

WORDS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

1 IN LIEU OF AN INTRODUCTION

The following article presents research work conducted in the framework of my undergraduate thesis (Zorčič 2011), the aim of which was to provide a description of the use of words of foreign origin in the Slovenian political space. The theoretical points of departure, primarily Bourdieu's theory of practice and Searle's speech act theory,¹ dictated a hypothesis which contains a positive assessment of the use of words of foreign origin in the public sphere and interprets this use as part of an extended vocabulary and which also views this use as a form of symbolic cultural capital, a concept introduced by Bourdieu. Instead of classical sociological variables such as gender and age, the use of words of foreign origin will be defined in correlation to variables which express the speakers' social position. Education and number of terms in Parliament are two factors which could correlate with an increased use of words of foreign origin, as they provide the speaker access to the linguistic capital of the political sphere and consequently with opportunities to hone his or her speaking and rhetorical skills.

The way in which a proposition is made or the speaker's choice of speech act is additionally dependent on the speaker's position in society – in the framework of the research topic, this implies the speaker's position in the government. Since members of parliament (hereinafter MPs) in the ruling coalition assertively defend their decisions as the only correct and legitimate ones, they make greater use of the illocution of assertion than MPs in the opposition, who must rely on various rhetorical mechanisms of contradiction and questioning, that is, on the illocution of direction, in line with the fact that the opposition always defines itself as the executor of oversight over the functioning of the ruling coalition. In describing speech acts, I make use of Searle's (1975) taxonomy of speech acts: **ASSERTIVE** – the illocution of ASSERTION: this illocution pertains to questions of the truthfulness or falseness of that which has been said (report, statement); **DIRECTIVE** – the illocution of DIRECTION: this illocution tends towards the realisation of the act of which the proposition speaks; illocutionary purpose is work completed in the future; the act must be done by the addressee (question, command, demand, invitation); **COMMISSIVE** – the illocution of COMMITMENT: this illocution commits the speaker himself or herself to performing the act of which the proposition speaks in the future; the illocutionary purpose is work to be completed in the future; the act must be performed by the speaker

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¹A more extensive overview of the theoretical portion of the research is presented in Zorčič (2011).

(promise; threat); **EXPRESSIVE** – the illocution of EXPRESSION: this illocution speaks of the psychological state of the speaker, of his or her feelings, stances, convictions and beliefs, etc. as he or she expresses a proposition which can be presumed to be true (apology, congratulations, condolences); **DECLARATION** – the illocution of DECLARATION: this illocution fulfils a proposition through its being spoken by the speaker; through it, extralinguistic reality is altered (christening, appointment).

In the framework of his *theory of practice*, Bourdieu (1984) has shed new light on a number of subjects that touch upon language and its use. He presents everyday linguistic exchanges as positional struggles between representatives equipped with socially structured means and competences; every linguistic interaction, no matter how personal and unimportant it may seem, bears traces of a social structure, which is both expressed and maintained through it.

One of the central ideas of Bourdieu's work, and that for which he is best known, is the idea of the existence of different kinds of capital (1983): **ECONOMIC CAPITAL**, which is directly convertible into money and institutionalised in the form of ownership rights; **CULTURAL CAPITAL** in its embodied form (knowledge, education, etc.), its objectivised form (books, paintings, etc.), its institutional form (academic titles); **SOCIAL CAPITAL** made up of networks of mutual acquaintances; this type of capital is not measured through one's function in power structures, but rather implies the real possibility every individual has to engage the cooperation of others at a given moment.

The combination of these three kinds of capital, together with the chronological axis unique to each, constitutes an individual's habitus. Bourdieu's important innovation was the realisation that each of these three capitals also appears in the form of **SYMBOLIC CAPITAL**, which is understood symbolically, in relation to recognition or misrecognition. Symbolic economic capital takes the form of status symbols; symbolic cultural capital is revealed through the ritual expression of one's education, attendance at the right events, the selection of suitable methods of conversation, etc. symbolic social capital is an individual's reputation, his or her "good name", his or her place in a given group or community. Every kind of symbolic capital always functions as credit: credibility, integrity, recognition, "credit worthiness", the ability to "call in" favours (Bourdieu 1994: 174–175; summarised from Skubic 2005).

2 METHODOLOGY, THE CORPUS OF TEXTS, AND THE SPEAKERS

The corpus contains spoken texts from meetings of the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia; it encompasses all meetings of the Assembly held between 15 October 2008 and 22 May 2009.² Sub-corpora were formed for individual Members of Parliament (hereinafter MPs) which contain roughly between 5,000 and 12,000 words each. In total approximately 300,500 words were spoken, and of these 20,000 words were words of foreign origin included in the study. It is important to note that the corpus encompasses all consecutive utterances by MPs,

² Transcripts of meetings of the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia are available on the internet (in Slovene): <http://www.dz-rs.si/index.php?id=97>.

regardless of whether these were in the form of prepared (written) speeches, as in the case of individual groups of MPs presenting their stance, or off hand, unprepared replies in which speech is less monitored and more spontaneous than in the case of reading from a prepared written template.

