarding is **a)** to precisely search and identify their vector-like attributes with contemporary socio-cultural background, **b)** to identify the location and purposes of the hybrid texts in the respective communication spheres and situations, and **c)** to consider the potential of “diecious” texts to not/support communication competence and the culture of expression of the actors (author and addressee). We would

not, however, consider the birth of a stronger, more lasting communication patterns – blended, hybrid genres, not even in the *e*-environment. The development may later boost the splitting of this purpose-made coexistence that will end up in re-inclination of the studied communication forms towards time-proven archetype of writtenness and/or orality. We dare to believe the study shall evoke further reflections.

How should we then handle the term-concept of “orality“ competently? It is obvious that compared to the situation of field-researched oral/spoken communication in real conditions three to five decades before, the area of orality/spokenness has been significantly enlarged. Apart from its domicile, it occupies part of the writtenness zone and ultimately it has reinforced its radius of action and more general impact on communication between people. Sociolinguistics is facing new interesting tasks, methodological challenges and both inspirational and valuable research.

2.

**SPOKEN COMMUNICATION
IN PARTIAL COMMUNICATION SPHERES**

2.1. Exposing Communication Norms in the Spoken Form of Slovak in Cities

Theories and concepts of norms might be divided into two mutually corresponding groups. On the one hand, system norms are considered (e.g. Havránek, 1963; Kočiš, 1979; Horecký, 1982 and others; Hartung, 1977, refers to the grammatical-semantic norms; Chloupek, 1991, when defining the term *structural norm* he highlights its difference from other norms). This more or less established group includes predominantly the codified norm which relates to the prestigious form of communication, and which might be detected at different language levels. It is obvious that even some non-codified forms (such as traditional territorial dialects) may show normative potency; therefore, the term *language norm* is preferred (see Bosák, 1990).

The second group (e.g. Jedlička, 1982; Kořenský, 1987; Chloupek, 1991 and others) is manifested under the perspective of a norm that is considered to be a language part enriched with social and communication aspects of the communication process. A communication, or in other words situation norm then becomes a reflex of the intersection and coexistence of the means of the language, social relations and communication principles. An essential aspect of this group of norms is an ability to identify primarily the complex dynamic potential of a direct, unprepared and spontaneous oral communication, such as in the case of research of a normative aspect of the spoken form of Slovak in the city (SFSC). In case a multidimensional communication perspective is preferred, this may also encourage the use of the term *norm* in its plural form. The plural form is partially revitalized by the common everyday communication as well (the article focuses on the normative aspect of communication of city inhabitants). A conglomerate character of the oral communication among the members of a city society operates as the main determinant.

The verbal speech of a person emphasises two key moments: **1.** the level and state of idiolect and **2.** the impact of social environments of different quality and heterogeneity that shape an individual within the process of fulfilling and realizing social roles. A degree of intergroup and interpersonal relations together with the socio-demographic background of communicators thus

has a considerable impact within the process of shaping the idiolect. In our environment, since the 1950s – 1960s (a period of the so called second city revolution; see Musil, 1967, p. 8), a current city, which functions as “a complex social system characterized by a high density of population and which is socially very different [...], and has created a system of interactions that is typical of distance in interpersonal relations, particularity of social roles as well as indirect means of social control“ (Musil, 1967, p. 16) has become the catalyst of plasticity of spontaneous communication.

With the arrival of immigrants, the cities reprofile their language-communication characteristics. A relatively concise group of native population and settlers is joined with rural communities as well as immigrants coming from other regions who, besides their specific value-creating criteria, lifestyle and attitudes, also bring their communication habits. The language compatibility is thus continually modified, since the original city usage is obviously contaminated mostly with the elements of traditional dialects and expansive features of social dialects. Together with the concentration of population, a higher concentration and interference of mutual social relations, the direct spontaneous verbal communication prevails. Then the result – a more complex communication “conglomerate“ – might be defined as a group of communication means that are hierarchically organized and used by the inhabitants of the city in accordance with their socio-demographic characteristics in a specific configuration (age, regional origin, education, social status and others; see Patráš, 1990, p. 37; 1992). From the outside, the whole communication system is then perceived as a functional layout of several varieties of the national language – starting with the verbal form of the codified Slovak, through the dialects, sociolects and other “outside-the language systems” and including the idiolects as well. However, some connections forming the “skeleton“ (norm) of the city communication system might be evidently discerned among particular layers. Above all, the norm is also ultimately influenced by the spontaneity of communication pieces, which is considered to be a key sociolinguistic parameter. Connections between the communication conglomerate and its carriers are provided by social roles of the sender, and other parameters within the process of communication, including the topic (or the motive) of the communication as well.

Of course, the closure of a communication chain presupposes the existence of the common code (system) in the minds of communicators. However, codes of a producer and a recipient are never fully identical.

The necessary elements within the process of an adequate (“face to face“) communication are substituted by an operative-pragmatic alternation of the roles of a sender and a recipient, feedback processes, as well as extra-linguistic means of communication. A process of communication thus provides conditions for creating, forming and functioning of a communication norm, which in SFSC oscillates between divergent and convergent trends that is characteristic for everyday spontaneous communication.

The (general) norm of SFSC is constituted due to tension between the bipolar extremes. The more the common communication moves away from the sphere of codification, the more it is manifested as being marked. Or in other words – the closer the spontaneous piece of communication is to the prestigious variety of the national language, the more marked it is. If we agree with the opinion that SFSC is a platform for the process of communication of the variety of people, not only those who are the cultured members of the city society, then we should evidently assume the internal stratification of the users of SFSC. Then, obviously, the communication norm of SFSC is formed by several norms (as the sociolinguistic research carried out in a particular urban area of Banská Bystrica proves).

Spontaneity as well as the two main areas of standard communication situations in which the research has been conducted (**1.** unofficial communication outside the working environment – including private and non-production environments, and **2.** semi-official and unofficial communication in the working environment; see Müllerová – Schneiderová, 1988, p. 231) quite clearly indicate the differences in communication of respondents of different age groups. The situation does not significantly change in the research within the different generational groups that are vertically differentiated in accordance with the secondary socio-demographic characteristics.

It seems that the common everyday communication in current cities is framed by two key language-communication systems: **1.** (unofficial) a traditional territorial dialect, or a semi-dialect (according to the authors’ tandem Švejcer – Nikol’skij, 1983, p. 107, it misses the primary features of a dialect, i.e. the most striking deviations from the codified norm) and **2.** the codified variety. Other varieties operate in supplementary functions and at the same time they “touch up“ the unofficial spontaneous communication of members of particular generational and social groups.

The strong presence of the codified variety on the one hand supports the thesis of an integrating function of the codified language, but on the other

hand it points to the levelling tendencies in the spontaneous communication, and at the same time it indicates some possible ways of further development of the oral communication.

Therefore, the whole city communication conglomerate is framed by the two key varieties. Tension between the norms of polar varieties then leads to the creation of a flexibly stable central norm of SFSC, which is exposed at the intersection of the two key norms. The system of these oppositions also determines an apparent looseness of the third – central norm. Besides the elements of the two marginal systems, this neutrality also allows to use elements and components of other varieties in SFSC. On the basis of a strong central norm, there is an overlap of communication objectives, targets and tendencies with the group and individual characteristics of communicating individuals; this also forms the overall strategic profile of particular communication events.

Thus, the conglomerate character of SFSC is reflected also in its norms. Several norms are intentionally considered. The elements of the basic two codification – non-codification possess distinct system features. However, they are not the only sources of the common communication, in spite of the fact that their proportion is the most evident with regard to the process of spontaneous pieces of communication. With the certain degree of abstraction and generalization, the central norm as well as other two norms might be limited in the case of members of communicating groups of the same age:

I. In the process of communication of city inhabitants over the age of 60, a locally determined norm might be more clearly defined – a traditional territorial dialect with its mutations, which are used for the constellation of socio-demographic characteristics. Relative predominance and frequency of dialect elements put the norm of the type **I** into a leading position within the communication of older communicators.

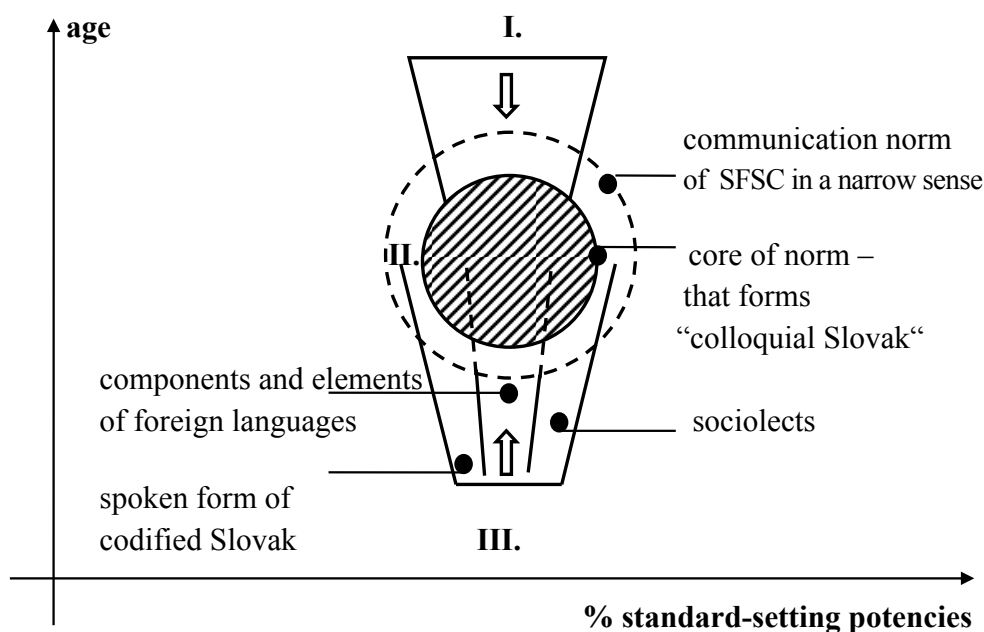
II. In the process of communication of city inhabitants within the age of 24 – 59, the generational spectrum indicates also the scope, inherent dynamics as well as plasticity of the norm. Changes inside the norm are manifested due to the more variable (socio-professional, educational, and others) structure of communication members in this age group. The norm of the type **II** is fully open to the intersection of elements and components from other varieties of the norm. At the same time, if migrating elements are taken into consideration, this becomes **a)** a factor for evaluation of their resilience, and **b)** a distribution centre serving as the means of transport for the communication

material into other varieties through the vertical as well as horizontal lines. In a narrow sense, the norm of the type **II** presents a unique communication norm of SFSC.

III. In the communication of townspeople up to the age of 23 (pupils and students of all school types, as well as young people after graduation), mainly the codified (“school“) variety of the national language influenced by the specific psychosocial, and consequently also communication signals which are characteristic of this age (overexposed expressiveness – language games, vulgarization of the verbal communication, irony, etc.) is exposed. The norm of the type **III** as a base element forms a language-communication merit, gets its position in the consciousness of the users’ of the national language, and at the same time it undergoes the process of development in the changing social and communication environments.

A functional area of standard-setting norms that form levels in SFSC might be schematically illustrated by the following graph.

Graph 1:



The dashed circle, which defines the space of the least marked norm of the type II, refers to the internal dynamics, hierarchy, as well as plasticity of the normative aspect of the spoken form of Slovak in the city. At the same time it symbolizes significant standard-setting ambitions of the central

(communication) norm, which is relatively dependent on the “marginal“ normative spheres. The situational graph primarily reflects the state of communication in one city (Banská Bystrica), but the further research that has been (so far) carried out in the territory of central Slovakia confirms the capacity of this model with its progressive relativization of the oppositions that relate to the city – or the countryside.

2.2. Inquiry Research into the Common Communication in the City

I. At the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, conurbation as a specific, internally structured socio-economic unit still provides opportunities for the pragmatic research of the form of everyday common communication among the members of the city society. Urbanization-economic processes inside the community act as the main dynamic factor of the spontaneous language communication. Under their influence, mutual interpersonal and inter-group distances are reduced; the change of distances supports functionality as well as viability of direct communication contacts.

Mass population movements from rural areas, or from other areas into the forming economic centres (the so called second urban revolution; Musil, 1967) did not affect only the structural-residential aspects of urban communities. Unilaterally oriented migration waves also weakened the prestige of traditional dialects and stimulated establishment of the unique multilevel communication formation. Besides the regional language characteristics, the spoken communication also absorbed (continuity of the whole process should be stressed here) the substantial socio-professional characteristics influenced by an economic background of a specific location. Thus, the city does not function as a homogeneous language formation: the original urban formation is contaminated by weakening local dialects, mixture of expansive social dialects, as well as traces of other language systems. The final complex, more variable communication formation tends to the codified language, and at the same time it becomes one of its sources. It is applied in communication situations, which are characteristic of spontaneity, informality, spontaneous involvement of several communicators in the communication act, situational foundation as well as the base in the extra-linguistic context, uniqueness, modelness or reproducibility of information.

Our inquiry research has been targeted at the global objective – to localize and define a conglomerate formation that serves to the common communication interaction of the inhabitants of the current city (Banská Bystrica at the end of the 1980s). The spoken form of the Slovak language in the city (SFSC) is understood as a set of hierarchically organized language components that

are used by the members of a particular city language community. These members should be permanently living or working in the city and they should use this language set in a direct, live, spontaneous communication within various everyday spontaneous semi-official or non-official communication situations, in dependence on their age, regional origin, education, social inclusion as well as other characteristics, which might also be in opposition to psychosocial features (recession and at the same time formulaic character, exclusivity and at the same time vulgarization of speeches, etc.).

The research shows that SFSC (a means of communication among members of language groups which coexist and cooperate in an urban agglomeration) might be defined “merely“ as a set of language features that is plastic even in communication pieces of the one individual. The status of a communicator (which is profiled by a set of sociolinguistic constructs in the order: an age, a regional and social origin, education, a professional field) has a significant impact on the language and intellectual level of individual communication events as well as communication acts.

Each city resident (a permanent or long-term member of an urban society) – a user of the national language – aims to choose an adequate set of communication means from the communication spectrum of the national language, which is done in accordance with communication conditions as well as its objectives. The bond between social behaviour of individual members or the whole groups and their verbal behaviour in the content (judgements, assessments, opinions) and also formal (metalinguistic) levels might be effectively detected on the basis of reflection of their interim communication capabilities as well as subjective evaluation of particular components of their language knowledge – by a sociolinguistic inquiry research (see Slančová, 1990).

To carry out the inquiry research, our own sociolinguistic questionnaire was used. This questionnaire was prepared in accordance with the generally accepted methodological and technical principles (Katriak, 1975; Kerlinger, 1972; Jadov, 1977; Zich, 1976, and others). Tension between the objective – in terms of the research aimed at peculiarities of the spoken form – and the graphic form of the questionnaire was substantially eliminated by the formulations of instructional texts. Reasonability of this procedure was also approved by the respondents’ attitudes. In the technical part of the questionnaire form, which comes with the question *How have you approached the process of questionnaire completion*, the majority of the

questioned respondents marked the option *After the process of thinking I tried to choose the answer that reflected my language feeling; I did not expect my answer would always be correct, or in accordance with the rules of codification* (60.2 %), or *It did not take me a very long time to think over the codification or non-codification of the answers; I took down what I presupposed* (24.8 %). Within the inventive phase of our research, we tried to respect the principle of openness of the research for each object that represents a rigorously defined set of objects (representativeness in terms of logic; see Zich, 1976, p. 139).

The survey was conducted among the members of all generational structures. The inquiry research represents the secondary research apparatus that, in parallel with the corpus of sound recordings which includes the spontaneous pieces of communication, formed the base of the dissertation work for the academic degree of an associated professor. The questionnaire research was carried out within May – July 1989 (for detailed data see table 1). Residents of the town contributed to the inquiry research with their opinions as well as attitudes. From these, almost two thirds came directly from Banská Bystrica or the villages that belong to this district, four fifths of the respondents spent most of their lives in the town or district areas; more than a quarter of the respondents lived in Banská Bystrica for 25 years or longer (for relevant data see tables 2 – 4). The sample of a socio-professional spectrum of Banská Bystrica residents consisted of **1.** manual workers (one tenth), and also **2.** pupils as well as students of all school types (a half of the researched respondents), **3.** administrative staff, **4.** members of the intelligentsia and civil servants from various (the so called city-forming) socio-economic spheres (35 %; for detailed data see table 5).

The whole process of creation, technical formation, piloting, and direct questioning of larger, formally organized homogenous units (students of primary schools as well as secondary school students focused on technical issues) was followed with the questionnaire research that was carried out by post. After conclusion of the survey and selection, we received 113 completed forms, which is 63 % of the initial questionnaire forms package (Zich, 1976, p. 187 indicates a successful return in the case of 20 – 30 % of received and completed questionnaire forms).

With regard to the questionnaire text, the language research was targeted into four main areas: **1.** pronunciation and spelling of domestic as well as foreign words; **2.** recognition of semantics of lexemes and functioning of lexical variants; **3.** morphological aspect; **4.** syntactic component. Within the process of selecting and arranging particular sets as well as specific examples,

pairs and structures representing threshold (disputable, neuralgic) cases were created; the respondents were supposed to choose one of all variants, or indicate their own usage.

II. According to the research results, in the phonic level hard pronunciation of the phoneme *t* prevails in the word *mestečko* (diminutive of a town) (67.3 % of the researched respondents). In other words hard pronunciation alternates with soft pronunciation, such as *necht/ňecht* (a nail) – 42.3 %; rarely also *nechet/ňechet*, or it is represented in a much lower rate (*panenský* (virgin, untouched)) – 27.4 %). Prevailing hard pronunciation of the phoneme *t* in the word *mestečko* (diminutive of a town) might be explained by two parallel ways: its pronunciation might be influenced by the sound surroundings with the analogy (*mesto* – *mestečko*); or the second possibility – impact of dialects or foreign (Czech) texts form mass media and Czech-Slovak contacts as well – is also highly probable. The second alternative is approved also by a relatively high occurrence of hard pronunciation in the word *necht* (a nail). The opposite, although a rarer phenomenon – overuse of palatalized consonants (the ending *ť* in the word *ňechet*) – is more typical for older groups of city residents who have lived in Banská Bystrica for a long period of time (a 79 year old lawyer, a 78 year old worker, a 53 year old teacher and others).

The pronunciation of the word *cinzano* (the name of a drink) seems to be a specific case. More than a half of the respondents use a “deformed, or even non-cultural“ (Ferenčíková, 1988) variant *činžáno* (57.5 %), which (in accordance with the percentage) is fixed and frequently used in communication. 42.5 % of the respondents use the pronunciation *cinžáno*, which relates to its spelling (and is recommended also by the SSJ (Dictionary of Slovak Language); it is also considered to be admissible in the publication JPO (Language Advisory). The loan pronunciation *čindžáno*, which is recommended by the PSV (Rules of Slovak Pronunciation) and the SCS (Dictionary of Foreign Words), was not recorded in our survey.

Strong relationships with foreign languages as well as spelling-pronunciation analogies are also reflected in contacts of SFSC and the Czech language. As regard the word *futbal* (football), 38.1 % of the questioned respondents pronounce this word in the form of *fodbal*. We assume that its unusual form in SFSC on the one hand exists due to the dialect influence, and on the other hand also due to the Czech forms *fotbal*, *fotbalista*, *fotbalový*, which have been spread by journalistic genres. Recently, an English form

football (in its graphic form) is used with a higher frequency, which is due to the development of satellite television network. Sometimes this may also support its marginal pronunciation *fodbal*.

Pressure from foreign mass media as well as increasing interest in foreign languages is also reflected in the pronunciation of abbreviations. 58.4 % of the respondents pronounce the abbreviated form of the company IBM in accordance with its English phonetics as *aj-bí-em*; the students of the Secondary School of Electrical Engineering, who besides their professional training also attend English lessons, reported the original pronunciation as the only possible way. In addition to the original English pronunciation, there is also its Slovak pronunciation *i-bé-em* recorded.

Implementation of quite significant levelling-schematizing (opposition of ind. pres. and imp. forms), simplistic-deforming and also economical-dynamic tendencies are reflected in the relatively frequent forms of the 1st person pl. ind. pres. *môžme* (we can, we are able to): 44.3 % of the respondents used this form instead of its grammatically correct form *môžeme* (we can, we are able to). It should be said that in the spontaneous spoken pieces of communication its shorter form is almost always used. In regard to articulation, other deformed forms of the verbs with its residues of the Slovak thematic morpheme *-e-* instead of *-ie-* e.g. *zobereme* (we will take), or the forms *pojďeme* (we will go), *vezňeme* (we will take) have, in comparison with their codified forms, much lower rate of use (22.1; 10.6; 15.9 %). If articulation is taken into consideration, the simpler variants are often used by communicators who have closer contacts with the Czech environment, a region of the east Slovakia, or communicators whose parents usually have a lower level of education, come from the rural areas and mainly do manual work (*vezňeme* (we will take): a 23 year old worker, a 42 year old civil servant, a 22 year old female worker, a 58 year old operating manager, a 36 year old professional soldier coming from the family of a tailor, etc.); relating to interoperation of education, social inclusion and the level of language communication see also Slančová, 1990.

Parallels between the age criteria, semantic-unification tendencies and links with the region are reflected in conflict of the colloquial (codified) and dialect (local, regional, inter-dialect) naming units. In the urban environments (after the loss of contacts with the original region), the youngest and younger age groups of people (9 – 14 and 15 – 23 year olds) do not need or cannot discern subtle differences in meaning; e.g. language units naming

varieties of grains are distinguished mostly by the respondents of higher age groups who come from rural areas, or descendants of rural inhabitants (*žito* = 1. rye, 2. wheat). Students of primary and secondary schools do not distinguish among agricultural crops and they understand the substantive *žito* as the name for both rye and wheat (31.9 %), or all types of crops (16.8 %), as a set of more or less the same signs and characteristics. Our research has not proved the fact that the residents of the east of Slovakia use the word *žito* as a naming unit for “rye“, and the residents of the west of Slovakia as a naming unit for “wheat“ (see JPO (Language Advisory), 1988, p. 7). We assume that it is not the geographic and linguistic criterion which plays a key role in this case, but the age criterion should be taken into consideration.

The generational aspect prevails over the local aspects also in the case of distinguishing between the lexemes *dyňa – melón* (*water melon*). The naming unit *melon* (*water melon*) is used by 23 % of the respondents of our survey, mostly from the age group of 9 – 39, to designate a large green fruit with the red pulp (see JPO (Language Advisory), 1988, p. 18). On the other hand, the same percentage of the respondents uses the synonyms *melón/dyňa* (see SSJ (Dictionary of Slovak Language), SCS (Dictionary of Foreign Words)). 53.1 % of the Banská Bystrica inhabitants are inclined to use the naming unit *dyňa*. Therefore, we assume that *dyňa* (red; botanical name), or *dyňa/melón* occurs in the codified language (JPO (Language Advisory), 1988, p. 18), as well as in some dialects in Slovakia.

