Meta-Intertext in German Parliamentary Discourse

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The paper aims to apply the theory of intertextuality to explore German parliamentary discourse. It investigates the usage of meta-intertext in parliamentary texts. Meta-intertext is considered as fragments of a text that accompany intertext and describe it. It is determined that meta-intertext contains markers which provide information about the author of hypotext, the hypotext type, intertext evaluation, time and place of hypotext production, its title and its recipient. The use of these markers in German parliamentary texts is analyzed and described. The syntagmatic structure of meta-intertext is revealed. It is established that meta-intertextual markers describing the author of hypotext are usually placed at the beginning, whereas evaluative markers – at the end of the fragment summarizing it.

Keywords: *intertext, intertextuality, meta-intertext, parliamentary discourse, quotation.*

1. Introduction

In recent years, there has been an increasing interest of linguists in institutional communication. One of its most important branches in the countries with parliamentary democracies is communication in parliaments. The parliamentary discourse is considered to be the main part of the political discourse in these countries. Communication is essential for parliamentarians. Cornelia Ilie (2015: 1114) states that "distinguishing characteristics of parliaments as institutions is that parliamentary work essentially consists of speaking (monologic communication) and debating (dialogic communication)".

The communication processes and the language of the German Bundestag is described in a number of papers (e.g. Burkhardt (2003); Dörner & Vogt (1995)). Researchers claim that German parliamentary communication is double addressed. Explicitly, parliamentarians talk to their colleagues in the chamber, trying to convince them. But the true addressee of the message is the electorate. Thus, the primary communication goal of parliamentarians is to present themselves and to discredit their political opponents.

Linguists try to ascertain in what way the language of parliament influences the audience, and "to explore the recurring linguistic patterns and rhetorical strategies used by MPs that help to reveal their ideological commitments, hidden agendas, and argumentation tactics" (Ilie 2015: 1113).

One of the linguistic devices extensively used in the parliamentary discourse due to its pragmatic value is intertext. A number of studies were conducted on the use of intertext in various parliamentary texts (Berrocal 2016; Constantinescu 2012; Gruber 2012).

Numerous quotations can be found in texts of parliamentary debates. Parliamentarians quote their colleagues, scientists, journalists, citizens talking about political issues etc. As Kolesarova (2008: 33) points out, quotations are used by parliamentarians to support their opinions. It can be argued that the role of quotations in the parliamentary discourse is much wider, and parliamentarians can, for example, quote their political opponents, trying to discredit them.

Despite the great importance of intertextuality in German parliamentary discourse, the phenomenon still remains relatively unexplored. In our study, we are trying to fill this gap by addressing the concept of meta-intertextuality.

2. Terminology issue

2.1 *Parliamentary discourse*

To discuss the use of meta-intertext in the parliamentary discourse, it is necessary to introduce and define some basic terms that will be used further in this paper.

Trying to explore the structures of human communication that are larger than a text, we inevitably come to the notion of discourse. Being an extremely polysemic term, one of the main meanings of *discourse* is a dialogue of texts. Heinemann M. & Heinemann W. (2002: 61) consider discourse as "more or less fast set of texts". Jorgensen & Phillips (2002: 1) remark that "underlying the word 'discourse' is the general idea that language is structured according to different patterns that people's utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life". Discourse is also considered to be "a form of social practice" (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 258). Thus, parliamentary discourse, which we discuss in this paper, is considered as a set of texts reflecting social practice in parliament. Parliamentary texts are interconnected by quotations, paraphrases and allusions and, in this way, intertextuality contributes to constituting the parliamentary discourse.

The conducted research does not aim to cover all the text types which can be attributed to the parliamentary discourse. It concentrates on debate texts in plenary meetings of the German Bundestag. These texts can be considered as the central and the most important part of all communication in the parliament. Debates in plenary meetings include different text types, such as speeches of members of the parliament, interjections, speeches of ministers in the parliament, government declarations, questions of parliamentarians to ministers and answers of ministers to the questions of parliamentarians etc.

2.2. *Text*

After determining the scope of parliamentary texts the research will be based on, it is important to define the term *text* in such a way that will give the possibility to clearly distinguish one text from another.

