the emergence of meaning during face-to-face interactions; they provide detailed linguistic analyses of texts and their relationships to their contexts. Shown through this review is that sociolinguistic research in discourse works not only against compartmentalization within scholarship, but also against the division between scholarly and social goals, and hopefully, against the divisions among groups of people who struggle to balance autonomy with interdependence, and to maintain mutual respect for one another, in just and peaceful co-existence.

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72. Politeness Forms/Höflichkeitsformen

1. Introduction

Each language has its own possibilities for expressing politeness. The use of politeness forms is the most immediate way to express politeness toward the addressee or the situation in the immediate speaking context. In previous studies, which have mainly examined Indo-European languages, it has been claimed that such a system can be used as a strategy to show politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987). In Indo-European languages, well known examples of equivalent politeness forms would be the choice of the pronoun V (*Vous*) in contrast to T (*Tu*) and the choice of the address term TLN (Title plus Last Name) in contrast to FN (First Name) to mark politeness.

As these examples show, politeness forms are often realized at the lexical level, but they can also be realized at other levels. In many languages, there are ritualistic expressions that can be used to make discourse more polite, an example of which is the phrase "thank you" in English. Another example of a politeness strategy is the conversion of a question into a tag question. It therefore makes sense to include all types of politeness forms at all the different levels in a discussion of politeness forms, and not limit the scope to ritualistic expressions at the discourse level, question forms at the

syntactic level, or choices at the lexical level. Furthermore, in addition to the linguistic levels mentioned, some languages exhibit a system of politeness forms at the morphological level. While expressions on the lexical, syntactic, and discourse levels reflect politeness forms that speakers can use on a case by case basis, they are not part of definable sets. Honorifics are an example of a set of morphologically well-defined language forms that are used to make speech polite. Japanese is a language that has honorifics, and the study of these forms in the wider context of linguistic politeness can shed light on politeness forms in general and lead to the rethinking of their function. The goals here therefore are to review the discussion of the issue of universality in the politeness issue, to illustrate how politeness forms are used, both in non-honorific and in honorific languages at the discourse, the syntactic, the lexical and the morphological levels, and to discuss what is universal and what is not universal in politeness forms and why politeness forms are used.

2. Universal principles

Universal principles of linguistic politeness proposed by Lakoff (1973; 1975), Brown and Levinson (1987) and Leech (1983) have been supported by various studies which attempt to show the universal applicability of linguistic politeness. However, when examined in the light of languages with morphological politeness forms, their principles do not appear to explain certain factors of politeness forms. These factors are: Politeness forms are 1) limited in choice, 2) sociopragmatically obligatory, 3) chosen in accordance with a person who may be the addressee, the referent or the speaker.

In the past decade, universal principles of linguistic politeness have been reexamined by those who use a non-Indo-European perspective to investigate honorific languages (Ide 1989; Matsumoto 1989). In Brown and Levinson's framework, politeness forms are treated under strategy No. 5, negative politeness. By this is meant that politeness forms are used as a strategy according to the speaker's intention using the speaker's rationality. This explanation does not deal with the most crucial aspect of the ritualistic use of these politeness forms. A chosen politeness form is appropriate to the context, not because the choice most closely reflects the speaker's intention with regard to the topic of conversation, but purely because it is in accordance with a set pattern of language use. Brown and Levinson describe the situation of the investigation of languages with honorifics as follows: "Honorifics provide obvious and important evidence for the relation between language structure, politeness and social forces in general, yet because of the ethnocentric nature of much sociolinguistics they have been relatively neglected" (Brown and Levinson 1998, 509). There may be another reason that the study of honorifics has been limited: When one approaches a culture different from one's own, features encountered there tend to be equated with those with which one is familiar.

From the study of honorific languages, one can gain insight into the fact that politeness is often expressed in the form of pre-determined forms in both honorific and non-honorific languages. In honorific languages, the speakers' choice among the politeness forms is much constrained by the framework of honorifics themselves, while in non-honorific languages, the speakers' choice among the politeness forms is not constrained by such a linguistic framework. It can be said, however, that in all languages, politeness forms at the morphological level are the linguistic expressions most highly influenced by sociocultural expectations of how politeness should be expressed. Therefore, in different languages, there are differences in sociocultural expectations and how these expectations can be met linguistically, but in all languages, the speakers make use of politeness forms to show politeness in communication.

3. What are politeness forms?

What is politeness in language? Here, politeness in language is defined as language usage associated with smooth communication, realized 1) through the speaker's use of intentional strategies to allow the intended message to be received favorably by the addressee, and 2) through the speaker's choice of expressions to conform to the expected and/or prescribed norms of speech appropriate to the contextual situation in individual speech communities.

