

On Phrasebooks

The Phrasebook as a genre, a source and a model

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NIELS HAASTRUP

ON PHRASEBOOKS

THE PHRASEBOOK AS

1) A GENRE, 2) A SOURCE, 3) A MODEL

1. The phrasebook as a genre: what is a phrasebook? ¹

In this paper I want to present a neglected source to a neglected field in historical lexicography i.e the phrasebook as a source to colloquial discourse of the past. In this way I hope to explain my motives for establishing an inventory of the situations and encounters accounted for in phrasebooks having Danish as a source or a target language.

1. The ms. for my lecture comprised the following introduction:
 Before I start the presentation of my paper, I have a confession to make: I am neither a lexicographer nor a lexicologist, but a philologist who has taken an interest in phrasebooks. I have not come to teach, but to learn. In the early fifties, when I began to study Danish language and linguistics at the university, the last word in linguistic theory was that of the Cercle linguistique du Copenhague, which was dominated by the world-famous, at least so we thought, Professor Louis Hjelmslev. In this milieu, the worst invectives possible, when referring to oldfashioned historical or non-structuralist works, were school-grammar- and phrasebook-linguistics.

Ten years later, when I wrote my doctoral dissertation, I chose the subtitle: School-grammar studies. I did so, not to defend the traditional school-grammar as an ideal model for linguistic studies, but to shed new light on the influence school-grammar might have had on language use in former times, as e.g. the oldest Danish bible translation from the late 15th century (Haastrup, 1968).

Now, in the eighties, I have begun to study phrasebooks, with the intention that perhaps we could learn something from them when we write the history of language and make historical dictionaries.

1.1 A general definition.

Phrasebooks represent idealized dialogues that are meant to be used as models for verbal conversation in specific situations (as e.g. dining at a restaurant, cf. e.g. Ehlich & al. 1972).

1.2 Different versions.

There is a wide range of versions from former times: Latin dialogues between pupils in the Latin grammar-school (Bömer 1897), first aid to immigrants and travelling merchants in the lingua franca of the time, but primarily textbooks that represent international, or better centripetal, upperclass standards of conversation. Present day phrasebooks are only a practical device for tourists and immigrants, while the "civilizing" - or if you want "snobbish" - type, to my knowledge no longer exists.

1.3 The contrastive aspect.

The modern phrasebook is always bilingual, or multilingual. Looking back at the history of phrasebooks, which to my knowledge is as yet unwritten, the category "phrasebook" seems always to have been of this contrastive type, and not monolingual as the letterbooks often are. This applies at least to countries like Germany and the Scandinavian kingdoms, which were peripheral to the dominant centres of early modern Europe: Italy and France.

The phrasebook might well supply us with the source material for writing the history of cross-cultural verbal interaction, or of contrastive linguistics in former times. However, this is not the point of the present paper.

1.4 The mother-tongue paraphrase.

Phrasebooks printed in these peripheral countries including a mother-tongue version can inform us of the use of many words, phrases and prepat-terned speech in everyday dialogues. This version may even to some extent have functioned as a model itself for conversational routines (Coulmas ed. 1981).

In the peripheral countries, like Denmark, most phrasebooks have a foreign language as the target language. The few textbooks presenting Danish as a foreign language do not have a high standard of dialogues, but they do exist (Hagerup 1797). Unfortunately the Danish versions often seem to be translations, not directly from the target language in question, but from an edition made for Germans, that presents equivalents in their mother-tongue. These models are often easy to identify, but difficult to find in German libraries, as no general "Standortregister" is at our disposal.

If we want to use the material found in the phrasebooks, we have to do some philological work in advance to clarify their relationship to foreign sources and domestic predecessors (as we have to do using any kind of text), as a large part of older Danish texts in most genres are translations.

1.5 How were the phrasebooks used?

We do not know the extent to which these phrasebooks were used as models for conversation in the Danish language (Andersen 1971), but we know that phrasebooks were produced and bought on a large scale (Biblioteka Danica vol. IV), referred to (or warned against) in other books of etiquette and manners, and that the use of such books would fit the actual sociolinguistic situation in Denmark. From the 16th up to the 20th century a change of models may be traced from Latin through Italian and French to the domination of English as the lingua franca. In 17th and 18th century Denmark a foreign language such as French was considered a high-prestige language and was spoken by the upper classes, who tried to ride on the French cultural wave, as did the Germans (Skautrup 1944sq.). In brief, the high-prestige sociolect in the language-community was a foreign language, in the same way as the foreign fashion in dressing, cooking and polite behaviour was dominant. Many Danes in the towns mastered German, but the highest prestige, however, was associated with French. In other words, the books in which you could find models of elegant verbal behaviour in the upper class milieu, were these "civilizing" phrasebooks, beside belletristic texts (e.g. dramatic texts which are proposed as sources for a "pragmatic history of language" in Sitta ed. 1980).