The EVA software tool, a multipurpose text editor, was used to view the texts and create lists. Lemmatization was done using tagging software available on the website of the Fran Ramovš Institute of the Slovenian Language of the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts.³

The sample was designed so as to be balanced in terms of gender, age, education, number of terms, position and party.⁴ 16 male MPs and 14 female MPs were included in the sample. In terms of age, the sample could be broken down as follows: 7 MPs were born in the decade from 1970 to 1979, 8 in the decade from 1960 to 1969, 8 in the decade from 1950 to 1959, 6 in the decade from 1940 to 1949 and one in the decade from 1930 to 1939. The education structure of the sample reveals a predominance of MPs (17) with a level VII qualification (Republic of Slovenia; equivalent to a bachelors degree); 8 had a lower level of education, 4 MPs with a level IV qualification (Republic of Slovenia; equivalent to a vocational school diploma) and 4 had a level V qualification (Republic of Slovenia; equivalent to a high school diploma), and 5 had postgraduate qualifications (3 held an MSc and 2 a PhD). 7 MPs were involved in the education system at the time of the research (as attendants or lecturers). The number of terms in Parliament of the MPs included in the sample also reveals a wide distribution: 3 MPs were already serving a fifth term, 3 a fourth term, 4 a third term, and 8 a second term; 12 MPs had been elected to Parliament for the first time. In terms of position within the political situation at the time, 16 MPs represented the ruling coalition, 11 represented the opposition, and 3 were representatives of the government (ministers). Representatives from all political parties in Parliament were included in the sample: 11 MPs from the SD party (*Socialni demokrati*, Social Democrats), 5 from the SDS party (*Slovenska demokratska stranka*, Slovenian Democratic Party), 4 MPs from the ZARES party (despite appearances, ZARES is not an acronym, but a phrase, “za res”, “for real”, “seriously”), 3 MPs from the LDS party (*Liberalna demokracija Slovenije*, Liberal Democracy of Slovenia), 3 MPs from the SLS party (*Slovenska ljudska Stranka*, Slovenian People’s Party), 3 MPs from the SNS party (*Slovenska Nacionalna Stranka*, Slovenian National Party) and 1 MP from the DESUS party (*Demokratska stranka upokojencev Slovenije*, Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia). The unequal distribution of MPs by party in the sample was the result of the author’s attempts to achieve a balanced sample in terms of the other, sociological criteria.

³ http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/dol_lem1.html

⁴ Data is accessible to the public on the websites of the respective political parties (in Slovene).

3 WORDS INCLUDED IN THE STUDY

Using etymological criteria (Snoj 2000), I define as words of foreign origin all words which did not emerge in the continuous development of the language, but were taken from foreign languages.

The first issue that occurred in the analysis pertained to the classification of the use of the words of foreign origin which constitute the subject of the research. Namely, a wide range of different motivations underlies the use of non-Slovene words: lexical gaps, stylistic functions, a terminological need, the desire to psychologically influence the listener, to name a few. Efforts were made to take account of this fact in the approach adopted. The words analysed in the dissertation were divided into six subgroups, intended to highlight correlations with the factors listed above. The first group contains all words of foreign origin, the second only words of foreign origin that form a part of the relevant terminology, the third only words of foreign origin in everyday vocabulary, the fourth only words of foreign origin that could be substituted with Slovene equivalents, and the fifth only figurative words of foreign origin.⁵ The sixth and final subgroup contains colloquialisms, the use of which in political discourse is at least as interesting as the use of words of foreign origin.

Although it seems that the grouping of words is based on very subjective interpretations, it was done taking into account actual usage in the context of individual utterances.

Example for word “*banka*”:

*Saj veste kako to gre. Če v **banki** vzamete za dve, tri milijarde evrov kredita te rade volje sponzorirajo, da si najboljši finančnik.* [“You know how it is. If you take out two, three billion euros of credit at a bank, they’ll gladly endorse you, saying you’re the best finance manager.”]

*Slovenska izvozna in razvojna **banka** je bila ustanovljena s sprejetjem zakona maja lanskega leta.* [“The Slovene Export and Development Bank was founded through the adoption of a law in May of last year.”]

The word “*banka*” in the first sentence represents a word of foreign origin which first appeared within a terminology and later entered into everyday use; it was therefore classified as a word of foreign origin used in everyday speech. The word “*banka*” in the second instance is used terminologically, that is, as part of a proper noun.

⁵ For a more detailed definition of the individual subgroups, see below.

