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## Media pragmalinguistics in sport reports and transmission

Linguistic pragmatics has over fifty years. The theory created by the great three of Anglo-Saxon analytical philosophers: John Langshaw Austin, John Roger Searle and Paul Herbert Grice was supposed to explain the difference between veracity (accordance with reality) and causality of communications (making the world with words), as well as to determine the context conditions which influence whether the statement of a sender is a fortunate communication act or a communication failure.

However, from the very beginning the pragmalinguists researched above all or exclusively direct and/or private communication, they focused on the current dialogue, the exchange of replicas between interlocutors; they researched sentence clauses and dependent clauses while almost completely rejecting the analysis of a longer text. Even when Frans Hendrik von Eemeren and Richard Grootendorst (Eemeren/Grootendorst 1982) stressed that not only single statements (simple speech acts (microacts)), but also speech acts comprised of many clauses and statements (macroacts) should be considered as speech acts, it was still considered that causative and efficient communication only takes place in the communication with common *HERE* and *NOW*.

Surely the veracity, or at least the universality of this judgment stemmed from the influence of pragmatics conditions on the quality of communication, which in the case of a conversation in the same place and at the same time were identical or nearly identical, and in the media and marketing communication the conditions of sending and receiving had a completely different characteristic, they were various and different.

However, technological development of the media in the last decades, especially the generalization of the Internet as a main interpersonal communication tool in the last decade, have forced, or at least encouraged, the researchers to

attempt to relocate the pragmatic concepts to the research on media and social communication.

In Poland, one of the first works based on pragmalinguistic methodology was the book about advertising communication written by Katarzyna Skowronek (cf. Skowronek 1993), after that other publications using this method to research the statements of politicians and politics appeared (cf. e.g. Kępa-Figura 2012, 2014, Skowronek 2013, Nowak 2006, 2008, 2009, 2013). In these works some attempts to adapt the three pillars of pragmalinguistic methodology to the description of public communication can be found, however successful or unsuccessful they may be: theory of speech acts, rules of linguistic cooperation and communicational courtesy. These attempts took into account the possibility of insufficiency of this method for presenting the variety and changeability introduced by mass heterogeneous recipient, as well as the lack of identity of other context determinants, not concerned only by place and time of communication.

This article is another attempt to reach two elementary pragmalinguistic concepts: speech acts and linguistic cooperation, as well as an attempt to verify whether it is possible to apply them to the description of slightly more homogeneous and less varied media communication that is sports broadcast in modern electronic media – radio, television and the Internet.

## Speech acts in sports reports

Sports report and transmission belong to the informative journalistic genres, thus their objective is to provide the recipients with the knowledge about the course of events in a sports competition in real-time (with the common NOW – transmission and some forms of report) or after this event (without the common NOW and HERE – reports, especially in the press). However, along with the development of image sending technology, perfecting radio, TV and computer receivers, increasing the speed of data transmission via computer network or using satellites for the purpose of emitting radio-television broadcast, the viewer became more and more knowledgeable about the events on the sports arena, and started recognizing more and more independently all the nuances of performance taking place in the pitch; therefore naturally the role of the commentator had to diminish or change its character.

Applying these ‘cultural-studies’ and ‘media-studies’ remarks to the concept of speech acts, it can be assumed that, first of all, media ‘live’ reports had to be built above all from the Austin’s constatives (Austin 1993:550–560) and Searle’s assertives (Searle 1980:241–248) and their macrointention can be presented in the formula ‘I want you to know what happened and what is going on here and now, which is why I’m saying...’. Both the small amount of cameras showing the competition and the weak quality of TV broadcast brought about, in the 50s