Thus these phrasebooks represented certain accomplishments which were necessary to master in higher circles (Elias 1969) and of course in encounters with foreigners at home or abroad on the Grand Tour, that every young gentleman had to undertake as an important part of his education (Leeuw 1981). Phrasebooks seem to represent a part of what upperclass youth was taught in former times, when private education was the only alternative to exercises in Latin in secondary education (Howatt, 1985, Skautrup, 1944ff.). It seems reasonable to suggest that the phrasebooks reflect the foreign influence on conversation, verbal and non-verbal, although it seems difficult to discern to what extent they have been the direct vehicle of this influence.

1.6 The relation to other genres.

1.6a Drama v. prose.

The phrasebook is a peculiar kind of text, whatever type you choose to consider. The dialogue is not embedded in a prose text, as in the great courtesy books by Castiglione (1528), Guazzo (1574) and De la Casa (1559) or in the narratives of the pastoral novels, as for example Hon. d'Urfé's *Astrée* (1607sq.). Neither is it directly comparable to the didactic or philosophical dialogue (Hirzel 1895) as the phrasebook also and in particular focuses on the mutual relations of the interlocutors and not only on the objects of the world around them.

First of all the dialogue of the phrasebook is comparable to a dramatic text, intended to be performed orally, not on the stage of the theatre, but on that of the real world, cf. the well known baroque metaphor (Gracian) and the works of Erving Goffman (cf. Coulmas 1981:310). As often as not the phrasebook conveys detailed stage directions. The situation (including imagined surroundings presupposed), the protagonist's aims and his relations to his interlocutors are exposé in the dialogue itself ² as in French classical drama (Bray 1927, Brownstein 1981, Scherer 1973, Weinberg 1961), following the rules of Aristotle. Only the rubrics are explicitly found: addressing a duke, entertaining a princess, ordering clothes at the tailors', changing horses etc.

As a rule, verbal and non-verbal behaviour, under changing conditions, is not discussed in general terms in the phrasebooks. The phrase-book genre leaves reflection to other genres of different types. Around the "civilizing" type you find books giving advice in important fields, such as riding, fencing, dancing, but primarily general books on manners and etiquette, composed by prominent clerics or experienced noblemen with titles such as: "What every young gentleman or gentlewoman should do and not do", and the genre culminates with "L'art de plaire à cour" (c.f. Faret 1637, Bleeck 1977, Brauer 1959, Buck 1979, Glarbo 1923, Hørby 1981, Magendie 1925, Mason 1935).

In the phrasebook you find examples and models, but rarely reflections and advice to master the unexpected. You find a framework of what contempo-

2. Cf. the fact that most dictionaries rely on example sentences to suggest what the usual *circumstantia rerum* are, just as they do for the collocation of words in the sentence (Hartmann, 1979).

rarians would believe to be typical situations and encounters, at least for members of the upper classes. Compared to works of rhetoric, the topica (Cicero, Loeb 386, 1968) found in the phrasebooks are those of colloquial discourse, and not of cases discussed in the courtroom.

Let us look at an example.³

| TALEMÅDER I DEN FORTROLIGE OG SÆLSKABELIGE STIL | EXPRESSIONS DU DISCOURS FAMILIER. |
|--|---|
| 1. For at begjære noget | Pour demander quelque chose |
| 2. Kjærlige Udtryk | Expressions de tendresse |
| 3. Taksigelses- Erkjendtlig- heds- og Venskabsyttringer | Expressions de reconnaissance, de dévouement et d'amitié |
| 4. For at bekræfte, benægte, samtykke etc. | Pour affirmer, nier, consentir etc. |
| 5. For at spørge til Raads eller for at overlægge | Pour consulter ou pour réfléchir. |
| 6. Om at spise og drikke | Du manger et du boire |
| 7. For at gaae, komme, og at bevæge sig etc. | Pour aller, pour venir, pour se mouvoir etc. |
| 8. At tale, sige, gjøre etc. | Parler, dire, faire etc. |
| 9. Forstaae, høre, begribe | Pour entendre, ouïr, écouter, comprendre. |
| 10. For at spørge | Pour interroger |
| 11. At kjende, forglemme, erindre sig | Pour connoître, oublier, se ressouvenir |
| 12. Om Alder, Liv og Død etc. | De l'age, de la vie, de la mort etc. |
| 13. Om at spadserere | De la promenade |
| 14. Ved en Spadseretur i en Blomsterhave | En se promenant dans un jardin à fleurs |
| 15. Om Veiret | Du temps |
| 16. Om Tiden og Klokken | Du temps et de l'heure |
| 17. Om Aarstiderne | De saisons |
| 19. For en Reisende | Pour un voyageur |
| 20. Udraab og Forsikringer | Exclamations et protestations |