In addition to affecting the norms of the common communication in the city environment, as well as forming variant chains that consist of several members (genitive forms of mass proper nouns of villages *z* (from) *Donovalov – Donovanál – Donoval*: 78.8 – 9.7 – 11.5 %; on the other hand *do* (into) *Kordíkov – na Kordíky*: 76.1 – 13.3 – 10.6 %; or even *do* (into) *Vrábel – Vrábel’ – Vrábli – Vráblo/Vrábl’ov* [up to 65.5 %] – *Vrábli*), the impact of dialects and the city usage support also the use of analogy mechanisms. If, for example, there are two proper nouns of a different grammatical gender in a semantic relationship, one of them then influences the gender of another, as both of them form the correlation pair in an extra-linguistic environment. Up to 68.1 % of the respondents determined the genitive form of a mass naming unit *Mlynky* (*the name of a village*) to be *from Mlyňiek*, which is obviously due to the influence of the second member of an associated toponym *z* (from) *Mlyňiek – Ďeďíňiek*.

Plasticity of the codified (in terms of spelling as well as grammar) norm of SFSC is indeed determined by the three interconnected factors: **a)** cumulation of redundant elements under the influence of modishness or exclusivity; **b)** interference of older, dialect, or foreign communication systems in opposition to the Slovak codification; **c)** natural (physiological) reduction of articulatory demanding clusters of sounds, which is a demonstration of dynamics and variability of the common pieces of communication. With regard to all these aspects, an inserted sound *-e-* in some cases (except the nominative) of the proper noun *Marek*: e.g. *Mareka*, *Marekovi*, *s Marekom* (77 %) is considered to be a redundant element, as it contradicts its codified form *Marka*. With our direct questionnaire research, we tended to find out the reasons for the overuse of the redundant sound *-e-*. The respondents explained the overuse by **1.** the family tradition that is influenced by the forms of the surnames *Hud'ec/Hud'eca* (as well as their forms *Hud'ec/Hud'ecová*), *Kaňec/Kaňeca*, *s Kaňecom*, etc.; **2.** the risk of collision of the particular form *Marka* with the homonymous nominative form of fem. of the hypocorism *Mária Marka*; **3.** assumption explaining that the form *Mareka* is frequently used due to efforts to differentiate the Slovak antroponym *Marek* and the foreign (English, French, Italian) proper noun *Mark* (*Marc*, *Marco*). The third reason should be understood as the hypothetical one.

Pressure from the older use, local dialects as well as foreign languages are evident in observance of non-proper suffixes in the gen. and lok. forms of proper nouns. The older Slovak used the suffix *-i* in the dat./lok. forms of the words ending with *-oa*, *-ea*, *-ua*: v *Nikaragui* (currently only in the words ending with *-ea*). Apparently, up to 38.1 % of our respondents are familiar with this ending. Regarding this aspect, influence of the Czech pieces of communication spread via mass media should be also taken into consideration. Interference of the feminine patterns *ulica/kost'* (street, bone), residues of dialect genitive forms of the pattern *ulica* (street) together with the foreign (Czech, Russian) mechanisms encourage the existence of the form of the proper noun *od Táňi* (from Táňa) (70.8 %); systemic penetration of this form (*od Táňi*) into written texts might be seen as an evidence of wider consequences of this element (see Šimečka, 1990). Even 41.6 % of the respondents use dat. and lok. of the feminine noun in the form of the proper noun *Andree*, which contradicts its codified form *Andrei* that is declined both according to the patterns *žena/ulica* (woman, street): the suffix *-e* from the pattern *žena* (woman) is automatically inserted into the suffixes of dat. and lok. cases. In the direct

questionnaire research, the respondents (without the age difference) perceived the frequently used form of the proper noun *Andree* as a consequence of its sound form. The diminutive form is pronounced as *Andrejka*, thus there is the existence of *Andreja*, and consequently also dat. *Andreje*. This case is an apparent example of interference of various language-communication elements.

Simplification of the direct spontaneous communication is also reflected in the process of word formation. This might be seen in the case of one-word variants which are formed from the multi-word expressions, e. g. the Swedish language “švédsky jazyk” – *švédština* : *švédčina*, the Dutch language “holandský jazyk” – *holandština* : *holandčina*, in which only 21.2, or 24.8 % of the respondents decided to use the more difficult articulatory form ending with *-čina*. Besides simplification tendencies as well as model forms, there is also mass media that plays an important role, e.g.: the suffix in the word *švédština* penetrates from the Czech language into the Slovak language, which is due to their mutual contacts. None of the age groups will avoid this process, only except for the cultivated communicators, who are mostly representatives of professional users of the codified language communication.

Unification and schematizing tendencies are significantly demonstrated also on the syntactic level. The category of congruence in the case of multiple subjects leads to the levelling use of the plural forms in the predicate. In the constructions with its alternative predicates *Haruľa i čaj (voňal – voňala – voňali) po celom dome* (The smell of potato cakes and tea waft around the house) and *Hmla a dym sa (plazil – plazila – plazili) po úbočí* (The fog and smoke slithered around the valley), 93.8 % (91.2 %) of the respondents made a choice for the proper (codified) plural form. In cases in which each member of multiple subjects acts or bears a particular status individually (is understood independently; see Oravec – Bajžíková, 1982, p. 88), or if subjects are formed by synonyms, predicates are also prevalingly used in plural forms: *Radosť a veselosť uleteli* (69 %) *ako vtáča* (Joyfulness and cheerfulness flew away like a bird); *Hrach a ryža sa zberajú* (65.5%) *bud' kombajnom, alebo osobitým spôsobom* (Peas and rice are harvested either by the combine or in a different fashion). A high percentage of the syntactic analogy is also manifested in preference of one form of non-congruent attributes in toponyms (a proper noun, which is in the second position, functions in the position of an attribute). A majority of the respondents uses the forms with the so called naming nominative (*z okresu Zvolen* (from the Zvolen district) – *v meste Nitra* (in the Nitra town) – *pod vrchom Urpín* (below the Urpín hill) – *z chaty*

Plesnivec (from the Plesnivec cottage): 99.1 – 86.7 – 88.5 – 96.5 %) regardless of the fact whether it is a congruent or non-congruent attribute. The types *v meste Nitra* (in the Nitra town), *pod vrchom Urpín* (below the Urpín hill) are characteristic only for communication in the military environment (see Oravec – Bajžíková, 1982, p. 15). Apparently, the use of naming nominatives in the sphere of the common communication will have to be approached in accordance with other models [*v okrese Nitra* (in the Nitra district), *v štáte Texas* (in Texas state), *v bani Cigel'* (in the Cigel' mine); see also Kačala, 1988].

Lexical as well as grammatical loan words of the Czech origin provide significant signals in regard with linguistic aspects and sources of the common spontaneous communication. Their implementation may indicate **1.** manifestation-gestation intentions of communicators (mainly from the lower age groups), **2.** mistakes in communication processes and the level of their systemicity, **3.** wider socio-linguistic relations (context of factors related to the age, region and profession of Bohemisms users, viability and eligibility of domestic equivalents, motivation factors in interfering languages, efforts leading to interpersonal proxemics variations, and facilitation of making contacts, etc.).

All in all, the third ambit is particularly interesting. Spontaneity, looseness, easy manipulation, communication transparency, as well as (inadequate) speech behaviours support the use of verb forms such as *oraziť* (to stamp) (a ticket, card) together with the Slovakized variant *orazítkovat'* (to stamp) in contradiction to the Slovak codified form *opečiatkovať* (to stamp) (39.8 and 18.6 : 41.6 % questioned respondents). It is obvious that the form *oraziť* (to stamp) has lost its markedness in regard to its professional use in everyday life (according to the Czech-Slovak Dictionary, ČSS, 1979, this form is defined as a specific postal expression) and possesses the more general character with the markedness of its colloquiality. Communication pragmatics has thus reduced the semantics of the word *orazítkovat/orazítkovat'* (to stamp) (a letter, a piece of document). Interference between two very similar languages is also manifested within the process of translation of a Czech naming unit into the Slovak language. On the one hand, users of the Slovak language do not use the apparently adapted “mechanic” form of the word *blanket* (*přehoz* – *prehoz*: 14.2 %), less frequently used is its colloquial variant *deka* (17.7 %); on the other hand its codified alternative *prikrývka* (a blanket) (63.7 %) is mostly used. Communication efficiency of the original naming unit as well as its semantic intransparency, or non-existence of its equivalent in the lexis thus support quite high frequency of loan words of foreign origin, such as in the case of *Jack of all*

trades (*kutil*: 39.8 %). Much higher preferences for loan words are reported in a wider extent in the technical field. The forms *príchytka* (fastener) (12.4 %) a *kolík* (fastener) (15 %) are very rarely used in the Slovak language. Instead of these terms, the form *hmoždinka* (fastener) (72.6 %) is commonly used. Some other equivalents are quite often rejected, such as *kotvička* (armature, block), *klátik* (armature, block); Czech-Slovak Dictionary, ČSS, since they possess different semantic meanings and connotations in technical contexts (considering their aspects of sociolects). It is obvious that specific situations require some contact variants (in regard with this type of variants see Sokolová, 1991), mostly in the educational and administrative spheres.

The inquiry research in the sphere of the common everyday Slovak that is used by the residents of city centres demonstrates a number of relatively fixed, but on the other hand dynamic indicators which are applied in the macrosystem of the national language. Although there is a relatively small number of completed questionnaires, explicitness of the answers indicates the following tendencies:

A. Communication of city agglomeration residents is substantially profiled as a conglomerate (not exactly structured, clearly defined and homogeneous) communication formation. The common spontaneous communication of city community members is formed by the following varieties of the national language: **1.** the prestigious codified (also the so called “school”) formation that creates the base as well as source for non-official or semi-official communication; **2.** relicts of regional dialects with their variable function applicability in communication of various age group members; **3.** sociolects as specific fillers in communication of the so called city-setting socio-professional groups; **4.** blocks, or components of foreign languages that function with their specific social roles (to transform the social proxemics into the personal one, facilitate contacts, make the communication more intimate, and also humiliate the users of foreign languages, or a subject of verbal communication) and with the evident dominance of the Czech language; Hungarian (Russian, German, English, as well as Romani and Jewish) elements are very often applied purposely, or they are also unintentionally deformed with their gestation role; **5.** idiolect elements with their considerable characteristic ambitions to penetrate into the commonly used spontaneous communication.

B. In regard with the functional stratification of the city communication conglomerate it is the Czech language that deserves a special attention. The use of this system in the spontaneous verbal communication supports adaptation-

levelling, unification-schematizing, as well as dynamic-economical tendencies within the context of the Czech-Slovak language environment. The impact of the more expansive Czech language on the Slovak language is that one which is not initially concerned, but it is the simultaneous coexistence of two equal languages which complementary and in accordance with the system potencies fulfil momentary communication needs of the users that is regarded (viability of Bohemisms is also approved by our inquiry research; concerning the context of Slovak lexis in the Czech language see also Hubáček, 1981; Sokolová, 1991 and others).

C. A dialect (its territorial or local variant, or also its city derivatives) does not disappear proportionally with the inclining prestige of the codified variety. The retreat is not straightforward and trouble-free, but complex and specifically motivated. The members of the older age groups with their closer contacts to the countryside use traditional dialects in order to differentiate reality in a more delicate semantic manner, or to restore (reinstate) impaired intergroup (interpersonal) contacts. Regarding communication of city residents of the younger age groups, there are dialects (mainly their fragments) with their significant purposeful-characteristic features. However, the system code-switching in regard with the standardized (codified) form – dialect within the younger age spheres cannot be taken into consideration.

D. The common communication of the whole generational spectrum of communicators is characterized by tendencies for the use of articulatory simpler (undemanding), more economical, or quite often deformed variants. Within this process two methods are applied: **1.** omission of the sound or sound-clusters (*môž/e/me*, *zober/i/eme*, *p/u/ojďeme*) (we can, we will take, we will go) with significant supra-regional aspirations which foster the process of the nationwide “colloquial Slovak” formation **2.** transformation of articulatory more difficult sound-clusters into simpler systems in accordance with base schemes (*švédština* (the Swedish language), *holandština* (the Dutch language), *chorváčtina* (the Croatian language); *prechod* (transition, for “a change, process“, or *passage*, *crossing* for “a place“; *preklep* “a copy of a document“, or “a mistake, an error in writing“ and others). Regarding dichotomy, there is an intention to foster or precise semantics instead of forms with both ways, such as in the case of these proper nouns (*na Mareka*, *Andreje* and others). Tendencies related to economical approach are applied mostly on the syntactic level and they possess a significant cliché character.

E. An antinomy between convergent and divergent tendencies in SFSC indicates a functional legitimacy of a flexible, simple and at the same time plastic communication medium that would saturate basic communication needs of all users of the national language, not just those cultivated ones. Despite the conglomerate character of the communication medium, its contradictions, antinomies as well as compromises do not prevent formation of the normative character of this unit.

Table 1:

Age of respondents	Total number	Expressed in %
9 – 14	21	18.6
15 – 23	41	36.3
24 – 39	17	15.0
40 – 59	27	23.9
60 and more	7	6.2

Table 2:

Place of birth	Total number	Expressed in %
B. Bystrica	52	46.0
District of B. B.	21	18.6
Region of central Slovakia except of B. B.	28	24.7
Region of south Slovakia	6	5.3
Region of east Slovakia	2	1.8
Bohemia, Moravia	2	1.8
Foreign countries	2	1.8
Cities	81	71.7
Countryside	32	28.3

Table 3:

Majority of their lives spent in	Total number	Expressed in %
B. Bystrica	69	61.1
District of B. B.	22	19.5
Region of central Slovakia except of B. B.	18	15.8
Region of south Slovakia	2	1.8
Region of east Slovakia	1	0.9
Bohemia, Moravia	1	0.9
Foreign countries	0	0
City	82	72.6
Countryside	31	27.4

Table 4:

Lifetime spent in B. B.	Total number	Expressed in %
Up to 4	29	25.7
5 – 9	3	2.6
10 – 14	25	22.1
15 – 19	13	11.5
20 – 24	14	12.4
25 and more	29	25.7

Table 5:

Occupation	Total number	Expressed in %
Students of primary schools	21	18.6
Students of secondary schools and universities	40	35.4
Manual workers	12	10.6
THP	23	20.4
Intelligentsia, studying workers	17	15.0

2.3. The Conflict of Conventionality and Efficiency in Common Communication

As a result of unpreparedness and spontaneousness of common communication, its comprehensive view exposes a pragmatic dimension of verbal contacts with the first plan - showing the communicating participants' attitudes to the structure of the communication event. Real immediate involvement in a communication event encourages the communicators to apply the natural method – preferably to create an efficient (economical) communication footprint. In practice this means that the expedient tries to “save“ the language work on the one hand, but on the other the recipient wants to make a minimum effort to receive information and understand its content.

The result of the outlined method used by partners during a communication event is usually a text (a piece of communication) with a more distinctive degree of verbal expressivity, weakened information relevance and loosened dialogue structure. Such parameters are mainly characteristic for the semi-official, or non-official communication situations. Explicitness (the communication effect) goes along with the extralingual context (social situation, communication relations, thematic complex, etc.; for the terminological apparatus, see Kořenský et al, 1990).

The pragmatic goal of communicating in terms of semi-official, or a non-official communication situation with the due communication effect can be generally met in two ways, even in spontaneous, unprepared communication.

I. By creating and using the formalized, situationally enshrined parcelates **a)** with a significant measure of deixis: in the language system this approach can be recognized at the symbol level in favouring of the pronouns, parts of speech without lexical, i.e. with only grammatical meaning, and both object and adverbial syntagmas; **b)** with significant manifestations of verbal creativity: at the symbol level this approach can be recognized in the occurrence of occasionalisms and modified meanings, at the super-symbol level by creating the unconventional metaphors and allegoric passages, or the whole text allegories. Situational anchorage and unpreparedness, or spontaneousness (typically related to the time deficit in the process of creation and exchange of replicas) help to apply mainly a so called reproductive assimilation:

on the grounds of analogy and deduction, the communicators are trying to understand the phenomena through a more familiar, more conventional form with a new, modified meaning (Krupa, 1985, p. 39). Proper deciphering of the meaning in the *face to face* type of communication chain is accomplished through the feedback or operative alternation of the communication roles.

In the context of the situation anchorage, it is necessary to indicate the share of Group 1 components in ensuring a relatively trouble-free transfer and processing of information in spontaneous dialogues. Apart from the extralingual factors, ensuring the quality communication is related to all levels of the language system. (Vicariously, we only consider the vocabulary elements.)

Considerable efficiency of spontaneous immediate communication is mainly fostered by the names whose factual content is manifested in pursuance of immediate registering of the reality by the human senses (*učitel', mačka, auto* / *a teacher, a cat, a car*). An appropriate, sufficient measure of efficiency can be sustained by the names of group objects (*riad, mládež, ľudstvo* / *cookware, youth, humankind*). The relatively lowest degree of communication efficiency (clarity) is achieved through the abstract names with a wide extent and narrow content of their factual meaning (*program, pravda, šťastie* / *programme, truth, happiness*).

Along with the lowering degree of communication efficiency the measure of semiotic vagueness of the communication components increases. The result of the intentional or long-lasting deepening of this inverse proportion is the meaning tension between the parts of the information content; often, there appears a sort of content caricature of speech. In the end, within a spontaneous dialogue the form is reinforced at the expense of the content; in a dialogue the partner often becomes the object of the intentional communication manipulation. Creation and spread of information with a higher degree of semiotic vagueness causes the communication noise, language (communication, thematic) deformations (well-know Orwellian *newspeak*), or even a communication chain disintegration. The characteristic example of such an approach is frequent fashionable abstracts becoming part of common communication through lower-quality journalism from the communication sphere of politicians and officials, e.g. *philosophy* 1. An individual's or a group's opinion of the objects and phenomena of the outside world; 2. Operating activities; 3. Individual/group thinking, and only then 4. Science about the most general laws of thinking, society and nature evolution; *pragmatics* 1. Expediency; 2. Usefulness;

3. Overvaluation of the practice, and only then 4. Philosophy; similarly also to the *structure, consensus* etc.

II. On the other hand, the communication effect in common communication can also be achieved by the use (selection and combination) of the petrified communication templates with different physical length.

a) These petrified groups are incorporated in common spontaneous communication as phrasemes, or subtexts with a high degree of stability. Their occurrence is marked for communication situations with a considerable degree of conventionality and rituality; in other words, where there can be expected higher repeatedness, or modelness of communication events, e.g. in family conversations, social conversations, non-formal dialogues in the public institutions, situation replicas in the service sectors, at play, etc. At the same time there dominates not only an effort to save the communication chain, but mainly the care for the frame components of the communication events, i.e. practical realization of the phatic function of a language (Jakobson, 1991, p. 43). It seems that a high degree of conventionality in common communication (paradoxically) weakens the phatic function of the frame (contact) formulas. To ensure their attractiveness, conventional formulas are substituted by the variants of different origin and social-communication fibre, in accordance with the communication needs. For instance, if the conventional contact scheme *Dobrý deň!* (*Good afternoon*) is supposed to help the conversation reduce the interpersonal communication distance and to establish the contact, in spontaneous pieces of communication it is alternated with the schemes from a large scale (of mostly deformed) variants: *Dobrý ...!*, ... *brý deň!*, *Čau – čao – čauko – čavo*, ..., *Hi!*, *Hallo!* ..., *Máš sa?* (*How are you?*), *Ide ti?* (*How are you going?*), *Darí sa?* (*How have you been doing?*), etc. A similar process can also be easily identified in a content-thematic core of a communication event (high incidence of modern elements, e.g. “anglicizing” consent variants *O. K.*, *All right*, *Yes* etc.; analogical processes are applied in “germanization“, “hungarization“, “bohemization“ of common spoken communication).

b) In parallel with conventional elements and components, larger foregrounded collocations and constructions operate in common spontaneous communication. They are usually characterized by a lower degree of petrification and are more mouldable in communication; generally they are able to adapt flexibly to the communication requirements which quickly change because of their spontaneousness.

The subgroup **b)** clearly highlights the particularity of common spontaneous communication – selecting the preferable tendency by the communicator: either more creative methods, or ready-made “proven” models. In other words: in common spontaneous communication contact, the speaker wants to ensure a trouble-free transfer of information to the listener and, at the same time, to act as a subject with certain creative skills; then they usually have to balance both tendencies. The result of such an approach is often a communicationally syncretized verbal expression.

Let us give a specific example. During the communication event, the communicator *A* is thinking about the government budgetary position. In the centre of the communication event, there is an indication of dissatisfaction with the allocation of funds according to a certain criteria. In order to express discontent, or even disagreement with the process of allocation and the role of the government in this process, the subjective (emotional and expresivizing) attitude is also “imposed”, apart from the effort to take an objective, or objectivizing stand: the partner of *A* in a non-official spontaneous live dialogue is the communicator *B*, a colleague, a friend of the same age. Both communication participants have a good command of terminology in their (economic) field. *A* realizes the pressure of the function of their conversation on a relatively trouble-free exchange of the informemic text component. Therefore he/she concentrates on exposure of the emotional component. During the communication act he/she wants to sound unconventional, trying to show a casual, “off-beat” style. These reasons “dictate” to him/her to use figurative language. *A* tells *B*:

„Vieš, treba si uvedomiť, že (štátny) rozpočet nie je dojná krava na látanie dier v chýbajúcich financiách.“

(“You know, it is necessary to realize the (national) budget is not a milking cow to patch the holes in the missing finance.”)

In the extract from the live spontaneous conversation, presence of several contradicting signals is clear at first sight:

- *A* has a good command of the fixed expressions repertory – phraseologisms, or their foregrounded variants (*dojná krava* (milking cow)) – figuratively **1.** donátor, darca (donor, giver), **2.** žriedlo, zdroj (spring, source); *dojiť kravu* (milk the cow) = *získavať úžitok* (obtain benefit); *látat' diery* (patch the holes) = *núdzovo nahrádzať* (substitute

in emergency), pokrývať najsúrnejšiu potrebu, nedostatok (cover the most urgent need, insufficiency); see Smiešková, 1988);

- *A* realizes the association fields between the fixed expression (denomination) and the object of nomination; at the same time they register a certain degree of connotation between the two phrasemes within the actual statement (approximate meaning: “if necessary, there must be another solution”);
- the factor of spontaneousness (relative unpreparedness of the statement) and over-exposed gestation does not allow the communicator *A* to make a real judgement of the risk of logical nonsense which arises because of the foregrounded approximation of the two phrasemes;
- in oral communication, the communicator *B* concentrates predominantly on capturing the content of the statement, and only in the second place he/she notices the formal aspect; in the written variant he/she easily identifies nonsense and qualifies it as inappropriate for common oral communication.