and 60s of the last century, the creation of Peter Dimmock's code (cf. Dimmock/Samulski 1968) which had to be strictly obeyed ('A commentator, willing or not, has to conform to the image [...]. A commentator is obliged to help the viewers in the reception of the image [...]. He has to bring the image closer to them, make it more understandable. [...] He has to have self-control over his emotions and reflexes. He has to know how to behave discreetly, not to impose on the viewer or impose his judgments on him [...]')<sup>1</sup> (Dimmock/Samulski 1968:107–108). A sports journalist was describing what was going on on the pitch in a conscientious manner, with regard to reality and informativity of broadcast (or at least gave such impression). It is even difficult to say whether these were assertives or constatives, because the viewers and listeners were neither competent enough nor had the opportunity of consultation to verify the statements of sport journalists. In Poland in the 60s, 70s and to some degree in the 80s,<sup>2</sup> political censorship controlled and unified all sorts of broadcasts – all the more sports reports which were very useful for the propaganda of the power and uniqueness of Polish People's Republic. Journalists' statements, of seemingly informative character, taking into account also sports commentators, were in this case not statement acts, examined by the recipients from the perspective of their genuineness or falsity, but special declaratives, which, referring to R. Kalisz, we could call assertive declaratives (Kalisz 1993:43). Therefore the journalists' communication for the fans was the same as judge's verdict in court or arbiter's decision to give a penalty kick during a football match. One could disagree with these decisions, one could suspect that the commentator's words were not describing faithfully what was going on on the sports arena, but there was no possibility of verification and effective negation of his words because he was the one to settle what the reality looked like.<sup>3</sup> This feat of creating the reality through assertives which are assertive declaratives has been preserved for sports journalists to this day, e.g. 'The competition was so equalized that this meeting could have ended on a completely different score (while commenting on the 2:0 failure of Polish soccer team playing with the Germans during European Championship 2008)', 'Sometimes it happens that the better player loses the fight and that is why sport is so fascinating' (after Agnieszka Radwańska lost in the semi-final to Sabina Lisicki at Wimbledon 2013).

However, the assertive declaratives themselves in sports broadcasts would not be able to ensure the demanded emotion for contemporary recipients and would make sport reports a predictable, formalized and uninteresting journalistic genre,

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<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from Polish come from the author.

<sup>2</sup> There is a well-known anecdote of the commentators ignoring huge red-white banners with the inscription 'Solidarność' held by the fans during World Football Championship in 1982.

<sup>3</sup> Assertive declarativity of media communication has lately been concerning a greater number of journalistic texts, because for many people the only available source of knowledge are TV programs, Internet sites and sometimes radio programs and newspapers – the borders of their world are determined by the media broadcast (cf. Nowak 2006).

which would drive the recipients away because of its schematic and obvious formula. That is why in the media show that contemporary sports reports developed into – especially on TV and the Internet – other speech acts appear as well.

Technological development marginalized the role of assertive in reporting the course of sports competition events and exceeding schematic approach as well as the obviousness of assertive declaratives forces journalists to resign from operating uniquely with these acts. Contemporary times enabled using evaluative assertives in the descriptions of the course of sports competition (Kalisz 1993:49). As much as the course of events is obvious for sports fans and in the case of TV or streaming transmissions even ‘eye-witnessed’, the estimate of ongoing rivalry, introducing evaluation of throws, passes, scores, runs, serves, services, returns etc. animates the rhythm of the report, introduces expressive elements, more or less successfully engages the recipients in reviving the show, e.g. ‘Excellent cross by Łukasz Piszczalka’, ‘Wonderful score by Lewandowski – the defender did not move a bit!’, ‘Perfect service by Jerzy Janowicz’, ‘Smart serve by Michał Jakubiak’, ‘The throw by Anita Włodarczyk was perfect!’, ‘Beautiful smooth run by the Ethiopian’. Very often, after stating such an evaluative assertives, the commentators justify their evaluation by using typical assertives or assertive declaratives, struggling this way to achieve the appearances of interpersonal communication, pretending that they are reacting to possible questions of the audience, e.g. ‘After a while a wonderful act by the Poles. Winiarski finishes it with the attack from the 6th zone’ (dziennik.pl, 14.08.2008), ‘Superb victory of Majka. The Pole is the leader of Tour de Pologne! [...] In the last ramp in Gliczarów Górny, when it was 13 km before the finish, Rafał Majka attacked from an already small peleton. The leading group dispersed – in the front, with a few seconds advantage, eight cyclists were riding, including Majka and Przemysław Niemiec.