3. Den franske Parleur .. oversat af M. Hallager, skolelærer, Anden Udgave gennemseet, forbedret og forøget af J.B. Lindenfels etc., Kjbh. 1811. (full title in English, my translation: The French Phrasebook or a Selection of French & Danish Conversations, containing a practical guide to the rapid learning of correct and fluent French for the beginner. Translated by M. Hallager, Schoolmaster. Second Edition, revised, improved and enlarged by J.B. Lindenfels, Capt. and company commander in the Royal Danish Artillery Battalion, Teacher at the Naval-Academy, the Artillery-Institute and the Danish Military Institute, Copenhagen, 1811).
This text represents a phrasebook of the practical type, including, however, some dialogues of the "civilizing" type, e.g. the dialogues on art.

Et kort Besøg
 Om Mandsklæder
 Om Fruentimmerklæder
 For at leie Værelser
 Om at skrive
 Om Komedien
 Om det franske Sprog
 Om det tyske Sprog
 Om Bøger og Læsning
 Imellem to Reisende paa Reisen
 Ved Ankomsten i et Værtshus
 Om at besee Staden
 Spadseretuur i en Dyrehave
 Ved et Middagsmaaltid
 Om den samme Gjenstand
 Med en Haarskærer
 Med en Skomager
 Med en Skræder
 Med en Kjøbmand
 I et Viinbjerg
 For at spørge om Vei i en By

 Med en Hestepreanger
 Om at gaae til Sengs
 Smaa Moerskabslege
 Om Skakspil
 Om Lotteriet
 Med en Uhrmager
 Med en Gartner
 Ved at kjøbe Brænde
 Om Jagt
 Om Fiskerie
 Med en Møbelhandler
 Om Handelen
 Imellem en Handelsmand og hans
 Kontorbetjent
 Med en Vexelerer
 Imellem en reisende Handels-
 betjent og en Kjøbmand
 I en Galanteribod

 Om Tobak og Øl
 Paa en Rideskole
 Om Dands
 Paa en Fegteskole
 Om at tegne og male
 Om Kobberstik
 Ved en Koncert
 Imellem en Moder og hendes
 Datter om Huusvæsenet
 Om et Fruentimmers Skjønhed
 Imellem en Dame og en Læge
 Med en Feldtskærer
 Om Søvæsenet

Une visite en passant
 Des habits d'homme
 Des habits de femme
 Pour louer un appartement
 De l'écriture
 De la comédie
 De la langue françoise
 De la langue allemande
 Des livres, et de la lecture
 Entre deux voyageurs en route
 En arrivant dans l'auberge
 Pour voir la ville
 Promenade dans un Parc
 Au diner
 Sur le même sujet
 Avec le perruquier
 Avec le cordonnier
 Avec le tailleur
 Avec un marchand
 Dans une vigne
 Pour demander le chemin dans une
 ville
 Avec un maquignon
 Du coucher
 Des petits jeux
 Du jeux d'échecs
 De la loterie
 Avec l'horloger
 Avec le jardinier
 En achetant du bois
 De la chasse
 De la pêche
 Avec un marchand de meubles
 Du commerce
 Entre un négociant et son commis

 Avec un banquier
 Entre un commis voyageur et un
 marchand
 Dans le magasin d'un joaillier ou
 bijoutier
 Du tabac et de la bière
 Au manège
 De la danse
 A la salle d'armes
 Du dessin et de la peinture
 De la gravure en tailedouce
 Au concert
 Entre une mère et sa fille
 sur le ménage
 De la beauté d'une femme
 Entre une dame et un médecin
 Avec un chirurgien
 De la marine

| | |
|--|--|
| Imellem to Soldater | Entre deux militaires |
| Ved en Beleiring | A un siège |
| Efter et Feldtslag | Après une bataille |
| Om en Ildebrand | D'un incendie |
| Om Bogtrykkeriet | De l'imprimerie |
| Med en Boghandler | Avec un libraire |
| Imellem en Musiklærer og hans Lærling | Entre un maître de musique et son élève |
| I et Kaffehuus | Dans un café |
| Om at spille Dam og Piquet | En jouant aux dames et au piquet |
| Om et Giftermaal | D'un mariage |
| Om en Begravelse | D'un enterrement |

1.6b Drama v. grammar and other metalinguistic textbooks.

