

GETTING TO THE GOAL: LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF BRAZILIAN AND FRENCH SOCCER ANNOUNCERS IN THE WORLD CUP

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INTRODUCTION

How does one get to the goal? That question is frequently asked by technical analysts at soccer games when they want to know the secrets of winning a championship. But that is not an easy question for those who actually play soccer or report on the game. This is especially true when the reporters are working within different parameters of language and culture. The coverage on how one gets to the goal is a social and cultural script and it has its own discourse structures within Brazilian and French cultures. How are they similar and how do they differ?

One does not have to play a sport in order to experience it. It is not necessary to be involved in game and actually compete in order to feel the spirit of competition, it's enough to follow a game on the radio or TV. In important games, radio listeners/TV spectators gather to spend moments of relaxation or excitement with each other. They are before the radio or TV, but they are not "passive". This is not a passive scenario. When following the game, fans become very excited and see themselves an extension of the players, sharing the same feelings or sensations during the broadcast of the game. According to Bromberger (1998), a society reveals much of itself by how it shares its emotions socially and as he points out, one of the collective passions that has had a major impact on present day society is the *game of soccer*.

The popularity of the game throughout the world would not have achieved such success without the coverage provided over radio and television. It is through the sports announcer that the game of soccer has become the most cheered and the longest applauded sport event. It is the sports announcer who makes one experience the game in real time. It is the sports announcer who accomplishes this amazing feat through language. He makes the narration of the event into an event itself.

Language is always inserted into specific social and cultural contexts, and has specific functions. It takes that situation and re-presents it with its selected values and social expectations. So the question becomes one of asking how a narrator accomplishes this. Most importantly, who is his audience? What reactions he expects to generate in the public? How? Why?

Soccer happens to be a game that follows the same rules in all countries and cultures, however, the reporting of soccer games has its own cultural and linguistic rules. Hence, sports reporters reflect these differences. They share the assumptions and the expectations of their audiences. Such is the case in the reporting of the XVI World Soccer Cup game between

France and Brazil, in 1998. The reporters from these countries had specific ways to narrate the same event.

In this paper, I outline some linguistic and cultural characteristics of Brazilian and French soccer announcers, observing and comparing the *scenario* and the *social scripts* of their speeches.

SCENARIOS, SCRIPTS, AND DISCOURSE GENRES

Soccer is just like any other kind of event in that it occurs within a larger social framework of organized structures known as a *scenario*. The protagonists in this scenario have their own social roles to play and such is the case of the 22 players on a soccer field which comprise two competing teams. The opposition between teams permeates the whole structure of the game. There are on each side the major players, sideline players, the coaches, the coaching staff, the referees, fans, and the sports announcers. Yes, each team has its own sports announcers who share the activities at the game with their radio and television audiences. All of this happens within a soccer stadium, a physical structure that also reflects the organization of the game. What is important about this scenario is that each participant has a role to play. The players try to score by making goals; the audience cheers and shares the spirit of the game with their own teams; and the sport announcers share all of this with their radio listeners or television spectators.

The “soccer game” scenario is portrayed below in *S1* and is a fundamental part of another scenario, the “soccer reporting”, *S2*. These two scenarios are connected. In *S2*, one finds other participants: The **sports announcer** and his guest commentators, the **technical staff** who are involved in the electronic transmission of the game, and the **radio and television audiences** connected to the event through the narrated accounts of the sports announcer. What is important about *S2* is that it is mediated wholly through language. In *S1*, the scenario is a physical event whereas in *S2* the scenario constitutes a verbal event. This is especially true for those who are in the radio audience, but also true for those who are in the television audience because the camera selects what the announcer wants one to see, hear and understand about the game. It is a staged reporting of the game. One could even say that it masks the reality of the game. As Maingueneau (1989: 34) has noted, it is a social construction of reality portrayed through language. It does not describe what is present, but what is re-presented.

Williams (2002: 196) observed that there are certain strategies of credibility and engagement that a sports announcer must possess in order for him to convey his account of the game to his listeners. He must not only engage his listeners, but he must also provide a sense of instant reporting. It must be perceived as a life event. The credibility of the sports reporter comes from his knowledge of the game and facts relating to the game. The engagement of the listener, on the other hand, can only occur if the listener is seduced by the narrative account of the game. Both of these aspects of the reporting of a game are socially and culturally related. Good sports announcers know and understand the needs of their audiences.