Not long after that two small groups linked up, with the Swiss Oliver Zaugg, a friend from Majka’s team, in the lead. He adjusted the pace, getting ready for the crucial attack from the cyclist from Zegartowice, 2.3 km before finish. Majka rushed towards the finish, leaving his rivals several meters behind and inspired by cheering fans, reached the finish. With brilliant style, he achieved his second phase success, making a huge step towards the final victory’ (gazetalubuska.pl, 8.08.2014).

Imitating direct and interpersonal communication, signaling apparent reactivity and non-existing interaction (on the radio and on TV), forcing fans’ engagement in sports report, enforcing the phatic function of one’s communicational actions and reacting to non-existing signs of phatic function from the audience demands from journalists reaching for other illocution speech acts distinguished by J.R. Searle. In sports reports there is a place for expressives, as well as comissives and directives.

Expressives are supposed to express good and bad emotions concerning the recipient, to depict the emotional state of the sender, to show his feelings towards

others. Sports commentators use expressive speech acts towards radio and TV audience, Internet users, as well as towards sportsmen, e.g. 'We congratulate the Germans for their victory and say goodbye to you. See you tomorrow', 'We are happy to participate with you in this celebration of sports', 'We wish you and ourselves a lot of real emotion', 'We thank you for the time you spent with us and we are convinced that you do not regret it'. Thanks to the introduction of such illocution acts to the report, the journalists attempt to reduce the distance between themselves and the audience, make them feel better, feel important not only as ratings, but also as individuals. Besides, thanks to expressives the communication with the recipients is ceremonial and polite (cf. Nowak 2008).

Sports commentators also refer to the etiquette and rules of social interaction when they reach for commissive illocution acts in their reports. The sender's commitment is a double-edged sword. Sports fans might be under the impression that a promise made by a sports journalist imposes obligations only on himself. However, according to the rule of reciprocity (cf. Cialdini 2013) as well as the rules of forming efficient commissives (cf. Searle 1987), the commitment of the sender causes a need for reciprocity in the recipients/fans for the sender's readiness to do something for them. In the case of media reports from sports competitions the 'debt' towards journalists who say 'There is great emotion before us', 'We promise you will not get bored with us', 'We can be sure that this evening will go down in the history of Polish sport', the recipients pay the debt back by staying in front of their receivers or computers until the end of the competition. All the more, taking into account that commentators sustain their engagement in sports broadcast and the competition by introducing directives. Insofar as in many other situations directives would scare the recipients off, evoke rebellion and antipathy, these directive speech acts are commands, interdictions, requests or orders of a completely different value – they translate into senders' attentiveness, care and willingness to help. Since it is impossible to understand differently than positively the following directives: 'Stay with us', 'Watch it once more', 'Let's follow this act together', 'You can't miss that', 'Don't forget about this confrontation'. The use of communicational advantage of the sender, characteristic for directive illocution speech acts, this time does not serve to dominate the recipients, because they perform the role of good advice and thanks to it the recipients will be able to experience wonderful emotions.

A more detailed and insightful analysis of speech acts used by sports commentators shows that in these complicated speech acts there is virtually no prototypical kinds of separate illocution speech acts. In most of them out of the center of the act there is either its illocution or its perlocution. In a way they are still assertives, expressives, directives or commissives, but in some way imperfect, consciously or unconsciously moved away towards the peripheries, approaching genre ambiguity, infiltrating other acts. Thus very often the locution of speech acts creating sports report does not contain performative verbs (it is especially

visible in directives and expressives), thus senders avoid revealing, communicating directly their communicational intention. Imprecise locution causes illocution doubts, because the sender leaves too few signals on the surface of the statements which allow the recipients to understand the aim of the sender's communication act – this on the other hand translates into efficiency, success of the speech act, which is its perlocution.

The perlocutions' quality is impossible to evaluate because even telemetric measurements inform only about the fact of turning the receiver or computer on, not about the activity and attentiveness of the reception of sports events by the fans.