The issue of rhetoric figures adequacy – as being signaled by the above-mentioned catachresis; for the other examples, see Mistrik, 1987, p. 97 – indicates that even common spontaneous pieces of communication can outline their pragmatic and communication profiles in a dual way. One part is represented by the acceptance and support of modelness (generalness, routineness) with help of the expression stereotypes from the diapason: conventionalized (ritualized) lexical means – lexical and syntactic clichés – compound nouns. On the other hand, the game is entered by the set of means of expression supporting the accentuation (individualization, creativity) tendency in oral spontaneous communication, namely from the spectre: fixed expressions (collocations and idioms) – phraseoschemes – decorative (odic and pathetic) means, i.e. rhetoric figures in a narrow sense. Both blocs are linked by the general reproductive and productive principle which crucially determines the communication strategy of the unprepared pieces of communication.

Tendencies for incorporation of more or less petrified constructs in the common pieces of communication prove the existence of several socio-communicative and psychological principles: **1.** presence of the stereotypical constituents in the text indicates the change (“switching“, shift) of the topic, or the object of communication; **2.** diversion of the communication situations from the official to semi-official or non-official status, and vice versa; **3.** communicators try to direct the attention of the other communication event

participants to their own (often only pretended) creative skills, e.g. their individual language potential, play with language, auto-stylization in a certain social role, etc.; 4. communicators purposefully try to reduce their individual psycho-physiological scruples or social complexes, e.g. the sense of the local and foreign language interference as the quality communication obstacle, elimination of the differences between the oral and written form of communication, tendency to euphemise the language as a signal of “good command” of the political “rhetoric” (see also Krupa, 1991, p. 89), etc.

With regard to the communication value and pragmatic target, it seems convenient to single out four groups of stereotypical means of expression with the crucial impact on creation of the text pattern of the common spontaneous unprepared pieces of communication:

1. *supplemental sets* – considering their phatic value, they are necessary for bridging of a mainly temporary communication vacuum: they are manifested with the maximum degree of stereotypicality or even schematicity, and a high frequency in communication (working attributes: *formality*; *ritualism* with negative delimitation);

2. *surrogate sets* – they provide adequate keeping of the communication chain, despite the lack or even absence of verbal components (*economic efficiency*, *deicticity*);

3. *gestation sets* – signalize the presence of the individualizing potentials of the speakers (*expressivity*, *emotionality*);

4. *aestheticising sets* – rhetoric figures with the minimum degree of stereotypicality or even schematicity, and a minimum frequency in communication (*efficiency*, *ritualism* with positive delimitation).

The division of the means of stereotype in particular groups is only a methodological issue. The thing is that many of them create interference fields and thus absolutely manifest the dynamics of common spontaneous communication with its multidimensional social, communicative and pragmatic background.

2.4. Social Vectors and Dynamics of Varieties in Communication of the City Residents

With an inevitable measure of generalization, a city can be defined as a special multidimensional type of social and spatial arrangement of society with a complex, internally hierarchized structure. Within such a definition of a city unit, the result of urban development is quite naturally exposed: the industrial basis, forming of the residential complexes – housing estates, local transport infrastructure and creation of the road-communication links with other agglomerations of an urban or rural type, etc. In this regard it is obvious that specific historical and economic circumstances, which had a great impact on the city profile across several centuries until now, cannot be marginalized.

Under the influence of the outlined key parameters there was also created a special social context which **1.** characterizes the residents of a particular agglomeration as the citizens of a city X, and **2.** differentiates the residents of the city X from the residents of the other similar social and spatial structures. Obviously, within the borderlines of this basic dichotomy, an immediate verbal contact between the residents of the urban agglomeration is constituted as one of its significant identifiers.

Some time ago, Slovakia was divided into so called regions (“regióny“) (previous administrative practice used the term county (“kraj“)) – Slovakia Centre, Slovakia West and Slovakia East. This division of the Slovak territory into three parts responds to the number and characteristics of the Slovak dialect groups (see Palkovič, 1981) localized in the three geographical macro-areas (see Krajčovič, 1988, p. 207n). There is no doubt within one macro-area it is possible to find common features typical for the individual micro-communities.

Based on a sociolinguistically oriented study of a particular ethnic group, it can be said exactly that either higher or lower degree of relatedness of urban model structures depends on similar city forming conditions. This thesis is uttered after the acceptance of the results of the earlier research in several Slovak cities (see the material in the extensive proceedings *Spoken Form of Literary Slovak*, 1972), as well as in the light of newer research (Patráš, 1991; Dvornická, 1992, etc.). In this context, we will indicate a *pars pro toto* profile

of verbal communication in (central) Slovak cities based on the explorations of one of the larger ones – Banská Bystrica.

Banská Bystrica is a medium sized city (population of app. 85 thousand; 1990), with a strong mining tradition and many centuries of German speaking citizens' presence. The mining boom had caused changes in the social structure of the Banská Bystrica population. Along with the German residents, services sector in the city started to be saturated by the craftsmen, merchants, journeymen, day-labourers and servants of local – of Slovak origin, coming from the surrounding settlements and little towns.

The coexistence of the members of two nationalities was reflected also in immediate verbal communication. Apart from the inevitable acquisition of the Germanisms, both settlers from the vicinity and the immigrants (see Patráš, 1994) responded to the expansiveness of the “hard“ German in two ways: **a)** by accommodation (depalatalization) of the consonants in originally soft positions; **b)** by palatalization of the consonants *d, t, n* in originally hard positions (so called secondary palatalization: *d'im* (*smoke*), *mot'ika* (*a hoe*), *do d'ediňi* (*to the village*)). As a peculiarity of this period, relicts of the secondary palatalization still function in the unofficial spontaneous pieces of communication of the current Banská Bystrica residents (no age limits) with stronger bonds to the local dialects.

Nowadays Banská Bystrica is an economic, educational, cultural and touristic centre of Central Slovakia. From the sociological point of view, the city can be characterized as an economically and functionally mixed unit covering industry, services, education and small and medium-sized businesses.

From a glance at the historical, economic and social context in the life of a particular city it is obvious that urban agglomerations were building their city identification parameters over a long period of time. However, in approximately the last 50 years it is objectively possible to observe (in the Slovak conditions) two periods when there occurs, among other things, more severe restructuring of the socio-communicative profile of the urban communities:

1. 1945 – turn of 1950s and 1960s: massive migration of rural population to the city, mainly because of the job opportunities;
2. 1970 – mid 1980s:
 - a) another strong migration wave from the near rural areas as a result of industry trying to acquire and stabilize the people in the economically most productive age;

- b) the acceleration of so called intercity migration under the influence of growing uniformity of housing and relatively comparable job opportunities;
- c) support of the natural process of adult children leaving their parents, starting new families and shortening of the families reproduction phase – a factual result of the nuclear family homes preference in the housing policy; see also Musil at al., 1985, p. 66.

Disruptive demographic processes also initiated the movement in common everyday interpersonal or intergroup verbal communication of the city population.

A city as a special social and economic unit is, along with the objective (historical, geographical) conditions, also characteristic with a heterogenous production-economic structure. This basic fact is also reflected in the "unhomogenousness" of the structure of an urban macro-society, that is also in the existence of several language collectives and communities. These communication micro-groups use, according to the goals and communication situations, different varieties (socio-communicative forms) of a national language within the diapason "scholastic" (codified) spoken variety of Slovak – so called colloquial Slovak in the process of forming – territorial dialects – sociolects – elements, parts and mechanisms of the other language systems. Means of verbal communication in common semi-official or even unofficial communication of the city population can then be covered, with just a little risk of schematizing, by an umbrella term: a language-communication hybrid or a communication conglomerate.

The city as an expression of special coexistence of several social groups does not create a monolithic, more sharply contoured communication variety than e.g. a (traditional territorial) dialect, or its counterpart – a colloquial variant of the codified language. Manifold age, social, professional, interest etc. background creates conditions for functioning of several communication varieties in spontaneous live communication of the city residents. Selection, arrangement and usage of the communication varieties also depend, in addition to the communication factors (communication situation, communication event, social roles and role registers of the individual speakers), on the psycho-social and demographic parameters of the speakers.

The use of the city communication conglomerate in common spontaneous communication includes two parallel types of composition and communication means: **1.** constant items – local specialties of a city agglomeration; age,

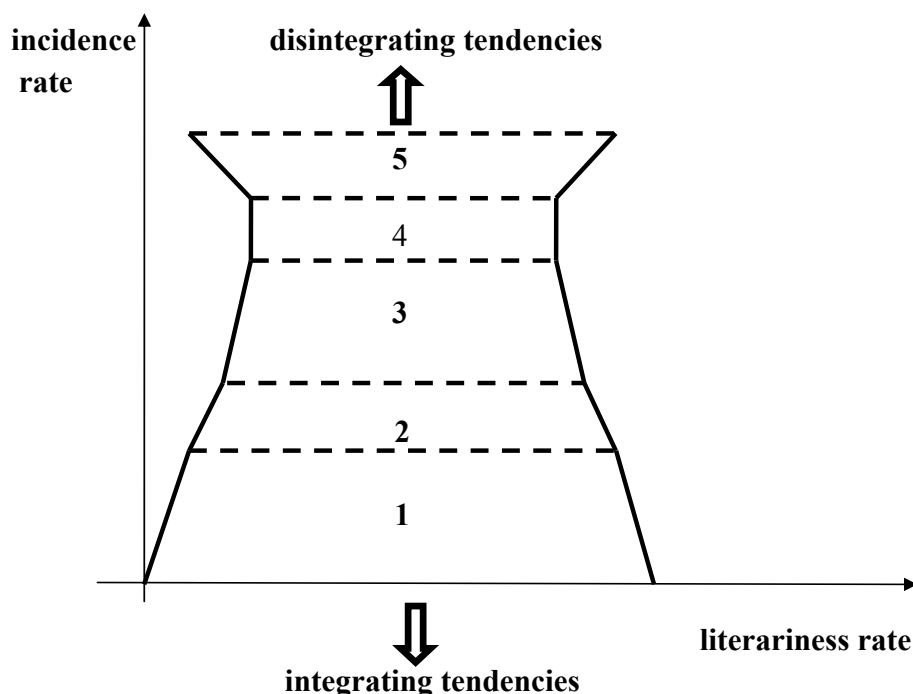
education, social inclusion and regional origin of the communicators; **2.** variable items – social roles, trendiness, gestationality, recession, etc. Both types are strengthened by the specialties of the communication acts. Flexibility and vagueness of the city communication conglomerate then allows connections between the communication means of a particular city and conglomerations of other cities, or a national spoken universe, e.g. so called colloquial Slovak.

As a result of functional cooperation of the constant and variable items:

- a) communication conglomerate of a particular city saturated with nationwide varieties is inwardly enriched;
- b) concrete communication conglomerate “broadcasts“ its expansive elements, parts and mechanisms into the sphere of the national language, where their vitality is “tested“ in confrontation. Apart from the inner flexibility, a city communication conglomerate is then also a source of dynamics in the national language.

The profile of a city communication conglomerate (in Central Slovakia) can be generally outlined in the following figure:

Figure 1:



Identification:

1. spoken literary (codified) variety; 2. “colloquial Slovak“ (\approx standard form; see Horecký, 1979a); 3. traditional local dialect and territorial dialects; 4. sociolects; 5. other language systems (Czech, Hungarian, Russian, “kitchen“ German, English, modern German etc.)

The space where realization of communication events occur in city conditions is mainly the span 1 – 3 (spoken literary codified variety – traditional local dialect). Apart from their prestigious application, both historically most important varieties create a platform for the penetration of the construction principles from the other varieties of a national language. On the other hand, it must be said that the crucial role in operative selection, arrangement and usage of several varieties in common spontaneous communication is played by the vector of spontaneousness which complements and specifies the constant and variable social vectors of the speakers.

The form of immediate spontaneous pieces of communication in the urban conditions is significantly influenced by the goals (pragmatic intentions) and the topics of dialogues. Naturally, there are also specific differences between the individual age, profession, interest and other micro-communities. The physical age of the speakers in the sense of generations, and the environment where the verbal contact takes place, act as the basic factors of inner differentiation and main standard-setting constituents of a city communication conglomerate. The next one is the region of origin of the speakers, and only then education and social inclusion (profession, occupation). Education as a dynamizing vector comes to the fore in the dialogues with intellectually more demanding thematic and compositional plan, e.g. in the case of scholarly/professional issues.

The outline presents current real situation in common communication of contemporary city population (the 1990s). Restructuring of the profile of a city conglomerate is clearly dynamic also in the “synchronic“ sense (the last half-century). This hypothetical idea is pronounced regarding the results of an extensive field research done at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s (see Patráš, 1991).

Audio records of spontaneous pieces of communication acquired with the method of hidden microphone prove that the oldest respondents (aged 70 and over) do not even “switch code“ from a local dialect to some of the “higher“ varieties, e.g. to so called colloquial Slovak, after the shift of the communication situation to the semi-official or official status. It seems

that until the late 1950s territorial dialects and other “lower“ varieties of common communication markedly dominated common everyday communication. This idea (naturally, indirectly) appears also in an extensive research project of a spoken form of the city language (see the proceedings *Spoken Form of Literary Slovak*, 1972). All current varieties were localized, although with different incidence rates and different preferences. The position of a dominant variety was held by a dialect.

At the beginning of the 1970s in Slovakia, there was an institutionalized reform of the education system. In 1976 the draft project of the education system further development was published. One of the most accentuated factors was reinforcement of the communicative aspect of the teaching of the mother tongue. Prestige of standard language among users, mainly the younger and the youngest age groups, was raised (for more details, see e.g. Kačala, 1980). Dialect as a strong traditional variety did not retreat mainly from spoken communication. It has changed its role and acts as a colouring means, predominantly in the speech of younger age groups. However, it also provides a favourable opportunity for reduction of communication distances, e.g. between the communicators differing in age (region).

Lately (mid 1990s) restructuring of the profile of common spoken communication in the city has arisen again. New social situation reinforces the position of foreign languages, especially English and German. Along with undeniable positives, enforcement of elements from other languages has a rather aggressive impact on common communication in agglomerations with high population concentration. The result – a negative interference between the delivering and adopting language – as it rather evokes embarrassment or even repulsion to the acceptance of the means and processes from the other languages and their quality use in the city communication conglomerates. Further development will show how the national language deals with the new circumstances.

2.5. “City Language” at the Local Commercial Sites of the Slovak Internet Network?

In parallel with disintegration of the long-formed economic ties in the countries of Central-Eastern Europe at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, social changes created the preconditions for a liberalized, market-oriented economy. One of the results of a markedly different socio-economic reality is the rightly changing demand for spreading information related to commercial and business processes and intentions. Open market, active entry of foreign partners to the economies of the transforming countries – recently the so called Eastblock members, effective effort to provide competitiveness have been reflected also in the changed attitudes to the phenomenon of business and trade activity promotion; of course, with more or less significant consideration of the particular ethnic group or micro-society.

There is no need to emphasize that pragmatic value of economic information largely depends on communication medium which carries it from the author to the addressee. Apart from the “classic” information carriers proved by practice and history (press – newspapers, magazines – radio, television, cinemas, billboards, neon signs, inscriptions on different objects, promotion balloons, airplanes with advertising posters etc.), mainly since the mid 1990s also in our country still the more information and promotion texts have been trying to influence the potential customer through the worldwide electronic network, the internet.

Despite globally increasing popularity of internet communication, we can often see unoptimistic statements that in the local (Slovak), but also in the socio-culturally, historically and economically comparable (Czech) conditions, the internet is still an insufficiently used medium; we lag behind the world incredibly (Hvorecký, 1998, p. 45), or we are only at the beginning of the journey to the internet (Rychtar – Franěk, 1997, p. 124).

The sceptical views are correct if we consider the technical limits. There is more of the critical attitude if our environment shows disinterest in the worldwide electronic meta-network, that is the lack of perception of an active (dis)connection to the internet results. Connectivity provides the opportunity to enter the worldwide space of the interactive information services.

It is generally known that electronic network communication was originally meant for scientific research. We should agree with the opinion that it would be a mistake to see the effect of the internet advantages only in the academic or business institutions (Smoleňová, 1996, p. 5; Rychtar – Franěk, 1997, p. 124). In reality, governmental, non-profit and commercial companies also get connected to the internet via national network (SANET in Slovakia, CESNET in the Czech Republic, ACONET – *The Austrian Academic Computer Network* in Austria, etc.). Along with the economic effect on the individual academic network, this practice is also favourable for another reason: it provides a vital close connection for theory and e.g. business, and an active step of science and research on the very inspiring ground of many different practical applications.

The need to inform, promote and often to efficiently persuade is inevitable especially in spreading advertising information. Advertising is generally understood as “paid publishing of information and materials with an aim to gain the public interest in a certain product or service, or to create, modify or consolidate certain perception, image of the advertiser by the public” (Žáry, 1996, p. 6). It is necessary to add that advertising is a form of an impersonal presentation of ideas, products and services in order to support a potential customer’s decision-making process (see Dominick, 1993, p. 377). Therefore, an immediate response (e.g. the commercial transaction) is not the main mission of the advertising piece of communication. From this point of view, advertising closely corresponds with the term *public relations* (PR = “systematic thoughtful influence on a differentiated public in order to create a positive image and positive relations“; Žáry, 1996, p. 5).

Differences between the advertising pieces of communication and the texts forming *public relations* can be observed in **1.** language specifics (PR prefer a more factographic style without superlatives and self-praise, advertising boosts persuasion while using the expressive and emotional language-communication means); **2.** targeting (PR are built on reliable informing with an educational intention, advertising is oriented on influencing, persuading and deciding); **3.** type of media (PR are aimed at small audience, advertising addresses a wide range of recipients, apart from the so called target groups of potential consumers). [On differences between PR and advertising pieces of communication, see e.g. Jefkins, 1993, p. 14.] If we do not consider soft differences in pragmatic targeting of the individual advertising pieces

of communication, we will manage with the umbrella term advertising, or promotion.

The advertising activities of commercial companies or individuals – legal persons via the electronic network represent “a new type of contact communication which takes place on the grounds of specific texts“ (Findra, 1998, p. 99). From the technical point of view, a *homepage* use of WWW (*World Wide Web – a computer network*) service which is able to integrate several internet services and provide them to their user (client) not only in a text, but also in an image form, together with the graphical (colour, animation, symbols and company emblems created by computer) and more and more often also acoustic outputs. The client communicates with the source of electronic information via the HTTP (*HyperText Transfer Protocol*) prescription. The information content gets its materialized form suitable for immediate perception as a hypertext document in the HTML (*HyperText Markup Language*) language.

There are several technical, communication and practical advantages of the electronic parameters constellation: **a)** transparent access to both local and distant information resources in the whole internet network; **b)** possibility of searching in the documents; **c)** simple intuitive operation; **d)** support for the multimedia; **e)** economic effectiveness with zero cost of printing or central production of copies etc. (see Smoleňová, 1996, p. 44; Šušol, 1998, p. 39 ff.).

The parameter of publishing internationalization, which primarily follows out from the technical conditions of the internet network, inevitably occurs also in a language-compositional and stylistic face of homepages. Dominick (1993, p. 381), regarding also more concrete territorial conditions including the transnational and nationwide aspects, points at a bipolar dimension of promotion (advertising): **1.** advertisements addressing recipients nationwide; **2.** advertisements oriented at retail. Local promotion of goods and services is related e.g. to local restaurants, intermediaries of car sales, furniture, consumer electronics, information technology and computer equipment, TV set repair shops etc. [Communication in small and medium-sized enterprises in the Czech Republic, reflected also in commercial promotion in the 1990s, is considered by e.g. J. Mezulánik, 1999.] Also in the Slovak conditions, in the case of so called local companies, what is usually concerned with **a)** subsidiaries, branches, or field offices of wholesale and service organizations with the headquarters in another location, or **b)** small companies with a centre and customers only in one agglomeration, or in a limited business

territory. It is obvious that both groups are not strictly bounded and it is possible to observe intersections. There is a general statement following out from knowledge about the market overcoming borders in space and time: promotional texts do not need to be equipped with the special identification signs of their (local, sociodemographic, cultural etc.) environment.

On the other hand, we cannot deny the fact that just so called small promotion makes specific characteristics, values, typical activities, business centres or centres of social life in a concrete environment, e.g. in a city, or a city quarter more attractive for the customers [Along with historians, urban ethnologists – regarding Banská Bystrica, e.g. Bitušíková, 1996 – even the linguists are much interested in the characteristic "city-forming" signals – names of pubs and restaurants, names of business units etc.; Banská Bystrica is described in this way by e.g. P. Odaloš, 1995.] It is a fact that to achieve immediate information and to secure the persuasive effect there is an extensive use of forms and means of so called flash promotions which is more visibly anchored in time and space and influences mainly immediate visitors of a city agglomeration, or customers ready to use the offered service without too much hesitation. Shop windows, corporate boards, leaflets, posters, blinkers, three-dimensional captions, small announcements in local newsletters, invitations etc., usually with an abundant presence of non-verbal components, are suitably applied as the promotion plan carriers.

As indicated above, promotion of commercial plans via the internet is one of the new and very attractive options to provide penetration of information also among the electronic network users in a concrete city agglomeration. What is interesting, but also obvious, is that in addition to an internet version there is usually a direct text parallel, e.g. local printed newsletter; occasionally also a local (city) medium, e.g. a local commercial radio or a cable TV, enter the game. It is proven that the parallel concentrated action of various communication channels significantly enhances the effect of promotion. The internet variant is comfortably accessible to the addressees with adequate terminal equipment (a personal computer). At the same time, however, the mass dissemination of promoted content or intention is not secured as receiving and processing of advertising is usually the matter of an individual sitting at a personal computer.

In this regard, it is necessary to emphasize that the language, style and composition of more wide-spread and more accessible printed version is just a little different from the electronic form. The thing is the computer screen also

makes use of various generally valid principles typical for written or printed text charged with e.g. publicist tasks. The internet promotional texts published on the homepages of companies respect, as the text models, basic requirements of writtenness, publicness, officiality, preparedness and – of course, in a discussion manner – monologueness as well; on configuration of the five pairs of non-verbal characteristics in the text models see Findra, 1998, p. 100 ff.

The electronic form of promotional texts reflects the essential contours of the tension between factuality (it is characteristic of the texts bearing the features of the objective, e.g. educational or administrative language style), and expressivity or emotionality (it is typical for the texts bearing the features of the subjective, e.g. artistic language style); on the dichotomy of factuality and expressivity or emotionality in promotional texts, see e.g. Tvrdoň, 1996.

Specialties of the internet commercial sites become much more prominent in relation to the technical-communication conditions. The homepage is also a “formally and semantically incomplete statement as it is part of a higher text whole/complex of replicas” (Findra, 1997, p. 260). From the homepage the user usually penetrates the electronic network via a link – an underlined passage, i.e. an option to enter the hypertext at a desirable spot, and simply “puts” themselves into a desired position with a cursor, individually choosing their steps and proper procedure. Thus the active participation of the user helps to create a special spatially branched text structure, rather similar to an encyclopaedic model. It has the attributes of a publicist genre but, under the influence of an individually selected electronic adjustment, its similarity to an adequate genre model – an advertisement in this case – is disguised. [We may be inclined to view the internet as “an inherently democratic place... in the most radical sense” (Hvorecký, 1998, p. 45); on the other hand, however, still insufficient accessibility of electronically created and spread information to a wider population is a certain form of discrimination or even censorship (Šušol, 1998, p. 38).]