Text is the main term of text linguistics, but it does not have any generally accepted definition (Adamzik 2004: 31). In this paper text is understood as a set of utterances that belong to the same author and are expressed in the same communicative situation. In accordance with this definition, parliamentary debates refer not to a single text, but to a set of texts having intertextual relations with each other and with texts from outside the parliamentary discourse. Parliamentary speech is considered to be a single text, but it can be interrupted by interjections of other parliamentarians. Replies to these interjections can be defined as separate texts distinct from the parliamentary speech.

2.3 *Intertext*

The next term that requires a closer look is intertextuality. The term *intertextuality* was

introduced by Julia Kristeva (1980) in 1960s, but the idea of dialogue of texts is to find by Bakhtin (1981). Over the past few decades, intertextuality has attracted the attention of scholars from various disciplines (Hermann & Hübenthal 2007: 7). Intertextuality has been actively studied by researchers in the field of literature and culture, but it has remained relatively unexplored by linguists (Panagiotidou 2011: 173). Despite its broad use the term intertextuality is neither transparent nor commonly understood (Allen 2000: 2).

Text linguistics aims to describe the linguistic nature of intertextuality. From the point of view of linguistics "intertextuality refers to the phenomenon that other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text, which is typically expressed through explicit surface textual features such as quotations and citations" (Wu 2011: 97). Gérard Genette defines intertextualty in a more restrictive way compared to Julia Kristeva as "the actual presence of one text within another" (Genette 1997: 2). In this paper, we use this more restrictive understanding of intertextuality, because it offers the possibility to detect the connection between texts using linguistic methods.

In text linguistics referential and typological intertextuality are distinguished (Klein & Fix 1997: 34; Antos & Tietz 1997: 97). Referential intertextuality implies the use of fragments of certain texts, while typological intertextuality refers to the use of patterns and structures typical of the text type. This research concentrates on the referential intertextuality.

While discussing the referential intertextuality, we always deal with two different texts: a preceding text and a following text. In this case, the concepts of hypertext and hypotext introduced by Gérard Genette are used. Hypertextuality means "any relationship uniting a text B (hypertext) to an earlier text A (hypotext), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary" (Genette 1997: 5). Thus, in this paper we try to describe in what way hypotext is introduced in the hypertext.

2.4 *Meta-intertext*

Referential intertextuality can be marked and not marked (Broich & Pfister 1985: 31). When not marked, or implicit, intertext is used, the author may not even know that she or he is employing intertext, or may not wish to show that a piece of her or his text is taken from another source.

Marked, or explicit, intertextual fragments contain linguistic markers that describe intertext. The pieces of text with such markers are called *meta-intertext* (Gavenko 2011: 38–39; Stasiuk 2016: 336–337). The term *meta-intertext* is a fusion of two terms used in text linguistics – intertext and metatext.

The term *metatext*, introduced in 1971 by Anna Wierzbicka, is considered as a statement, the subject of which is the text itself (see e.g. Witosz 2017: 108). Meta-intertext is similar to metatext in that it also describes a text. But unlike the metatext, it describes the quoted text, or hypotext. Thus, we define meta-intertext as a statement that describes the intertext. Meta-intertext identifies the hypotext and provides various information about it, and not about the current text.

The purpose of the presented research is to describe meta-intertext as the way of introducing intertextual fragments in German parliamentary discourse.

3. Material and methodology

The conducted research was based on the analysis of fragments of parliamentary texts of the German Bundestag. These fragments contain intertext in form of quotations, and meta-intertext. As noted by Mac & Szwed (2016: 269), it is often difficult to distinguish between quotes and similar types of intertextuality, such as allusion and paraphrase. In written texts quotations are marked with quotation marks or as block quotations. In this paper, all quotations marked in the stenographic protocols of plenary meetings were selected for the analysis. A total of 590 text fragments were analyzed.

To extract meta-intertextual markers from the meta-intertext, a semantic analysis was carried out. Extracted markers were classified in accordance with their meaning.