The following illustrations show what politeness forms are in different types of languages. Politeness forms are categorized as belonging to one of four levels; the discourse, the lexical, the syntactic, or the morphological level.

3.1. The discourse level

Examples of politeness forms are easily observed in courteous speech formulas such as 'thank you', 'excuse me' and 'it's my pleasure' in English. Such speech formulas are also observed in non-Indo-European languages; Japanese uses such expressions as '*okagesamade* (thanks to)', '*itadakimasu* (I am going to eat)', '*sumimasen* (excuse me)' and '*yoroshikuonegaishimasu* (I humbly ask you to look favorably upon me)'. Such expressions not only express the speech act, they also serve as an expression of the cultural appropriateness of the communication. Ide (1998) examined the expression '*sumimasen* (excuse me)' in Japanese and showed that the expression functions as one of the ritualized formulae used in Japanese society to facilitate public face-to-face interaction.

3.2. The syntactic level

The use of politeness forms on the syntactic level is also observed in various languages. For example, in English, paraphrasing a statement into a question, adding a tag question, use of the past or the progressive tenses, or negation are among the many devices that can make statements seem less imposing on the addressee (e.g., 'Would you open the window?', 'Will you open the window', 'Open the window, will you?).

In Japanese, too, the choice of syntactic structure can be seen as an example of politeness forms. The following three examples illustrate this:.

(1) Mado-wo akete kudasai.
Window-OBJ open please
'Please open the window.'

(2) Mado-wo akete kudasai masu ka?
Window-OBJ open please HON Q
'Would you please open the window?'

(3) Mado-wo akete kudasai mase-n ka?
Window-OBJ open please HON-NEG Q
'Would you mind opening the window?'

Example (1) is a basic form of asking a favor of someone. By making a statement into a question as in example (2), the utterance becomes more polite than the basic form. When the question is further transformed into a negative question as in example (3), the utterance becomes even more polite than the question in (2).

3.3. The lexical level

In many Indo-European languages, the plural pronoun V as opposed to T (e.g., *vous* as opposed to *tu* in French) is used as a singular high level form (Brown and Gilman 1960). V-forms function as polite forms. The contrast of politeness vs. non-politeness forms is observed in lexical forms such as 'hello' vs. 'hi', and 'purchase' vs. 'buy' and 'dine' vs. 'eat'. (While speakers often interpret these as differences in the level of formality, formality is of course basically a question of politeness.) Also in English, TLN (Title plus Last Name) as opposed to FN (First Name) is a politeness form.

In Japanese, too, the choice of address terms can be seen as an example of politeness forms at the lexical level. As in many other languages around the world, TLN (Title plus Last Name) as in '*Yamadakachoo* (LN-department chief)' when addressing the boss at the office, and '*Sato-sensei* (LN-teacher)' when addressing the teacher at school is used in Japanese.

3.4. The morphological level

It is at the morphological level that a feature becomes apparent that has no direct equivalent in Indo-European languages, a feature that has proved so difficult to include in overall theories of linguistic politeness.

In honorific languages like Japanese, a system of politeness forms on the morphological level is apparent. In Japanese, honorifics are expressed by means of changing the shape of predicative elements and can be divided into two types: referent honorifics and addressee honorifics. Referent honorifics occur when the noun phrases of a sentence refer to someone toward whom respect is due. The first type, referent honorifics, can be further divided into two types: subject honorifics and object honorifics. The former represents the speaker's respectful attitude toward the subject referents, while the latter expresses the speaker's attitude of humility toward the referent of a non-subject noun phrase.

(4) *#Sensei-wa kore-o yonda.*
Prof.-TOP this-OBJ read(PAST)
#'The professor read this.'

(5) *Sensei-wa kore-o oyomi-ni-natta.*
Prof.-TOP this-OBJ read
(REF.HONO.PAST)
'The professor read this.'

Subject honorifics are used when the subject noun phrase refers to a person toward whom

the speaker is expected to show great respect. They involve the prefix *o(go)* and the ending *ni naru*, which is attached to the infinitive form of a verb. Only the prefix is attached when the predicate is an adjective or a nominal adjective. In (5), the subject honorific form is used in referring to the action of a person of higher status, in this case a professor. This is because the social rules of Japanese society require one to use these forms to a high status person like a professor.

(6) *#Sensei-ni kore-o tazuneru.*
Professor-DAT this-OBJ ask
#'I ask this of the professor.'

(7) *Sensei-ni kore-o otazune-suru.*
Professor-DAT this-OBJ ask(HON)
'I ask this of the professor.'