What we find interesting is the question whether the internet homepages, conceptually and technically bound to the worldwide network and meeting its basic criteria, as the means of *small promotion* really respect city (local) specificities and thus take advantage of approaching the potential commercial partner. We tried to prove the above-mentioned presumption by studying the communication value of the websites aimed to promote goods and services

of various kinds in particular environments and communication communities of a larger Slovak city (Banská Bystrica).⁶

From the communication aspect the commercial homepage – primarily an almost exclusively visual thing – represents the result of cooperation between the language and graphical elements. Non-verbal means (often multi-colourness, illustrations, special composition arrangement - normally with dominance of a company name, stylization of threedimensionality, use of animations of various kinds – starting with shifting of the text stream and finishing with triaxial moving of the text blocks or images) usually enhance the communication intention. Along with the customer (sponsor) of the page – who, in the end, also becomes a link in the commercial chain – and their demands, the homepage also manifests the contractor of the site and their visual feeling, technical and financial capabilities.

Looking at the research samples one can see the evidence of natural effort to present mainly the company logo and to fill the page with the basic details of the company profile and mission.⁷ The texts addressing a Slovak communication partner, e.g. a city resident – the electronic network user, are presented in a literary/codified variety of the national language, usually with technical limits and shortcomings (missing accents and punctuation). Homepages of companies with local focus use the free space in two extremes, either for **1.** offering the options to connect to the attractive communication nodes⁸, or **2.** lengthy detailed presentation of the object of their commercial program⁹. The lexis is usually dominated by the respective terminology, in journalism regarded as an important source of the lexis dynamics (see Kamiš, 1988), often showing significant qualities of its "electronic" environment (English)¹⁰ without any diversion to e.g. professional vocabulary or slang, local

⁶ Material background of the study consists of 52 internet homepages of commercial companies, institutions and organizations operating in Banská Bystrica and oriented at the presentation of goods and services in the city. The pages were gradually selected between May and August 1998, irrespective of the focus and advertised assortment. The condition of inclusion in the research corpus was their linkage to the particular city environment. The extracts cyclically published in local printed commercial journals with parallel electronic versions were perceived as the most valuable samples. In our local conditions these are the advertising weeklies Pardon – <http://www.pardon.sk>, and Pegi – <http://www.pegi.sk>, spread both in the city and district of Banská Bystrica and the near districts of Brezno and Zvolen.

⁷ <http://www.autotechna.sk>

⁸ <http://www.pcb.sk/present/olsav>

⁹ <http://www.netax.sk>

¹⁰ <http://www.pcb.sk/present/bbprevent>

dialect, interdialect or regionalisms or "urbanisms"¹¹. The criterion of locality gets clearer almost exclusively via chrematonyms and toponyms. The use of the expressive or emotional elements, means or procedures characteristic for the promotional texts is rare: normally it is limited to the interrogative or appellative constructions¹². The factual, austere style of the internet pieces of communication supports the presence of inevitable components necessary for providing the contact between the advertiser and prospective customer: telephone, fax, cell phone number, or email address. Signals of fellowship with locality or local and city particularities are usually manifested only through the postal addresses.

It turns out then that in the process of constitution and publication of a promotional internet text with the local focus, from the aspect of contents and pragmatic focus the essential role belongs to the parameter of professionalism. By itself it gives the signal of exclusivity, novelty, originality, apparent or factual higher quality of the offered products or services. Along with building the awareness of exclusivity, the emphasis on professionalism serves also as e.g. displaying the attitude towards possible competition which does not need to operate only in the particular location. In addition to strengthening of the prestige of literary communication in the public environment, the offer of information via literary/codified variety of the national language without characteristic "city" attributes enhances the focus of promotion on the target group of addressees – the potential commercial partners. Thus the electronically presented piece of communication becomes not the means of advertising in the strict sense but the way to build awareness of reliability of the company and its intentions, i. e. it is more likely to be approaching the *public relations* pole.

Based also on the analysis of the internet homepages with a commercial profile and a local focus, it is necessary to mention several general facts.

1. The borderline between the terms *publication* and *communication* is being wiped off: electronically spread promotional texts of the kind are individualized, spreading professional information and often also meeting group or personal goals.

2. The texts are an expression of the language and communication unification – a logical result of interpersonal communication internationalization in the late 1990s, regardless of the language concerned. 3. The potential of one

¹¹ <http://web.sk/twd>

¹² <http://www.petai.sk>

of the latest information carriers – the internet – influences an easy penetration of English, or the anglicizing elements, also into the texts designed to operate in geographically or socially more strictly defined space, e.g. in the city, while network communication supports formation of the electronic communities based on common interests and lifestyle, disregarding the geographical or language limitations.

It turns out that the commercial internet pages are constituted as specific text models which, from the aspect of stylistics, lie somewhere between the educational, administrative and journalistic styles. So far they have just marginally responded to the characteristic "city" communication stimuli. With acclimatization of the worldwide web in the Slovak conditions, the factor of local anchoring of the internet promotional pages is quite likely to be enhanced in its language and communication implications.

To conclude, the issue of participation of the "city language" on the promotional internet pages is not just fiction. This opinion is rather plausibly confirmed by e.g. several commercial promotional texts shaded with socio-geographically marked elements, means and procedures, e.g. on the waves of the local private radio stations broadcasting.

Despite the effort for multilateral argumentation including the examples from the particular internet pages¹³, the presented section really requires a question mark in its title.

¹³ Other internet pages focused on local promotion (Banská Bystrica and its surroundings): <http://www.faxcopy.sk>; <http://www.isternet.sk/person>; <http://www.gratex.sk/appel>; <http://www.tinnoc.sk>; <http://www.edit/sk>; <http://www.telematic.sk>; <http://www.fermas.sk>; <http://www.axonpro.sk>; <http://www.drukos.sk>; <http://www.pcb.sk>; <http://www.web.sk/miba>; <http://www.pcb.sk/present/tpsoft/tpsoft.html>; <http://www.sknet.sk/marsoft>; <http://www.cevys.sk>

3.

**SPOKEN COMMUNICATION
IN APPLICATIVE RELATIONS AND CONNECTIONS**

3.1. The Sociolinguistic Vector of the Other Language Fragments and the Spoken Form of Slovak in the City

During the second urban revolution (at the turn of the 1950s and the 1960s; see Musil, 1967, p. 8) an urbanization base, i.e. a complex social and spatial organization of the society, was changing. However, it would be inappropriate and superficial to consider only modification of its structural, residential and architectural form. In parallel with these processes, social and cultural shape of the inhabitants of contemporary cities had been re-profiled.

Various social stratification complies with the character of common everyday communication which is manifested in the city as an interference of several varieties of a national language – from the oral form of literary (codified, “scholastic“) Slovak, through the mixture of both local and traditional territorial dialects and social languages, up to the residues of the means of communication from different languages, as well as the ambitious elements of idiolects. The final form of common everyday pieces of communication (language means inventories, but also the reflection of real existence of the language and communication norms) is crucially influenced by a hierarchical set of social characteristics of the speakers (age, education, professional orientation, regional origin, social background, etc.) (see Patráš, 1990, p. 3n; 1991, p. 200). The package of social constructs also corresponds with the hierarchical system of goals, plans and strategic intents (see Hoffmannová, 1986, p. 245).

As for the sum of social/sociolinguistic parameters, the significant role is held by the age criterion, immediately followed by the education factor. Both constructs of specific symptoms of the concrete location are considerably determined by the verbal expressions in common spontaneous communication of the contemporary Slovak citizens. (The results of the spoken form of Slovak in Banská Bystrica research are used as a starting point for our reflections; the research that was relatively completed in 1989 is developed further in a vertical dimension – as a deeper exploration of the specific socio-professional environments in Banská Bystrica. The horizontal line of the research with related methodological and methodical orientation has been developed throughout the territory of (Central) Slovakia, i.e. in the other cities of the territory.)

The focus of the paper is identification and functioning of the borrowings (fragments – elements and constituents) from the other language lexis in a context with a (special) intonation. We consider the age characteristics of the communicators as a crucial distribution factor of the other language participants' admission in the local communication. We take mainly so called marginal generational layers of an urban society into account (the youngest – 9-14 years old and the speakers up to 23, in contrast to the oldest generation – over 60). This choice seems convenient because, firstly, borrowings from other languages in communication of the youngest city residents are the signal of regrouping in the current hierarchy of importance of the foreign languages. Secondly, the elements and constituents of the other languages in communication of the 60-and-more-year-old communicators reflect traditional (conserving) inclinations and, at the same time, respect a diachronic view. Central – the most plastic – part of the age spectre absorbs communication specialties of both marginal groups in such a way that the fragments of the other languages within the 24–59 group of speakers participate in profiling of the specific hybrid elements. The age parameter is no longer sufficient for their reasonable decoding, therefore it is necessary to detect also other (educational, professional) backgrounds and the goal (purpose) of communication.

In our reflection we leave both Russianisms and Bohemisms, or the Czech contact variants in the Slovak language aside (see Budovičová, 1982; Sokolová, 1990/91, 1991). Functioning and a social-communication dimension of these elements and constituents deserve much more space. We also omit the original foreign language elements which have acquired a codified or spoken character in the process of their domestication in Slovak.

Slovak, and within its scope also common communication, has been in contact mainly with the German language during its evolution. German has significantly influenced the situation especially in traditional territorial dialects; it is obvious that in the local dialects there have been a great number of functional Germanisms. [On causes and conditions of the existence of Germanisms in Slovak, see e.g. J. Doruľa (1977) and R. Krajčovič (1988, p. 168–174). Functioning of the original German lexis and its metamorphoses in the Slovak dialects from the diachronic aspect are examined by M. Papsonová (1990).]

In the medieval Slovak cities German was the second official language, in addition to Latin, and acted as a transit channel for the entrance of lexemes from the other languages into Slovak (e.g. Italian, French etc.). In live contacts

the second most widespread language, alongside with German, was Hungarian. However, with regard to prevailing rural contacts of both ethnicities in the past it did not reach urban communication (see Krajčovič, 1988, p. 170). Even in contemporary spontaneous communication Hungarisms evidently saturate other communication needs, similarly to the borrowings from the other foreign language systems (Russian, English; elements and constituents of Romany and Yiddish).

Fragments of the other communication systems in the pieces of communication of the oldest city residents:

German: apart from the basic features (immediacy, direct contact with the addressee, efficiency, situational anchorage of the piece of communication etc.), common spontaneous communication as the expression of language *sui generis* also respects the requirement of general clarity, especially if there is a (considerable) generation gap between the communicating subjects. It is obvious the set of Germanisms in the spoken form of Slovak in the city, which are understood by the communicators with no age limits, will have relatively fewer elements than Germanisms with more rigorous generational validity.

Germanisms with “super-generational“ validity: several names are the reflections of their (“kitchen“ German) origin, or reflect the motivation factors of their origin. Usually they serve for labelling of common realities (names of places, tools, persons, activities etc.). In the over 60 age group they generally have counterparts in other varieties of the spoken form of Slovak in the city (terms, professional lexis, colloquial denominations etc.). They function chiefly as economizing communication means during the activity performed by their bearers, but also as denominations of objects and phenomena related to the activity: **klocok** (*Klotz* “log, junk“), **vinkel** (*Winkel* 1. “angle“, 2. “square“, coll.), **vercajg** (*Werkzeug* “tools/toolkit“), **ponk** (*Bank* “bank, bench“), **dach** (*Dach* “roof“), **cverna** (*Zwirn* “thread“), **portviš** (*Borstwisch* “dust-brush“, coll.), **štopel/ľ** (*Stöpsel* “plug/cork“), **koch** (*Koch* 1. “cook“, 2. “chimney“), **šlauf** (*Schlauf* “hose“), **frušt'ik**, **frištik** (*Frühstück* “breakfast“), **púgel** (*Buckel* “hump, elevation“), **pakel/ľ** (*Paket* “packet/parcel“), **švankes** (*Schweinkäse* “pork cheese, brawn“), **kumbál**, **kumbálok** (*Abstellkammer* “storage room“), **bachtáreň** (*Wächterhaus* “guardhouse“), **bachtár** (*Wächter* “guardian, guard“), **kelner** (*Kellner* “waiter“). Denominations of this type, as well as generally known ones like **furt** (“still, all the time, night and day“), **slabinger** (1. “weekling, softy“, 2. “dilettante“), also sink into common communication of lower age groups and function without any secondary connotation attributes.

Another group of Germanisms is subject to splitting of meaning in the framework of “super-generational“ usage, i.e. a different saturation of the communication needs. While the older communicators tend to use the basic meaning of a lexeme, the younger speakers use the same element (although often knowing its semantics) to force colloquiality, immediacy/slangness (even casualness, word play) into common spontaneous communication, but also for highlighting of an over-exposed measure of a property, or for expressing the opposing property, e.g.: **macher** (*Fachmann* 1. “expert/specialist“, 2. “admirably clever person“), **kunčaft** (*Kundschaft* 1. “customer“, 2. “unreliable“, “instantaneous friend“), **kšeftovat’** (*Geschäfte machen* 1. “trade/deal“, 2. “to do business in a deceitful, surreptitious/tactical way“), **dat’ si bacha** (*wach sein* 1. “watch out“, 2. “be very careful“).

Several denominations are pushed into common communication with a purely colouring effect; they are generally known and so they are not felt as occasionalisms: **plac** (*Platz* “place“), **recht** (*Recht* “right; truth“), **cvek** (*Zweck* “goal, purpose“), **štampel/ŕ**, **štampel/ŕ** (*Stempel* “stamp“), **flek** (*Fleck* “spot, stain; position“), **švung** (*Schwung* “swish, movement, activity“); **šmakovat’** (*schmecken* “taste“), **koštovat’** (*kosten* “cost; taste“), **luftovat’** (*Luft* “air“ – ventilate), **štelovat’** (*stellen* “lay, tune, adjust“), **heftovat’** (*heften* “clasp, seam, join; connect“).

Another group is markedly presented as nicknames, terms of abuse, often with a dishonouring intention (with “super-generational“ validity): **krochmel/ŕ** („*Krachmehl*“, *Wäschestärke* 1. “a big starch (i.e. mean, stingy person)“, 2. “clumsy person/moron“), **kripel/ŕ** (*Krippel* “cripple“, pejor.), **ksicht** (*Gesicht* 1. “face“, 2. “freak“, synecdoch.), **krepáň/krepý**, **krepé**, **krepuo/kreptúch** (1. „nosebag – basket, vessel with feed for harnessed horses“, 2. “disabled/mentally retarded person“, 3. “reproachful word“), **panghart** (*Bankert* 1. “illegitimate child“, 2. “boisterous, irritable child“), **fušer** (*Pfuscher* 1. “bad worker“, 2. “half-scholar, botcher, dilettante“) etc.

Germanisms with (generationally) limited validity: they get into context mainly at the higher age levels of the city residents. They denominate things and objects of common reality, usually from the sphere of traditional crafts (carpentry, joinery, blacksmithery, engineering, etc.); older communicators with lower, or lower secondary vocational education consider them as functional, although in several cases they know their counterparts – terms: **šamrlík** (*Schemel* “stool, footstool“), **hokerlík** (*Hoher* “something higher“), **varštat’** (*Werkstatt* “workshop“), **šina** (*Schiene* “rail“, “guide rod“), **šraubciher**,

šrabcingel (*Schraubenzieher, Schraubenzwinge* “screwdriver/clamp“), **penzel** (*Pinsel* “brush“), **špulka** (*Spule* “spool“), **fiertuch** (*Vortuch* “apron“), **štrumpadla**, **štrupandla** (*Strumpfand* “garter stocking“), **šnupticha** (*Taschentuch* “handkerchief“), **majzel**, **štemajzel**, **mázlik** (*Meissel* “chisel, chopper“), **filfas** (*Füllfass* “woven basket“), **fajermúr** (*Feuermauer* “fire wall“) etc. It is evident that in this subgroup there is a significant number of deformed forms and variants: **kacúr** (*Katze* “cat“, tom-cat), **miset’** (müssen “must“), **curigat’** (*zurückweichen* “reverse, retreat“), **drichtár** (*Trichter* “funnel“), **tróger**, **tréger** (*Träger* “carrier/porter“) etc. In that manner, however, they reflect the original usage not only in the target language systems, but also in the original German ones (see Papsonová, 1990, p. 145).

Of course, lexemes from this group cannot deny the ambition to sink into vocabulary of the speakers from the middle age group. In communication of the younger generations the adjusted/deformed versions are applied mainly in the interest-professional contexts with the economizing tendencies, especially in communication of the communicators with closer relations with the (local) region. In certain communication contacts there exists also a sociolinguistically interesting mechanism: denomination **štulcňa**, **štulcňička** “flange“ was created by contamination of the two semantically related denominations **štucňa** (*Stutzen* “mouthpiece, hub“) and **štulpňa** (*Stulpe* “cuff on a sleeve, glove, boot“); similarly, **krankasa** (*Krankenkasse* “hospital cash-desk“ and *Krankenhaus* “hospital“). Communicators use the denomination **krankasa** with both meanings, depending on the actual context.

By approaching the age spectre of the younger middle and young generations, and with relative increase of the education factor, the frequency of traditional German borrowings in common communication decreases. This trend, on the other hand, is being opposed by the growing interest in learning of foreign languages, including modern German. Members of the urban society respect the differences between the original (“kitchen“) German, and the (codified, spoken) language – naturally, with an adequate Slovak translation. In a triangle constituted by the “kitchen“ Germanisms – contemporary standard lexemes – local equivalent, traditional denominations are relegated to the marginal positions and their communication capacity is weakened. They interfere with an economical, semantically clearer communication but, at the same time, dynamically secure other communication needs: among younger and the youngest participants of the common dialogues they support a playfully ironic, derogative, even sarcastic undertone. Gestational

moments are clearly revealed by the inclusion of dialectical/deformed versions (primary and secondary school pupils) in common communication, one-way on the axis: city residents – residents of nearby villages commuting to work (school) in the city on everyday basis. The manifesting-gestational (“making more expressive“) tendencies are enhanced by a notably overexposed intonation.

Hungarian: Hungarisms typical for common communication of the contemporary city residents (Banská Bystrica) are scarce. The result of their low incidence is that many of them got anchored in a codified variety of the Slovak lexis (**hajdúch**, **husár**, **pagáč**, **guláš/guľáš** etc., usually with some residuals of the second transferring language, e.g. Turkish). In many cases their original (sole) meaning crumbled and the consequences of the desemantization process influenced also the extension of communication ambitions of the denominations. In the verbalization process of the younger and youngest age levels of the city residents, along with the basic meanings of words, there also function Hungarisms with a superimposed and overexposed expressivity (ironisation, term of abuse, pejorative aspect): **világoš** (1. “a town in modern Hungary where in 1849 Hungarian revolt sustained a defeat“, 2. “big whipping, corporal punishment“, an allusion to a well-known historical event), **gazda** (1. “reeve“, 2. “villager“, derog., 3. “a stout person“, iron.), **ťapa, ťapša** (1. “flat stone, stone slab“, 2. term of abuse), **furták, furták** (1. “joker, rascal“, 2. “soldier in a prolonged active service“, milit. slang.).

General information line of Hungarian is also exploited in an interesting way. With an aim to characterize an immediate verbal expression of the bearers of Hungarian language, phonic specialties of this language are accentuated in contrast with Slovak lexis and grammar (whole vocalic system, especially the overexposed back labialized **a**, **k/h/ch** consonants interchange etc.). As a result of such hybridization, a stylistically modified piece of communication has strong characteristics often leading to irony and sarcasm, in parallel to the word play; naturally, usually just in communication of Slovak communicators. In these moments larger generation gaps are eliminated and foreign borrowings in communication of various age groups interfere with each other.

With decreasing physical age the frequency of other language fractions increases (Russian; English; Romany and Yiddish – with manifestation-gestational intentions).

Fragments of other language systems in communication of the young and youngest city residents:

In parallel with degradation of traditional (conserving) other language residuals, common spontaneous communication of the 9-23-year-old speakers preserves the traces of German, mainly in so called generation chains (grandparents – children – grandchildren), or where there are stronger contexts with dialectical environment. However, fragments are usually reserved for communication in familiar contacts. The youngest members of generation chains generally do not know proper semantics of Germanisms. They functionally deform denominations and use them mostly for self-styling (gestational, typifying) purposes, aiming to call attention to their personality, or their personal language expression (style). Lexemes then serve mainly for a short-cut, or even cut-off adoption of an attitude towards reality, or towards verbal shaping of reality. Intentionally deformed modifications automatically coexist with the original language background for a certain time. They gradually lose, however, their occasionality and the (mostly school) youth, continually trying to expose their colouring character, superimpose another level on a weakened attribute through so called catalytic exuberation (on the term see Peňáz, 1987, p. 133): **špic**, **špička** (*Spitze* “first class, superior“, colloq.) – **špica** – **špik** – **špiko**, **špika** – **špikola** – **špicába** (clear interference, or the allusion to the Hungarian grammar system) – **super** (neutral, international usage). It is obvious such cases produce a special mixture of several communication models. The young communicators regard lexemes at the beginning of the row as the least marked. Under the influence of the school practice they usually know the other members of the synonymic row: however, in common spontaneous communication they are generally more tolerant towards more expressive derivatives than the older communicators.

Along with the “traditional“ other language systems, the elements and constituents of Romany and Yiddish are specially put in context in common everyday communication of the youth. Accompanied by the marked intonation form, these fragments are maximally exposed as clear-cut characterization focal points of intermediate verbal communication. Apart from the elements, better known in the other spheres of the age spectre (Rom. **devla** 1. “Romany god“, 2. “term of abuse for a woman“, **dža!** “come!“, **džukel** “dog“, **more** “Gipsy, Romany“, **dik!** “look, watch!“, **baševal**, **bašavel** 1. “music“, 2. “noise“, **vajda** “Romany mayor“, Yid. **šábess**, **sabat** 1. “day off“, 2. “party, orgy“), there appears to be a split of the lexeme semantics: **gadžo** 1. Rom. “white man, Non-Romany“, 2. “scruffy, untidy person“, 3. “primitive“, a term of abuse. According to the principle of catalytic proliferation, derivatives with an intensifying expressivity cumulate while functional contamination of two

or more other language systems is actively included in the process: **čau – čauko – čaues – čáo** (so called worldly čáo – „ciao“; see Šoková, 1983, p. 62) – **čavo – čavelo – čavelko – čaveles – čavindel’ – č^hávo**. It should be added that these models and mechanisms are applied mainly as the stylish-characterization elements, mostly with an ironic intention and manifestation of the speaker’s personality; sure, normally outside the Romany ethnicity. In this role they are also included in the grammar equipment of Slovak: **predstavind’el si to!** „predstav si to – imagine this!“.

