

DISKURS PARLAMENTA

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Vuković-Stamatović, M. (2020) *Diskurs parlamenta*. Univerzitet Crne Gore: Podgorica.
ISBN 978-86-7664-186-4. COBISS.CG-ID 14310148.

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UVOD

Jezik nije samo ogledalo stvarnosti, jezik je i činitelj stvarnosti. Osim što predstavlja medij koji omogućava komunikaciju u socijalnom kontekstu, jezik zapravo uslovljava način na koji se društvena realnost percipira, kategoriše, karakteriše i procjenjuje. Tako diskurs, kao konstitutivni element savremenog društva, predstavlja predmet koji zaslužuje najveću pažnju analitičara iz svih društvenih nauka, a naročito lingvistike i njene najobuhvatnije grane, analize diskursa.

Predmet ove knjige upravo je diskurs, i to politički diskurs, koji u današnjici, obilježenoj „sve češćim promjenama društvenih paradigmi i političkom polarizacijom” (Ilie, 2010b: 879), predstavlja činioca u građenju neizostavnog elementa bitisanja svakog društva – njegove političke stvarnosti. Jer, kao što kaže Hodžis, „osim što opisuju istinu, riječi u političkom diskursu i stvaraju istinu“ (Hodges, 2008: 2).

Istraživanje predstavljeno u ovoj knjizi usmjereno je ka ostvarivanju dva komplementarna cilja.

S jedne strane, cilj rada je pružanje uvida u politički diskurs uopšte i naročito diskurs parlamenta, kao najvažnije političke institucije društva. Za razliku od analizâ registra i funkcionalnog stila određenih institucija, kao i žanrovskih analiza, ovo istraživanje diskursno je usmjereno na načine pomoću kojih se oblikuje i gradi politička realnost. Konkretni cilj je izdvojiti gramatička, leksička, pragmatička i retorička sredstva koja služe ostvarivanju diskursnih procesa i strategija kao što su polarizacija učesnika u diskursu, legitimizacija i delegitimizacija, tj. kritikovanje i opravdavanje stavova, oponiranje i ograđivanje od odgovornosti, učtivost, intertekstualnost, tj. miješanje žanrova, rekontekstualizacija sadržaja, promjena jezičkog koda i metadiskursno strukturiranje diskursa. Pomenuti diskursni fenomeni centralni su u procesu građenja političke stvarnosti, a lingvistička relevantnost za njihovo ispitivanje jeste u tome što se oni praktično i jedino putem jezika mogu ostvarivati.

Takođe, knjiga je pisana i s namjerom da se shvate i objasne pomenute diskursne makrostrategije i van političkog konteksta, budući da one nisu tipične samo za politički diskurs. Ove diskursne strategije koriste se u svim oblicima diskursa, pa njihovo rasvjetljavanje na primjeru političkih tekstova, gdje one naročito dolaze do izražaja, predstavlja doprinos shvatanju mehanizma na osnovu kojeg one funkcionišu u diskursu uopšte.

Korpus za istraživanje činili su zapisi sa sjednica Skupštine Crne Gore i Donjeg doma Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva koje su bile posvećene raspravi o budžetu za 2010. godinu. U pitanju su fonografski transkripti sa sjednica pomenuta dva parlamenta i javno su dostupni na internetu.

Kada je u pitanju dio korpusa koji se odnosi na raspravu u britanskom parlamentu, u cjelosti smo preuzeli zapise s prvog dana rasprave, koja je trajala oko šest i po sati. Budući da su ovi transkripti bili prilagođeni normama pisanog diskursa, ispravili smo ih i dopunili na osnovu video zapisa. Tabela 1 sumira detalje ovog dijela korpusa.

Tabela 1.
Detalji crnogorskog korpusa

Parlamentarno zasijedanje	Zasijedanje 2009-2010
Rasprava	Rasprava o budžetu za fiskalnu ¹ 2010. godinu
Izvor korpusa	Hansard ²
Datum	24.03.2010
Trajanje	6h 30min
Broj riječi	61 255
Broj razmjena	136 (predsjednik i potpredsjednici skupštine: 22; Laburistička partija: 49; Konzervativna partija: 43; Liberalne demokrate: 18; Škotska nacionalna partija: 4)
Učestvovalo poslanika	33

U slučaju zapisa s rasprave u crnogorskoj skupštini, u potpunosti je preuzet zapis s prvog dana zasjedanja, a korpus je proširen za još dva sata rasprave koja je održana drugog dana sjednice, kako bi dva dijela korpusa, britanski i crnogorski, bila ujednačena. Zapisi su u dovoljnoj mjeri bili vjerodostojni, tako da dodatne prepravke nijesu uslijedile.

Tema istraživanja pripada oblasti analize diskursa, što je opšti metodološki okvir koji se koristi u knjizi.