As the phrasebook presupposed other genres prescribing social competence, it also presupposed genres prescribing proper language. If we look at, e.g. the curriculum and the textbooks used at the equestrian academy of Sorø (Zealand), which flourished in the 17th century as a university for the nobility (Ritterakademie), the phrasebook found its place among grammars, dictionaries (the "nomenclaturae"), works on phraseology, rhetoric and poetics, each of which prescribed proper language use, at the traditional levels of analysis: they do not only present a word level, a sentence level, a level of phraseology (proverbs, bon-mots etc.), and a text level, but also a level of dialogue (Haastrup 1983 a-b, Academia 1962, Kjær 1981).

While praising the phrasebooks one disappointing feature must be noted: like the dictionaries, these phrasebooks sometimes include phonetic script. But I have not yet come across a Danish phrasebook which by this means demonstrates how and where liaisons etc. should be made when pronouncing the target language. The phonetic script reproduces the shortcomings of the dictionaries, rendering each word a unit in its own right (Haastrup 1983, Howatt 1985).

Each level had its own textbook: just as a lexicographer of these times would not be made responsible for sequences and routines in dialogues, the phrasebook-writer would not feel obliged to cover each and every piece of merchandise at the grocer's, or every flower in the meadow. His field is not description and classification, but evaluation, negotiation, persuasion, ordering, planning etc. He is a rhetorician, not a scientist.

1.7 How "historical linguistics" destroyed the old tradition.

In the 19th century the above system of private learning declined. It did not find a niche within the university-system, and did not influence the schools (Howatt 1985, Gregersen 1985). Only historical linguistics were considered a part of high prestige studies. Later on the great national dictionaries appeared, while the other subjects were reduced to an inferior level. This applies to fields known today as pragmatics and rhetoric, even speech-act theory (Reich 1789) and what we today call universal pragmatics (Rohr 1741). In the late 18th century these disciplines were cultivated and texts published at a high level.

In the 19th century this state of affairs was changed. Grammar was still studied in the schools, but rhetorics and pragmatics were almost forgotten as scholarly disciplines. There is no need to repeat the lamentations in the harangues of the new rhetoricians (Fafner 1982). Now that they are resurrected as "New rhetoric" and pragmatics they claim their place in language-descriptions, as is reflected in current discussions (NyS) also within lexicography (as e.g. in the series *Studien zur neuhochdeutschen Lexikographie*).

In the 19th century the practical (first-aid) phrasebook also declined. It is my impression that their professional standard was lowered in keeping with the lower level of education of their authors and - we may assume - the educational and economic background of the people who bought them. In my view, the lowest point in the history of practical phrasebooks was reached towards the end of the 19th century, when phrasebooks were made by the dozen for poor emigrants to the United States from Slavonic and Scandinavian countries, e.g. by an editor in Cologne. The Danish version, I must confess, is hardly comprehensible to a Dane.

I shall not quote this poor example, but want to illustrate the assembly-line character of a series of Danish phrasebooks with different target languages by showing their tables of contents: ⁴

4. The example represents the tables of contents from three different phrasebooks, published in a series currently published by HØST (e.g. 1985): DANISH MADE EASY, DANOIS SANS PEINE and DÄNISCH OHNE MÜHE. The series comprises also the converses, called DANSK UDEN BESVÆR, presenting Danish as a target language.