St. Clair and Williams (2003) provide a theory of how contexts are visualized, a theory that is based on social scenarios and social scripts. If one were to visualize a soccer game and then transmits this image of the game to others by means of the medium of radio or television, the result will be the scenario outlined in *S1*.

THE SOCCER GAME (S1)	
Image of the Event	The soccer game taking place in a soccer stadium
Social Roles	The players, the referees, the coaches, the technical assistants, the fans in the stadium, the radio and television reporters, mass media technicians, etc.
Episodic Functions	The players of the two teams enter the field in order to compete for the soccer ball in accordance with the rules of the game. One team controls the ball at a time and attempts to make points by scoring goals. The opposing team tries to gain possession of the ball and also score goals. In this competition, all kinds of minor scripts may occur: players may be substituted or taken out of the game, the game may be interrupted, and goals may or may not be scored. Whenever a goal is scored, the players express their solidarity by hugging each other and the fans resonate with cheers of victory. After a goal is scored, the ball is placed in the middle of the field and the other team has the opportunity to start the next round by having the first kick. The referee whistles to end the first half of the game that takes place after 45 minutes of play. After a break, the second half of the game commences. For other 45 minutes the same episodic functions will happen again, until when the referee whistles to indicate the end of the match.
The Lexicon	The actions that are taking place on the field are, above all, physical and not verbal. Hence, many of the signs used in the game are non-verbal. The referee shows the player a yellow card when he commits a fault and a red one when he is being expelled from the game. The referee uses a whistle to close an event, recover from an error, or finalize the game. The players kick the ball, bunt it with their head, or block it by jumping, etc. Even though the event occurs nonverbally, there is a lexicon associated with the game. These terms relate to the players who must follow the rules of the game, their actions on the field, their sports clothes, the stadium, the cheering section, and so on.
The Scripts	Each participant in this scene has a definite script to follow and these scripts are related to their functions during the event. The players must follow the rules of the game (they must enter the stadium, position themselves in front of the opposing team, show respect to the national hymns of their respective countries during international competitions, choose which side of the field they will be in when the play begins, play according to the rules, and play until the game is over). The public or the fans purchase tickets, enter the stadium before the game, find their seats, wait for the games to begin, and resonate with the accomplishments of their teams. After the game is over, they leave the stadium and have physical closure with the game (the emotional closure may not occur for many days, weeks, months, or years). There are journalists who report what happened during the game. They are part of a team that photographs the event or provides television coverage of the event. It is their job to report on the game, interview specialists, provide statistical information on the players, and after the game, they are the ones who interview the players. It is important to emphasize that each game differs in detail due to events happening on the field. These scripts may be modified in part due to intervening transactions, but the scenario remains the same. It is the scenario that contains the events and it is the scenario that structures how the scripts are related to each other during a game.

THE SOCCER GAME REPORTING THROUGH RADIO OR TELEVISION (S2)	
Image of the Event	The soccer game as heard over the radio or as seen on television
Social Roles	The sports caster, the technical media staff, the radio listeners, and the television spectators.
Episodic Functions	The sports caster is positioned in a special booth before the game begins. The booth is electronically equipped with databases on the players, past games, etc. He has guest announcers and his supporting staff with him in the booth. He signals the audience that the game is about to begin. The game begins (S1). The sports caster narrates the events during the game. It is intercalated with advertisements, station promotions, etc. Eventually, the game ends. He now shifts to sharing the victory of his team or disparaging the victory of the opposing team. He interviews some of the players. Finally, he closes his narration of the event. The show is over. All during this time, the radio listener or television spectators turned on their sets at the beginning of the game, listened or watched the events unfold, and finally turn off their sets when the reporting of the game is over. Station managers attempt to seduce their patrons to remain on the same channel or station during the whole game and after it too.
The Lexicon	The activities reported by the sports caster are exclusively verbal. Words are used to portray the game. These lexical items relate to the function of the game (soccer, the ball, the field, the teams, the players, the coaching staff, the coaches, the referees, the owners of the team, the sponsors, the commercials, media promotions, etc.). The link between the credibility of the production and the full engagement of the media audience is done through language. Metaphors, it turns out, are part of the reporting of the game. The reason for this is simply that sports casters insert their own metaphors in their narration of the events. Many sports metaphors are agonistic. They have to do with images of battle on the field of sports. Many sports casters, on the other hand, create special metaphors that help define them and their presentations are being unique.
Social Scripts	The narrator is isolated in a special booth in the stadium from which he can broadcast details of the scene that unfolds before him and his staff. He has a microphone in front of him and he addresses his audiences with own conversational images of the scenario and its social scripts. It should be noted that there are differences between the narration of events to radio and television audiences. The radio announcer has the task of describing precisely the activities taking place on the field. His task of visualization is more difficult. His audience cannot see what is happening during the game. Since time is money in radio casting, there must be no moments of silence during the reporting of the game. The television sports caster has an easier task. His audience can see some of the events taking place on the field. He can witness replays, close ups, and even other television screens intercalated onto the sports cast (split television coverage). The television spectator is subject to more advertisements, greater lapses of silence, promotions,