The principle of meta-intertextual markers differentiation in German parliamentary discourse can be illustrated by the following text fragment:

(1)   *Christine Buchholz (Die Linke): In ihrem Koalitionsvertrag sprechen SPD und Union davon, die – Zitat – "globale Ordnung aktiv mitgestalten" zu wollen.*
       'Christine Buchholz (The Left): In their coalition agreement SPD and Union speak of – quotation – their wish "actively participate in shaping the global order".'
       (Deutscher Bundestag 2013–2014: 84)

Fragment (1) contains the intertext (*globale Ordnung aktiv mitgestalten* 'participate in shaping the global order') and the meta-intertext (*in ihrem Koalitionsvertrag sprechen SPD und Union davon, […] – Zitat* 'in their coalition agreement SPD and Union speak of, […] – quotation') that describes the intertext. The meta-intertext contains markers of following types:

1. Quotation marker (*Zitat* 'quotation').
2. Author of hypotext (*SPD und Union* 'SPD and Union').
3. Hypotext type (*Koalitionsvertrag* 'coalition agreement').

Different types of intertextual markers and the frequency of their use in German parliamentary discourse are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Frequency of meta-intertextual markers use

Type of intertextual marker	Number of examples	Frequency
Author of hypotext	356	60.3%
Type of hypotext	303	51.4%
Time of hypotext production	92	15.6%
Quotation marker	90	15.3%
Positive evaluation of intertext	77	13.1%
Negative evaluation of intertext	57	9.7%
Place of hypotext production	12	2.0%
Recipient of hypotext	7	1.2%
Text title	6	1.0%

Total	590	100%

In order to determine the sequential structure of meta-intertextual markers, syntagmatic analysis was performed. We have tried to define which markers are usually placed before intertext and which markers are usually placed after it. The sequential structures demonstrate a great variety (more than 100 different sequences of meta-intertextual markers have been detected). That is why only the most frequent sequential structures of meta-intertextual markers are shown in Table 2:

Table 2: Sequential structures of meta-intertextual markers

Sequential structures of meta-intertextual markers	Number of examples	Frequency
Type of hypotext – Intertext	110	18.6%
Type of hypotext – Author of hypotext – Intertext	69	11.7%
Author of hypotext – Intertext	68	11.5%
Intertext (quotations without meta-intertextual markers)	62	10.5%
Author of hypotext – Intertext – Evaluation of intertext	16	2.7%
Author of hypotext – Time of hypotext production – Intertext	14	2.4%
Intertext – Evaluation of intertext	10	1.7%
Author of hypotext – Type of hypotext – Intertext	9	1.5%
Author of hypotext – Type of hypotext – Intertext – Evaluation of intertext	6	1.0%
Other sequential structures	226	38.4%
Total	590	100%

In fragment (1), we can observe the sequential structure of type "Quotation marker – Type of hypotext – Author of hypotext – Intertext". This structure is not widely used, but it is similar to the structure "Type of hypotext – Author of hypotext – Intertext" which occurs much more frequently as it is shown in Table 2.

4. Results and discussion

4.1 *Author of hypotext*

Among all markers of intertextuality used in German parliamentary discourse, the most frequent one is the marker of author of hypotext. This marker serves to name the person or the

organization that has produced the quoted text, and gives additional information about the author.

The author of hypotext is frequently referred to by her or his given name and surname: *Heinz Riesenhuber; Nelson Mandela; Wolfgang Thierse*. As a rule, this way of presenting the author of hypotext is used in the cases when she or he is a politician (usually a member of the parliament). Other well-known people are also referred to in this way: *Christa Wolf* (German novelist, literary critic and essayist)*; Carl Schmitt* (German jurist and political theorist)*.

Similar is the case when only surname of the author of hypotext is given, accompanied by the address form *Frau* 'Mrs' or *Herr* 'Mr': *Frau Nahles; Herr Pofalla; Herr de Mazière*. These people are also usually well known to parliamentarians.

Another way to present the author of hypotext is to name her or his position: *Präsident des Bundesverfassungsgerichts* 'the President of the Federal Constitutional Court'; *Herr Bundespräsident* 'Mr Federal President'. The social position can be combined with a name: *Staatsminister Michael Link* 'Minister of State Michael Link'.

In German parliamentary discourse numerous quotations from mass media are used. In this case, the most important thing is the newspaper or magazine that has published the article, and not the journalist who has written it. That is why in meta-intertext we encounter markers that are names of newspapers or magazines the intertext is taken from: *Spiegel; Spiegel Online*.