The reasons for using speech acts in non-prototype relations might be found in journalistic genre that is the basis of contemporary media sports show. Despite technological and cultural changes, its center is still sports broadcast/report whose initial macrointention undoubtedly had an assertive character because it was supposed to bring the events on sports arenas closer. The intention 'I want you to know that X, which is why I say...', in spite of locution and illocution appearances, still dominates in media sports shows. Maybe it is not right to say it dominates, rather causes the recipients to behave in a perlocutional way towards other speech acts employed in the transmission, the same as they behave towards assertives – they evaluate them according to the reality, reflect whether journalists' statements are true or false, even in the situations when these are commissives, expressives, declaratives or directives.

The fact that all the speech acts used by journalists occur in the referential sports report in which the accordance with reality is written into the script of each statement of this kind, might turn all the speech acts used by journalists into representatives. This kind of announcement was distinguished by Edda Weigand (Weigand 1989, Lipczuk 1999) who stated that representatives are speech acts which fulfill the requirements of genuineness and their senders state simply that 'it is what it is', which means that the reality is just as they say it is, and they say about that which is in reality. Informing the recipients of something new, of something they have not seen before does not have to concern only outside facts, occurrences beyond communication. In sports reports, also in other versions and kinds of communication, information new for the recipients may also concern the experiences and emotions of the sender, his emotional states, responsibilities the sender took on or verdicts and arrangements. Therefore, it would be possible to state that in the case of commissives, declaratives, expressives and even some directives, and always in the case of assertives, the communicational convention settles their illocution and perlocution value, as well as the situation context or the genre of discussion and/or text in which they occur. Television broadcast makes all speech acts employed by journalists possible for double interpretation.

Insofar as assertives in this journalistic genre make one speech act, so in every situation their intention is directly expressed by a locution of an affirmative state-

ment, they convey to the recipients the knowledge of the course of events in a sports competition, sportsmen or consituational and contextual conditions, other speech acts in sports report are a much more complicated problem.

Speech acts called performative by J. Austin, statements by commentator or all the senders of media announcements are, as it would seem, two speech acts. On the one hand they are locutionally obvious ('We promise to keep you company during this unusual game') or illocutionally univocal ('We are waiting for the great emotion that we will remember for a long time') performatives, but with regard to intermediation of media communication as well as rules contrary to Searl's research, unconventional statement of speech acts,<sup>4</sup> their self-agency, in fact perlocution, are unverifiable and impossible for clear-cut description. On the other hand, the consequence of ambiguity and indelibility of perlocutional verification is their assertive and/or only assertive character – the second dimension of probably each speech act in media communication. Journalist-commentator does not perform an act of promise, greeting, judgment or other performative actions, he only says that he is performing such an act, this way suspending its self-agency. In consequence, every speech act fulfilling locution and sometimes illocution conditions of self-agency, in public communication might be a performative speech act but for sure not a constative speech act (Weigand's representative, Searl's assertive or Habermas' ascertainment). It is this way because of collective communicational intent and conventionalization of illocution and perlocution of speech act (Witek (forthcoming)<sup>5</sup>).

Media and social communication, just like any other form of communication, bases on a different degree of conventionalization. In interpersonal communication the degree of conventionalization is changeable, because the intention and the outcome of this change of communicating are influenced by context and consituation. In contrast, the more not interpersonal, indirect and ritual/formalized communication, the smaller the significance of situation factors and variables, and the bigger conventionalization of such a communication action, manifesting in procedures and communicational scripts. Therefore the viewer, listener or Internet user does not treat the performative speech acts from the commentator as a commitment to do something or experience specific emotion, expressing their true feelings. A sports journalist is obliged to do one thing – to talk – and all comissives, expressives and declaratives as well as part of (or most) directives

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<sup>4</sup> The examples of comissives mentioned in the parenthesis are wrongfully perpetrated, because the sender has no influence whatsoever on the fulfilment of commitment, that is to say the game does not have to be extraordinary, the competition does not have to elicit great emotion. Besides, the recipient cannot in any way draw consequences from the lack of realization of formal promises made by the journalist-the sender. Lack of self-agency of media performatives is based on many other rules of success unfulfilled by the sender, described and included in pragmatic patterns.