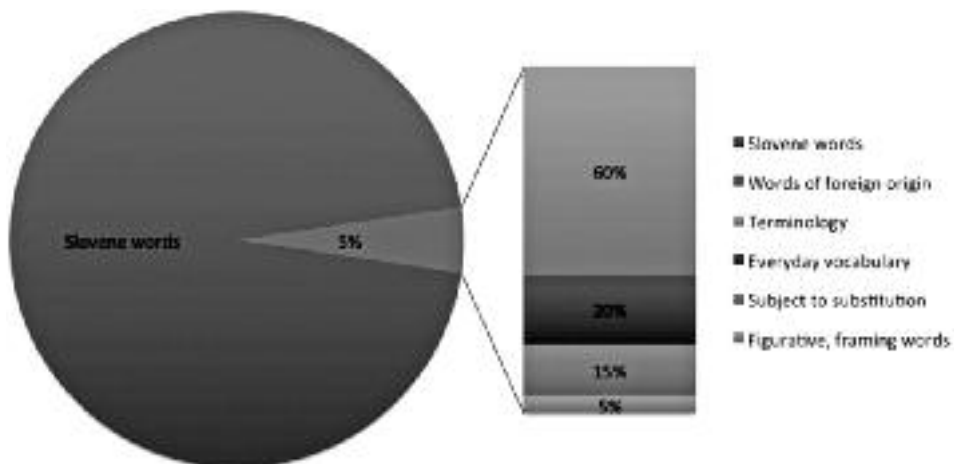


Chart 1: Average shares of different groups of words of foreign origin.

3.1 Total share and the share of different words of foreign origin

The entire corpus was divided into sub-corpora by individual speakers; it was from these sub-corpora that words were taken for further processing. The *share of words of foreign origin* represents the share of these words as a percentage of the total number of words in a given subcorpus, that is, of the total number of words spoken by an individual speaker. I further divided the total number of words into *different words* and *all words*, with the latter also containing repeat occurrences of the same word. This was intended to reveal differences in vocabulary between individual speakers. All words analysed in my study, that is, all words of foreign origin, were included under this heading; in the later stages of the research, they were then divided into the subgroups listed above: terminology, everyday vocabulary, subject to substitution and figurative.

The share of all words of foreign origin among all spoken words varied from 4.2% to 9.21%, and the share of different words of foreign origin among different words from 5.94% to 10.04%.⁶ As expected, the shares of different words of foreign origin were larger, as this figure does not include repeat occurrences of the same word; values obtained in this way give a more relevant depiction of the vocabulary of the speakers.

3.2 Total share and the share of different terminological words of foreign origin

This value represents the share of foreign terminological expressions as a percentage of the total words of foreign origin spoken by an individual speaker. Here (and in all other subgroups) a distinction was drawn between all occurrences of the terminological words and occurrences of different terminological words. The shares thus obtained vary between 51.09% and 74.75% for all terminological words and between

⁶ For a table of all collected data see below.

34.87% and 55.26% for different terminological words. Words included in this category represent, for the most part, political, legal and economic terminology, and occasionally terminology from narrower fields of interest discussed in Parliament. Typical words in this group (frequency > 100) include: *amandma* (amendment), *demokracija* (democracy), *evro* (Euro), *evropski* (European), *finance* (finances), *finančen* (financial), *investicija* (investment), *interpelacija* (interpolation), *koalicija* (coalition), *kolega* (colleague, m.), *kolegica* (colleague, f.), *komisija* (commission), *mandat* (term [in office]), *minister* (minister, m.), *ministrica* (minister, f.), *ministrstvo* (ministry), *nacionalen* (national), *NATO* (NATO), *opozicija* (opposition), *organ* (body [i.e. of state]), *organizacija* (organisation), *parlament* (parliament), *policija* (police), *politika* (politics or policy), *proračun* (budget), *rebalans* (rebalancing, revision [i.e. of the budget]), *referendum* (referendum), *republika* (republic), *socialen* (social), *status* (status), *tarifa* (tariff), *unija* (union [not used in the sense “trade union”]). Over 598 different terminological words and 12,555 total terminological words were analysed (the latter figure also takes account of repeat occurrences; see above).⁷

3.3 Total share and the share of different words of foreign origin of everyday vocabulary

This value represents the share of foreign expressions that are part of everyday vocabulary as a percentage of the total words of foreign origin spoken by an individual speaker. Shares vary from 13.76% and 32.52% for all occurrences and from 18.22% and 30.05% for occurrences of different foreign expressions that are part of everyday vocabulary. This subgroup contains all words of foreign origin that are commonly used in the Slovene language. These can be terminological expressions that have become part of the general spoken language (mainly through the media) or newer cultural loan words.⁸ These words are not particularly interesting from the standpoint of the research topic, as their high frequency of use has caused them to lose any added value they may have once had as linguistic capital: It has long been known that *the familiarity of a word* – be it because of the frequency with which it is produced or the age at which it is learned – impacts how quickly and casually the word is uttered.⁹ Typical words in this subgroup (frequency > 30) include: *direktor* (director, managing director, manager), *dokument* (document), *funkcija* (function), *generacija* (generation), *humanitaren* (humanitarian), *ideja* (idea), *informacija* (information), *interes* (interest), *kandidat* (candidate), *kredit* (credit), *kriterij* (criterion), *kriza* (crisis), *medij* ([the]media), *minimalen* (minimal), *normalen* (normal), *pozitiven* (positive), *praksa* (practice), *praktično* (practically), *problem* (problem), *problematika* (problematic [noun], problems), *proces* (process), *program* (programme),

⁷ Complete lists of words can be found in Zorčič (2011: 75–95).