In meta-intertext we can also find organization names, e.g. *Ratingagentur Standard & Poor's* 'rating agency Standard & Poor's'; *der Bundesverfassungsgericht* 'the Federal Constitutional Court'; *der Familienbund der Katholiken* 'the Family Union of the Catholics'; *die Deutsche Bank* 'the Bank of Germany'; *das Bundesfamilienministerium* 'The Federal Ministry for Families'.

To refer to the author of hypotext, personal pronouns *Sie* 'you' or *wir* 'we' can be used. Personal pronoun *Sie* is used when the parliamentarian addresses a politician who is present in the chamber and quotes her or him at the same time. Another case is when the speaker addresses a group of politicians, e.g. a political fraction in the parliament or governing coalition.

(2) *Paul Lehrieder (CDU/CSU): Im dritten Absatz Ihrer Begründung schreiben Sie: "Besonders betroffen von Stundenlöhnen unter 10 Euro sind in Deutschland Frauen"*.
     'Paul Lehrieder (CDU/CSU): In the third paragraph of your statement you write: "Especially affected by salaries lower than 10 euro hourly are in Germany women".' (Deutscher Bundestag 2013–2014: 174)

In (2), the meaning of the personal pronoun *Sie* is *the Member of the Left Party* and the bill of this political party is discussed.

The personal pronoun *wir* 'we' is used in a similar way:

(3) *Kerstin Grise (SPD): Wir haben in unserer Koalitionsvereinbarung, so sie denn von unseren Mitgliedern unterstützt werden wird, dazu eine schöne Aussage, die ich Ihnen zitieren will: "Die Herausbildung einer europäischen Zivilgesellschaft ist eine essentielle Voraussetzung für eine lebendige europäische Demokratie. Besonders wichtig ist es, dafür auch die Jugendpolitik weiterzuentwickeln. Das sind zwei der guten Sätze in diesem Koalitionsvertrag.*
     'Kerstin Grise (SPD): We have in our coalition agreement, so as it will be supported by our members, a nice expression about it, which I want to cite to you: "The creation of a European civil society is an essential prerequisite for a

living European democracy. Especially important is it to also continue developing the youth policy". These are the two good sentences in this coalition agreement.' (Deutscher Bundestag 2013–2014: 189)

In (3), the first-person plural pronoun *wir* 'we' is used. *Wir* is a pronoun that changes its meaning depending on the context. In this case it refers to CDU/CSU and SPD – the two governing parties in the German Bundestag that have signed the coalition agreement.

In addition to the above-mentioned cases, meta-intertext can provide additional information about the author of hypotext, as illustrated in the following example:

(4)   *Petra Sitte (Die Linke): Niemand Geringerer als der Bundestagspräsident selbst hat es in seiner Antrittsrede klargestellt – ich zitiere –: "Und selbstverständlich bedarf eine geschäftsführend amtierende Bundesregierung nicht weniger parlamentarischer Kontrolle als eine neu gewählte". Und weiter in seiner Rede: "Niemand wird deshalb ernsthaft erwarten dürfen, dass der Bundestag seine Arbeit erst nach Abschluss der Koalitionsverhandlungen aufnehmen wird". Die Linke sieht das genauso. Deshalb haben wir den Antrag gestellt, und deshalb ist uns Ihr Verhalten völlig unverständlich.*
'Petra Sitte (The Left): No less a person than the President of the Bundestag has declared it in his introduction speech – I quote –: "And of course the Federal Government requires not less parliamentary control than the newly elected one". And further on in his speech: "Nobody will seriously expect that the Bundestag will start its work only after the end of coalition negotiations." The left party sees it in the same way. That is why we have proposed this motion and that is way your behavior is completely incomprehensible.' (Deutscher Bundestag 2013–2014: 70)

Fragment (4) begins with meta-intertext that is used to show the importance of the author of hypotext in political life of Germany. Pointing out the significance of the author of the quoted text gives more value to the words expressed in the parliamentary speech.

Markers pointing to the author of the hypotext are in most cases placed before the intertext at the beginning of the meta-intertextual fragment. Parliamentarians first present the person, and then quote her or him.