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| DANISH | Danois | Dänisch |
| made easy | sans peine | ohne Mühe |
| CONTENTS | TABLE DES MATIERES | INHALT |
| Pronunciation | Prononciation | Die Aussprache |
| The Most Necessary | Expressions indispensables | Das Notwendigste |
| Daily Expressions | Conversation courante | Tägliche Wendungen |
| Numbers | Nombres | Die Zahlen |
| Colours | Banque | Farben |
| Days of the Week | Jours de la semaine | Wochentage und Tages- einteilungen |
| Months and Seasons | Mois et saisons | Monate und Jahreszeiten |
| The Time | L'heure | Die Zeit |
| Money and Banks | Banque | Geld und Banken |
| Buses and Taxis | Autobus et taxis | Autobus, Zug und Taxi |
| Travelling | En voyage | Reisen Mit dem Zug Mit der Fähre Mit dem Schiff Camping Mit dem Auto Im Restaurant Im Hotel Auf dem Postamt Telefonieren Einkäufe Kioske Tabakwaren Schokoladengeschäft Bäckerei, Konditorei Kolonialwarenhändler |
| Motoring | Automobilisme | |
| At the Restaurant | Au restaurant | |
| At the Hotel | A l'hôtel | |
| At the Post Office | Au bureau de poste | |
| Telephoning | Téléphone | |
| Shopping | Achats | |
| Kiosk | Kiosque | |
| Tobacconist | Marchand de tabac | |
| Sweetshop, Baker and Confectioner | Chocolatier | |
| Grocer | Boulangier et pâtissier | |
| Greengrocer | Epicier | |
| Butcher | Fruits et primeurs | Gemüsehändler |
| Cooked Meat and Cheese Shop | Boucher | Fleischer |
| Ladies' Clothing | Charcuterie | Feinkosthändler |
| Men's Clothing | Vêtements pour dames | Kleidung |
| Chemist | Vêtements pour hommes | |
| Doctor | Pharmacien | Apotheke |
| At the Hairdresser | Médecin | Arzt |
| Cinema and Theatre | Coiffeur | Frisör |
| Hospitality and Formality | Cinema et théâtre | Kino und Theater |
| Boy Meets Girl | Hospitalité et convenance | Kleine Winke für den Umgang mit Dänen |
| A readymade Vocabulary | Rencontre | Das erste Rendezvous |
| A Few Pitfalls | | |
| A Minimum of Grammar | Un peu de grammaire | Trotzdem ein wenig Grammatik |
| Weights and Measures | | Anschläge und Schilder |
| Temperature Comparisons | | |

You can find acceptable dialogues from later times printed in school textbooks (Svanholt 1968). But these do not offer translations into Danish as they were meant to be translated and commented on in the classroom, and thus do not concern us here.

1.8 The bad reputation of the phrasebook.

So far we have not mentioned the most characteristic feature of the phrasebooks, which has also given rise to the most severe criticism. As mentioned above, the phrasebook is comparable to a dramatic text. But an important reservation must be made, namely that the phrasebook presupposes that the protagonist is in control of the situation and his interlocutors, thus prescribing his questions as well as their replies.

The absurd consequences of this first become evident for the phrasebook reader when he contrasts the presupposed setting in the phrasebook dialogue with a real one, as shown by Ionesco in *The bald primadonna* with profound esthetic and philosophical implications (Ionesco 1954 and 1960).⁵ No wonder phrasebook dialogues got a bad reputation when used as "film-scripts" in real settings. The clash with the principle of relevance almost always occurs (Habermas (1971) 1981).

They were not meant to be used like this if we are to believe the evidence from the introductions. The phrasebook dialogues were meant to be used as plays (Harsdörffer 1641sq.) to train young people in language use, and they have exactly the same shortcomings as textbooks used in schools today:

-
5. An unexpected change in the framing is usually the basis of jokes. And we do indeed find jokes at the expense of the users (or rather abusers) of phrasebooks.

In fiction there is an excellent example in Jerome K. Jerome's novel "Three men at the Bummel" (1900), where the famous "three" try out a phrasebook before they leave for Germany.

But the popular wit had seen the point long before. We find plenty of jokes about people planning replies in advance (registered by Aarne especially concerning deaf people. You also find jokes about people who plan answers in a foreign language, as e.g. the one in which three young students have learnt only three phrases in Latin: "nos tres clerici", "pro bursa et pecunia" and "dignum et justum est". In the foreign country they find a man murdered. As the sheriff comes up he asks: "Who did it?" and they give their first answer. He then asks: "Why did you do it?", and they give their second answer. At last the sheriff says: "I have to hang you for this", and they give their last answer.

lack of advice to repair breakdowns in communication (Færch 1983 and Færch, Haastrup et al. 1984). They are not records of real speech, but models.⁶

2 The phrasebook as a source -

for historical linguistics and lexicography.

Why are phrasebooks infrequently used sources?

2.1 The normative view?

The great national historical dictionaries from the 19th and 20th centuries were intended to be scientific, i.e. descriptive, as opposed to the normative dictionaries based on the tradition of the Academie francaise (Collison 1982, Hjorth, P.L. 1982, Skautrup 1953:87-90). If we look at the great Danish national dictionary, the Ordbog over det danske Sprog (1919-56), a consequence of this underlying principle seems to be that the sources chosen are rarely normative texts as far as language use is concerned. One gets the impression that if the dictionary was able to quote an instance of "real, authentic language use", it refused to quote a source that prescribes or recommends a certain word or phrase. I think that this procedure does not only apply to Danish dictionaries. As a consequence you can find quotations in ODS concerning rules and suggestions for better language use taken from older books on stylistics and rhetoric, from the 18th and early 19th centuries as Bastholm, 1775, Rahbek, 1802, 1813), but the list of abbreviations does not comprise widespread textbooks from our century used in secondary schools, teacher training colleges etc. (as e.g. books by Rehling 1932, 1937 and 1948 and Oxenvad 1933-34). They are not quoted to an extent that would make it relevant to coin abbreviations.