	interviews, various kinds of insertions that act as fill-ins during lapses of inactivity on the field. The content of these scripts, however, is dependent on what is happening on the field (S1). The manner in which this content is reported, however, depends on the means of communication (radio or television) and the personality of the sports caster and his team.
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Once the creator of a social script is formed and its activities are established, these scenarios, scripts, and episodic events emerge as established norms. At this time, it is possible for various actors in that social drama to perform their respective roles or parts. These discourse genres are established as social facts. They are social constructed and consequently they are composed by and for the participants in that context of the situation. These generic forms of social discourse are as various as other kinds of human activities. Bakhtin (1987: 60) has noted that each area of speech (written or spoken) reflects the specific conditions and objectives associated with a human activity. This reflection, he says, is not to be found only in its content, but also in its linguistic style (i.e. word choice or the vocabulary of motives, phraseology, grammatical patterns and compositional structure). The reflection of socially constructed reality is most evident in the structural composition of events, scenarios, scenes, scripts and episodes. He argues that the three aspects of these discourse genres that are inseparable are those of thematic content, rhetorical style and compositional structure. These are all linked to the contextualized domain of communication that is evidenced in speech.

Maingueneau (1998: 47) agrees that one can characterize a society by its discourse genres because they describe what is possible in that society. Discourse depicts society as a pageant and society portrays its pageantry through discourse.

The notion of a discourse genre was taken from the study of literature where there are evidently different kinds of genres such as tragedy, comedy, poetry, and epics and these differ substantially from such patterns of discourse as public announcements, personal letters, and the narration of soccer games. The latter patterns of discourse differ from discourse genres in that they occur in everyday communication, the sociology of everyday life. Consequently, one concurs with Maingueneau when he claimed that one is able to describe a society by the kinds of discourse genres it has.

All discourse genres function as canonical forms or slot-filler patterns in which one is able to fill in the assigned roles, describe the assumed scenes, and orchestrate the social scripts that are to be performed within a larger scenario. Those who are functional members of a society understand these canonical forms. For those who are not part of this social construction of reality, they are mere rituals, empty forms.

How does one know what aspects of a soccer game are to be portrayed through radio or television? This answer depends on the culture of the narrator and his audience. Although they are watching the same soccer game, the visualization of that game is portrayed differently by French and Brazilian narrators. They bring with them different social scripts, different interpretations of the scenario before them, and different audience expectations. They have different ways of describing how one gets to the goal. They describe different pathways to the goal. What relevance does this difference have for a theory of language and the sociology of knowledge? What difference does it make if one laments over the loss of a goal or celebrates its success? Obviously, one is not just getting to the goal in these reported soccer games, but one is traveling along different pathways. There are cultural differences in which one describes how his team gets to the goal. These pathways are culturally different.

THE SOCCER NARRATOR AND HIS SOCIAL REPRESENTATION OF LANGUAGE

Language is a linguistic and cultural act that is inherently associated with the social construction of reality. Pierre Bordieu (1983) refers to this as the “alchemy of representation.” It is this alchemy that accounts for the magic that one performs as a legitimate member of a group. He is the spokesman that has the power to speak and act in the name of the group. This spokesman embodies and identifies himself with the heart and soul of its members.

As Gérard Derèze (2000: 23) has noted, the sports narrator transfers to his public the experiences of pleasure, emotion, diversion, and a sense of participation in the game. The listener feels that he is one of them and on account of this, he understands them and their language. The listener has the feeling of belonging to a group and identifying with this group when he hears the sport cast. Derèze says that the language of the narrator gives the community a form and creates the conditions in which there emerges a feeling of belonging with them.