The media boom (TV broadcasting through satellite system, exposure of the “family” and “generation“ radio station – Rock FM Radio, FUN Radio etc., mass propagation of videotapes, spread of computers, etc.), together with the improved foreign language teaching methods have brought about an increased number of expansive, or even aggressive fragments of English in common communication. They affect (mainly) Slovak phonic system and evoke synchronic existence of the two or more pronunciation forms: **ICL, IBM: „í – cé – el/aj – sí – el; í – bé – em/aj – bí – em“; íbéemka/ajbíemka; AP, PP, PT: „á – pé, pé – pé, pé – té/ej – pí, pí – pí, pí – tí“** (symbols of the computer complex parts). The function of the original (“anglicizing“) form is explained by one of the sociolinguistic vectors: the respondent 1. has an active command of a foreign language; 2. has technical education; 3. has picked up and identified with the other language realization in their environment.

It is obvious no natural language can avoid the process of further internationalization of the lexis and the other language system constituents. Beside admittedly positive aspects, however, the contacts between local and foreign languages also include unfavourable tendencies. Radio and TV channels force denominations like **brifing, pressfoyer, majland, number one** and they are often unnaturally adapted in whole case paradigms (number ones: in Slovak nom. pl. “**namber-uany**“, genit. pl. „**namber-uanov**“ etc.), there is an increase in the number of clearly idiolectic elements and procedures which later (as there is no adequate local counterpart in the linguistic awareness of the listener) get into spontaneous utterances: “**Dok^hamánujme a do’evribádujme, pretože na kábli je Oto z Banskej Bystrice,**“ (Let’s stop come-on-ing and everybody-ing because there is Oto from Banská Bystrica on the cable), said the Rock FM Radio host after the music break. In addition to inherently beneficial moments (information base expansion, aesthetic feeling awakening, etc.) the effect of anglicizing idiolectisms is generally manifested as a pseudo-fashionable,

quite a pressure process, mainly at the older middle and elderly level of communicators.

Conclusion. A sociolinguistic cross section of the other languages lexis in common spontaneous communication was performed through the age-generational criterion, secondarily supplemented by the education factor. In direct, immediate verbal contacts of the elderly communicators holding strong contacts with traditional dialects there still resonate, after unlocking of the dialogues, the adapted/deformed lexical Germanisms, and partially also Hungarianisms. Younger city residents (if they cannot speak German or Hungarian) either 1. reach for local equivalents, 2. use, or create neologisms according to their social and communication dispositions and needs, or 3. remain with the relicts or bungled-up phrases, often with an ambition to characterize the ethnicity/society, ironize, or even socially discredit a person (their verbal expression), or a group of people. In this respect, younger generation likes to use their sense of humour but also play on words (they are trying the measure to which communication can be shaped, up to the maximum permissible positions). The ironic, vulgar moment is often boosted by the contamination of a foreign word and a local language system, and vice versa. The created hybrids are more or less purpose-built in communication with a high degree of expressivity and verbal creativity. The middle aged group (24-59-year-old city residents) adds more dynamizing vectors to these basic general characteristics.

3.2. Sociolinguistic Contexts of the School Nicknames

Research of common everyday communication provides several opportunities for real and plausible registration and localization of the processes which take place in communication through the (live, spoken) language. The above mentioned utterance becomes topical if the linguist is not exclusively oriented on the research of a systemic character and substance of spoken communication (“what”/“how”) – so practically on the results of the communication acts, but especially when the most important question is “why”. Then it is obvious that finding the answer will demand taking a larger communication background into account. This background is exposed through the network of social, micro-group and interpersonal relations. Certainly, respect for the personal (psychosocial) attributes of the speakers is one of the key requirements.

Common spoken communication – in opposition to its written/spoken form – is characterized by several special socio-communication parameters. From the list of attributes (spontaneousness, unpreparedness, spokenness, immediate participation of the communicators in communication, informality of the communication situations, privacy of the environment, etc.) we can set apart a group of specific characteristics related to the communicators: age, education, social classification, social role, regional origination, sex (marginally); superiority/subordination, sympathy/antipathy, cooperation/competition, etc. A large number of qualifiers signalizes that from a linguistic aspect common communication is manifested as a speech-communication conglomerate saturated by the language means from various varieties: “scholastic” codified variety, spoken codified variety, territorial dialects, social dialects, mechanisms from other languages, expansive features of idiolects. Location of this conglomerate is a demanding process, especially in research of live open communication.

The level and condition of common spoken communication can be described quite accurately if some of the socio-communication parameters are intentionally (experimentally) cross-referred, in accordance with the aim of research within the model research formula. The risk of schematization or undue distortion of the objective condition can be minimized by the use of socio-communication vectors that are constant (relatively petrified)

in the studied communication sphere. In particular, we mean the generation profile of the members of the researched micro-societies, and transparency (clear definition, stability) of the socio-professional structure of the groups. If we turn these two parameters into dominating factors, then we can – e.g. through the sociolinguistic inquiry – analyze communication processes in particular micro-groups on the basis of the processed lexical material with a rather high plausibility. Naturally, synthesis is not based only on “purely“ structural and systemic approach.

An appropriate socio-communication unit characteristic with monolithness of the age-generation composition and socio-professional definition of the micro-society members is a school group. A school collective is created on the basis of an administrative intervention, lives a formalized work life and its members are involved in an organized activity – schooling. The double level pedagogic contacts (1. pedagogue – student, 2. student – student) are realized at the level of official/semi-official communication with an almost exclusive representation of codified communication. Violation of the (semi)official contact limits is usually sanctioned, e.g. by reproach, mark, increase in social tension on the axis teacher – student. Socio-psychological pressure of the canonized pedagogical communication is reduced in an unofficial communication sphere, primarily at a socially homogenous level (pedagogue – student, unless there is a too large age disparity). A characteristic evidence of the opposition of a school (student) collective against sometimes clearer, sometimes more obscure authoritativeness of a pedagogic activity are the school (pupil and student) nicknames.

A school nickname can be understood as a lexical unit with a strong motivation-nomination, identification-characterization and psychosocial-communication objective. A pupil/student normally arrives in a newly created, age-nivelized collective (a school class) only with their official name – first name and surname and, temporarily, with an externally unidentified psychosocial background. Quite naturally, the unofficial socio-communicational contacts between the members of a school collective force creation and functioning of so-called secondary denomination. Hence the nicknames are created as a resultant of the tension between the individual and social determinants of a concrete school group.

School nicknames are non-transferable in time. They only function during the “life“ of a school collective. After dissolution of a group and leave of its members to the other socio-professional structures (higher-level school, practice,

interest groups, etc.) the nicknames vanish. In communication of the former group members after a time gap they become just reminiscences. The transfer of an individual from the previous to a new group with the original nickname is very rare. It is only possible when the core of a new collective consists of the members of the original group.

It should be stressed that the key role in the nomination process of a nickname is played by motivation coming from a group. An individual usually does not choose a nickname; they, however, have to react to its creation and assignment. Then the reaction is retroactively “evaluated” by the school collective. Either the classmates insist on the nickname be used, and the new lexical unit comes alive and functions, or (in the case of its rejection by the potential bearer for its expressive-dishonouring characteristics, so practically an abuse) they accept the attitude of an individual and the whole selective-nomination ritual is repeated. Please note that terms of abuse are a marginal part of the list of school nicknames. Their functioning testifies either a strong negative feature of the nickname bearer, or the strictness of the collective’s attitude towards the named group member.

The objective of this paper is to point out motivation factors which influence the nomination process, i.e. formation, selection and functioning of nicknames in the Slovak school collectives of the pupils in the 2nd grade of primary schools and secondary school students, based on an authentic pilot material¹⁴. Motivation aspects significantly affect also a structural-systemic profile of particular nickname collections. The result of the analysis is highlighting the mutual relations between the inclusion of a nickname in a respective group, the degree of motivation clarity, the degree of emotionality/expressivity and the physical length of a nickname. We compare our conclusions with a similar paper which is well-known in typologically and socio-communicationally related conditions of another Slavic language – Polish¹⁵.

¹⁴ We have acquired the material corpus during the first half of 1995, from the seminar papers of 18 informers – university students of the Slovak Studies. Through the questionnaires the informers – members of former school collectives who perfectly knew the situation in their own school groups – gathered 250 lexical units that functioned at Slovak primary and secondary schools (central and part of western areas of the Slovak territory) in the second half of the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s. The questionnaires included basic data necessary for a plausible analysis – the type and locality of a school, the year of membership in a school group, the first name and surname of a bearer, plus a phonetic script of a nickname and a motivation of its origin. Motiveless nicknames were not taken into account.

¹⁵ See CZARNECKA, K. – ZGÓŁKOWA, H.: *Słownik gwary uczniowskiej* (Poznań 1991). From the material of the Polish colleagues, arranged in alphabetical order, we have chosen

According to the degree of motivational clarity we have arranged the acquired and critically evaluated collection of lexical units into five groups:

1. connotational nicknames (motivated by a direct relationship to the first name or, more often, a surname),
2. “exterior“ nicknames (motivated by physical features/specialties of a bearer),
3. “interior“ nicknames (motivated by psychical characteristics and features),
4. allusive nicknames (motivated on the basis of confrontation of visible signs, features, patterns of a bearer with a film/story character, famous singer, actor etc.),
5. situational nicknames (according to a strong motivating event, interest, tendencies; occasional nicknames and so called “by-names“ – false nicknames acquiring the character of real personal names).

1. Connotational nicknames – the motif of their origin and functioning is a direct, unambiguous relationship to the first name or surname of the bearer. The collection represents the group with the richest percentage of nicknames (Slovakia – SK – 48 %, Poland – PL – up to 62 %). The nicknames satisfy the basic criteria for their trouble-free usage in unofficial school communication – clear identification of a bearer and efficiency of communication (majority of the lexemes are represented by the two-syllable substantives). As for the word formation processes, mostly used ones are the following: **a)** shortening, **b)** shortening and substitution of affixes, **c)** shortening and deformation. A latent group is formed by the nicknames created by **d)** play on words (metathesis, acronymization) and **e)** so called exoticization (clear signs of inclination to the other language elements, means and procedures: anglicization, bohemization, hungarization, use of some Romany language features, etc.). The nicknames of type 1 are mostly acontextual (as a model they can be formed and then function also outside their original environment), with minimum degree of expressivity and the ambition to function also in the semi-official sphere as codified parcels. Their high frequency among nicknames is enhanced by manifestation of the relation to the appellative substantives.

130 lexical units that included motivation. For each letter of alphabet we have localized about the same number of lexical units.

1. a) Connotational nicknames formed by surname shortening:

SK: S. Sibylová – **Siba/Sibka**, V. Petrušková – **Pet’a**, R. Firic – **Firo**, M. Gašpar – **Gašo**, P. Kapusta – **Kapo**, I. Cilík – **Cilo**, I. Kubišová, I. Kubáň – **Kubo** (with no masc./fem. distinction), M. Miková – **Mici**, M. Murínová – **Muro**, etc.

PL: **Buli** (od nazw./from the surname Buliński), **Dębo** (od nazw. Dębowska), **Domin** (od nazw. Dominiak), **Dym** (od nazw. Dymny), **Dyszka** (od nazw. Dyszkan, etc.).

1. b) Connotational nicknames formed by the suffix shortening and substitution (in a first name or surname):

SK: Z. Čemanová – **Čemanka**, S. Rúfusová – **Rufka**, Milana K. – **Miluš**, R. Čvirik – **Čviro**, G. Lopatková – **Lopatka**, M. Čižmárová – **Čižma**, D. Buda – **Budík** (related to appellatives: lopatka – spatula, čižma – boot, budík – alarm clock), M. Vigaš – **Vigo**, M. Starčok – **Starec**, M. Bystrianska – **Bystrica** (related to a proprium – name of a city), etc.

PL: **Cyfra** (od nazw./from a surname Cyferkowski), **Dędka** (od nazw. Dędewicz), **Dočka** (od im./from the first name Dorota), **Dzwonek** (od nazw. Dzwoniarska), **Flora** (od nazw. Florecki), etc.

1. c) Connotational nicknames formed by shortening and deformation:

SK: A. Firicová – **Fifa/Fifina**, A. Krivošíková – **Krivul’a**, M. Ovečková – **Ovca** (related to appellatives: ovca – sheep), Z. Chudíková – **Chúd’a**, P. Kondojanisová – **Kondor**, E. Ježíková – **Ježura**, A. Šefferová – **Šéfka**, M. Bubelínyová – **Bublinka**, O. Budinská – **Budík**, M. Oreštiak – **Vreš’to** etc.

PL: **Ecik** (od im. Robercik), **Fetor** (od nazw. Foetke), **Jagoda** (od nazw. Łagódka), **Kanarek** (od nazw. Konorowska), **Kościół** (od nazw. Kościelny) etc.

1. d) Connotational nicknames formed by play on words:

SK: Jana Potocká – **Janka** (short stature; context with group 2) **Ťopocká** (metat.), Lenka Lavrová – **Lela** (acronymization), Patrik Debrecényi – **Padeb** (acronym.), M. Palárec – **Parálec**, Dana Hraníková – **Danahrana** (vocalic harmony), J. Vrana – **Havran** (opos.), A. Glédurová – **Gédur**, A. Augustínová – **Gugu**, J. Půček – **Kečup**, R. Plch – **Chlp** (inversions) etc.

PL: **HG** (od inicjałów imienia i nazwiska Henryk Głuszczy), **Jacek Placek** (od im. Jacek), **Jajo** (od nazw. Skorupka; context with group 5), **Edziopedzio** (od im. Edyta), **Wampirek** (od im. Mirek), etc.

1. e) Connotational nicknames formed by exoticization:

SK: Ľuboslava O. – **Lusa** (to Eng. Lucy), Angela Sch. – **Andželína** (to Ital. Angelina), Erika M. – **Erdži** (to Hun. Erszébet), P. Dávid – **Dejvo**

(to Eng. Davy), Jozef K. – **Džife** (to Eng. hypocor. Jeff), Ivan S. – **Aiven** (to Eng. Ivan), Katarína K. – **Kačena** (to bohemiz. famil. Kateřina), Ingrid H. – **Ingeborg** (to a nordic proprium), M. Holčíková – **Holčíčka** (to Czech apelat. holka – girl), Stanislava Š. – **Standa** (to Czech famil. Stanislava), etc.

PL: **Katiusza** (od im. Katarzyna; Rus.?), **Mari/Maryna** (od im. Maria; Eng.?), **Tomson** (od im. Tomasz; Eng.), **Marco Polo** (od im. Marek; Lat.), **Erosik** (od nazw. Rosik; context with group 5), etc.

2. “Exterior“ nicknames – formation and functioning of this nickname type is related to one or several significant (noticeable) physical attributes or characteristics of the nickname bearer. Attributes/characteristics were applied as a motivating factor upon their stable, clear occurrence on a potential nickname bearer. The collection represents the group with the second highest percentage of nicknames (SK – 22 %, PL – 19 %). The “exterior“ nicknames are typical with an interesting phenomenon: an unambiguous (dominant) identification attribute is “siphoned“ into a nickname mainly through a demanding way of word formation – metaphorization/synecdochization. The transfer of a meaning requires more complex analytic and synthetic processes on the part of a creator and donator of a nickname. However, this paradox is really only suppositional: markedness of a (physical) attribute supports clarity, explicitness of identification. Tersely said – “what is visible, what everyone can see“, that is what characterizes/defines the bearer, that becomes an apparent part of their being. Nomination process of creation of a pertinent metaphor and its acceptance by the collective is only the question of a clever creator and favourable conditions in a group.

Apart from metaphorization, type 2 nicknames also use other word-forming procedures characteristic for the previous group. Dramatic decline in deformed and exotized variants is substituted by the variants formed by play on words. Play on words is the fundament of creativity typical for common spontaneous communication. However, it is symptomatic that the majority of denominations in this group can function – outside the context – in (oral) official communication as well – the expressions acquire the codified character; of course, with an increase of their inherent expressivity. Generally, even the nicknames can saturate the prestigious (codified) variety of a national language.

The following sets of identifiers are considered the most productive motivators of the “exterior“ nicknames:

a) stature, general appearance (height, size, weight):

SK: **Čiara** (Line), **Suchár** (Cracker), **Pavúk** (Spider), **Hoszú** (Hung. hoszú = long), **Bidlo** (Perch), **Fafa** (= Žirafa - Giraffe; context with group 1), **Basketka** (colloq., basketbalistka – feminine basketball player)... high figure; **Byko/Tuky** (“Bully/Fatty“), **Buchta** (Bun), **Prasa** (Pig), **Pupok** (Belly), **Čajník** (Teapot), **Kobyla** (Mare) (positive evaluation)... a stout, corpulent figure; **Hrbatá** (Humpy) (strongly negativizing aspect), **Parádnica** (Dressy Girl), **Barbie**, **Šuta**... general appearance, etc.

PL: **Buła** (bardzo tęgi/very fat), **Długi** (Long) (niski/wysoki wzrost/short/tall stature), **Badył** (wysoki uczeń/tall student), **Dynia/Hibka** (bardzo tęga/very fat), **Igła** (Needle) (szczupła/slim)... tall, slim figure; **Pajęczak** (bardzo wysoki, o długich rękach i nogach/very tall, with long arms and legs)... general appearance etc.

b) the shade of skin pigment:

SK: **Kubánc** (Cuban), **Cigáň** (Gipsy), **Káva** (Coffee); **Múka** (Flour) etc.

c) face:

SK: **Vydra** (Otter), **Macík** (Teddy bear) (negative evaluation), **Pivonka** (Peony), **Včielka Maja** (Maja the Bee), **Mesiak** (Moon) (oval face), **Opica** (Monkey) etc.

PL: **Žaba** (Frog) (płaski nos, wylupiate oczy – flat nose, popped eyes), etc.

d) parts of the face (hair colour and style, shape of nose, eyes, ears, mouth colour and shape)

SK: **Trus-trus/Trusko** (Bunny) (rabbit-like teeth), **Drozd** (Blackbird), **Ježko-Jožko** (Hedgehog Jožko – popular childrens’ cartoon character), **Kaktus** (Cactus), **Leviča** (Lionet), **Brčka** (Curly), **Brko** (Quill), **Albín**, **Havran** (Raven), **Pomaranč** (Orange), **Mrkva** (Carrot) (hair); **Mongol**, **Slepúch** (Blindworm), **Slepý** (Blind), **Oči** (Eyes) (shape of eyes, wearing of glasses); M. Matala – **Mates** – a draw-out ball used in a popular lottery (lop ears, context with group 1), etc.

PL: **Brdzylek Nietoperzyk** (ma krzywe zęby/has crooked teeth; context with group 5); **Długi Kłag**, **Jaskiniowec**, **Welniasty**, **Kitka**, **Emu**, **Jeżol**, **Rudy 102** (context with group 5)... hair; **Antena Satelitarna**, **Klapauch**, **Uszatek/Uszaty**... shape of ears, etc.

3. “Interior“ nicknames – are formed and function in common unofficial communication of the school collective members on the grounds of knowing

and revealing of special psychical characteristics and features of a potential bearer. It should be stressed that nomination process of formation of this type of nickname is much longer and more demanding when compared to connotational and “exterior” ones. Much more time is usually needed for creation and fixation of an “interior” type of nickname: school group members watch their classmate and observe their behaviour in the collective. Only after relative closing of the observation phase and analysis the nomination process starts – verbalization of a nickname and its “granting” to a bearer. Psychosocial complexity of the secondary name formation is probably the reason for their low incidence (SK – 6 %, PL – 6 %).

From the word-formation aspect, the meaning transfer (metaphorization) – significantly saturated by the pursuit of play on words - rises in prominence. Lexemes are, structurally, part of codified/colloquial lexis with maximum occurrence of the exotizing procedures (almost exclusively in bilingual socio-geographic areas, e.g. on the border between two ethnicities). The influence of dialects is negligible from the lexical point of view; they are manifested on the phonic level when the particular live nickname is used in dialectically significant environment. It should be added that the “interior” nicknames hold a strong evaluating and differentiating potential on the scale: acknowledgement of a personality by the group – dishonouring/social ostracism of an individual. It is therefore understandable that physical length of a nickname is irrelevant – the “interior” nicknames do not primarily serve as economizers of real verbal expressions.

a) “Interior” nicknames with a positive expressive-evaluating appendix:

SK: **Filozof** (Philosopher) (contemplative), **Cipuška** (gentle, sensitive), **Chichotka** (Giggle) (fem., likes to laugh very often), **Inteligent** (gentle, meek, prudent), **Kolumbus** (fem., curious; masculinization), **Dievčatko** (Little Girl) (sensitive, meek; shift from masc. to neuter) etc.

PL: **Centralny Mózg Wszechświata** (Central Brain of Mankind (dobrze się uczy/good student), **Danusia** (sposobem poruszania się przypomina dziewczynę/by the way of movement reminds a girl), **Dama** (Dame) (bardzo interesuje się dziewczętami/very attracted by the girls), **Chłopczara (Tom-Boy)** (lubi przebywać w towarzystwie chłopców/enjoys the boys’ company), etc.

b) “Interior” nicknames with a negative expressive-evaluating appendix:

SK: **Teplá** (lit. Warm, fig. Gay) (deadjective; homosexual inclination), **Holub** (Pigeon) (timid, uneasy), **Klepina** (cleptomaniac; context with group 1), **Skrutka** (Screw) (captious, argumentative), **Biff’a** (Stew) (studies a lot),

M. Slopovský – **Sopka** (Volcano) (explosive, short-tempered; context with group 1.c), **Tiszta Flanc** (Hung. girlfriend; behaviour; context with group 1.e) etc.

PL: **Dynamit**, **Nerwus** (nervous) (nerwowe usposobienie/nervous disposition), etc.

4. Allusive nicknames – a motif for their formation and functioning is usually an off-group impulse. On the basis of observing and analysis a school collective confronts a sum of characteristics of a potential nickname bearer with a generally well-known object (actor, singer, film character, comics hero, sportsman, etc.). Sometimes the stimulus for creation of a nickname origins from the potential bearer (by showing their own inclinations, hobbies etc.); allusive nickname is then related to the group 5 – situational nicknames. Out of the context (domestic environment) the allusive nicknames are not very clear – therefore they have little representation in a collection of nicknames (SK – 6 %, PL – 2 %).

The allusive nicknames involve word-forming procedures characteristic for the groups 1 and 2 of the secondary denominations. Compared to the group of connotational nicknames, the allusive ones bear a stronger characterization-expressivization attribute, usually with a positive emotional direction. Several nicknames of type 4 use cumulation of the word-forming processes and procedures, e.g. shortening and substitution of a suffix + exotization + anchoring through allusion, e.g.:

SK: Marek K. – **Mareček** (diminutive of the name Marek) (allusion to the Czech film “Marečku, podejte mi péro!“ - “Marečku, Pass Me the Pen!“), M. Gerderich – **Geňo** (al. to the character from the song Crocodile Geňa), J. Hámorník – **Pepék** (synecdoche; allusion to the film Popeye the Sailor), etc.