⁸ Cultural loan words represent objects and notions for which a single-word equivalent does not exist in Slovene; I treat as newer only those words which entered the Slovene language from the twentieth century to the present (ascertained using the chronological criterion of first mention of a word as listed in the Slovene Etymological Dictionary [Slovenskem etimološkem slovarju] (Snoj 2000).

⁹ High-frequency words are recalled faster than low-frequency words (with an estimated decrease in production of approximately 30 msec per log₁₀ unit with a frequency of a million printed words) (Oldfield et al. 1965; from Bock et al. 2006: 106).

projekt (project), *rezultat* (result), *sistem* (system), *struktura* (structure), *tema* (subject, topic). 387 different words of foreign origin that are part of everyday vocabulary and 4,250 total words of foreign origin that are part of everyday vocabulary were discussed.

3.4 Total share and the share of different words of foreign origin that could be substituted with Slovene equivalents

This value represents (in terms of the total words of foreign origin of an individual speaker) a percentage share of words of foreign origin which could easily be substituted with single-word¹⁰ Slovene equivalents without changing, truncating, simplifying or in any other way altering the proposition. Shares vary from 6.24% and 23.28% for all occurrences and from 11.69% and 32.08% for occurrences of different words of foreign origin that could be substituted with Slovene equivalents. The use of these words is not motivated by need or established (frequent) use, but by other factors. One could say that these words are “marked”, in particular with qualifiers like +foreign, +new, +fashionable etc., and occasionally with the qualifier +expressive (this mostly applies to adverbial words of foreign origin such as *absolutno* (absolutely), *definitivno* (definitely)).¹¹ Typical words of this subgroup include *apelirati* (to appeal to, to call on), *asistenca* (assistance), *bazičen* (basic), *biro* (bureau, office), *bypass* (bypass), *delikaten* (delicate), *demantirati* (to [vehemently] deny), *efekt* (effect), etc. 521 different words of foreign origin were analysed out of a total of 2,458 occurrences. Due to the nature of the use of the words in this subgroup, it was logical that the speech act (in line with Searle) in which each occurrence of a foreign word that could have been substituted with a Slovene equivalent appeared be determined. The values thus obtained express the shares of individual speech acts as percentages of the total occurrences of words of foreign origin that could be substituted with Slovene equivalents. The share of assertives varies from 44.29% and 88.24%, the share of directives from 4.84% to 33.33%, the share of expressives from 0% to 29.03%, the share of commissives from 0% to 4.65% and the share of declarations from 0% to 2.17%. It must be stressed that all statements in the research that describe the results in terms of speech acts only describe the aspect of the use of words borrowed from foreign languages. In order to posit that the greater use of assertives, declaratives, commissives, expressives or declarations by one

¹⁰ Thereby fulfilling one of Grice’s Maxims of Manner: “Be brief – avoid unnecessary prolixity” (Grice 1989: 27).

¹¹ The value attribute in the definitions in this article and also in those listed by Skubic (2005: 158) in various normative guides for the Slovene language are of course valid from the standpoint of the dominant culture and serve the function of “introducing a new discourse” which certain practices legitimate and others attempt to deny legitimacy. Slovenski pravopis 2001 [Slovene orthography 2001] actually assigns even the most traditionally “unacceptable” words of foreign origin the label of the sociolect to which they belong; (even though, as Skubic stresses, the qualifiers for labelling a sociolect provide little information). Slovenski pravopis 2001 only prohibits the use of those words of foreign origin which are not part of any sociolect, but which came into use as a result of interference from Croatian.

group is statistically significant, it would also be necessary to examine the use of various illocutions with Slovene words, and not just those with words of foreign origin.

Example of tagging a speech act:

*Izražamo prepričanje, da takšna rešitev ne bo predstavljala **bypassov** v izvršilnih postopkih.*
[“We are expressing the belief that such a solution will not represent bypasses in executive procedures.”]

The word “bypass” is clearly a foreign word borrowed from English terminology; it could easily be substituted with the Slovene word “*obvod*”. In terms of speech acts, the utterance is tagged as an expressive.