One must ask, however, is it the same for a French fan to interact with a French announcer of a soccer game? Does this same sense of belonging occur when a Brazilian fan interacts with a Brazilian announcer of a soccer game? Brazil and France have different histories with regard to soccer. In spite of the fact that the sport shares similar periods of development in both countries, they have different roots. In Brazil, for example, soccer is deeply entrenched with national pride. Its team has already won 5 World Cups and for this reason they are rather passionate about the game. France also appreciates soccer. They have won important championships, among them the World Cup of 1998 in which they defeated Brazil. However, the French do not live for this sport. These two cultures differ in how they perceive the game and how they live it. Not surprisingly, these differences influence their reporting of the game.

Harré (1994: 134) observes that social representations can be found in the semantic organization of the lexicon and expression of formal syntactic structures, whether spoken or written. Social representation occurs not only in connotations that words acquire, but also in how they are used within a given culture. He even believes that they account for differences in the grammar of a language. When one speaks a language, he portrays himself in the culture of that language.

With regard to the social representation of the lexicon, Harré is initially concerned about the vocabulary of emotions. It is the culture that determines and validates the meaning of words of emotion. It is the culture that provides information on how it was created and how it is used. If in the West, bravery is deemed to be a matter of honor and if in the East, bravery is ridiculed, one may conclude then that the virtue is in the cowardice not in the courage. The emotion of fear, like other emotions, may be evidenced quite differently from one culture to another.

There are many social and cultural exchanges between the radio or television announcer and his audiences. The announcer acts in a way of communication by introducing ideas, finding new forms of expressing himself and in creating new expressions that strategically link him to his audience. The *other* plays a major role in the creation of this discourse. Bakhtin (1992) stresses the importance of the *other* who constitutes a constant dialogue in a society where without communication it is impossible to live.

As noted earlier, soccer is the most popular sport in Brazil and France and its reporting reflects details specifically related to their cultures and languages. The sport

announcer must interact with his audience and he must identify himself with them. He makes many choices in the process: prosodic, lexical, syntactic, and cultural. It is through these choices that he reveals his identification and his engagement with his audience as a member of that community.

It is time now to consider some examples that focus on how goals are reported by Brazilian and French sports casters. The following selections regarding the narration of a team making a goal is taken from two decisive television games on the XVI World Cup that occurred in France in 1998: one is between Brazil and Denmark and the other between Brazil and France.

Examples of the narration getting to the goal*

1. The game between Brazil and Denmark	
A	Denmark has a goal by Jorgensen, 2 minutes into the first half
a	<p><i>In Portuguese</i> “Olha a Dinamarca chegando a bola tocada pra TRAS GOOOL (6) da dinaMARca:: Joergensen:: com MENos de dois miNUTos’aquela bobeira de deixá batê ali’ deixaram batê’ o brian laudrup tocou pra trás’ o Jorgensen entrou’ fez o toque bateu à direita do Taffarel’ deu boBEira a seleção brasileira” (Galvão Bueno - TV)</p> <p>Look at Denmark getting closer, the ball is kicked backward GOOOOL Denmark’s :: Jorgensen :: with less than two minutes what a foolish thing of letting him kick there, they let it happen, Brian Landrup kicked backward, Jorgensen entered, controlled and threw it at the right side of Taffarel... that’s a foolish team, the Brazilian team.</p>
b	<p>“Olho no LANCE::: azeDOU::: azeDOU::: azeDOU o molho aqui em nantes’ JORGensen’ quando eram apenas jogados dois minutos do primeiro tempo meteu a bala no arco brasileiro” (Sílvia Luís - SBT)</p> <p>Look at the pass... the sauce got sour in Nantes... the sauce got sour in Nantes... when Jorgensen who was only playing 2 minutes in the first half put the ball into the Brazilian arc.</p>
c	<p><i>In French</i> PB - il va au côté gauche (2) entre pour le centre (3) une faute de dunga DL - [... qui va provoquer Junior Baiano PB - <u>attention ça va très vite il a passé et but</u> DI [- il ferme Pb [- marqué par Jorgensen apres (2) quelques minutes de jeu” <i>(Dominique Le Glou and Patrick Batiston – TV)</i></p> <p>PB: He is going to the left side, he is entering the midpoint. Fault by Dunga. DL: Who is provoking Junior Baiano PB: Hold on! He moves quickly, he passes and scores a goal. DL: He closes. PB: made by Jorgensen after only two minutes of play in the game</p>

* The established pattern for transcription of these excerpts are in the appendix