The importance of choosing the right person for quoting and presenting him or her in an appropriate way in the meta-intertext can be observed in the following example:

(5)   *Sahra Wagenknecht (Die Linke): Für den Fall, dass Sie mir nicht glauben, zitiere ich den Inhaber des Lehrstuhls für Finanzierung und Kreditwirtschaft an der Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Professor Stephan Paul: "Der jetzige Richtlinienentwurf macht die Tür auf und ermöglicht es, für – so heißt es dort – "gesunde Banken mit tragfähigem Geschäftsmodell" auch vorher schon – also vor der Haftung von Eigentümern und Gläubigern – Hilfszahlungen von staatlicher Seite zu gewähren. Ich frage mich an der Stelle aber: Wenn eine Bank gesund ist, wenn sie ein tragfähiges Geschäftsmodell hat, wozu braucht sie dann staatliche Hilfszahlungen"? So weit Professor Paul.*
'Sahra Wagenknecht (The Left): For the case that you don't trust me I quote the Head of the Chair of Banking and Finance at the Ruhr University Bochum, professor Stephan Paul: "The current motion opens the door and makes it possible for – as it is called there – "healthy banks with reliable business model" also before – that means

before the responsibility of owners and creditors – to be supported by the state. But I ask me at this point: When a bank is healthy, when it has a reliable business model, why does it need to be supported by the state"? So far professor Paul.' (Deutscher Bundestag 2013–2014: 244)

In (5), the parliamentarian explicitly points out that he is probably not trusted. That is why he has to quote a person that will be trusted. He presents the person quoted as *Inhaber des Lehrstuhls für Finanzierung und Kreditwirtschaft an der Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Professor Stephan Paul* 'the Head of the Chair of Banking and Finance at the Ruhr University Bochum, professor Stephan Paul'. The author of hypotext is presented as a scientist and as an independent person who can be considered as impartial, on the one side, and as a person that is of a high qualification and can make judgments about economic issues, on the other.

4.2 *Hypotext type*

Another marker type that is used in German parliamentary discourse is marker of hypotext type. This marker points to the text being quoted rather than to its author. But instead of giving specific text title, the fragment of meta-intertext mostly contains a name that can be applied to a range of similar texts.

The following names represent text types according to their belonging to a particular discourse:
– political (*Tagesordnung* 'agenda'; *Stimmkarte* 'voting card'; *Zwischenruf* 'interjection'; *Antrittsrede* 'inaugural address'; *Rede* 'speech'; *Frage* 'question' (of the parliamentarians to the ministers); *schriftliche Antwort* 'written answer' (of the ministers to the parliamentarians); *Verordnung* 'regulation'; *Ratsverordnung* 'council regulation'; *Minderheitsvotum* 'minority vote'; *Schreiben* 'letter'; *Eid* 'oath');
– juridical (*Urteil* 'judgement'*; Gesetzentwurf* 'bill');
– mass media discourse (*Interview* 'interview');
– literary discourse (*Roman* 'novel'; *Lied* 'song').

If meta-intertext contains the marker of text type, it is in most cases still possible to understand what specific text is meant. For example, the name *Grundgesetz* 'constitution' means the constitution of Germany. *Tagesordnung* 'agenda' means the document of the actual day and *Koalitionsvertrag* 'coalition agreement' means the document of the current legislation period authored by CDU/CSU and SPD.

In many cases, we get some additional information that shows what part of the text is being quoted: *Tagesordnungspunkt 1* 'agenda item 1', *Art. 38 unseres Grundgesetzes* 'Article 38 of our Constitution'.

Markers indicating the hypotext type are often combined with other markers contained in the meta-intertextual fragment. They are often used together with markers describing the author of hypotext. Meta-intertextual markers of text type are usually placed before the intertext.

4.3 *Evaluation of intertext*

Meta-intertext contains expressions that are used to evaluate the hypotext in a positive or negative way. They do not identify the hypotext, but express the author's attitude to it. The obtained results show that approximately equal number of cases with positive and negative

evaluation is used, as shown in Table 1.

Positive evaluation is expressed through adjectives with positive evaluative meaning: *schön* 'beautiful'; *richtig* 'right'; *klar* 'clear'; *gut* 'good'; expressions *zu Recht* 'rightly'; *völlig zu Recht* 'completely rightly'; *Recht haben* 'to be right'; *Recht geben* 'to agree with'.

Besides the positive evaluation, parliamentarians often use the negative evaluation of intertext. It can be expressed through combination of adjectives with positive meaning like *richtig* 'right' with the negation *nicht* 'not'. Adjectives with negative meaning are also used, e.g. *falsch* 'false'; *zynisch* 'cynical'. Other expressions used for negative evaluation are *wackelige Formulierungen* 'wobbly expressions'; *erstaunlich* 'striking'; *Unsinn* 'nonsense'; *völlig weltfremd* 'totally unworldly'.