PL: **Filip** (od nazwiska Filipiak; podobieństwo do postaci z filmu dla dzieci/resemblance to the children’s film character), etc.

The group 4 exposes more nicknames formed on the basis of allusion to the film character/hero:

SK: **Terka**, **Hektor**, **Tetrov** and **Jegorov** (the nickname bearers are also twins), **Toudy** (comics), **Džina**/Gina (i.e Lollobrigida), **Kordula** (children’s film; a boy’s nickname) etc.

Sporadically there appear also nicknames related to appellatives, with latent shade of negativization or hyperbolization of a characteristic:

SK: **Herečka**/Actress (the student was chosen for a role in a film which was never made), etc.

PL: **Gwiazda** (Star) (brzydka i niemądra, uważa się za artystkę/ugly and dumb, considers herself an artist), etc.

5. Situational nicknames – they make a special group of the school nicknames. Regarding almost completely obscure motivation, markedness of the form and application exclusively inside the school group gain the character of a lexical hybrid. Hybridity is structurally manifested also by **a)** much richer contacts with the nicknames from the other groups, **b)** use/cumulation of several word-forming procedures, **c)** larger choice of lexemes from the whole area officiality – unofficiality, **d)** drawing from the whole spectre of varieties of a national language, **e)** variable physical length. Part of situational nicknames (so called by-names) cannot be unconditionally referred to as real nicknames for their strong individualistic features. Hence the criterion of percentage of the situational nicknames representation among the school nicknames (SK – 18 %, PL – 11 %) is irrelevant.

Inside the collection of situational nicknames, smaller subgroups cannot be easily localized. In principle a rule proceeds that school nicknames of type 5 draw inspiration for the nomination process known in the other four groups. Permanence of the school nickname expressivity is guaranteed by multilateral cumulation of stimuli. [By the way, this process is also known as so called catalytic proliferation and it is typical for other socio-professional groups with a higher degree of exclusiveness, e.g. military collectives]¹⁶. In the cases where the (individual/group) expresivization motives are absent there appears drawing of the stimuli from a larger social context. Family traditions and bonds, real personal names, functioning of family nicknames according to one family member – those are the factors causing that a nickname is manifested as a result of romanticizing-mythologizing features.

Examples:

SK: **Linda** (a fem. student went to karate lessons; allusion to a popular TV series with the same title and name of the main character; contacts with nickname groups 1 and 4), **Sokes Jarabes Bunkeres** (a fem. pupil lived close to a Romany settlement; exotization; contexts with group 1), **Čurba** (a fem. student liked going to parties; derived from colloq. expres. čurbes = party; context with group 1), **Džavala** (fem. pupil did Gipsy dancing; exotization; context with group 1), **Destilát** (student liked alcoholic drinks), **Grco** (Puke) (pejor./abuse: bearer vomited after drinking alcohol), K. Mravec – **Plavec** (Swimmer) (great at swimming; context with group 1), J. Horemuž

¹⁶ For more details on *catalytic proliferation* collocation see Peňáz, 1986.

(“Upman“) – **Doleżena** (“Downwoman“) (expresivization by opposition; context with group 1), **Potomok revúckych páirov** (Descendant of the Pairs of Revúca) (according to the place of residence), **Madam Klavír** (Madame Piano) (she was good at playing the musical instrument), **Dôstojný pán** ((address of a) Priest) (often cited the Bible), **Doktor** (his grandfather was a doctor), **Kraviar** (Cowboy) (his father was a cowboy), **Baťa** (his father was a shoe shop manager); **Amigo**, **Namber-uan**, **Veget/Vegeták** (they often used parasitic words); **Kostelník** (dialect. – cod. kostolník (sacristan); live personal name of a family + grandfather was a church bellringer + nickname bearer assisted at church ceremonies) etc.

PL: **Babik** (Dolly) (jak dziecko tak nazywała go siostra/his sister called him like that as a young child), **Cycatka** (Chesty) (uczeń „rozbudowana klatka piersiowa“/with a “well-developed chest”), **Korzeń** (Root) (często mówi o swoich przodkach/often talks about his ancestors); **Cysiu Skarpetnik** (od im./from teh name **Krzysiu** – context with group 1 – i zwyczaju naciągania skarpetek na spodnie/has a habit to put his socks on the trousers), **Frędzelek** (Tassle) (nosi odzież ozdobioną frędzelkami/wears clothes decorated with tassels), **Krochmal** (zawsze nosi starannie wyprasowane spodnie i koszule (always wears neatly ironed trousers and skirts; from Germ. krachmehl/white flour – exotization, **Żarówka** (Filament) (nosi odzież w jaskrawych kolorach/wears bright-coloured clothes), etc.

Conclusion.

A. In school nicknames ethnocultural, social-psychological and communication specialties of some members of a nation are gathered and expressed in a condensed way. Localization and description of these parameters are only possible through seeking of partial (inner) systems of oppositions within the spectre individual – social determinants of particular speakers.

B. School nicknames clearly manifest their well-defined generational and socio-professional background. The characteristic environment of their origin and functioning is a school context. The process of nickname creation and donation develops in a psychologically most turbulent middle school age (9 – 10-year-old pupils of primary schools) and more or less exhausts its possibilities in adolescence (18 – 19-year-old youth leaving secondary schools; break-up of the formalized school groups). After this period the process of nickname creation is reduced to more clear-cut socio-professional or interest groups (a special role in the lives of young men was played by the military

service). In the new environments, however, other factors motivating the origin and objectives of nicknames prevail.

C. From the sociolinguistic aspect, school nicknames are exposed as the set of lexemes with a two-level hybridity:

c₁) external – nicknames draw socio-communication stimuli from the whole spectre of the national language, they have a super-territorial nature and (although their domicile is oral common unofficial communication) they draw and, at the same time, enrich the lexical material from the whole set of standardness – (colloquiality) – professionalism – slangness – substandardness (slangs, argots, deformations etc.), including both extremes;

c₂) internal – nicknames as members of methodologically and typologically more exactly contoured groups and subgroups can be, apart from their inclusion in (motivically dominant) group, also assigned to the lexemes from the other groups. The reason is evident – the effort to reach the maximum possible identification of the bearer through the nickname. If the stimuli from one circuit are insufficient for adequate functioning of a nickname, processes typical for another group will be applied.

D. The set of school nicknames makes an internally hierarchized system. Between the groups there are blurred borderlines which allow migration of nicknames. Structurally some nicknames belong to several groups while only one group is a domicile. The external contours of this conglomerate can be outlined through oppositions. Respecting the order of the groups 1 – 5, in the cross-section of the set of nicknames the following tendencies can be observed:

d₁) degree of figurativeness/metaphoricness increases with the growing consecutive group number; the measure of language creativity also increases;

d₂) degree of motivation clarity decreases with a higher group number;

d₃) degree of emotionality/expressivity increases from group 1 to group 5; name dimensionality loses its relevance in the process;

d₄) degree of socio-communicational autonomy of nicknames decreases with the increasing group level: the maximum measure of independence is typical for the nicknames in the groups 1 and 2. They are acontextual, able to function as models in various socio-professional and communication configurations. The nicknames from the first two groups have the strongest social-communication ambition. The nicknames from the other three groups lose much of their ability to saturate the communicational needs of the larger societies.

E. The hybrid character of school nicknames – despite their evident generational-social representations and exact localization – does not support the existence of certain unofficial school language, or the language/speech of the pupils and students. Nicknames “only“ reflect several social-psychological (economization, characterization-gestational etc.) and language-communication potentials of the two basic forms of communication within the national language – spoken (oral) forms of verbal communication.

3.3. On the Dynamics of the Spoken Communication Norms in the Middle part of Central Slovakia

In the early 1970s a two-volume proceedings containing papers from the conference that concluded many years of spoken Slovak research (see *Spoken*

Form of Codified Slovak, 1972), was published by cyclostyl in just a small edition. The conference took place in October 1965. Thus methodologically thoroughly prepared and perfectly performed interdisciplinary research and its findings had officially failed to gain wide publicity at the time of their conclusion and publishing. In all that, this really up-to-date program concept and its accomplishments were later the object of interest of many Czechoslovak linguistic community members.

When the original collection of texts was recently republished (see *Sociolinguistica Slovaca* 6, 2007), its editor emphasized, among other things, an essential fact: in the 1960s it was the very first research of the terrain “...in which the (codified) language lived its real life“ (Ondrejovič, 2007, p. 10). In the second half of the previous century such detection of condition and level of the real oral communication in its natural environment, with its real bearers and both individual and social conditions and consequences, immediately confirmed the challenges and supported the inspirations of the so called pragmatic turn, (also) in relation to (Slovak) linguistic. Besides, preparation, process and conference evaluation of gained knowledge and experience put the fundamental problem – normative aspects of immediate spoken communication - in an interesting position.

Development of clearer sociolinguistic intentions was motivated by the effort to get an interdisciplinary view of the language/speech in a natural environment, to analyze soundtracks and to interpret the findings in relation to non-verbal conditions and preconditions. It was clearly happening at the turn of the 1980s and the 1990s. The attention was intentionally paid to the communicationally manifold urban environments. Studies and papers come from the individuals, or present the results of tandem, microgroup and even institutionalized efforts. Several general and/or partial evaluations and stimuli of this fruitful stage lie, often in a contrastive light, mainly in the proceedings *K diferenciácii súčasného mluveného jazyka* (On the differentiation of contemporary spoken language), 1995; *Konstanty a proměny mluvených útvarů českého národního jazyka* (Constants and transformations of spoken units of the Czech national language), 1996; *Sociolinguistica Slovaca* 1–5¹⁷, in the proceedings from nine (by now) conferences on communication held in Banská Bystrica (1991–2017; for the list of events see the cover

¹⁷ They are available in an electronic form on the website of Jazykovedný ústav Ľ. Štúra SAV v Bratislave (Ľ. Štúr Institute of Linguistic, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava) – see relevant hyperlink references at http://juls.savba.sk/ediela/sociolinguistica_slovaca (online; cit. 2010–11–22).

of the proceedings from the 9th Conference on Communication; Odaloš, 2018), and in conceptual or synthesizing contributions – see mainly Findra, 2007; *Jazyk a jazykoveda v pohybe* (Language and linguistics on the move), 2008; Ondrejovič, 2008; Patráš, 2008; Kralčák, 2009; Slančová – Sokolová, 2011, etc. In 2007–09 a pilot selective research of spoken communication in the territory of Banská Bystrica and Žilina regions was conducted on related methodology basis (for the program definition see Findra, 2007).¹⁸ As a member of the research team, the author covered two research points with very similar language-communication backgrounds – Banská Bystrica and Ružomberok, plus their immediate surroundings. Moreover, Banská Bystrica provided an opportunity to describe the language situation in this middle-sized city through comparison with the picture created by his own research at the turn of the 1980s and the 1990s (see Patráš, 1990). The first partial results of the comparative sub-project were presented at the 7th international conference on communication (Patráš, 2010).

Following the previous comments, let us introduce the goal of the paper. We observe it as a junction of four coefficients which, on the basis of real usage, **a)** will point at normative ambitions of a socially and spatially conditioned way of immediate communication, which characterizes spoken communication within the defined (wider urban) conditions beyond controversy, and **b)** will support the hypothesis of an evident normative shift even during one cycle of sociogenerational variation, i. e. within approximately two decades.

Which factors trace achieving the set goal? In the first place it is necessary to remind the fact that in comparison with the 1960s the most recent research is not focused on description of oral communication anymore. It has also abandoned the method of contrastive definition of the axis literariness – unliterariness. This approach was neither applied in our studies in the 1980s–1990s. The second milestone is in/validity of the notion of surviving differences in common communication of the city residents and the speakers in the (surrounding) rural communities. Surely, the perception of levelling and/or differentiating trends in intra-group (urban and rural) and inter-group communication, as well as an effort to notice changes and to explain them responsibly, are necessary. The third milestone is consideration

¹⁸ Research project of the Scientific Grant Agency, Ministry of Education SR and Slovak Academy of Sciences VEGA No. 1/4713/07 *Dynamika spoločenských zmien a stratifikácia slovenčiny* (Dynamics of social changes and stratification of Slovak). Principal investigator: J. Findra. Research period January 2007 – December 2009. Number of investigators: 9 at first; in the end research was completed by 6 researchers, including 1 full-time PhD student.

of the non/existence and definition of a special, cross-sectional, layered unit (form, shape, variety) of a national language structured in levels, parallels or radii, the degree of un/closedness and a prospective position, tasks and the theoretical value of this construct in a diasystem of the national language. Eventually, the fourth pointer is coloured by the *postmodernity* methodological question: is it still appropriate/advantageous to deal with one of the stratification models in the case of interdisciplinary approach to immediate spoken communication?

At the early stage of the research one of the initial studies related to oral communication norms (Patráš, 1991) was also written. It had become a direct stimulus for the current reflections; naturally, with the benefit of the distance created by the mentioned generation shift. In its background there lies the essential idea of the co-existence of three socio-communication norms which can be disclosed by abstraction in direct communication, performed through live open speech (usage). Here is a reminder of our view from the beginning of the 1990s: immediate communication of the Banská Bystrica residents oscillated clearly between two rather stable norms. On the one side there was quite a well-preserved norm of local geographic dialect. Even then, however, it was interwoven with the levelling, “standardizing” expression habits of the Banská Bystrica valley residents (not koiné), typical mainly for immediate communication of the older socio-generational groups. In a sort of “useful tension” towards it there was an internally more fragmented normative block with constituents and elements of the oral form of standard (“school”) Slovak, foreign languages and sociolects, functioning in communication of the younger and young speakers, but with lower degree of stability. At the intersection of the both above mentioned normative zones a third one was being created: unfinished, indefinite, yet an action norm, operating with the bearing elements, means and procedures of the marginal norms. It was detected and substantiated in communication of the members of the middle socio-generation group. A cross-sectionally perceived norm has a centre – at that time we called it “*colloquial Slovak*”-to-be – and a peripheral, variable zone. We understood this as a communication norm of the so called spoken form of Slovak in the city (SFSC) in a narrow sense. [For the premises, an illustration of normative coexistence with its explanation and consequences see Patráš, 1991.]

The skeleton of the study lay on two pillars. **1.** On intra-language level there are communicators from the middle socio-generational layer, able to cover predominantly supporting elements and procedures from both marginal normative areas, apart from “their” communication register. By their effective

use in e.g. inter-generational contacts – in dialogues between grandparents and grandchildren – the speakers get into an important compensating position and soften, or even eliminate possible communication noise. 2. At the socio-communication level the representatives of the middle socio-generational group become the main “generalized authors of a group image“ concerning the resources, situation and substance of live spoken communication in a particular place/city and time period. After a natural move to a higher age level they usually retain their way of communication and the acquired, verified norms, although slightly varied indeed. Especially this motif from the study was left in a stage of hypothesis and was not studied more deeply as we did not continue systematic research of the spoken form of Slovak in the 1990s.

The main ambition of this paper is to compare life of the norms in two research periods and thus to level a synchronically dynamic normative space for recognizing and presenting of spoken communication in current cities. Nevertheless, the norm in the service of oral, spontaneous, socially and territorially limited communication is understood as a representative of a group language behaviour which, at the same time, reflects the quality of the relationship of an individual to the norm¹⁹ (see also Dolník, 2008, p. 227). It provides space for more general usage and more complex interpretation outside the monitored localities – Banská Bystrica and Ružomberok, even with super-temporal application. In other words: we are building an explanation foreground of a real socio-communication terrain with supra/territorial validity, in which a live, immediate speech is applied. It should be noted that the terrain adapted in this way does not take the mixed varieties of Slovak or the stratification approach into account. On the other hand, it does not deny the importance of the structuralist reasoning. Simultaneously, its methodical and technical background is created by the adequate interaction of quantitative and qualitative approaches in an empirical research (for the necessary conjunctions, benefits and limits of both approaches see e.g. Silverman, 2005; Hendl, 2006; Punch, 2008).

After drawing the strategic lines the intention should be also introduced from the practical aspect. The research of the spoken form of Slovak in the city

¹⁹ J. Dolník emphasizes the so called collective behaviour in relation to the norm of the standard language. With regard to the immediate spoken communication, the term “norm of the standard language“ loses its definition. Normative potential of the spontaneous spoken communication is also influenced by non-homogenous normative circumstances with their non-standard action radius. Therefore, when we characterize a standard (standards) in a researched environment, we prefer awareness of group behaviour of communicators, which include deviations as normative components.

from the early 1990s found its argumentation fields in a precise structure-systemic delimitation. However, the intention to use earlier research as a comparing etalon for a convincing adoption of an attitude towards the current situation and, at the same time, more plastic presentation of knowledge related to common communication with more permanence requires a different – procedurally unfinished, yet analytically viable and interpretatively readable – way. Its (language/speech) material background is inevitably formed by the live pieces of communication – technically, they are promptly processed audio recordings with parallel transcriptions. The informative value is supported by the performed enquiries and procured by the accompanying documents, i.e. databanks, charts of constant and variable identifiers extracted from the socio-demographic maps of respondents. In contrast to the past, these linguistic and anthropologic data play much more important role throughout the research phases.

The previous reflections evoke a tempting idea again. A rather rational effort to conceptually define a synchronically more stable, although cross-sectional variety – e.g. *the spoken form of Slovak (in the city)*, *spoken/colloquial Slovak*, *urban language*, *speech of the city*, etc. – is regarded as a less productive activity. In our opinion, what seems axiologically more effective, as for the “life of a norm revelation, is **1.** noticing of the resources, manifestations and objectives, naming of the milestones, monitoring and tracing of the movement “from the norm toward usage and vice versa“, and inevitably **2.** substantiation of flexibility of a normative potential in spoken communication through the interdependent relationship of the **a)** nonverbal causes and **b)** verbal consequences. The (carrying) capacity of such a programme just supports the methodological turn “from a) to b)“; its applicable use is indicated thereafter. It concerns monitoring of developments of the spoken communication norms with the benefit of an age-generational shift in the background.

For illustration purposes, the following extracts will be compared. They come from the four synchronically older residents of the monitored localities. The communication fragments of the respondents **B – D** are included in the most recent research corpus²⁰.

²⁰ Field collection was performed by the author of study. He also involved trained explorers in order to lower stylization of the recordings and interpersonal gaps, as well as in the excursions to the less accessible environments. They were the students of the Slovakist study programmes at Matej Bel University, Banská Bystrica. In March 2010 the audio recording collection consisted of 73 pieces of communication; out of which 56 respondents were bound

A.

Banská Bystrica

J. K.

84 years old. male

primary education

(track 1986; for the extract see Patráš, 1996a)

Tag₁ naro₂diu som sa / dvaciat₁ho / ŠTVR₁ŤÍHO / roku tisíc₂z devä₂cto / dva. Siedmy mesiac. No. A / ako mlad₁í človek čak / k₂ýa som do-
rast₁u / cho₂diu som / [v]šeli₂jáko ťe₂di / medzi tímato ľud₂ma 'ako
sa povie // ňedozer₂ne. // Lebo [v]ž₂di mi chyb₂'elo / čo mi naj-
viac chyb₂'elo / školi. Do týchto šk₂ol som ňemoh₂u cho₂diť / lebo /
náz₂ bolo / se₂dem de₂tí. // Najstar₂ší brat / ako [v]štr₂nácto₂ ro-
ku iš₂ [i]ou za voj₂aka / a tam / sestra zase čo bola / tá iš₂la na
robotu. Tak / ja som ost₂av ako/sám. Štr₂názro₂ční. // No a tak /
ňemali zme sa [k]de po₂de [t] tak som iš₂iou / do stol₂ičkovej to-
vár₂ni a f tej stol₂ičkovej továr₂ni som rob₂iv ako / subj₂ek₂ta. No.

B.

Banská Bystrica

M. Č.

75 years old. female

university education

(track 2009)

PREkvapila som sá ▲▼ ke₂' ten₀ zvončeg ZAčal ZVOñit' PREÑIKAVO
a vóbe₃ ÑEpre₂stál ▼/ BEžala som dolé a ke₂' som viš₂la NA chodbu ciťila som
DIM▼/ bola som HROZ₂ne prekvapená ČO sa stalo▼/ otvorila som DVEre
na BYťe ▲▼ A f IZBE ▲▼ bola normálne ▲▼ TMÁ ot /jed'ine na ok₂ne
RÁmi uš H O R E L I ▲▼ ČIŽE bol P O ŽIAR▼/ JA som sa hroz₂ne zlakla
a KRIčala som ▲▼ tagže susedo₂uci prišli A POmáhali mi▼/ NAñhorší zážitog
bol f tom že som ÑEved'ela či mamka sa naxá3a f tom ▲▼ či mamka sa naxá3a
f te₂i m₂ies[t]nosťi g₂d'e horelo ▲▼ Alebo preš₂la do KUxi₂ne▼/ ZAčali zme to
HASit' fšetkó ▲▼ NAšťasťie mamka bola f kuxi₂ni a oh₂rievala si MLĽeko▼/
ALE I TAK ▲▼ ten POŽIAR to bolo hrvozné ñiečo▼

to Banská Bystrica and its surrounding area, and 17 to Ružomberok and area. Verified, catalogized and primarily correlated texts make for 721 minutes of the processed sound track. For validity support purposes needed in interpretations and generalizations, questionnaires are on hand – respondents filled them in under the interviewer's supervision before/after the interview.

I was surprised ▲▼ when the bell started to ring very loudly and would not stop at all ▼/I was running downstairs and when I came out to the corridor I could smell the smoke ▼/I was terribly surprised what happened▼/I opened the apartment door ▲▼ and in the room ▲▼ it was regularly ▲▼ dark only the window frames were already glowing ▲▼ so there was fire▼/I was terribly frightened and I was screaming ▲▼ so the neighbours came and were helping me ▼/the worst thing was that I did not know whether my mum was in there ▲▼ whether my mum was in the room that was on fire ▲▼ or she went to the kitchen▼/ we started to smother everything ▲▼ fortunately mum was in the kitchen warming her milk ▼/but still ▲▼ the fire it was just horrible ▼

C.