B	Brazilian Goal by Bebeto, 11 minutes into the first half	
	d	<p><i><u>In Portuguese</u></i></p> <p>“(…) todos os jogadores marcados’ finalmente ela chegou no Ronaldinho’partiu roberto carlos lindo toque pra bebeto’ é batê pro gol’ Bebeto’ é batê pro gol <u>bateu bebeto bateu bebeto bateu bebeto olha o gol olha o gol’ go:::~:~:l (6) eeeee:::~:~: é do brasil ((música ao fundo)) <u>Bebeto aos dez minutos e vinte ‘ desse meio tempo a enfiada pra ele’ Ronaldinho não tinha tocado na bola’ Bebeto não tinha tocado na bola’ Ronaldinho pegou’ tocou pra Bebeto’ Bebeto fez o gol voce vai assiná ((o gol passa em replay)) pode botá aí Bebeto bate de novo Bebeto’ ajeita isso’ olha o Helveg atrás de você’ Bebeto tocou de pé direito na saída de schmeichel’ meteu na rede ele saiu pro abraço já deu o abraço agora bota seu nome bebeto’ seu terceiro gol na copa do mundo assina Bebeto que o gol é seu::: um para o brasil um para dinamarca” (Galvão Bueno - TV)</u></u></p> <p>All of the players are being followed. Finally it gets to Ronaldinho, Roberto Carlos approached. Beautiful kick to BeBeto, shoot it to the goal, shoot it to the goal, Bebeto, shoot it to the goal. He shot it, Bebeto, he shot it, Bebeto, he shot it, Bebeto. Watch the goal, watch the goal. Gooooaaal!!!! Yeahhh! It’s from Brazil!! (music in the background). Bebeto in 10 minutes and 20 seconds of this first half, the ball was passed to him ... Ronaldinho hadn’t touched the ball. Bebeto hadn’t touched the ball, Ronaldinho took it, kicked it to Bebeto Bebeto made the goal. You will sign your name (the goal is shown in a replay) .. put the ball there Bebeto, hit it again, control it, watch Helveg behind you Bebeto kicked it with his right foot when Schmeichel left, and he put it in the net ... he goes for a hug. He already got a hug , now write down your name, Bebeto... your third goal in the World Cup ...sign your name because the goal is yours. One for Brazil and one for Denmark.</p>
	e	<p>“vamo botá o pagode pra arrumá a cozinha dos dinamarqueses olho no lance’ é:::~:~: mais um gol brasileiro meu po:::vo::: en:::che o peito::: sol:ta o grito da garganta e con:fira comigo no replay::: foi foi foi foi foi ele bebeto’ o craque’ da camisa número vinte::: tamo jogando redondo aqui em La Beaujoire onze minutos’ o Brasil empata em cima da Dinamarca:::” (Silvio Luís - TV)</p> <p>Let us play the pagode ((a Brazilian rhythm)) to organize the kitchen of the Danes. look at the pass ... yeah.... one more goal of Brazil, my people ...throw out your chests ...let out a scream from your throats and check this out with me in the replay .. it was him, Bebeto ...the Ace with number 20 on his shirt.. we are still playing it beautifully here in La Beaujoire ...11 minutes and Brazil ties up with Denmark.</p>
	f	<p><i><u>In French</u></i></p> <p>“DL -Ronaldo <u>Ronaldo superbe ballon pour bebeto qui frappe et qui marque</u> Pb- [magnifique DL- [egalisation bresilienne’ de bebeto bebeto très contesté par la presse et bebeto qui démontre que l’espoir de Zagallo est sans doute le bon (Dominique Le Glou e Patrick Batiston - TV)</p> <p>DL: Ronaldo, Ronaldo, wonderful pass of the ball to Bebeto who kicks it and scores. PB: Magnificent!</p>