Could this avoidance of normative texts be one reason for the absence of phrasebooks in the list of sources? I do not think so.

6. To quote Harsdörffer (baroque poet and author of monolingual letter books and "Gesprächspiele") from his Vorbericht and den Lesenden: (er habe) "allein Anleitung geben wollen und den Weg weisen wie bey Ehr- und Tugendliebenden Gesellschaften freund- und fruchtbarliche Gespräche aufzubringen und nach Beschaffenheit aud eines jeden Sinnreichen Vermögen fortzusetzen. Eingedenk dass gute Gespräch gute Sitten erhal-ten und handhaben gleichwie böse selbe verderben" (Kindlers, 1964, III, sp. 262-63).

Letter-books, which are just as normative, are quoted to some extent, and the more you approach modern times, the less you will find it necessary to use that kind of sources.⁷

2.2 The nationalist view?

Another reason might be that phrasebooks as a rule offer translations from a foreign language. If this is the case, our great national dictionary (ODS) seems to follow contradictory procedures. The ODS often quotes comprehensive foreign-language dictionaries, not least our first large-scale dictionary to be published, von Aphelens French-Danish, Danish-French Dictionary (1759).⁸

The ODS even quotes the large Danish-French dictionary from this century (Blinkenberg & Thiele 1930-37), and does not seem to avoid other useful foreign-language dictionaries. Why then avoid phrasebooks?

2.3 The professional view?

A third reason might be that the phrasebooks do not follow professional standards and were not considered reliable. That may be the case with many phrasebooks from this and the last century, which the lexicographers might have known from personal experience. But considering the standards of the 18th century dictionaries, it becomes hard to accept these dictionaries and not the best of the contemporary phrasebooks. Maybe the editors, accustomed to 19th-century phrasebooks, did not rely on the authenticity of the words and phrases used in older phrasebooks, but why then did they rely on the "Danishness" of words and phrases in the many translations of foreign texts,

7. I imagine that if I had asked the great lexicographers who founded the ODS, they would have answered, that they did not expect to find "new words" in the phrasebooks, and for colloquial discourse they would have referred to dictionaries of slang, "Gadesprog" (i.e. the language of the street) (Bom, 1955). The spoken standard language as an object for scholarly studies (Haastrup, 1972) has achieved a renaissance in the 1970s and 1980s (Brink & Lund, 1975) cf. the research-program (Dansk Talesprog i dets Variationer), funded by the Research Council for the Humanities, cf. the newsletter SNAK.

8. ODS: Redaktionsregler, 1917, p. 34: "Ved To-Sprogs-Ordbøger som v.Aph., S&B. etc. maa man passe paa ikke at medtage Ord, der blot er Oversættelser, men ingen Hjemmel har i det danske Sprog". Older voluminous Danish dictionaries (by Moth, Rostgaard etc.) were not published, but used as sources for the VSO (Videnskabernes Selskabs Ordbog, the predecessor of the ODS, published 1793-1905, cf. Hjorth 1982).

they had to quote, although the names of the foreign authors are hidden behind those of the translators? In the ODS you do not find Cervantes, Shakespeare, Byron and Goethe, but their translators': Biehl, Lembke and Rahbek in the list of texts quoted.

2.4 The neglect of colloquial oral discourse.

One suspects that the real reason why phrasebooks are not used as sources, is the lack of concern for colloquial, oral discourse. Although the spoken language is mentioned *expressis verbis* as a part of the field covered (ODS vol.I, xx-xxii), it seems that colloquial routines are not a part of the corpus that a great national dictionary was supposed to cover - unless it could be done through quotations from dramatic texts of recognized quality. Unfortunately, two of our best dramatists from the 19th century were Norwegians (Ibsen and Bjørnson), and thus excluded and reserved for the Norwegians, although they wrote in Danish, and their dramas were a part of the stock plays of our national theatre in Copenhagen for decades. It hardly needs mentioning that it would be unthinkable to render in the ODS recorded dialogues from registered informants - as in dialectology - i.e. from ordinary people in the street, or even from well educated and experienced language users, who would be able to speak without ellipses and false starts and thus produce a text, comparable to fluent texts found in phrasebooks or drama texts written for the stage. A source for the ODS had to be a published one, or at least written and accessible.⁹

3. The phrasebook as a model? - not for conversation in real life, but for lexicographic articles on conversational routine.