The other type of referent honorifics, object honorifics, occurs in connection with non-subject noun phrases. These honorifics involve the prefix *o(go)* and the ending *suru* attached to the infinitive form of a verb. In (7), the object honorific form is used to show the speaker's attitude of humility when talking about a person of higher status, in this case a professor. In the examples (5) and (7), subject-predicate concord of honorifics is observed. These examples show that the use of politeness forms is the sociopragmatic equivalent of grammatical concord, and may thus be termed sociopragmatic concord, because the honorific used must "agree" with the relative status of the person referred to. Subject-predicate concord in Japanese honorifics is determined by the social rules of the society. In Japanese society, (5) and (7) are appropriate, but (4) and (6) are not.

The other type of honorifics is addressee honorifics. Addressee honorifics occur when the speaker's respectful attitude toward the addressee must be expressed. These honorifics are a feature of the entire discourse, in contrast to the referent honorifics mentioned above. They are determined by the status of the person the speaker is talking to, not talking about.

(8) *Kyou-wa doyoubi da.*
Today-TOP Saturday COP (plain)
'Today is Saturday.'

(9) *Kyou-wa doyobi desu.*
Today-TOP Saturday COP (polite)
'Today is Saturday.'

(10) *Kyou-wa doyoubi degozaimasu.*
Today-TOP Saturday COP (super-polite)
'Today is Saturday.'

Matsumoto (1989, 209) discusses the obligatory choice of plain forms or politeness forms of copulas in Japanese, illustrating three variants of 'Today is Saturday', all of which are non-FTA (Face Threatening Act) utterances. In (8), the plain form is used. In (9), the politeness form is used. In (10), the super politeness form is used. Matsumoto (1989, 209) states that even in such cases of non-FTA utterances, the speaker is required to make an obligatory choice among the variants, with or without politeness forms, according to the formality of the setting and the relationship among the participants.

4. How and why are politeness forms used?

4.1. Pitfalls in cross-cultural interpretation

In the previous section, the use of linguistic politeness at four levels of language use was illustrated. In general, politeness seems common and quite similar in Indo-European and non-Indo-European cultures. All cultures recognize certain types of behaviour as courteous, mannerly, respectful, formal or gracious, and differentiate these behaviours from their opposites.

As Gearing (1971) has pointed out, observers of cultures other than their own tend to identify acts and circumstances as they would identify them in their own culture. He gave as an example the case of a Fox Indian giving another Fox a blanket, which appeared to be a generous act, and he felt justified in concluding that "the Fox are generous". It was only later, after he had spent time with the Fox, that he realized that Fox A was culturally required to give Fox B the blanket at that time, and therefore Fox A could more accurately be described as being culturally adequate or culturally appropriate. Thus, what appeared to the outsider to be generous behaviour was in fact viewed within the society as appropriate, not generous.

All cultures have specific views on what is considered appropriate behaviour in different circumstances within that culture, and such views are generally known, understood and shared. Almost every facet of cultural activity has a range of appropriate behaviours, and socialization within a society focusses on teaching children the ranges of behaviour felt to be appropriate, from table manners and clothing to interaction with all

varieties of individuals and institutions. The guest at a black tie event who shows up in blue jeans does not go unnoticed, just as wearing an evening dress to a church picnic would generally not be considered appropriate. Both cases illustrate examples where sociopragmatic concord is lacking. Belching, pointing a finger at another person, bowing, hand-shaking, and gift-giving are but a few of the kinds of behaviour cultures define in terms of appropriateness, and where agreement between the circumstances and the behaviour are valued.

Language, of course, is a part of culturally defined behaviour, and thus is no exception. Grace (1993) has pointed out that the idea of "a language" is a very Indo-European idea, unknown in many of the Pacific Island communities he investigated. People talk to be understood by their neighbors, the people in the next village, or visitors from afar. They know they have to talk differently with different people, and they talk however they must talk to be effective. Wandruska (1979) has examined the concept in Indo-European cultures, and concluded that, completely aside from the question of dialects, each "language" is, in fact, many different languages, and one does well to speak differently to one's boss than to one's dog. Such differences reflect appropriateness in different circumstances, and take both the participants and the specific situation into account.

Many westerners have observed that the Japanese system of honorifics was exceedingly complex and difficult, because they see adults reading books on the topic, anxious to learn to use them correctly. In fact, appropriate adult behaviour is learned over a long period in all cultures by being exposed to surroundings where such behaviour is practiced. However, those behaviours not customary in one's surroundings must be learned in another way. Thus, there are occurrences such as books by "Miss Manners" in the United States or dancing school lessons in many Indo-European countries. People learn to use the grammatical system of their native language automatically, and speakers seldom regard their language as difficult. However, when they relocate or change their social position, they often must learn new facets of their native language.