Banská Bystrica

Z. V.

75 years old. female

secondary education

(track 2009)

...pláž bola nádherna▼//vibráli zme si naľpru také miesto▲/také nenápadné▲/museli zme xod'i[t'] ces cestu▲ a tá pláž bola pri druhom (hm) takom rekre-ačnom are-áli▲ a mi zme xod'ili naľprv na takú pláž▲/kd'e bola sa mi zdala/že ako kebi verejná lebo po-obed'e tam bolo mnoho domácix▲/(hm) tíy dovolenĸujúcix▲/alebo ktorí sa len prišli tam okúpať▲ a postupne zme zisťili▲/že dá sa ízd' aľ na iné miesta▲/krajšie á kd'e máme aľ lehátka▲ /aľ slnečníki▲/a ĸikto nás [s]taďiľ ako ňevihod'il tag /☺/▲▼ zme tam skúšali a xod'ili zme tam▼//boli zme aľ na víleťe▲/na tom hľauňom mešťe▲▼ /v hľauňo[m] mešťe ostrova kos▲/ťieš sa nazíva kos▲/je to historické mesto▲/sú tam [m]nohé tie historické pamiatki▲/len v tom ťeple a z malím d'ieťaťom sa veľmi tam ňedalo xod'it'▲/tag zme si urobili len takú malú prexácku▲/no naľviac [s]a nám páčili tie loďe NÁDherné▲▼

...the beach was awesome▼//first we chose such a place▲/so quiet▲/we had to cross the road▲ and that beach was next to the other recreation area▲ and we used to go to such a beach▲/which seemed to be public because in the afternoon there were a lot of locals ▲/those on holiday ▲/or who just came there to have a swim▲ and later we found out▲/we can go to other places▲/nicer ones where we also have the deck chairs▲/and umbrellas▲ /and nobody kicked us out of there so /☺/▲▼ we tried and went there ▼//we

also went for a trip▲/to the capital ▲▼/ the capital of the kos island▲/it is also called kos▲/it is a historic town▲/there many of those sights ▲/only in the heat and with a young child it was impossible to walk very much ▲/so we just went for a short walk ▲/but what we liked most were the beautiful boats ▲▼

D.

Liptovská Lužná, Ružomberok district

I. T.

69 years old. female

primary education

(track 2008)

NO čo▼/ja som sa NArodila [v]šak tu v LIptoškej LUŽnej▼/na samom višnom konci▼/to bolo také▼// slabé▲no XUdobné▲museli sme pracovať▼Deťi▼[v]šak/ako d'eti zme pomáhať MAME ▼/lebo nám oco zomrel▼/ZAfčasu▼/boli zme štiria▼/no a tak to bola bída▲ja nemôžem to ani rozprávať lebo to bolo strašne no▼peňazi sme vobedz ŇEmaťi▼/lebo sme mali onú toto POľnohospodárstvo▲a z toho sme mali žiť▲a keď nemal kto robiť▼/to bolo slabé▼/no a o (...) boli [v]šak [v]šeličo▼/mama tiež nestačila i nas i všetko▼/i na poľi▼NO bola to bída▼nebolo to tag AKO je to TEras▲d'eti sa majú dobre šak lepšie lepšie▲povieme že je zlé ale lepšie▲mó3 ľepšie▼/ no←a a tiež nebolo Aňi obľiec[t']▼/Aňi zjes[t'] toľko▼čo zme maľi v jednom zme xod'ili [v]ždi▼či keď 'už bolo aj čisté ale v jednom nebolo nám na preoblečenie/nebolo ani kúpeľkov ani nič to zme sa len tak no vo VAňax takix to vi ŇEviťe to vám darmo ja buďem vraviť/železnyx▲no tak to bolo no čo ja viem čo mám ťi ešte viac povedať▼//

Well▼/I was born in here, in Liptovska Luzna ▼/on the outskirts ▼/that was so bad▼// ▲well, poor▲we had to work in our childhood ▼children▼as /children we helped our mother ▼/as our father died▼/very soon▼/there were four of us▼/and we lived in poverty▲I cannot talk about that as it was horrible, well▼we did not have any money at all▼/we had that one, the farm▲and we were supposed to live on that ▲and there was nobody who could work▼/that was bad ▼/well, and (...) whatever happened▼/our mother did not manage everything, the children, and everything ▼/and on the field▼well, that was poverty▼it was not the same as today▲children are better, better▲we say that the time is bad, but it is better▲a lot better▼/ well, ←and we did not have any clothes to put on▼/And not enough food to eat▼we used

☺ ☹	(hm)	mimic signals	hesitation sounds
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After demonstration of the examples, knowledge and their mutual correlation, from the aspect of interpretations and generalizations acceptability it is time to formulate final comments – in a discussion manner, of course – and thus achieve the goal of the study.

To support our considerations we have chosen a socio-generational group of seniors which is typical with the highest measure of communication stability within the spectre of the examined agglomeration residents. There is more than a 20-year gap between the individual pieces of communication, altogether made by the method of audio recording and processing into the final written form. The key fact is that the sociolinguistic interpretation of the pieces of communication, regardless the time of recording, is bridged by skilfully demonstrated speakers' awareness of the communication situations, including their value-creating background. Simultaneously, in the respective communication acts the age in a socio-generational sense, the location/city with its language-situational definition and a similar social status of the communication acts participants emerge as unifying factors.

At the conjunction of the non-language conditions and preconditions a clear oral communication invariant shall never be finished, only permanently “re-profiled“ as their phenomenal aspect. Its socio-communicationally mouldable norm is marked with lowering incidence, or even complete withdrawal of the language means with local or interdialectal reference. They are alternated or replaced by their parts with codified inventory classification. The oral communication variants make concurrent activization of the individual specialties present. They can be proven through the key nonverbal parameters. It turns out that in comparison to their significant influence at the end of the previous century, the speakers' education level has scored a decreasing impact. In the chart of identifiers it has been replaced by life – civic, cultural, socio-professional, free time etc. – experiences and abilities of the speakers, availability, multitude and often an aggressive effect of the media, foreign language competence, growing assertiveness, more frequent work migration in the groups of economically active population, etc.

In the 1960s and 1980s–1990s older speakers with stronger socio-demographic bonds to the location/city demonstrably applied the local ways of communication, clearly visible at all levels of the language system (central-Slovak variant; see the extract A). The newer records from Banská Bystrica and

Ružomberok reflect elimination of the local or urban specialties and differences. Thus oral (colloquial) norm with a nation-wide application is enhanced permanently, without big lapses. The point is that two (four) decades ago the current older socio-generational group in its central generational situation held a key position in creation of the core, generally perceived “urban“ socio-communication norm. Today’s seniors maintain their active standard-setting potential even in older age. The fact refers to both urban and rural conditions without much of a difference – even the elderly village residents switch the code safely and use the prestigious nation-wide form (extract **D**). It seems traditional rural language has always fulfilled just a colouring function, especially in emotional, personal or even intimate and exclusively unofficial communication. In the future it will be even more applicable. The analyses of the audio recordings confirm its attenuation also in the language of the middle and younger age groups where the members still maintain their bonds to a local dialect or rural usage, with help of the intergenerational family coexistence.

With support of the probing extracts, the processed recordings and cumulative analyses, we can formulate a thesis of gradual attenuation of the individualizing and usage expressions, and the shift of the standard-setting centre to the area of levelling-integrational trends. The normative potential of a social-spatially determined way of immediate dialogic communication thus takes part in enforcement of the “standardized“ spoken invariant of Slovak by retreating from its traditional resources. Certainly, it is also inevitable to continue providing the appropriate records of the other groups of population to support the thesis.

In the conclusions there lies also the reason why it is more demanding, although perhaps less accurate, but still more plastic and purposeful not to seek, present and interpret a special cross-sectional unit (variety) of a national language, but to research and verify communication (urban one in this case) as a whole, procedurally, as a cooperation, interaction of selectively identifiable conditions and preconditions with an inhomogeneous origin, essence and information value.

3.4. “Recorded Texts“ and Stratification Concepts of Slovak

1. Goals

With regard to the motivation, topic and focus of the paper it is appropriate to begin with at least three hierarchically arranged, mutually corresponding questions and, after the adequate relation-explanational stoppings, to try and adopt an attitude towards them in a discussion manner.

a) Is colloquialization of even rather stabilized communication spheres – texts ready for written interactions, including the scientific and professional communication – in a contemporary language situation marked with informatization, glocalization²¹ and teletechnology²² becoming a more general trend, a fashionable usage, or even a required, although unstabilized social-communication standard?

b) Are the supporting stratification concepts and models able to theoretically and methodologically continue inspiring the scientists even on the functional and procedural trajectories of (general) linguistics defined and shaped by the text, conversation, analysis, cognitivism, corpus, ethnomethodology, anthropolinguistics, etc.?

c) What is the situation and mission of the (mass)media in origination, stabilization and application of the *recorded texts*²³ (denomination and notion without inverted commas by Labocha, 2004) ? Is their language-communication background, impact, effects and social mandate really as significant as some expert views claim²⁴?

2. Background and theoretical-methodological context

In relation to programmatically developed concept of the standard language theory in Slovakia in the 1960s, along with the issues of the language

²¹ Denomination is successfully used, among others, also by U. Beck (Beck, 2003).

²² Term-notion is presented and applied by N. S. Baron (Baron, 1999).

²³ In compliance with the author's views, in our paper we mean mainly the code-integrated texts with obvious features of their affiliation to the oral communication sphere, but with preparation, delivery, acceptance and use in the environment of written/printed (graphic, visual or visualized) communication. They are both orally produced utterances, transcribed from the spoken form with a special system of symbols, and the utterances that are prepared for the oral application in a limited, e.g. rhetoric communication sphere, while still in a written form. In our opinion, the collection of the "recorded texts" should also include electronically determined pieces of communication, e.g. products of e-journalism, weblogs, chat fragments, as well as the developmentally older, better known and frequent utterances with related typological texture and communication vectors – incohesive card messages, work notes, stenographic records, outlines, additional sketches, toy guidelines, visual manuals for assembling of the packaged, dismounted articles, etc. Therefore we add the inverted commas to J. Labocha's compound name as a signal of the term extension.

²⁴ See e.g. the proceedings *Hovorená podoba jazyka v médiách* (The Spoken Form of Language in the Media), 2008.

culture respecting the national language awareness (see Ružička, 1967a), the contemporary publications reflected also the research of the spoken form of literary Slovak. It is a well-known fact that during the 1960s the theoretical-methodological background, methodical procedures and practical intentions in Slovakia were led by E. Pauliny. The conclusion were presented at the conference in Smolenice in October 1965 (see the re-edition of the proceedings *Hovorená forma spisovnej slovenčiny (The Spoken Form of Standard Slovak)*, 2007). However, the scientific interest in the oral form (shape, unit, later also variety) of communication only followed the responsibly prepared and systematically performed dialectological research in Czechoslovakia. It is especially important that it successfully reflected a paradigmatic change – the pragmatic turn that is the shift of the research focus from *langue* to *parole*, the diversion from studying an isolated code to its roles in the text and context, in the communication spheres and situation. It also supported development of the parole linguistics in wide(r) – European and global – conditions and relations.

In order to be objective, it is necessary to mention that local linguistics never lacked conceptual perception of Slovak as a complex formation, a variously divided national language with the forms different from the aspect of the basic language features. It has been proven also by *Tézy o slovenčine (Theses on Slovak)*, published also in the third issue of the Slovenská reč (Slovak Parole) journal in 1967. In the theses 2 and 3 we can find definition of Slovak as a differentiated national language of the Slovaks with its forms following their own regularities in their inner life and, at the same time, influencing each other (see Ružička, 1967b, p. 129–130). The description of the “forms“ followed up the structural-systemic potential of the language itself – the code with its application in communication of its users, members of a defined language community. According to this approach, the language users make an implicit but still just a marginal, secondary part of communication chain.

Verification of the theoretical-methodological background and gained experience had a strong impact on the Slovak linguistics at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s. It was happening mainly in relation to the definition of the standard form of Slovak within the national language, as interpreted by J. Horecký (Horecký, 1979b), and with an emphasis on the need to study Slovak as a social-communicational system (Bosák, 1990, 1993). Along with an inevitable accentuation of the information background, Bosák’s transparent approach emphasized the need to take interactions between the participants

of communication acts within the defined communication spheres into account. The requirement, however, did not sidetrack the language-systemic criteria (Bosák, 1990, p. 76).

The result of the social-communicational efforts determined by the communication-pragmatic turn and development of interdisciplinarity were, along with the information value of the structural-systemic dimensions, the stratification concepts and models of Slovak prepared in a sense of the national language idea (apart from Horecký's stratification, see Slančová – Sokolová, 1994, reminiscences 2011; Ripka, 1996; Kralčák, 2008b; 2009). Formation, promotion, comparison, alternation and development of the stratification concepts and models became a direct expression and verification of semantization and pragmatization of the theories reflected in a linguistic research. The text (piece of communication) is presented not only as a “research material“, but also as *energeia*, the result of the speech process, actual selective-productive behaviour of the speaker together with the course of reception. Thus linguistics acquires a socio-psychologizing, communicative and interactive frame (for definition see Kořenský, 1998b, p. 110), without giving up on the situation and results of the structuralist approaches. What became an appropriate and desirable support in procedural perception are the verified and valid theorems of the classic structural linguistics, as well as the findings of the general systems theory, cybernetics, logical-mathematical apparatuses and philosophy (recommendations in the jubilee proceedings from České Budějovice, presented by Kořenský, 2008). At the intersection of the above mentioned opinions, speech, *parole* with its individual specialties and also social background is preferred. Definition of the language and speech as the opposing categories is obviously and rightly absent.

3. The common and different features of the Slovak stratification concepts from the bird's eye view

The stratification theories of Slovak lie on at least four common pillars. The first one is a latent or visible, recently still clearly present in communication, dividing, competitionally but not confrontationally defined tension between oralness and writtenness/printedness. The second pillar seems to be made of a well-argued fact of the vertical and/or horizontal multilevelness, multilayeredness of the communication entity (language – speech, language expression, utterance, text, piece of communication, discourse, etc.). Hence this

architectonic constituent of the stratification models could be perceived as a product of the contrastive relationship between the categories of oralness – writtenness. The third pillar is represented by the identification and profiling of the bearing term-notion “(language, speech, communication) standard“ and by the real substantiation of its growing prestigiousness in a respective national language as a capable camp-follower of the standard language. Lately this opinion was presented by J. Svobodová at the Banská Bystrica international conference *Dynamika spoločenských zmien a stratifikácia národného jazyka* (Dynamics of social changes and the national language stratification) in April 2010 (Svobodová, 2012), with regard to the change of the Czech language users attitudes since the beginning of 1990s. P. Odaloš provides a similar cross-sectional view in the same post-conference proceedings (Odaloš, 2012). Finally, the fourth common pillar of the stratification concepts is countering the normative aspects of the forms, units, or varieties *per partes*, or in the service of the whole entity. In the 1990s it was a respected researcher J. Bosák who pointed at complexity of the stratification models normative background definition. However, in terms of V. Barnet’s thoughts (Barnet, 1977) he emphasized not only systemic norms, but also activization of the communication (situation) norms which take non-verbal constituents into account (Bosák, 1990, p. 81; 1993).

Along with the degree of similarity or even identity, the degree of taxativity and boundedness of the particular levels manifests itself as a differentiation attribute of the earlier stratification models. An “unfinished“, dynamic grip and presentation counting on permeability (of the varieties) both upwards and downwards, i.e. conjunction of the levels in a social or microgroup sense, turn out as release of their structural bondage (for a dynamic approach, see Slančová – Sokolová, 1994). It is true that such approach involves possible methodological difficulty: an addition of the other levels in the model and creation of several transition zones – semivarieties, or intervareties (for the terms, see Slančová – Sokolová, 1994; Kralčák, 2008b, p. 279). That is to say, the interfering zones make structural explanation of their essence, place and mission more difficult by the reduced, weakened contrasts between each other.

4. Stratification models and concepts in the light of their current information value

The stratification models of Slovak, and mainly the solution by D. Slančová – M. Sokolová, i.e. structural and socio-communicational openness of their concept apt to be applied also outside the language situation of the 1990s, seem viable from several aspects, even from today's point of view. They provide an appropriate comparison platform for investigation of the situation in communication in the recent past and today, they can help disclose the composition, multitude and arrangement of the layers (forms, units, varieties) in a respective communication environment, reveal the relationship between them and generalize the findings with their application in the contemporary language situation. Certainly, it is necessary to take another language and socio-communicational paradigm into account in comparable communication spheres and situations.

Compared to the situation two or three decades ago, the division line between the pair oralness – writtenness is fading right before our eyes. In parallel with the analyses of the changing relationship of the mentioned members, as a consequence of the originator's activities and the impact of the medium on a code (Müllerová, 1989) the first clear signs of the blurring boundaries while respecting the recipient were pointed at already in the 1990s (Čmejrková, 1993; the proceedings *Writing vs speaking: language, text, discourse, communication*, 1994, etc.). In Polish K. Bakula (2008) points out the obscure limits in earmarking of spokenness and writtenness. The newest viewpoints rightly emphasize the fact that the difference between written and spoken text (e.g. in standard Czech) does not have a character of a binary opposition; the interval between spoken and written text, if there is any at all, is permeable, the affiliation of the piece of communication to (rather) spoken or (rather) written utterances is not definite; brackets and forms within them are used, according to the previous statement, by I. Bogoczová; see Bogoczová, 2012, p. 29²⁵.

There is not enough space within this study for a deeper explanation of more general historic-social background influencing communication and a relationship oralness – writtenness in the 2nd decade of the 21st century. Beside the above mentioned impulses (especially K. Bakula, I. Bogoczová, J. Svobodová, etc.) it is necessary to remind and recommend theoretically and methodologically essential, synthesizing works of the linguists (Gajda, 1997; in Slovakia not too much cited publication by Daneš et al., 1997)

²⁵ I assumed quite the same attitude in a discussion at the Cracow international conference in 2011, as a member of the Commission for Sociolinguistics at the International Committee of Slavists (Patráš, 2012a).

and scientific production of the interdisciplinarily oriented non-linguists (mainly Fairclough, 1992, 2003).

At the intersection of the question triad mentioned at the beginning of the paper, there lies also presentation of the notified stance.

In the recent quarter of a century, the constellation of oralness and writtenness is characteristic with its almost massive tendency toward oralness (spokenness) also in our conditions and several communication spheres. It is remarkable, however, that the trend is not only bound to the areas counting on common spoken communication/language, spoken/colloquial language, spoken/colloquial Slovak etc., and not only to the genres activated by enhancement of spontaneousness, instantness, unofficiality, informality, fragmentariness and incompleteness of the communication acts. In this case the unambiguous, real oralness with its parameters – ephemerality, multi-codeness, immediacy, overexposed dialogization and situationally conditioned austerity – is secured by the proved, direct communication interactions via the mediated, or direct articulation-acoustic communication channel. A well-trying way of communication is gaining ground also in the communication spheres with conventional (expected) location in a written/printed communication sphere. It is the result of the pressure on un-officialization, spread of colloquial communication usages and stereotypes known (also) in the Anglo-Saxon environment, as a consequence of the interpersonal gaps reduction. Thus, with a slight elevation of an address communication partner, e.g. a scientific lecture published in a post-conference proceedings, maintains the significant “colloquializing” attributes of its first, authentic, considerably contact way of exposure. In Central Europe such a socio-pragmatic, individualizing and expressivizing shift is still accepted embarrassedly or grudgingly, as a violation of the habitual, so called teutonic way of scientific communication. [Contradictory understanding of colloquialization of the scientific discourse and professional communication was also highlighted by J. Hoffmannová at the 8th international communication conference of Banská Bystrica in September 2012; Hoffmannová, 2014.]

The result of the boundaries elimination and regrouping of the conditions on the axis oralness – writtenness is getting symptomatic on two contrarotating lines. In the written utterances mainly colloquial usage is exposed, synchronic stabilized norms of written communication oscillate and their social obligation and group respect are decreased. Certainly, there are also contrastive exceptions affirming synergic behaviour of a natural language. For instance, the panel way

of communication which, and it is not a paradox, imitates or even copies written texts is a reaction to the need of oral communication in a legal environment that is predominantly built on the principles of writtenness. Presentation of a press office spokesman, police spokesman, meteorologist, local government deputy, military officer in an electronic medium etc., can be named as an evidence of the inclination to balance oralness and writtenness. From the aspect of the language system it is mainly up to syntax to carry out a demanding mandate of free, but not arbitrary migration between oralness and writtenness. There is no doubt that the norms of written and oral communication end up in conjunction, or even countermovement, as for their efficiency and mission. The mass medium is not really responsible for this counteract; it is rather the simple effect of available technology using the simulation of oralness plus tendentially relaxed, less obligatory (and often less cultured) speech behaviour of the communication acts participants.

Today location of electronically determined computer communication – technological way of communication through information and communication technology including the internet network – in a written or printed, in a wider sense visually (graphically) adapted environment, is generally accepted. Simultaneously it is essential to respect the fact that the texts “on the glass” (computer display) are significantly contaminated by the elements, means and procedures with domicile in the oral communication spheres. In this case colloquial relaxedness, jovialness and increased customariness “hurts” grammar rules and respective codification. Often wilful, manifestative, or even ostentatious denial or at least avoidance of the orthographic principles, choice of words, grammar rules and sentence structure has become part of the extralingual factors – real or feigned lack of time, need for the immediate reaction to the communication stimuli, lower concentration on a communication act, fulfilling only the phatic function in interactions, etc. Thus the observation of the communicators’ attention and efforts focusing primarily not on the text, code/s, but on achieving the contact, “touching” *you, me, us, them*, i.e. the participants of the communication interactions, and identifying our/their motifs, behaviour, acting, intentions and goals (on virtual haptics, see also Rusnák, 2013), is proven.

5. Final viewpoints

The required conclusion of the reflections, argumentation procedures and statements consists of the following two extended comments.

5.1. From the aspects of theory and methodology, the stratification concepts of Slovak and the respective models are quite capable of noticing, plausibly presenting the current social-communication paradigm, and providing the necessary argumentation field for monitoring of the language situation in a contemporary society. The opinion appertains to the models which, along with the integration of both orality (spokenness) and writtenness (printedness), count on stronger vertical, i.e. social-functional application of their construction instrumentary. Then the standard variety (level, layer) of the national language serves as a bridge for a more resolute entrance, or even invasion of orality/spokenness into the model. Its socio-communicational capacity increases apparently because of an expanding orality zone.

The consolidation of the “standard Slovak” with the implications in written communication spheres allows the expansion – I do not mean to, but have to mention also parallel weakening – of the precisely defined, language-systemically verified and socio-culturally respected contours of prestigiousness ≡ literariness. With regard to a natural willingness of linguistics to cooperate with the adequate stimuli, directions and currents, as well as to the developed interdisciplinary approaches, renewing, varying or creating the other stratification models in the field of the “recorded texts” research turns out to be methodologically less important. Precise defining and naming of the layers in the models and presenting their arrangement and non/cooperation does not seem too inspirational. A possible challenge is represented by the complex understanding of the underground, bearing non-verbal conditions, resources and trends, and their procedural correlation into an anthropo-cultural, cognitive-linguistic and socio-communication relational network with reflections at the surface, verbal level. The perspective research field that had been in a long term, and often successfully, cultivated by the stratification concepts and the respective models, has now been rather opened to the socio- and pragmastylistic observations and interpretations, namely in the field of the “recorded texts”. This is true even despite spontaneousness, incompleteness and informality of the defined communication spheres and situations.