<sup>5</sup> Witek Maciej, forthcoming, *Akty mowy*, in: Odrowąż-Sypniewska J. (ed.), *Przewodnik po filozofii języka*, Kraków.

uttered by him are viewed by the recipient as modal representatives (expressing the possibility of the existence of something), which can turn into deliberative speech acts (with the intention ‘it could be this way; it might be this way’), which can later become the subject of discussion between the recipients. The discussion would not concern self-agency but falsity, unfulfilled wish of the commentator’s statement. In the conscience of senders and recipients of sports report and in communicational script of this journalistic genre, a process of accommodation (adjusting) appears, of all elements and ingredients of media sport show to its pragmatic conditions. Both the sender and the recipient agree then to the commentator’s ambiguous illocution and perlocution microacts, and they are ready for untypical, but cooperation-driven locution of one of contemporary journalistic macroacts – sports broadcast.

## The locution of sports broadcast and Paul Herbert Grice’s cooperation theory

Linguistic cooperation bases on communication members’ accepting of the direction of intercommunication and of its final aim and outcome. It would seem that still the most important direction, aim and outcome of sports broadcast remain the cognition of the course of events and the final score of the competition described by the sender. The most important, but not the sole one, because cultural, civilizational and technical changes brought forward additional aims and outcomes which had been hidden in communicational space before. In the last years, one of them that has become increasingly important is drawing and sustaining the interest of the recipient, ensuring the authenticity of his participation in the ongoing process of intercommunication between the media and their users. Another important challenge is to ensure the feeling of equality between the recipient and the journalist, which gives a feeling of comfort and an impression of communicational friendliness (cf. Nowak 2008), when in fact transmitting data and passing on knowledge demands hierarchy in this relationship because at least in theory the commentator should be equipped with expert knowledge,<sup>6</sup> which the recipient does not possess.

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<sup>6</sup> As Jerzy Mikułowski Pomorski states: ‘Communication is the process of connecting people, creating common content, building a culture which gives a feeling of collective force, enhancing the identity. It is a socially constructive factor. Information is the noticed facts familiarity which changes our convictions, bursting our knowledge and denying it, revisitates it, weakens the readiness to act, and as a result separates people from each other. In this meaning it is a factor of destruction. Information leads to individualization, communication leads to socialization’ (Mikułowski Pomorski 2004:VI). And further on: ‘Information does not give a feeling of solidarity, it does not connect but divide. However, the use of it might give the desired outcome of connection. [...] It is the fact of making the information a subject of communication that creates the conditions for the creation of community, of culture’ (Mikułowski Pomorski 2004:XV).

With regard to this heterogeneity of recipients and variety of transmitters, it is difficult to form a statement in such a way so that it is linguistically, thematically and structurally adequate. Thus, already from the analysis of speech acts appearing in media sports show it can be concluded that contemporary sports report does not convey information, and initial remarks on the co-operational basis (axioms) also confirm this conclusion. Communicationality, not informativity of sports reports causes that apart from calculating into the pragmatic actions of the sender the lack of full cooperation between them and the recipients from the perspective of initial conditions, journalist's co-operational infringing of detailed conversational rules (called maxims) is needed.

The first maxim – of quantity – demands fitting the amount of information into the period in which the communication occurs, as well as to the needs, competences and knowledge of the recipients. In the second half of the 20th century, commentators had to talk a lot, because the technical imperfections of broadcast forced the journalists to make a detailed description of the events on the sports arenas. Theoretically, technical development should decrease the amount of uttered words and communication acts, because the information is carried by image and sound of excellent quality. However, according to one of interpretation heuristics: 'That which is not spoken of, does not exist' (Szwabe 2008:38). In fact, this happens because of the commentator's fear that the lack of commentary will prove him insignificant for the course of sports report and will not draw the audience to the broadcast. Commentators talk even more than before, using a large amount of non-constative representatives (evaluative assertives, epressives, commissives or non-constative declaratives) and the whole accumulation of speech acts belonging also to the representatives of deliberative speech acts.