	DL: The Brazilian team ties up by Bebeto.... Bebeto very much attacked by the press.. and Bebeto who shows that the hope of Zagallo is good without a doubt .
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II. The Game between France and Brazil	
br	<p><u>In Portuguese</u></p> <p>G/.../Karembu' tocou pra Thuram' voltou pra karimbeu' chegou Roberto (3) tomou a frente' fez lá a graça pra tentá evitá não conseguiu' é escanteio' Essa gracinha que às vezes custa (3) ele podia até tomá um cartão porque foi lá' Ó lá' VAi tomá um cartão' não tinha nada que dá tapa na bandeira' essa coisa de querê matá no peito pra dá pra dá pra dá bicicleta' Essa coisa' Isso' Isso não cabe em copa do mundo quando tá zero a zero</p> <p>Karembu ... threw it to Thuram ...he returned it to Karimbeu .. Roberto arrived. ... he went forward instead of letting the ball roll “out of bounds” he tried to show off, he failed... it's corner... show offs like this sometimes are not worth it ... he could even get carded ... because he's been there ... see there. ... he's going to get a card .. he was not supposed to hit the corner flag... what a thing, trying to control the ball on the chest in order to in order to kick it over the head... this type of thing.... It can't happen in the World Cup when it is zero to zero.</p> <p>P- era só tocá a bola no lado ali' quando levou no peito' jogasse pra lateral</p> <p>It would have been better if he had just tossed the ball on the side there... when he just held it on his chest, he had to toss it on the side.</p> <p>G - seria lateral e não escanteio' aí o lançamento pra área brasileira' Olha o que aconteceu' olha o que aconteceu go:::::l (7)da FRANça::: ZiDane::: Aos vinte e sete minutos do primeiro tempo' COpa do mundo é coisa séria' final de copa do mundo é coisa muito séria' não é lugar de gracinha e de malabarismo' na tentativa do malabarismo' invés de lateral pintou um escanteio' o que aconteceu' cabeça de Zidane bola no chão' gol da França' França um a zero' Um para a FRANça' ZERo para o brasil aos vinte e sete minutos do primeiro tempo' agora vai ter que mostrar muita personalidade o time brasileiro e outra vez a mesma falha' deixando o jogador saí na frente' nem Júnior Baiano' nem Aldair' nenhum dos dois subindo na bola” (Galvão Bueno and Pelé - TV)</p> <p>It would be off to the side not a corner ... Oh a toss to the Brazilian area ... Look at what just happened ... Look at what happened ... Goal by Zidane of France!! At 27 minutes in the first half. A World Cup is a serious matter ... the final match at a World Cup ... it is rather serious matter ... it is not a time for kidding and juggling... in the attempt at juggling instead of a lateral it ended up in a corner ...then what it ended up on Zidane's head ... ball to the ground ... a goal for France... France has one to zero. One for France... Zero for Brazil. At 27 minutes of the first half. Now the Brazilian team needs to show its character ... and again the same mistake... letting the player leave lead ... Neither Junior Baiano ... nor Aldair ... Neither of them took up the ball.</p>
h	<p><u>In French</u></p> <p>T- elle est sortie' corner' attention</p> <p>JM- sur le jonglage de roberto carlos qui a un petit geste de mauvaise humeur</p>

	<p>T- oui JM- qui a delaissé le poteau de corner T - et du reste monsieur belqola/ est allé: faire remarquer que dans une finale de coupe de monde ce: geste la n'avait: pas raison d'être Emanuel Petit pour faire le premier corner de l'équipe de france JM – corner entrant il a bien frappé au premier poteau Et but' de zinedine zidane T et JM- ZINEDINE ZIDANE T - Zidane' sur ce premier corner français grace à un coup de tête MAGistrale et ouvre le score alors que l'on joue depuis vingt sept minutes” <i>(Thierry Roland e Jean Michel Larqué - TV)</i></p> <p>T - The ball is off the field, corner. Watch out. JM - By juggling, Roberto Carlos displays a bad attitude T- Yes JM – By kicking the corner flag T - And from there ... Mr. Belgola made it clear that in the final match at the World Cup that gesture is uncalled for. Emanuel Petit is going to kick. That's the first corner for the French team. JM - now at the corner, that's a nice shot from the first flag corner...and goal...by Zinedine Zidane T and JM - Zinedine Zidane T - Zidane on the first French corner gives us a big nod of his head and he opens up the scoreboard... when they had played 27 minutes</p>
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OBSERVATIONS

This discourse genre of soccer sports casting contains points of similarity and difference between French and Brazilian cultures. In addressing these matters of discourse, it is possible to perceive how they are *constructed* and how they are *expressed*.

The Construction of Discourse refers to the composition of discourse. One notes that in French there is much use of dialogue. There are always two speakers, one who narrates the game and the other who makes comments. They take turns; their turns are short, one immediately after the other. At times they appear to report events on the field simultaneously with their occurrences. They do not leave much room between their alternating dialogues. In Portuguese, the dialogue is less explicit and frequent. One announcer talks almost all the time and lead the whole broadcast. In general he is the one who gives the turn to a guest commentator. Even though his turns are long, his sentences are short, juxtaposed, as we see in II g:

“G - seria lateral e não escanteio... Aí o lançamento pra área brasileira... Olha o que aconteceu...Olha o que aconteceu go:::::::::l (7)da França::... ZiDane::.....”

This explains the intense rhythm and emotional involvement that occurs when he is relating the events as they happen.