5.2. The applicability and vitality of the standard variety in a (mass)media environment is not a cause but rather a result of the extension of (also) naturalness, relaxedness, pleasantry, jovialness, stylized spontaneousness, verbal gestationality, overexposed emotionality, etc., in a society and communication. In the case we decide to follow this path of thought that includes monitoring and interpreting of the indicated extralingual circumstances, we cannot avoid

stepping on the ethical road borders, considering the mediological aspects and the value aspects of today's social communication.

3.5. Sociocultural Contexts in the Research of the Colloquial Slovak Language

To begin with, a basis and objectives of the following thoughts, statements as well as comments should be introduced. After introducing the inspirations and the motive – which concern aspects of the methodological and praxeological difficulties of colloquiality – we will continue with the process of contouring the sociocultural platform that relates to the current

research. Both, argumentations as well as a representative case study originate in the Slovak language and its environment. The study also requires to consider interlingual circumstances and its findings might be applied to other languages and socio-communication environments. Afterwards, its conclusions come with generalization of findings and their plausible utility within theoretical-methodological concepts as well as sciences with the higher range of universality in terms of language communication and linguistics, which primarily relate to sociology, axiology, theory of (communication) behaviour and conduct, culturology, and also methodology with its metascientific role.

Relations between extra-linguistic characteristics (forms of communication) such as “*spokenness*” – “*writtenness*” (related to a printed form) have, on the one hand, been in existence and respected, but on the other hand, neglected and contradicted in the field of linguistics for more than last one hundred years. In the era after the pragmatic change in the middle of the previous century and after the development of parole linguistic, the relativization of before mentioned counterparts became to be the centre of the scientific research considering their methodological aspects. Reapproachment to these two characteristics as well as recognition of an inherent weakness that resulted in extinction of poles between “*spokenness*” and “*writtenness*” in the era of electronic communication in the last two-three decades have come to the forefront as a demanding, but important and productive scientific approach. Obviously, intersections of these two basic ways of communication also require different attitudes to the subject – direct communication throughout the live spoken language.

With regard to the outlined circumstances, we would like to carry out a short excursus into the past whose inherent part in the position of co-creators and team players we played together with the colleagues. In the year 1993, in the period shortly after the upheaval of the 1980s and 1990s, our scientific team participated in the international conference *Wokół społecznego zróżnicowania języka*, which took place at the University of Szczecin in Szczecin (the proceedings was issued after the conference with the same title; 1996). The conference highlighted not only the dominating langue-parole approach with its traditional theoretical-methodological dimensions to the researched sphere, but also interdisciplinary trends, which were very closely related to the field of sociolinguistic at that time. Within nearly quarter of a century later, in the premises of the University of Szczecin, we took part in the conference that focused on a communicating individual in the society,

respecting a vehiculum – language/parole, and at the same time highlighting culture-setting aspects of communication interactions.

In the 1990s, suitable conditions concerning the outlined trends existed also in the Slovak linguistic environment. The conference *Dynamické tendencie v jazykovej komunikácii* (*Dynamic tendencies in the language communication*), which was held in May 1988 in Smolenice, created the platform for a breakthrough of interdisciplinary scientific development (for the conference proceedings with the same title see Bosák, 1990). This conference introduced, discussed and comprehensively shaped factors with their dynamic tendencies that have a considerable impact on the state of people's communication or communication spheres throughout the natural language. At the same time the conference became an appropriate and welcome platform for discussions concerning the publication of a book *Dynamika slovnjej zásoby súčasnej slovenčiny* (*Dynamics of the vocabulary of current Slovak*) (Horecký – Buzássyová – Bosák et al., 1989), which was being prepared that time, and which also influenced the professional Slovak interdisciplinary discourse in the field of linguistics.

The research project with its sociolinguistic approach *Slovenčina v súčasnej komunikácii* (*Slovak in the nowadays communication*) (Buzássyová, 1989) was considered to be a parallel scientific and pragmatic impulse for the Slovak linguistic. The main motive of this approach was created by an emphasis on an individual and his language in the society or in his linguistic community. That was the language which was considered to be an essential and inherent part of an individual, human essence and sociocultural identity. Research of attitudes of communicators towards the language entity represented the significant methodical direction. In the 1990s and the turn of the centuries this project came up with several valuable solutions that successfully initiated further scientific trends in the research of the spoken communication for a long period of time.

Methodological background as well as expected and fulfilled research findings within the period of the 1990s – 2000s contributed to the effort to study relations of communicators towards the language in terms of its (national) values. This fundamental intention also corresponded with the challenge in scientific research in other Slavonic linguistics (selectively in the Czech environment in several editions, such as Kořenský et al., 1990; in the Polish environment Gajda, 1997, and others). Gajda's views emphasise the potency of theories that result from cultural traditions and firm cultural patterns; in his

view, the theories are able to empower creation of a substantial synthesis, which is essential primarily for the field of linguistics with its anthropo-cultural and socio-cultural basis (Gajda, 1997).

The complex dynamic work by Kořenský et al., Gajda's multi-dimensionally and integratively built concept, as well as other works of a similar type in the field of the Slovak linguistics at the end of the previous century instigated reactions of the so called "interdisciplinaryists". Apparently, these modern tendencies have been influencing the research of this kind to these days. Among them there are mostly programme approaches that have been presented since the 1990s in the proceedings of the edition *Sociolinguistica slovac*²⁶ and effectively consulted at monothematic international scientific conferences. With regard to the academic environment, the Banská Bystrica's conference is to be mentioned. These conference events focusing on the sphere of language communication have been held regularly since 1991 (for the review of after-conference proceedings see Patráš, 2014).

All the outlined perspectives of the upcoming century encouraged also specific issues of the spoken communication. Considering its constant variability, permanent incompleteness caused by the "open spoken" communication, this is considered to be a constant challenge of the Slovak linguistics since at least the 1960s of the 20th century, which happens "directly in front of our eyes and with our contribution". Nowadays, in the field of parole linguistics a lot of attention is devoted to the pragmatics of communication, communication-conversational strategies, communication competencies, specific issues of non/quality of communication from the point of view of communication culture, as well as the fundamentals, social-communication relations and characteristics of members of communication interactions, of course, besides the field-research and structural-systemic characteristics of the intersectional conglomerate entity – which might be denoted by the term *the spoken variety of Slovak*. On the intersection of research trends, *the colloquial Slovak* as a variety of the national language with its characteristic features, contradictions and volutes typical for human beings is exposed. By this means, besides the "compulsory" interest in the language/parole basis, which is also the focus of the interdisciplinary profiled linguistics, more interest is devoted to multi-modally perceived language code as well as its users. [For key theoretical-methodological, intersectional, terminological, or synthetic

²⁶ Full versions of the edition are available online at
http://www.juls.savba.sk/ediela/sociolinguistica_slovaca

approaches to the state and dynamics of communication and the colloquial language after the year 2000 see Findra, 2007; Bodnárová, 2013; Patráš, 2008, 2010, 2012a, 2012b.]

Specification of the interest areal and “job-sharing” in the research of colloquiality and the colloquial language in the era after the millennium milestone – of course, including acceptable variance with converging trends – is presented by this scheme.

Scheme 1: Colloquial Slovak at the interface

of actual theoretical-methodological limits and inspirations
after the year 2000



It has been stated that research of colloquiality and communication through the live, open language has been an attractive, continual and constant challenge that will result in development of scientific knowledge in the outlined sphere. It is obvious that within further research scientists and scholars will have to deal also with the theoretical and methodological linguistic issues which come from various, very often quite distant scientific spheres and this is the reason why they will require a high degree of generalization. With regard to this, the two issues may arise: **a)** which way the ongoing research of the spoken communication may keep continuity with the research previously done **b)** how the acquired knowledge and interpretations may keep their unambiguous linguistic fundamentals within the increasing amount of methodological attitudes. An interest domain of linguistics has been extending since the very early impulses in the field of integrative sciences – the theory of communication, socio-linguistics, psycholinguistics, pragmalinguistics,

conversational and discourse analyses, up to the latest ones, such as cognitive-linguistic, inter- and ethno-linguistic studies. However, some authors may come to synthesis with use of not very objective and appropriate methods. [Risks and opportunities of beneficial use of interrelatedness of linguistics and other scientific field are systematically discussed by S. Gajda – see Gajda, 1997; the latest work also includes suggestions for a new approach through the style Gajda, 2013.]

To support an acceptable perspective for the research of colloquiality (and the colloquial Slovak) it is inevitable to present appropriate arguments. A transcript of the real dialogue communication can be taken as a background. It took place in a model communication situation of the type *sales – purchase*, a symmetric dialogue was applied in it, and it smartly reached the key communication objectives and effects. They can be summarized by a lapidary statement: “A seller is trying to get rid of the goods, and a customer is considering spending money on the product”. The “win-win” communication strategy which both parties of the business communication interaction take for granted subconsciously is an obvious element of this situation even before completion of the contact.

Extract:

Communication sphere of services

Job interview, dialogue of a seller (S) – a customer (C)

Authentic record: November 2000, tire service premises in Banská Bystrica

Length: 4:20 min. including obligatory breaks

© Author of the study = an observer participating in the situation

1S: good MORNING ▲ / what do you wish ▲

2C: GOod morning ▼ / if I can ask you ▼ I would need FOR a car ▲ / tires – winter ▼ / also with discs ▼ / not to change them in the spring time ▼

3S: WHAT car do you have ▼

4C: it is FElícia ▼ / SHOrt could you help me, please ▲

5S: WELL these are THIRteen ▼ have a look HERE ▼ (*gesture – he is pointing to the stand*) / here they are B A r u m k a s ▲ ▼ M A t a d o r k s ▲ ▼ M I š e l í n s ▲ ▼ these have been delivered just TODAY ▼ of course, it depends ON the price how much you are willing to INvest ▼

6C: well I do not know ▼ / WHAT would you suggest ▲ ▼

7S: (*gesture – he is pointing to a selected sample of the particular brand*)
 barumkas are RELiable and for the reasonable price ▼ / with the discs you will
 pay / ☹ / PAY / ☺ / EIGHteen thousand ▼

8C: ☺/ those mišlénas are REALLY quite a lot expensive ▼ / well, I will take
 them ▼ these BARumkas ▼ / also with the DIScs ▼ do you also have them
 in the SILVER colour ▲

9S: yes ▼ / and do you also want to CHANGE them here ▲

10C: well, that would be great ▼

11S: so I can invoice the whole set ▲

12C: yes ▼ BE SO kind ▼ I will take them the SET ▼ //

(*Swill invoice the goods, C will pay, S will give him the receipt*)

13S: WELL, here we go ▲ here you are ▲▼ / I will take it TO the assembly
 line ▼ drive your car to the back door ▼

14C: yes, I see ▲ great ▲ THAnk you ▲ //

(*the customer is leaving for the car*)

Other transcription characters:

1 S numbered replicas of a seller in the linear order

2 C numbered replicas of a customer in the linear order

/ a short break

// a longer breake

DAY marked sentence stress

FElícia word stress

TÁK emphasis

M I š e l í n s deceleration of the speech pace

☹ hesitation sound with face expression

(*gesture – pointing to the stand*) ... notes pointing at context

▼ – ▲ – ▲▼ melodic transcription:

Conclusive cadence – anticadence – semicadence

This is not our aim²⁷ to present the process, difficulties and the results
 of this model conventional dialogue in more details here. For that purpose,
 the scope and objectives of one program-oriented study seem to be insufficient.
 On this occasion, however, one of the challenging possibilities

²⁷ Some time ago the author of this study used this sample text as a basis for complex analyses
 with students in seminars focusing on the theory of communication. The same methods were
 applied and the transcript was multi-dimensionally developed throughout the semester.

for a comprehensive analysis of the communication process, including the text itself, should be highlighted. This option was already methodically presented at the interface of the 80s and 90s by the Czech authors, who were also inspired by the theory of algorithms (see Kořenský et al., 1990). Attention and emphasis is placed on the fact that this methodology still keeps the context, as well as the character-code and humanistic aspects of the natural language, which respects the physical presence and communication activities of the participants with their cognitive, mental, experience and socio-cultural backgrounds. Paradoxically, the language (speech, communication) is incorporated into para- and extra-lingual, multidimensionally structured, hierarchical and interconnected levels, on which the progressive feature of the analytical process is exposed. This concerns a procedural understanding of communication interactions and their general contexts. Even if the ephemeral character of the spoken communication is taken into consideration, this process is clearly visible and the pieces of communication may also be precisely understood, divided, categorized and explained. Thus, the Kořenský's scientific team proceeds through a key entity that is called *the content-pragmatic unit*, which is accessible to the scientific research and interpretation.

In a representative transcribed sample, the basic features of the colloquial speech are clearly captured and presented through the complex optics. With regard to the prototype, they can be quantitatively identified by the means of marked attributes:

- a) a higher degree of communication flexibility and readiness on the side of the seller (the salesman manages the communication situation in the seasonal period routinely and repeatedly during the working hours), but also the variational impulses coming from the customer to whom the seller is professionally trained (the client is always very individual);
- b) constancy of the meaning and simultaneous volatility of the expression, which means “only“ the ability to refer, and not the literal reproduction of the piece of communication on the side of both participants of the communication;
- c) wiping of partitions between language elements (in particular at the syntactic level in the syntactic structures, in sentences with a variable degree of coherence and cohesion), which are inherent, stable and respected in the written form of communication;
- d) standardization of the skeleton, stereotype of the communication process, resulting from fixed socio-communication patterns that are accepted,

required but also expected in the relevant communication sphere and as they have contact, informative and instructional function (replicas **1S**, **2C**, **3S**, and partially **11S** a **14C**);

- e) multi-modality that concerns purpose-built and generally efficient clash of lingual, paralingual and extralingual code systems, which will result in a synergic entity (significantly **7S**, **8C**);
- f) instantaneous synchronization of the intonation system components through an *ad hoc* way, presence of situational and contextual ellipses, a higher degree of deixes, juxt-appositional liaising of sentence elements that will result in a change of a sentence perspective (**8C** in the concrete),
- g) non-existence of tension between prescriptively defined opposing characteristics such as codification – non-codification, accuracy – inaccuracy of the expression (*kolko (how much)* – **5S**; *spolahlivé (reliable)*– **7S**; *tak dobrý (so good)*, *zoberem (I will take)* – **12C**);
- h) emphasis on the communication skills of the speaker, which means the ability to manage the communication interactions effectively and efficiently, and, if possible, also to minimize the effort in order to achieve the intended, or pragmatic communication goal and others.

In fact, there are also other identifiers in the game – these identifiers are inherent, but on the other hand hidden, and point to the procedural specificities of the oral communication in particular communication spheres and situations. In communication acts these are no longer exposed by the inventory of expressions from the language/speech code. In order to identify their cooperation in the piece of communication, it is also necessary to understand broader – inter- and / or ethno-cultural specificities, inter-language relationships and contexts, switching of code spots as well as their implications in the process of communication events and communication acts.

These elements might be identified also in our sample. It is not at all a paradox that initiation fields are revealed in the framework components of this piece of communication – the introduction and the conclusion. At the beginning, when a potential client enters the business room, the communication begins with the required courtesy formulation (replica **1S**). The forehead of the next **2C** replica corresponds to the conventional line, which also confirms the customer's natural caution, or even his embarrassment. From the second half of this replica, the colloquial tendencies of the speaker might be recognized. [Strong signs – the colloquial expression + inverse word order;

the colloquial/professional expression and others – are in the fragments highlighted by underlining.]

2C: [...] gumy zimné (tyres winer) ▼/ aj s diskami (also with discs) ▼/ aby som ich nemusel preobúvať na jar (as I do not want to change them in the spring time) ▼

This model-like situation also occurs in the replicas **3S** – **5S**. In the **4C** replica, there is an element that is essential for the illocution component of the following communication, as well as for the per-locution component – the commercial, socio-psychological and social success of this business transaction. Consequently, after a formal “panel” question in **3S**, the customer uses a cooperative principle following the initial testing of the seller’s willingness and building the confidence (see Grice, 1975; Leech, 1983). It eventually changes into an effective, flexible dialogue that makes also the seller satisfied and comfortable due to its communicative conventions and experiences. A connected part of the speech with a status of professionalism becomes the breakthrough (*krátka felícia (a short Felicia)* = limousine, not a long car) and the updated pause:

4C: Felícia je to (Felicia it is) ▼/ KRÁtka (SHort) mohli by ste mi poradiť (you may advise) ▲

The communication partner, after recognizing the communication level of the speaker, changes into the same way of communication. Without insistence, inconsistent persuasion, he promotes an informational-promotional function and follows a persuasive line with the intention to attract the client and promote the reality of this commercial transaction. The following components might be considered as impulses in **5S**: emphatic beginning of the replica, use of the professional expression (instead of the complicated process of explanation, such as *‘to sú pneumatiky s rozmerom trinásť palcov; viete, pane, čo je to palec? To je pôvodne britská miera. Jeden palec pri prepočte na centimetre predstavuje 2,54 cm’* (these are the thirteen-inch tyres; Anyway, do you know, sir, what an inch is? Well, it is originally a British measurement. One inch, converted to centimeters, is 2.54 cm etc.)), responsive gestures and, of course, the colloquial brand name of the tyres in combination with slowing down the speech tempo. This efficient way of communication

together with its professional features is rapidly becoming acceptable to both parties involved and is used as a carrier way of communication throughout the whole communication act. Naming units from the professional vocabulary also support the efficiency of this communication process: *strieborné* (*the silver*) (disky) (discs) – which concerns the disc's surface of the silver colour; **8C**; *prehodiť* (*to change*) – that means to the summer tyres for winter ones; **9S**; *špica* (*oh, great*) – which expresses a very high satisfaction (this is a filler component with an evaluation function); **14C**.

The striking feature of the **5S** replica is represented by the naming unit of the tyre brand Michelin in its sound form *mišelíny*. The customer in the 8Z replica uses a different sound in the following form:

8C: ☺/ tie mišléný sú FAKT trochu drahé ▼/ (those mišléný are REALLY of a very high price) ▼/

In this case, it is a signal of a foreign language (original) pronunciation with a nasal sound at the end. Without a more detailed in-depth analysis, we may only suppose the following: the customer 1. can speak the French language, 2. picked this pronunciation up through the process of listening or from the media, 3. imitates the foreign language, 4. tends to communicate with manners, language snobbery, etc.

Conclusions.

The theoretical-methodological background, interdisciplinary (especially socio-linguistic) interpretations, transcript, as well as its analysis, claim to confirm several interrelated and generalized findings and knowledge. They are presented in a hierarchical order.

1. In this study, the objectives are presented through the principle *pars pro toto* as following: to understand, create, validate and apply an integrated socio-cultural concept that is suitable for the interpretation of the colloquial Slovak language through a network of diverse, interrelated conditions and assumptions from both the linguistic as well as non-linguistic spheres. Through its monitoring and achieving, the modern holistic research can contribute to the identification of the axiological and xenological potential of the colloquial Slovak language, including the anthropo-linguistic paradigm with their norms, characteristics

of communicators, ambitions, attitudes and relationships. The research is also based on the verification of multicodality and multimodality of the colloquial Slovak, taking into account the combinatorics and the substitution of methodologies and research techniques. [For more details with regard to xeno-scientific aspects related to the field of linguistics and communication see Faragulová, 2013.]

2. Further research and applications of the socio-cultural approach are also sought by the researchers of a scientific project within the scientific agency of the Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sports of the Slovak Republic VEGA 1/0142/14 *The Colloquial Slovak in Supra-regional space and Socio-communicative Dynamics*. The project task is a follow-up issue: the researchers continue within the research directions of their team, or individual predecessors (with regard to continuity see Findra, 2007).
3. Through the competitive implementation of the colloquial speech-communication usage as well as the weakening of the "normative" rules and principles, which are characteristic of written / printed communication, also the colloquial public semi/official communication is becoming fully equivalent in terms of its content and communication values, together with its particular degree of cultivation as well as social applicability.
4. Thus, the colloquial Slovak as a multi-codal and multi-modal vehiculum should not be marginalized or underestimated only as a substitutional component to fulfil some minor tasks. There are, at least, two reasons supporting this statement:
 - a) through the study of the immediate dialogical communication interactions on the platform of the colloquial Slovak, the researcher can come to an exact knowledge of the term "value", which concerns not only the standards or the norm, but also the value as the relation category – "the specific relation of the object to the subject, given by the meaning and sense that the object has to satisfy the needs, interests, etc., and the subject in its individual and social context" (Geist, 1992, p. 102 – n, the password „hodnota"(value)). It is obvious that the sociological definition of the value almost coincides with the sociolinguistic parameters of the natural language. Provided that the relations among the members of the communicating community have at least a linguistic/speech characteristics, then it is clear that the language as their

bearer and the expresser includes also values- and cultural- dispositions in all its applications. This opens up a space for interpretations and synthesis of the higher rang; with regard to the socio-communication background of colloquiality, the linguistic nature of this issue will always be preserved and the possibilities for its use in research will always be provided.

- b)** in the paradigm of the stronger implementation of colloquiality as the characteristic feature of the spontaneous pieces of communication as well as the wiping of the gap between the "spokenness" an "writtenness", the public space of communication may successfully expand. At the same time – and this is not a paradox - the limits of the "writtenness" and the relevant norms are indeed revitalized, of course, with inspirations for the dynamic correction of the boundaries of the codification practice in the graphic/visual communication. [With regard to the dynamics related to the co-existence of the spoken (oral) and written communication with the focus on modifications of the "writtenness" under the influence of the "spokenness" see also Patráš, 2012b.]

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3. Spoken Communication in Theoretical-Methodological Contexts

- 1.1. PATRÁŠ, Vladimír. 1995. Sociolingvistický profil bežnej hovorenej komunikácie v Banskej Bystrici (90. roky). [Sociolinguistic Profile of Common Spoken Communication in Banská Bystrica (in the nineties).] In: *Sociolinguistica Slovaca. 1. Sociolingvistické aspekty výskumu súčasnej slovenčiny*. Zost. S. Ondrejovič – M. Šimková. Bratislava : Veda, 1995, s. 119 – 131. ISBN 80-224-0160-9.
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In the process of the digest editorial adaptation with respect to the book format of its parts, the following interventions, changes and modifications were made:

- a) Monographic profile of the publication was strengthened by concentration of the references into one frame component. This has also emphasized the motivic and thematic shape of the studies and composition intent of their concatenation into a transparent whole.
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- e) Technical adjustments and finishing based on the reviewers' recommendations included, apart from the standard issues (thorough grammar and language proofreading, font unification and required font adjustments including title components, line spacing, etc.), use of bold for differentiation of the parts of the whole and reduction of redundant spaces between characters.
- f) After completion of work and finalization of efforts the Slovak version of the monograph is reflected in its English variant.

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INTO THE DYNAMICS OF SPOKEN COMMUNICATION**

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