Introducing modal representatives into sports report (stating only the possibility of the existence of something, therefore *de facto* predicting the future) as well as deliberative speech acts which provoke discussion, introducing issues which can be disputed on by the viewers during the broadcast, is another case of infringing the maxim of quality which is responsible for conveying genuine information and in the case of a lack of certainty, for signaling the degree of the genuineness of facts which are presented to the recipient. In contemporary sports reports facts are blinding, easily hearable and verifiable on the Internet, therefore journalists mainly speculate, make forecasts, count the so-called mathematic chances or consider different options. Paradoxically, they make statements about the future and their statements, at least until the end of competition, are non-prototype declaratives. Speculations about the future or questioning issues which are not to be judged by either the journalist or the audience (change of a player, advice concerning services or throws, predicting the tactics of the game, the necessity of changing the coach or leaving him on the position) is deprived of the possibility to verify the genuineness of the information, thus the

maxim of quality is suspended in a way, by the sender, and his statements are out of assertive's reach.

In this kind of situation a question appears whether the maxim of relevancy should be obeyed – do sports commentators speak relevantly? To keep the recipient's attention journalists keep widening the circle of information that could be counted as relevant to the presented competition. The first thematic area, infringing the maxim of quantity as well, unrelated directly to what is going on on the sports arena, are all kinds of statistics concerning a given sportsmen, team, competition or discipline. Special Internet services, often the property of radio and/or TV stations in which competition is broadcast, provide commentators with random data and they, gladly or out of duty, flood fans with a great amount of information impossible to remember. The statistics concern everything – number of minutes on the field, the moment when a player did or did not touch the ball for the first time, amount of fowls, accurate and inaccurate passes etc.<sup>7</sup> The effect of these presentations is supposed to be not only drawing the recipient to this report and not the competition's, but also making the journalist seem a specialist in the field of commenting a sports discipline. A prominent place in the subjects indirectly connected with sports report is occupied by life, especially the private life of players and/or coaches. However, it is most probably the consequence of the tabloidization of media, media voyeurism and compromising of all journalistic forms to adjust to these trends which guarantee popularity, and thus profit. Due to these phenomena, in sports reports gossip or quasi-gossip must appear, concerning the salary of players, their “planned” transfers, unusual purchases (especially those of a house or a car), holiday destinations, legal problems, romantic affairs, etc. This leads to the conclusion that the maxim of relevancy is understood in a very imprecise way in sports broadcasts, and the borders of ‘talking relevantly’ are systematically widened and less and less strict. It might be, though, the only way to keep an overstimulated with information and polimediatric recipient engaged in the sports report. If that is the case, no wonder journalists do not obey the last maxim – maxim of manner. Talking clearly, unambiguously, intelligibly and commonly written into this rule for a sports journalist would be a pragmatic-communicational suicide. Contrary to the next interpretation heuristic which reads as follows: ‘What is commonly described, proceeds stereotypically’ (Szwabe 2008:38), in contemporary media, thus also in sports report, there is no place for the stereotypical, common and normal. On the other hand, respective speech acts appear everywhere and they consider the last heuristic as the only one possible and not cooperatively co-operational: ‘What is not said in a stereotypical manner, proceeds in a non stereotypical manner’ (Szwabe 2008:38). It is obvious that speech acts and their illocution in this case do not have a characteristic, a

<sup>7</sup> Especially the broadcasts of football games and other team sport disciplines are enclosed with statistics of ridiculous size. In the case of football the excess might stem from inter alia meagre dynamics of the game, pauses which in the era of perfect image have to be talked down.

communication act, nor an institutional action, but in an obvious manner are interactive.<sup>8</sup> The unusual form, remarkable traces and style measures, the sending strategies employed in many broadcasts cause that the intention of the whole macroact might be or even is dyadic: it is included in the sending act and in the reaction of the recipient. I would seem that a typical journalist's statement about sports competition creates an opportunity for the recipient to accept the communicated conviction, which means that a typical assertive/constative/representative uttered by a commentator, e.g. 'Long pass from the line of defense towards Robert Lewandowski' creates a conventional opportunity for the audience to accept this statement as real. In the case of obeying the maxim of manner in sports reports, it could be possible to talk about a pattern including the statement of the sender and the acceptance of the communicated conviction by the recipient. However, this is the way communication proceeds only when a full cooperation between the sender and the recipient occurs or when there is a total submission of the recipient to the sender (cf. Witek (forthcoming)).