Total share and the share of different “framing” words of foreign origin

This value represents the share of foreign figurative expressions as a percentage of the total words of foreign origin spoken by an individual speaker. In delineating this subgroup, Ivas’ theory (1988: 197), which states that jargon comprises technical and affective or figurative expressions, whereby the latter operate *completely outside the mind, and exclusively on emotions*, served as a point of reference. In line with Searle’s theory, most of these words would fall into the category of expressives. On the other hand, more recent theories of language based on the findings of cognitive science speak of the framing of reality. The cognitive scientist and linguist Lakoff (2009) explains the use of battlefield metaphors through the physiognomy and functioning of the brain: dramaturgic structures (for example, acts of shame, battle, victory) are neurologically linked to emotional structures (anger, fear, relief). In his view, metaphors are learned structures and as such are used by the brain without any resistance, that is, automatically or subconsciously, which accounts for 98% of the functioning of the brain. He uses the phrase “War on Terror” to explain neural binding, claiming that this metaphorical idea has become physically anchored in the minds of most Americans. This change occurs in the synapses; so called long-term potentiation can occur as the result of trauma (especially strong neuron firing) or repetition (frequent neural firing). Thus, the use of the phrase is no longer reflective, but reflexive – and in Lakoff’s view this is true of both the aspects of speaking and hearing (Lakoff 2009: 10, 93, 128–129).

The value of the share of figurative-framing words varies from 0% to 12.01% for all occurrences and between 0% in 21.84% for occurrences of different words. Typical words in this subgroup (frequency > 10) include: *afera* (affair), *agresor* (aggressor), *demagogija* (demagogy), *diskriminacija* (discrimination), *drastičen* (drastic), *ignorirati* (to ignore), *katastrofalen* (catastrophic), *korupcija* (corruption), *manipulacija* (manipulation), *privilegij* (privilege), *špekulirati* (to speculate), *tajkun* (tycoon), *travma* (trauma). 306 different words were analysed out of a total of 973 occurrences.

3.5 Share of colloquial expressions

This value, which for the speakers included in the research varies from 0% to 0.26%, represents the share of colloquial expressions as a percentage of the total number of

spoken words. This subgroup includes words that are not characteristic of the high norm of public discourse and that have also been assigned qualifiers that confirm this assessment in *The Dictionary of Standard Slovene* [Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika]. The purpose behind this deliberate violation of the norm is to achieve convergence with simpler modes of expression and divergence from the governing structure. 60 different words were analysed out of a total of 123 words.

	Words of foreign origin total	% for individual speaker	Different words of foreign origin	% for individual speaker
Terminology	12,555	51.09–74.75	598	34.87–55.26
Everyday vocabulary	4250	13.76–32.52	387	18.22–30.05
Subject to substitution	2458	6.24–23.28	521	11.69–32.08
	Assertives	44.29–88.24		
	Directives	4.84–33.33		
	Expressives	0–29.03		
	Commissives	0–4.65		
	Declaratives	0–2.17		
Figurative, framing words		0–12.01		0–21.84

Table 1: All collected data.

4 STATISTICAL DATA ANALYSIS

Statistical data analysis was conducted using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences; version SPSS 17.0 for Windows). This program was one of the first systems for statistical data analysis, and is still one of the most widely used (Rovan/Turk 2001). To obtain data relevant to the research, the following tests were performed:

- A T-test wherein the arithmetic centres of independent variables with only two values (gender, for example) were compared and any statistically significant differences were determined.
- The One-Way ANOVA procedure, which revealed statistically significant differences in comparisons of independent variables with multiple values (political party of the speaker, for example).

In the results, the value of statistic significance p or Sig was important; this value was 2-tailed in the case of the T-test. The following parameters were used:

- $p \leq 0.05$: differences between variables are statistically significant. The hypothesis that there are no differences between variables is rejected and with a 5% margin of error of difference we can expect that the differences exist among the entire population.

- $p \leq 0.05$: differences between variables are not statistically significant, the variances are roughly the same or are not correlated.

5 RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

Statistical Results
Statistically significant links
EDUCATION: use of commissives ($p=0.012$): lowest among MPs with doctorate and highest among MPs with a high school education
EDUCATION: use of declaratives ($p=0.001$): highest among MPs with a high school education
INVOLVMENT IN THE FORMAL SCHOOLING PROCESS: use of different terminological expressions ($p=0.001$): more common among MPs involved in the educational system
TERMS: share of a speaker's total use of words of foreign origin ($p=0.023$): declines in inverse proportion to the number of terms in parliament
POLITICAL PARTY: use of different words of foreign origin that could be replaced with Slovene equivalents ($p=0.028$)
POLITICAL POSITION: use of directives ($p=0.042$): lowest among MPs in the government
POLITICAL POSITION: use of commissives ($p=0.045$): lowest in the opposition, much higher among MPs in the ruling coalition, and highest in the government
Statistically indicated links
GENDER: different figurative/framing words of foreign origin ($p=0.053$): men use less, women more
GENDER: colloquial expressions ($p=0.064$): men use more, women less
AGE: different figurative/framing words of foreign origin ($p=0.066$): most use youngest and oldest speakers
INVOLVMENT IN THE FORMAL SCHOOLING PROCESS: use of commissives ($p=0.075$): MPs involved in the formal education process use less
INVOLVMENT IN THE FORMAL SCHOOLING PROCESS: use of declaratives ($p=0.068$): MPs involved in the formal education process use less
TERMS: colloquial expressions ($p=0.058$): use increases in direct proportion to the length of the speaker's number of terms
POLITICAL POSITION: share of colloquial expressions ($p=0.060$): highest in the opposition
POLITICAL POSITION: use of assertives ($p=0.065$): highest in the government

Table 2: Statistically significant and indicated links.