Budući da analiza diskursa raspolaže vrlo širokom metodološkom lepezom, u poglavlju *Analiza političkog diskursa* specifikuju se terminologija i metode koje se koriste u analizi korpusa. Pomenute metode locirane su na leksičkom, gramatičkom, pragmatičkom, retoričkom i diskursnom nivou.

Tabela 2.
Detalji britanskog korpusa

Parlamentarno zasijedanje	Šesta sjednica drugog redovnog zasijedanja
Rasprava	Rasprav o budžetu za kalendarsku 2010. godinu
Izvor korpusa	Autorizovani fonografski zapisi sa sjednice ³
Datum	15.12.2009. i 16.12.2009
Trajanje	7h 30 min
Broj riječi	45 435
Broj razmjena	140 (predsjednik i potpredsjednici skupštine: 70; DPS: 33; SDP: 7; SNP: 10; PZP: 13; Nova: 7)
Učestvovalo poslanika	25

¹ Fiskalna godina u Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu počinje 6. aprila.

² Preuzeto sa: <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200910/cmhansrd/cm100324/debindx/100324-x.htm>

³ Preuzeto sa: http://www.skupstina.me/cms/site_data/AKTI%202010-1/FONOGRAFSKI%20ZAPIS%206_sj_2_red_zas_15,16_i%2017_12_2009_.pdf

Važan pomoćni metod u analizi koji se koristi u ovoj knjizi jeste i korpusna lingvistika. Programi *Textanz*® 2.5.0 (Cro-Code, 2008), *TextSTAT*® 2.8 (Hüning, 2009) i *AntConc* 3.2.1® (Anthony, 2007) obezbijedili su listu ključnih riječi i konkordance za oba korpusa, a u slučaju britanskog korpusa, na raspolaganju je bio i program za morfološku anotaciju tekstualnih korpusa, *CLAWS4*® (Garside and Smith, 1997), koji je korišćen u obilježavanju *Britanskog nacionalnog korpusa*.

Na osnovu objektivnih rezultata dobijenih navedenim metodama, u knjizi se iznose kritički sudovi o upotrebi određenih jezičkih sredstava i strategija u diskursu politike, tj. primjenjuju se pristupi kritičke analize diskursa.

Ova knjiga zasnovana je na doktorskoj disertaciji pod nazivom *Diskurs parlamentarnih debata*, odbranjenoj na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta Crne Gore 2013. godine (Vuković, 2013a). Neki djelovi i rezultati objavljeni su u međunarodnim časopisima i zbornicima međunarodnih konferencija (podaci o tome su navedeni u fusnotama na početku poglavlja), ali najveći dio teksta ove knjige do sada je bio neobjavljen. U ovoj knjizi se, tako, integralno i sistematski, analizira jezik parlamenta, kroz dvije strukturalne cjeline.

Prvi dio knjige, odnosno teorijski uvod, počinje polaznim osnovama i nastavlja se s teoretskim prikazom analize diskursa, kao opšte discipline kojoj pripada ova tema, kritičke analize diskursa, kao pristupa koji se koristi u analizi, i opisom metodologije istraživanja. Metodološki okvir sadrži opis korpusne lingvistike i metodologije analize političkog diskursa. Prvi dio knjige završava poglavljem o diskursu parlamentarnih debata, kao kontekstom u kojem je bliže lociran predmet ovog istraživanja. Pomenuta poglavlja sadrže opšte teoretske postavke, istorijski razvoj disciplina i metodologija, pregled dosadašnjih istraživanja i kritički osvrt na njihove domete.

Drugi dio knjige odnosi se na rezultate sprovedenog istraživanja. Analiza se obavlja na diskursnom nivou, a svaka od diskursnih tema kojima se bavim biće obrađena zasebno na britanskom i crnogorskom korpusu. Poglavlja završavaju rezimeom i zaključcima, kao i kontrastivnom analizom rezultata. Teme poglavlja su sljedeće: 1. polarizacija u parlamentarnom diskursu (polarizacija diskursnih učesnika – *mi* protiv *vas* i *mi* protiv *njih*; i polarizacija sadržaja, tj. pozitivno predstavljanje *nas* i negativno predstavljanje drugih grupa); 2. pojačavanje iskaza („jaka“ epistemička modalnost, tj. isticanje istinitosti i sigurnosti iskaza, deontička modalnost za iskazivanje obligacija, upotreba amplifikatora i drugih intenzifikatora, što ima bitnu ulogu u ubjeđivačkom diskursu); 3. ublažavanje iskaza i ograđivanje (analiza upotrebe sredstava za ublažavanje i ograđivanje u svrhu zaštite lica poslanika); 4. rekontekstualizacija (ponavljanje ključnih riječi i fraza, kao i konceptualnih metafora). Cilj je bio koristiti tradicionalne lingvističke metode za osvjetljavanje navedenih kompleksnijih diskursnih fenomena.

Knjiga se završava rezimeom, zaključcima, evaluacijom postignutih rezultata i prijedlogom za dalja istraživanja.

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