Contemporary communication and information excess, the possibility of the recipient to follow broadcast in one of several media or in one medium on different channels or several sites<sup>9</sup> causes that the recipients cease to accept the communication superiority of the senders. The resulting difficulties in cooperation between fans and journalists, as well as designated in contemporary communication patterns public animosity towards communicational submission demands a modification of each conventional illocution-perlocution pattern and its elasticity. Every type of media communication, every journalistic genre has a canonic form and a whole number of derivative patterns, in which all aspects of speech acts (locution, illocution, perlocution) may change into exceptional form and purport.

Communicational cooperation in sports reports does not base on P. Dimmock's rules anymore, because the reporter is just as important for the show as the sports events taking place and broadcast by the media. A journalist has to be a selfhood, and consequently his or her statements commenting the competition have auto-presentative and auto-image character. The amount and the variety of rhetoric measures used by reporters,<sup>10</sup> and sometimes their quality is designed to charm or baffle recipients and, provided that is possible, to make the recipient hang on to this report and come back for new ones. Thus, the journalist does not hide emotions, sympathies or antipathy, baffles recipients with his politically

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<sup>8</sup> More on this: Witek (forthcoming).

<sup>9</sup> More and more often they use several media at the same time – watching the image on TV, listening to the radio broadcast and checking details on the Internet from time to time using smartphones tablets and laptops.

<sup>10</sup> Poetic metaphors, hyperboles, epithets, comparisons, irony, emotionality, colloquialisms, descriptions form low language register, humor and jokes – these are the most common means of introducing communication ambiguity into the cooperation.

incorrect statements, e.g. racist or homophobic<sup>11</sup> or seduces with eloquence (cf. Russell 2002):

‘And now let only one player be seated. Let the bar be a kind of fortress, a wall. Let him isolate himself from everything, from this emotion. Be calm, Kamil, not nervous, by being nervous you wouldn’t even catch a butterfly in a field. He looked at coach Łukasz Kruczek, fast, there wasn’t even a long wait, he’s already half-way, he’s at the ramp and he flies. Let him fly in this raspberry costume. He’s the Olympic champion! Kamil Stoooooooch! Just like Fortuna in 1972! Kaaamil Stoooooooch is the champion! You are fantastic, you didn’t give us a thimble of happiness, you gave us a whole glass! 103.5 m, the longest jump in the second phase and we have a fifteenth medal for Poland in the Olympics! Kamil Stoch is the champion right now! Bardal and Prevc approached him and they are already congratulating him. Anyway, it doesn’t matter what’s going on there. Ladies and gentlemen, marks like a dream, two twenties and three marks of 19.5 points. That’s a knockout for the other competitors! This is something fantastic! These are tears of happiness! This is Kamil Stoch! He’s kissing the skis, he’s kissing the sky, kissing the whole Sochi!’ (Tomasz Zimoch, Program I Polskiego Radia, 10.02.2014).

## Between pragmatic individuality and new rituality

The description of speech acts and linguistic cooperation rules in sports broadcasts shows that pragmatolinguistic tools and theories do not allow to unambiguously describe the communication between the journalist and the audience. The reason are the differences between interpersonal and social communication, which we are not able to eliminate even through copying direct communication in media communication.