3.1 The analogy of "Fachsprache".

In one of his stimulating articles Prof. Wiegand suggests (Wiegand 1977:101sq.), that entries on "Fachsprache" might be collected in blocks in which the different termini *technici* could be explained in their mutual semantic relations (hypo- and hypernouns etc.). Articles of this kind should

9. According to paragraphs 93 and 94 in Redaktionsregler (1917) the lexicographer was allowed to form his own examples and quote them in a marked way: "I mange Tilfælde vil det være nødvendigt, at Redaktøren selv former Exempler paa Brugen af Ord og Udtryk etc." This procedure was apparently used in preference to the recording of other informants than the lexicographer himself.

be written as good popular science, showing e.g. a process of production with reference to pictures and diagrams of the instruments or machines in question. The prose of this popular science should be rewritten on the basis of a dialogue, in which an experienced professional explains the mysteries to a layman, using the proper termini technici in a self-explanatory way.

Wiegand seems to suggest that the collection of termini, you can find in a "Sachwörterbuch" that uses illustrations e.g. Comenius' Orbis sensualium pictus (1654), (or from our days the illustrated dictionaries or other textbooks curtailing the problem of reference to reality, cf. Kühn, 1978, 70) should be used - not as labels fixed to the objects depicted - but as parts of a fluent prose text.

A typical entry on the act of weaving would according to this suggestion be a description in the third person of the activities of a professional weaver working silently at his instrument, as he needs no words (Bøgh Andersen 1977).

3.2 The phrasebook as a "Sachwörterbuch" of colloquial discourse.¹⁰

Following this example how are we to explain pedagogically the process of verbal interaction, e.g. when two persons meet in the morning. When the process to be described is nothing but their verbal interaction?

Should their interaction and verbal salutations be described in the third person, the actual words used being placed between quotation marks? Or would it be a better way to use a dialogue as in the phrasebooks?

As mentioned above, the only serious shortcoming of the phrasebook as a genre was that they rarely give stage directions. But the dialogue might be supplemented with this informations and even the necessary indications of the relations between the actors, as e.g. a specification of their societal relations (class, age, sex, family-relations etc.), which you rarely find in the phrasebooks, but in the courtesy books that supplemented them as a genre.

3.3 Contemporary v. historical dictionaries.

For a dictionary that covers the language of today, you may use your tape-recorder to get records of genuine dialogues, selected and categorized

10. I regret not to have been able to find the proper term in English. The word Thesaurus seems to vague, and the word Synonyma does not point at the problem of reference, but at semantic relations in language itself.

into a number of typical situations on the basis of thorough sociological investigations of everyday life.

You have to edit them, cancelling ellipses, false starts etc., but you will be able to describe the validity and reliability of the situations chosen as well as of the single words and phrases used (cf. Svartvik & Quirk 1980).

However, when writing a historical dictionary that kind of sociolinguistic research would be difficult or impossible. My suggestion is then that the historical texts in the phrasebooks can provide a contemporary basis of information, not only for the single words and phrases and the sequencing in use, but also for the network of situations that you have to select and define. Phrasebooks offer a contemporary distribution of everyday life in a series of situations, in "blocks" (cf. above); such a network it would otherwise be very difficult to reconstruct in a reliable way with respect to past centuries, and would of course have to be scrutinized carefully on the basis of knowledge of the past from other sources in which it might exist.

4. A historical example.

Let me give you an example:

If you look up in the ODS the usual Danish salutation Goddag (ODS vol.III (1921) 416, and vol VI (1924) 1183) you will find very little information. First of all you will find no full registration of the colloquial variants used in 1986 (da and g'da, but not day) and secondly you will not find what you must answer a person saluting you by a Goddag, when you meet the first time, when you meet the second time Dav igen (cf. Harms Larsen 1974), when you meet early or late (and the proper salutation would have been Godmorgen or Godaften), when the person is wellknown to you, or unknown, a superior or inferior, younger or older, and you have to consider whether you maybe should choose a variant (cf. above) other than the one used by the person saluting you to underline the proper social relations from your point of view.

If you look up in von Aphelen's Royal Dictionary (1759) or the VSO, you will find the same pattern, i e. the same lack of information concerning sequencing and variation. The tradition does not include information of this kind. But in former times you were not lost. The user of v. Aphelen would without doubt look up in his phrasebook (Danish/French) and find the information needed. Let us look at my last example.