5.1 Size of the corpus and the factors included

Compared to other corpora in the Slovene language, the size of the corpus of the research is exceptionally small; it is conceivable that additional statistically significant

correlations would appear, or that correlations which the dissertation can only indicate would be confirmed or rejected, if the corpus were expanded to include a larger number of speakers. In the framework of the interpretation of the results of the research, **statistically significant links ($p \leq 0.05$) are listed in bold**, and links that are only statistically indicated ($0.09 > p > 0.05$) are listed in italics.

At first glance, it would seem that certain factors covered by the statistical analysis should be classified as sociological and others as psychological factors; yet because the line separating these two categories is not always clear, I opted against the use of such a classification. Within such a framework, multi-layer factors – education, number of terms and position – which merit an independent treatment and which were dealt with in the research – would be not be adequately expressed. As the theoretical portion of the dissertation shows (Zorčič 2011: 8–40), the stratification of society is undoubtedly a powerful factor of identity, as (according to Bourdieu) it facilitates the formation of the habitus in the framework of which the individual operates. Due to historical and political circumstances, Slovenia probably exhibits a less noticeable degree of social stratification than is the case, say, in Western Europe. At the same time, tendencies towards stratification can be clearly noted.

5.2 Gender

The impact of the variable of gender on the use of words of foreign origin was revealed by the results of a T-test. Although the latter do indicate differences between genders in certain cases, these are statistically insignificant. I can therefore confirm the hypothesis that gender does not influence the use of words of foreign origin. Past research projects provide additional confirmation: Cafuta (2008: 59) explains findings of this kind through the greater (educational) equality of the genders, which he confirms with data from the 1991 and 2002 censuses which proves that while the level of education has increased for both sexes, in the case of women, increases have taken the form of larger structural shares in higher and university education. This also supports Bourdieu's definition of habitus, which reflects these social conditions, that is, a tendency towards equality of the sexes.

Differences are indicated in the use of different framing or figurative words of foreign origin ($p=0.053$) and in the use of colloquial expressions ($p=0.064$). *Men generally use fewer figurative foreign expressions and more colloquial expressions, while women resort to figurative expressions more frequently than men, and to colloquial expressions less frequently than men.* The results could be interpreted through the fact that female speakers are more careful about what they say. On the one hand, the use of these expressions by male speakers could stem from a kind of awareness about their own (higher) position, for which they compensate through the use of expressions belonging to a more marginal sociolect. On the other hand, their divergence towards a marginal sociolect could be an expression of defeminisation, that is, the expression of manliness and a “rough” image, which is characteristic of marginal urban sociolects (Skubic 2005: 209). Data on the background or place of residence of the speakers was not included, from which it follows that the above statement would be difficult to confirm in the framework of this research.

One characteristic of framing or figurative words of foreign origin is that the use of most of these words could be included in the illocution of expression, that is, among expressives. These words also constitute so-called empty political speech. To conclude, it is far from certain that men present their ideas in a more rational or more substantial way. It would seem that it is women who are more clever or who have a larger vocabulary in this field (since we are dealing with different words, and not total framing or figurative words of foreign origin; see above). In both cases, a larger sample would be required to confirm statistical significance.

5.3 Age

The ANOVA test was used to check whether age impacts the use of words of foreign origin. The results did not reveal statistically significant differences between age groups.

Statistically significant differences were indicated in the use of *different framing or figurative words of foreign origin* ($p=0.066$); *these words were used most by speakers in the youngest and oldest age groups, and less by speakers in the intermediate age groups*. This data could be explained through young MPs' initial enthusiasm and "go-getter" attitude towards "learning flowery political phrases" and in the case of older generations (age 60 and over) through the use of ideological speech patterns. However, the results for the category of number of terms are completely different, which is why it may be assumed that a larger sample would reveal that this difference is statistically insignificant.

5.4 Education and involvement in the formal schooling process

The impact of education, that is, of different levels of education on the use of words of foreign origin, was assessed using the ANOVA command. A statistically significant difference was revealed in the use of commissives ($p=0.012$) and declarations ($p=0.001$). **The share of commissives was lowest among MPs with a doctorate and highest among MPs with a high school education; the share of declaratives was highest among MPs with a high school education.**

The use of the illocution of commitment could be noted among MPs with a lower level of education; it enables them to compensate for the lack of cultural capital revealed by their formal education titles. The opposite is true of speakers who have received a doctorate; they enter into speech situations with much greater authority and have a higher position in society as a result of all the types of capital they possess. These speakers resort not to the illocution of commitment, but to the illocution of assertion, as the use of the latter was shown to be highest for this group.¹² This is also confirmed by data that indicates statistical significance ($p=0.075$): *MPs involved in the formal education process use fewer commissives than those not involved in the formal education process.*

¹² As noted above, in order to confirm this statement, the use of various illocutions would also have to be checked for Slovene expressions; as it is, only differences in the use of words of foreign origin can be confirmed.