For pragmatolinguistics of direct communication is one-act pragmatics. Every statement of the sender is translated into the realization of one illocution act, and if the recipient has some interpretational doubts, he or she uses a question or paraphrase to establish what the intention of the interlocutor was. The same happens in the case of linguistic cooperation. The way of interpreting the infringement of cooperation maxims in the act of sending by the recipient in order to engage and flatter the interlocutor is either obvious thanks to the contextual and consituational

<sup>11</sup> That is how part of the audience viewed the statement of Jacek Laskowski from June 2014: ‘Loew rolled up his sleeves. For now Lion versus “Desert foxes” 0:0. But these cunning desert animals are able to cause a lot of trouble for the German national team’. However, without any doubt controversial was the dialogue between two sportsmen in Orange Sport about an American homosexual promoter (<http://www.wirtualnemedial.pl/artykul/orange-sport-przeprasza-za-homobiczne-zarty-komentatorow>).

information or becomes supported by the recipient's questions or verifying periphrases.

However, media, social and public pragmalinguistics is two-act or multi-act pragmatics. For sure every statement of a journalist is a direct or indirect notification of his statement's intent. This way in his intentional beam he has illocution of constative/assertive/representative, but it seems that this is not the most important objective of this kind of statement. The result of the conducted description leads to the conclusion that different microacts, as well as general macroacts, rarely appear as information above all, even though representativeness is located in the illocution spectrum. As a rule, locution, sometimes also the perlocution anticipated by senders and recipients, makes evaluative assertives, media assertive declaratives, deliberative and modal acts, commissives, expressives and directives out of them. However, depending on the discipline, participation of Polish contestants in the competition, the importance of the tournament and many other factors, their self-agency and conventionality of recipients' expectations or reactions on the one hand may be predictable and efficient, but on the other hand also suspended, taken into parenthesis or delayed, even end in a communication failure.

The unpredictability of the audience's perlocution, perceiving sports reports lead the senders in two separate ways. One of the chosen ways to create sports broadcast macroact is the richness of transmission, seducing with eloquence of the statement, flooding recipients with original and not really logical, but conversationally justified associations. A journalist in such a situation may weaken the priority of the event itself because for him and the audience only the commentary is important, its presence – he becomes a celebrity who treats sports broadcast as a proprietary talk-show (e.g. commentaries of Tomasz Zimoch). On the other hand, sports broadcast has its genre framework, canonical form of sports event report, where the script is filled with not only strictly professional notes, but also linguistic notes. A group of journalists introduce into their statements some locution standard speech acts which are supposed to convince the recipients of their participation in media sports show. These include opening formulas, e.g. 'Welcome on this special evening', 'We have been waiting for so long for this day to come', 'It seems like it is going to be a wonderful competition', 'Another important game for our national team'. Depending on the development of events on sports arena, the next linguistic lines are the next obligatory, predictable and anticipated by the recipients evaluative assertives, media declaratives or other two-act statements of the journalist, e.g. 'That was the key action of this game', '20 minutes left until the referee's last whistle, so not all is lost'. In this particular case, the same happens at the end of communication. Apart from goodbye formulas for the audience, templates appear which depend on the outcome of the competition and consequent chances, e.g. 'In not such a good mood, we say goodbye. Again, we couldn't make it', 'In Polish homes, this is a magical evening. The whole Poland is happy with this success', 'We have to get it together as soon as possible after

this failure, because soon there will be another elimination round games'. Each of these two forms of macroact organization of sports broadcast and sending strategy with fans-the recipients has its own advantages and disadvantages. Its pragmatic success depends on the acceptance of the communicated conviction by the recipient and other intentions included in journalists' statements. Heterogeneity of recipients causes that both of these versions have their great fans and great haters. In the fear of losing even a fraction of all very different recipients, journalists, editors and producers of programs are struggling to find a communicational and pragmatic compromise, which translates into commentators' duos. The most popular of these are Tour de France commentators – Tomasz Jaroński i Krzysztof Wyrzykowski and volleyball commentators – Tomasz Swędrowski i Wojciech Drzyzga. In all of the teams one sender is responsible for seducing with eloquence and concerns the recipients with exaggeration and overly original metaphors, and the other carries the burden of the realization of ritual template, giving the audience a sense of safety by verbalizing all parts of the anticipated by them media backbone.

And that is what, for the time being, the pragmalinguistic recipe for a successful sports broadcast looks like.

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