Here you would find the relevant information. I have chosen to quote not an ordinary phrasebook presenting a fait accompli but one of the few I know from Denmark that brings discussion of situations and positions of the interlocutors. I have checked the politeness words employed in VSO and V.Aphelen, and as you might expect they do not bring discussions nor any indication of possible variation in accordance with different situations.

This text ¹¹ represents an advanced phrasebook on the high level of contemporary lexicography. As an exception this one comprises reflections on the choice of words and phrases in different situations and with different interlocutors.

VED AT TILTALE EN LIGEMAND I EN CEREMONIEL TONE POUR ABORDER UN EGAL SUR LE TON DE LA CÉRÉMONIE

Ærbødig Tjener

Votre serviteur très humble;
 eller: j'ai l'honneur de vous saluer; eller og: j'ai l'honneur de vous souhaiter le bon jour (1).

Jeg takker Dem meget;

Vous me faites honneur,
beaucoup d'honneur;

Jeg takker Dem mangfoldig;

Vous êtes bien bon;

Jeg er Dem meget forbunden.

Je vous suis sensiblement obligé,
infiniment obligé. A vous servir.
A vous rendre service.
A votre service. A vous rendre mes devoirs.

(1) J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer, og j'ai l'honneur de vous souhaiter le bon jour siges i fransk naar man skilles ad lige saa vel som naar man mødes. (etc.).

11. Danske og Franske SAMTALER for Viderekomne med specielt Hensyn paa Danismer mod det franske Sprog, Helt igjennem ledsagede med udviklende Anmærkninger over det der udgjør hint ægte Sprog egentlige Vanskeligheder for os, ved M. Hagerup, Krigsraad etc., Kbhv., 1811, (full title in English, my translation: Danish and French Conversations for the advanced speaker with special attention to Danisms against the French language. Thoroughly accompanied by enhancing notes concerning what makes up our real difficulties in that genuine language. By M. Hagerup, Counsellor of War, Secretary at the Office for arriving Visitors, Teacher at the General Quartermaster Staff, the Military Institute, Foreign member of the Imperial Russian Law-commission. 1.st Part, Copenhagen, 1811, etc.).

TIL EN STANDSPERSON,
EN OVERMAND ELLER EN DAME.

A UN PERSONAGE DISTINGUÉ,
A UN SUPÉRIEUR, A UNE DAME.

Underdanige Tjæner,
Deres Excellence,
Deres Naade!

Monseigneur, (2) Monsieur, Madame,
je vous présente mes hommages,
je vous présente l'hommage de mon
respect, je vous salue respectueu-
sement.

(2) Udtrykket votre Excellence, ligesaa vel som votre Majesté og votre Altesse kunne ikke bruges i Vokativet, men vel i de andre Kasus; altsaa kan man vel sige i Nominativet: votre Excellence a bien de la bonté; i Dativet je prends la liberté de faire observer à votre Excellence; i Accusativet: j'ai l'honneur d'assurer votre Excellence; men ikke i Vokativet som: oui eller non votre Excellence. I Vokativet siges til en Konge Sire, til en Prinds eller en af de højeste Excel-lencer Monseigneur; til en Dronning eller en Prinsesse Madame; til andre Mandfolk: Monsieur le comte etc. eller blot Monsieur, eller endelig Monsieur med enkelte Embedstitler, som Monsieur le Général. Monsieur le Président; thi med alle Embedstitler kan Monsieur saaledes slet ikke bruges.

MOD EN UNDERMAND.

A L'ÉGARD D'UN INFÉRIEUR.

God Dag; eller
god Morgen, Hr.!

Bon jour, Monsieur! eller:
Monsieur, je vous salue

5. Conclusion

In conclusion I hope I have succeeded in demonstrating that although the phrasebooks might have a bad reputation and will have to be carefully scrutinized before use, they might provide us with

- a) some of the material, we need so badly (Hausmann 1985) in order to describe the colloquial discourse of the past, and perhaps even with
- b) a model for a convenient presentation of this material.

I look forward - at another session of this conference to be able to present an inventory of (I hope all) phrasebooks containing Danish language, including a register of all situations and encounters found in these phrasebooks.

When this registration is concluded one will be able to compare how the conversational norms and routines were presented to our ancestors by the phrasebooks throughout a number of centuries e.g. for proposals of marriage, for addressing their betters and for ordering clothes at their taylors, and much more.

I believe that this inventory will add to our knowledge in this field.

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