The French narrators also juxtapose their sentences, but differ in that they tend to embed their sentences, subordinating whole sentences by means of the pronoun subject marker “qui.” We find the “qui” subordinate conjunction in all examples, one of them is in I A c, when DL initializes his turn

“PB - *il va au côté gauche (2) entre pour le centre (3) une faute de Dunga*
DL - [... **qui** va provoquer Junior Baiano”

That requires one to process sentences differently. One is required to look for the subject of an action. This results to constructing the possession of a goal in terms of sequential narratives immediately followed by argumentative explanations. The use of the pronoun “qui” reinforces this use of argumentative explanations that underlie the act of speaking.

The Expressiveness of Speech refers to the involvement that a speaker has with his audience. This engagement, according to Tannen (1991), has two strong points in lexical choice: the musical force (that accounts for sounds and rhythms) and semantic forces. There are three aspects to the expressiveness of speech that merits comment: Intonation or rhythm, the use of metaphors, and the inclusion of the other in one’s discourse.

Intonation and Rhythm

When a goal is scored, voices are raised and this occurs among the French as well as among Brazilians. This use of raising one’s voice to express emotion is a common human trait that surpasses cultural differences (Bally, 1967). With regard to rhythm, it is more intense when one expects a goal to be scored. If the goal is not expected, then there is not time for one to raise his voice in intensity. As a consequence, the alternative is to raise the pitch of one’s voice in expressing the commemoration of a goal.

The use of a prolonged shout or yell is a feature characteristic of Brazilian sports narrators. This kind of prolonged bellow was first used by Rebello Junior in the middle of the 1940s. This prolonged shout fell out of popular use. What is interesting about it was that it enabled one to prolong the vowel [o] in “goal.” The Brazilian word “gol” comes from its English cognate “goal.” Sports narrators filled their chests with air and emitted a prolonged “goal”, as Galvão Bueno does in the example I B d, sustaining the vowel for 6 seconds:

“bateu Bebeto bateu Bebeto bateu Bebeto olha o gol olha o gol’ **go:::~::~:l** (6) eeeee:::~::~: é do brasil”

The French have a different word for this achievement. They say “but” or use the verb “marquer” or simply provide the name of the person who made the goal. A very typical example is the one found in I B f:

“DL - Ronaldo Ronaldo superbe ballon pour Bebeto qui frappe et qui **marque**”

Or in II h:

“JM – corner entrant il a bien frappé au premier poteau

Et but’ de Zinedine Zidane”.

The Use of Metaphors

It seems that the Brazilians are far more imaginative in their reporting of soccer games. Silvio Luis is a soccer narrator who is known for his use of metaphors. Some of them are: (IAb) *azedou o molho* (the sauce got sour), *vamo bota o pagode pra arruma a cozinha dos dinamarqueses*, (let us put the “pagode” (Brazilian rhythm) in order to have the Danes clean up their kitchen), etc.

One does not find many uses of figurative language in French reporting of soccer games. Often, soccer is taken to be a real “battle” and this is evidenced by the use of verbs such as *crucify*, *to gun down*, and *to bomb*, that we often find in both languages and other languages and cultures. It should be noted, though, that the creative use of metaphors and

figures of speech in reporting soccer is a mark of Brazilian commentators and sports casters. One often finds the use of figurative expression coming out of soccer broadcasts, in the daily use of Portuguese language in Brazil, as for example: *dependurar as chuteiras* (“to hang the soccer shoes” - to retire), *pisar na bola* (“to step on the soccerball”, to make an error), etc.

Inclusion of the other in the discourse

It is very common for Brazilian sports reporters to use imperatives or other injunctive sentences, such as *olho no lance* (“eye on the kick”), *olha o gol* (look at the goal), and *confira comigo* (check with me). They insert these expressions in their discourse to call the attention of their audience and to make them participate of the very act of ‘narrating’ the match. This happens principally during moments of tension, celebration or frustration when narrators want to share moments of happiness, sadness, or highlight an event that had just occurred. Soccer players are in their talk too. In IBd, Galvão Bueno draws attention to the soccer player Bebeto and talks to him, asking him to shoot the ball to the goal “*é batê pro gol’ Bebeto’ é batê pro gol’*”. This same narrator reprimanded Roberto Carlos when he let the French score a goal. He said in IIg: “*copa do mundo é coisa séria, final de copa do mundo é coisa séria, não é lugar de gracinha e de malabarismo*” – (The World Cup is a serious matter, the final match of a World Cup is a serious matter, it is not a time to joke or juggle the ball). The French do not insert this kind of figurative language into their reporting during moments of levity or heaviness. When the French scored a goal against Brazil, in IIh, Thierry Roland does not show the same level of emotions, even though to beat Brazil was a French dream. There is no intensity in proclaiming the ‘goal’, the name of the soccer player is announced, yes, in acclamation (T and JM shout: “ZINEDINE ZIDANE”), but after that, the reporting of the details is more emphasized than the emotions of the moment “*T - Zidane’ sur ce premier corner français grace à un coup de tête MAgistrale et ouvre le score alors que l’on joue depuis vingt sept minutes*”.