Negative evaluation can be emphasized by using adverbs and repeating adjectives with negative evaluative meaning: *Das ist definitiv falsch. Das ist eine falsche Behauptung*. 'This is definitively wrong. This is a wrong statement.'

Negative evaluation can be expressed through pointing out the euphemistic nature of the expression used in the intertext. Parliamentarians reveal the words used by their political opponents.

(6)   *Eva Bulling-Schröter (Die Linke): Wie steht es so schön im Koalitionsvertrag: Begrenzung der „Kostendynamik beim Ausbau der erneuerbaren Energien", und man will „der Entwicklung der konventionellen Energiewirtschaft einen stabilen Rahmen" geben. Was hinter dieser Verklausulierung steht, ist ja wohl klar: Der Ausbau der Erzeugung von Energie aus Wind und Sonne wird gebremst; schwarz wie Kohle ist die Zukunft.*
        'Eva Bulling-Schröter (The Left): As it is written so beautifully in the coalition agreement: limitation of "cost dynamics by the development of renewable energies", and it is desired to give "a stable framework for the development of economy of conventional energy". It is clear what is hidden behind these formulations: The development of energy production from wind and sun will be hampered; black as coal is the future.' (Deutscher Bundestag 2013–2014: 113)

In fragment (6), we observe positive evaluation of the text written in the coalition agreement that is followed by pointing to the euphemistic nature of these words.

There is a close relation between the evaluation of the intertext by the author of text and evaluation that is made inside the intertextual fragment.

(7)   *Katja Dörner (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen): Da kritisiert der Familienbund der Katholiken völlig zu Recht, dass die neue Bundesregierung „mit einem Wortbruch in die neue Legislaturperiode" startet.*
        'Katja Dörner (Alliance 90/The Green Party): Here the Family Union of the Catholics criticizes completely rightly that the new Federal Government starts "the new legislative period breaking its oath".' (Deutscher Bundestag 2013–2014: 96).

In fragment (7), a positive evaluation of intertext by the author of text is observed. At the same time the author points out that the intertext contains critical attitude to his political opponents.

4.4 *Time of hypotext production*

Meta-intertext contains markers that point to the time when the quoted text was produced. This type of markers is usually placed after the markers of author of hypotext, but before the intertext, as in the fragment below.

(8)   *Kerstin Andreae (Büdnis 90/Die Grünen): Die Kanzlerin hat gestern gesagt, „dass wir uns unvermindert anstrengen müssen", um in die Zukunft zu investieren.*
'Kerstin Andreae (Alliance 90/The Green Party): The Chancellor said yesterday "that our efforts must continue unabated" in order to invest in the future.' (Deutscher Bundestag 2013-2014: 704)

In (8) we have marker of author of hypotext *Die Kanzlerin* 'The Chancellor' that is directly followed by the marker of time when the intertext was produced *gestern* 'yesterday'. After that comes the intertext.

The linguistic ways to represent markers of time in the meta-intertext are quite different. In some cases, markers of time are expressed through dates or expressions like *im Juli* 'in July' (that means in July this year); *vor vier Jahren* 'four years ago' (a legislative period ago)*; gestern* 'yesterday'; *vor einem Jahr* 'a year ago'; *Antwort vom 14. November* 'answer from the 14th of November'; *vor elf Monaten* 'eleven months ago'; *2012; im Mai 1996* 'in May 1996'; *Schreiben vom heutigen Tage* 'letter from today'; *vor zehn Jahren* 'ten years ago'; *einmal* 'once'; *in diesem Jahr* 'this year'; *seither* 'from that time'; *in den letzten Tagen* 'last days'.

In other cases, time markers are expressed related to some important events, as shown in the following example.

(9)   *Hans-Christian Ströbele (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen): Sie sind aus den USA zurückgekommen und haben gesagt – soll ich es Ihnen vorlesen? –: Alle Vorwürfe haben sich „in Luft aufgelöst". – Ich habe immer geguckt, weil das schon damals nicht richtig war.*
'Hans-Christian Ströbele (Alliance 90/The Green Party): You came back from the U.S. and said – shall I read it to you? –: All accusations "vanished into thin air". – I have always looked upon this because it was already not right then.' (Deutscher Bundestag 2013–2014: 51)

In fragment (9), the intertext relates to the time after visiting the U.S. by the Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel.