The results for the illocution of declaration could be interpreted the same way: MPs with a lower level of education use this illocution to enhance the importance of their statements. This is also confirmed by data that indicates statistical significance ($p=0.068$): *MPs involved in the formal education process use fewer declaratives.*

The correlation between involvement in the educational system and the use of words of foreign origin was checked using a T-test; the results revealed statistical significance ($p=0.001$), and the statement can be generalised to include the entire population with a 1% margin of error. **The use of different terminological expressions is more common among those involved in the educational system**, which confirms the hypothesis. Cafuta (2008: 67) arrived at similar results.

This situation represents a typical struggle, as Bourdieu would perhaps say, within a particular field. Through a greater frequency of words of foreign origin, MPs who are in the process of acquiring new formal titles (cultural capital) hint at the coming change in the configuration of their capitals and at the concomitant change in their position in society.

5.5 Number of terms in parliament

The ANOVA command was used to check the correlation between number of terms and the use of words of foreign origin, and statistically significant differences were ascertained ($p=0.023$). **The share of a speaker's total use of words of foreign origin declines in inverse proportion to the number of his or her terms in parliament** (and concomitantly to the length of his or her involvement in politics or in this field of activity). The initial hypothesis can be rejected on the basis of these results, which were interpreted as showing that MPs in the initial phases of their careers resort to the use of this kind of symbolic capital, and that over time they become less concerned with this kind of capital and/or substitute it with a different kind, for example, with symbolic capital in the form of reputation and authority.

A statistically significant difference was also indicated for the correlation between number of terms and the use of colloquial expressions ($p=0.058$). In this case, *the use of colloquial expressions increases in direct proportion to the length of the speaker's number of terms in Parliament.* This can be explained in a similar way: their symbolic social capital obviously permits speakers with a greater number of terms to use these kinds of expressions. The somewhat higher percentage of the use of colloquial expressions among the youngest MPs also stands out in the data; this can be explained through divergence towards the excessive sociolects of young people or as the expression of one's habitus, identity and position in society.

5.6 Political party

The ANOVA command was also used to check the correlation between the use of different words of foreign origin that could be replaced with Slovene equivalents and membership in a particular political party. A statistically significant difference ($p=0.028$) was revealed for the following results: **The SD party (for full party names in**

English, see above) used the fewest words of foreign origin that could be replaced with their Slovene equivalents, followed by ZARES and SLS; these words were used to a somewhat greater extent by SDS, LDS and SNS, and DESUS used them the most. These results are difficult to interpret from the perspective of position of power, as members of the party with the most power in Parliament were revealed to express themselves most clearly, which was not expected. The most simple explanation involves convergence with a party's voter base; however, this explanation does not take into account the DESUS party, which does not address its own base from its position of power (it is a coalition member, but its base consists primarily of pensioners, which would lead one to expect clarity).¹³ The use of words of foreign origin by the SLS party can also be explained through position of power; through the less frequent use of words of foreign origin that could be substituted with Slovene equivalents, this party tends towards clarity and addresses its voter base from the position of opposition. The same holds for the LDS party, which uses more words of foreign origin that could be replaced with Slovene equivalents, as this party is a coalition member and as such is in a position of power; at the same time, this use can also be explained on the basis of convergence with the party's voter base, to which (if in fact it is made up of economic and academic elites) the cultural sociolect is most near.

As noted above, these results are unclear and a larger sample would perhaps paint a different picture. The results are especially divided for the SNS party, which besides a greater use of words of foreign origin that could be replaced with Slovene equivalents also displays a greater use of colloquial expressions. The same command, ANOVA, was used to determine the correlation between the use of colloquial expressions and membership in a political party, and the correlation was found to be statistically significant ($p=0.024$). Speakers of the SNS party used colloquial expressions the most. This is the only party that has been in the opposition throughout the entire history of the Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia; accordingly, it has sought its voter base through the marginal, the excessive and the marked. This also describes the speech of its members, which converges towards lower (underprivileged) sociolects and diverges from the public (high) norm and with it from those in a position of power.

5.7 Current political position

The ANOVA command was also used to determine the correlation between occurrences of words of foreign origin and current political position. A statistically significant difference was revealed in the way propositions are made, that is, in illocutionary acts, in the case of **directives** ($p=0.042$) and **commissives** ($p=0.045$). **The share of the first type of speech act, the illocution of direction, was lowest among MPs in the government**, which is to be expected, as overseeing the functioning of the ruling coalition and the government and pointing out mistakes and errors is the job of the opposition.