The Brazilian soccer announcers prefer to insert the other in his discourse when a goal is scored or when a great frustration takes place, he wants not only to emphasize the emotion, but to share it with his listener, who is invited to participate actively in his discourse. The details come later, the listener is there before anything, taking part of the “show”, as we see in the example IBe:

“*mais um gol brasileiro meu po::vo::: en::che o peito::: sol:ta o grito da garganta e con:fira comigo no replay*”(one more goal of Brazil, my people ...throw out your chestslet out a scream from your throats and check this out with me in the replay ..)

Thus one can readily visualize the scripts that they followed in their reporting of the process of getting to the goal:

<p>The Brazilian Social Script</p>	<p>The goal is about to be made. The reporter raises the volume of his voice and speaks rapidly. Normally, he celebrates the event of scoring a goal with a sharp and prolonged enunciation of the word “gol.” He brings the listener into the event and lets him join in the celebration. He creates metaphorical expressions and metonymic phrases to visualize the event in the minds of his listeners. He is more concerned with celebrating the event than in reporting it.</p>
<p>The French</p>	<p>Two soccer sports casters take turns in commenting on the game. As the goal is about to be made, they raise their voices and quicken the</p>

Social Script	rhythm of their reporting. They celebrate the making of the goal and shout the name of the player who made it. They use expressions such as “but” or “marquer” to describe the event. However, in a much lower tone, they begin to explain the details of the game. They do not show much emotion; they do not have emotional outbursts as the Brazilian do; and, above all, they are more concerned with the reporting of the event than in its celebration.
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CONCLUSION

Getting to the goal or the social script of making a goal is not the same experience for Brazilians as it is for the French. Soccer, after all, plays a major role in the national identity of Brazilians. It is a matter of greater national consciousness for the Brazilians. When the World Cup soccer games are reported in Brazil, the event takes on special significance, especially when Brazil is involved in the final rounds. People want to celebrate with the soccer announcer; they are in a happy mood; they show their emotions about the status of the game; they convey their love of the game; and they cheer on their home team. The French, on the other hand, prefer to hear a less emotional account of the game. They are more interested in the logic of the game.

For Brazilians, the goal is a moment of ecstasy. They cannot contain their emotions. For the French, the goal is just a part of the game. It is something that one assumes will happen sooner or later. It is not an unforeseen event. The French culture does not welcome unforeseen events. They differ from the Brazilians who are accustomed to the uncertainties of tomorrow. The French enjoy goals, but it does not mean that the goals scored touch the very depths of their souls. They are not part of their emotional consciousness, as they are for the Brazilians.

The Brazilian soccer announcer is, in essence, a *narrator*. He joins in the narration of the game. He *lives* in its verbal descriptions. He joins others who share a communal experience of being a *part of history*. He shares his conversational images with others in these social dramas with his fellow listeners. The French soccer announcer, on the other hand, is a *commentator* who joins in with others in *explaining* what is happening in the game. He is an analyst. He likes to watch the game and *comment* on it. While he is more concerned with the accuracy of the details and the logic of the facts, the Brazilian is more concerned with experiencing the facts, making a soccer match part of his own history.

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Appendix: Established patterns for transcription of narratives in radio or television.

<u>OCCURRENCES</u>	<u>SIGNS</u>
Intonation: medium tone high tone	normal letters CAPITAL LETTERS
Prolonging vowels or consonants (as “s” or “r”) WITH the word “GOL”	:: (or ::::: if longer) (the seconds of its length come in parenthesis)
Pause Micro pause	(the number of seconds are in parenthesis) ,
Interrogation	?
Comments of the transcriber	((in double parenthesis))
Superposition of voices	[bracket connecting lines
interruption	(...)
Speed of the speech: faster: slower:	Normal <u>Underlined</u> <u>Dotted</u>