4.5 Quotation marker

Parliamentarians also often mark explicitly that they use quotations. In this case, the noun *Zitat* 'quotation' or the verb *zitieren* 'quote' is used.

The markers of quotation are usually placed directly before the intertext. In some cases, parliamentarians mark quotation twice: directly before and after the intertext.

(10)   *Norbert Lammert (Präsident des Bundestages): Zitat Andreas Voßkuhle: "Der Bundestag ist und bleibt der Ort, an dem die wesentlichen Entscheidungen für unser Gemeinwesen getroffen werden müssen". Ende des Zitats.*
Norbert Lammert (The President of the Bundestag): Quote Andreas Voßkuhle: 'The Bundestag is and remains the place where the important decisions for our community

have to be made". Unquote.' (Deutscher Bundestag 2013–2014: 7)

This marker type shows that it is important for parliamentarians to clearly demonstrate that these words belong not to her or him, but to another person that can be judged as impartial and enjoys much more trust. That is why the markers that point to quotation are usually combined with markers that provide us with information about the author of text. Many of these authors are not politicians but journalists, scientists or religious figures.

4.6 *Other types of intertextual markers*

Some other types of meta-intertextual markers are used in German parliamentary discourse in combination with markers of author or hypotext type.

Meta-intertext contains markers of place, though they are not as numerous as the markers of time.

(11)   *Norbert Lammert (Präsident des Bundestages): "Zur Verantwortungsübernahme durch das Parlament gibt es keine überzeugende Alternative". So hat es der Präsident des Bundesverfassungsgerichts, den Heinz Riesenhuber schon auf der Tribüne begrüßt hat, nicht nur in Interviews immer wieder festgehalten, sondern auch in einschlägigen Urteilen des Bundesverfassungsgerichts ist das so oder ähnlich nachzulesen.*
'Norbert Lammert (The President of the Bundestag): "To taking responsibility by the parliament there is no convincing alternative". So has the President of the Federal Constitutional Court, who has already been welcomed by Heinz Riesenhuber from the rostrum, pointed out, again and again, not only in the interviews, but also in the relevant judgments of the Federal Constitutional Court is it to read so or in a similar way.' (Deutscher Bundestag 2013–2014: 7)

In example (11) we observe a marker of place *auf der Tribüne* 'from the rostrum'.

Besides using common names that mark the hypotext type, hypotext titles are also sometimes provided: *Roman Kassandra* 'novel Kassandra'; *Flüchtlingsgespräche* 'Refugee Conversations', etc.

Another type of intertextual markers is the name of the recipient of hypotext. This type of markers is used mostly in combination with other markers, especially with the marker of author of hypotext.

5. Conclusion

The study has shown that the members of the German Bundestag use numerous quotations accompanied by meta-intertext to achieve their communication goals – to present their political party and to discredit political opponents. Meta-intertext presents that the author uses intertext, and contains various markers identifying and describing it. The most important are markers of author of hypotext and of hypotext type as well as expressions which evaluate the hypotext.

The findings of the study suggest that the structure of a text fragment containing intertext and meta-intertext can be represented through the sequence of various meta-intertextual markers. This sequence shows a great variation, but it is still possible to detect typical structures that are best suited to achieve the communication goals of the members of

communication in parliament. The first part of these structures is the author of hypotext or hypotext type and the second part is the intertext. If both hypotext type and author of hypotext markers are used, the first is usually placed before the latter. Important is also the sequential structure where the first part is meta-intertextual marker of author of hypotext, the second part is intertext and the third part is the evaluation of intertext. These structures can be extended through such markers as time and place, i.e. when and where the intertext was produced, and recipient of hypotext.

The description of the typology of meta-intertextual markers and their sequential structures provides an opportunity for further study of the pragmatics of using quotations in German parliamentary discourse. Pragmatics analysis will give possibility to compare the use of meta-intertext in different parliamentary cultures. Also, the study of unmarked referential intertextuality is important to reveal the overall picture of the use of intertext in German parliamentary discourse.

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