¹³ It should be pointed out that only one MP from this party was included in the study. This could have resulted in a deviation.

In line with this, another expected result is the statistically significant difference in the **share of the illocution of commitment, which is lowest in the opposition, much higher among MPs in the ruling coalition, and highest in the government.**

Statistically significant differences were also indicated in the *share of colloquial expressions* ($p=0.06$), which was highest in the opposition, for the most part due to the divergence from the ruling structure mentioned above and the SNS party. A statistically significant difference was also indicated in the use of *assertives* ($p=0.065$), the share of which was highest in the government, which is in line with its position of power, as those in the ruling majority have less of a need to resort to the illocution of direction and express the illocution of assertion more frequently.

6 CONCLUSION

In my research, I succeeded in showing that the use of words of foreign origin is impacted by an individual's identity, habitus and position in society (in terms of distribution of the different types of capital) to a greater degree than by classical sociological factors such as gender and age. This was confirmed by the statistically significant differences ascertained between the variables. I can therefore generalise with a minimum margin of error that the following is true of the entire population: (1) involvement in the formal education process increases one's use of terminological expressions and (2) the share of the use of all words of foreign origin declines in inverse proportion to the length of time one has been in Parliament (while the share of colloquial expressions increases); I interpreted the latter observation as an expression of the substitution of symbolically used cultural capital (words of foreign origin) with symbolic social capital (reputation and authority). I can also state with a minimum margin of error that (3) the share of directives is lowest among representatives of the government and the share of commissives is lowest in the opposition, which is in line with their respective positions of power, and that (4) colloquial phrases were most used by the SNS party, which is an expression of this party's convergence towards its voter base and divergence from those in power.

The results for the use of words of foreign origin by political party were inconclusive and difficult to interpret; any conclusions in this regard would require a larger corpus. A broader treatment would also be required to confirm or reject findings which were only statistically indicated in my research. Due to the time required and demanding nature of such an analysis, exhaustive research of this kind would be suitable for broader continued research.

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Abstract

WORDS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

The paper discusses the use of words of foreign origin in Slovenian political discourse. At the outset, this usage is broken down into four groups: the first contains specific phrases and terminology inherent to the political domain; the second contains words of foreign origin generally present in the Slovene language (because of their high frequency of nonexclusivistic use, these words are not of interest to the scope of this investigation); the third contains various words of foreign origin used as affectional packaging for messages with the aim of stimulating the desired interpretation (framing reality); the fourth group, which is the most interesting for our research, is made up of words of foreign origin which could have a marker: + marked, + not necessary, + unwanted, but only if we accept the logic of purism. All the words in this group could be replaced – without any loss of meaning – with their Slovene equivalents. The speaker's

motivation for using the foreign word is crucial to our discussion. In the framework of Pierre Bourdieu's poststructural theory as well as Austin's and Searle's speech act theory, statistical data is analysed to observe how usage frequency varies in correlation with selected factors which manifest the speaker's habitus. We argue that words of foreign origin represent symbolic cultural capital, a kind of added value which functions as credit and as such is an important form of the accumulation of capital.

Keywords: words of foreign origin, political discourse, Bourdieu, Speech Acts, symbolic cultural capital.

Povzetek
BESEDE TUJEGA IZVORA V POLITIČNEM DISKURZU

Članek obravnava rabo besedja tujega izvora v okviru slovenskega političnega diskurza. Zaradi specifične rabe lahko besede razdelimo v štiri skupine: v prvo spadajo posebne fraze in terminologija, ki je lastna političnem področju; v drugo skupino uvrščamo besede tujega izvora, ki so splošno prisotne v slovenskem jeziku (in so zaradi pogostosti pojavljanja ter njihove "neekskluzivističnosti" popolnoma nezanimive za raziskovanje); tretjo skupino sestavljajo različne besede tujega izvora, s pomočjo katerih govorci spodbujajo željene interpretacije povedanega (ang. *framing reality*); četrta skupina je najbolj zanimiva za raziskovanje in je sestavljena iz besed tujega izvora, ki bi lahko imele oznako: +zaznamovano, +nepotrebno, +nezaželeno, vendar le, če podležemo puristični logiki. Vse besede te skupine je mogoče enostavno in brez spremembe v pomenu zamenjati z enobesednimi slovenskimi ustreznici. Motivacija rabe teh besed je ključnega pomena za našo obravnavo. V okviru poststrukturalistične teorije Pierra Bourdieuja ter Austinove in Searlove teorije govornih dejanj je podana tudi interpretacija statistične analize pogostnosti rabe v korelaciji z izbranimi dejavniki, ki izražajo govorčev habitus. Zagovarjam tezo, da tujke predstavljajo simbolni kulturni kapital, dodano vrednost, ki učinkuje kot kredit je in je kot taka lahko pomembna oblika akumulacije kapitala.

Ključne besede: besede tujega izvora, politični diskurz, Bourdieu, teorija govornih dejanj, simbolni kulturni kapital.