Some forms of linguistic politeness (such as "please") are optional, so the use of such forms emphasizes the intended politeness. They could be viewed as marked forms. This contrasts with Japanese honorifics, in that their correct usage is not felt by the society to be optional. A speaker cannot NOT use some form, so every utterance requires some choice, and every choice is more or less appropriate. The omission of honorifics in cases where they are felt to be appropriate is not so much impolite (and certainly not an insult), but rather inappropriate.

4.2. "*Wakimae*"

Wakimae, a term introduced by Hill et al. (1986) and Ide (1989), refers to sets of social norms defining appropriate behavior that people have to observe in order to be considered polite in the society in which they live. One is polite only to the extent one behaves in congruence with the expected norms in a certain situation, in a certain culture and society. The *wakimae* type of linguistic politeness proposes a framework which takes account of the use of such politeness forms in languages with honorifics, and includes such features as honorifics, address terms, pronouns, and speech formulas. It also incorporates the politeness forms which have been traditionally termed linguistic etiquette and protocol.

Hill et al. (1986) conducted an empirical study and came to the conclusion that Japanese linguistic politeness, as compared with American linguistic politeness, tends to be determined by the *wakimae* type of language use. The analysis was made by giving the same questionnaire to both Japanese and American students. They were asked to choose from a list of expressions those they would use to request a pen from various categories of people.

Comparing figures 72.1 and 72.2, it is found that although both Japanese and American English speakers show graded responses in which the relative ranking of an addressee correlates with the relative politeness of the linguistic form, Japanese subjects' responses cluster more tightly than do those of the Americans. Specifically, Japanese responses cluster more tightly within two larger groupings. The one grouping reflects the fact that speakers of Japanese would use the expressions with politeness forms to *soto* (out-group) people such as people with higher status or strangers. The other grouping shows that speakers of Japanese would use the expressions without politeness forms to *uchi* (in-group) people such as people of

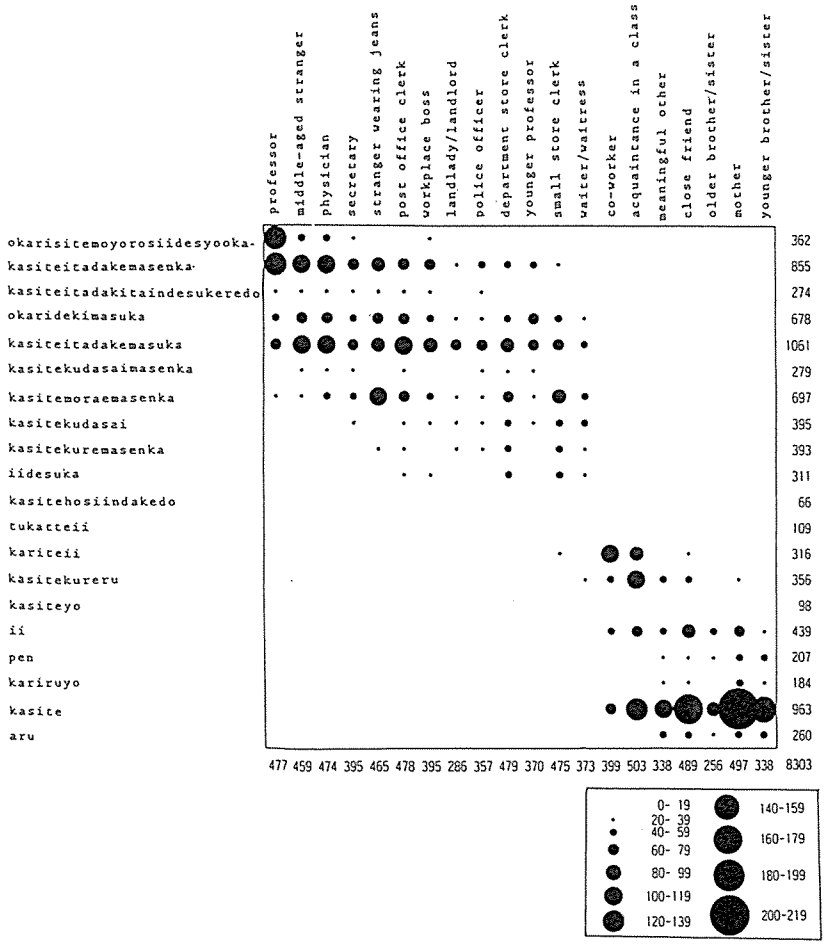

Fig. 72.1: Correlations of Request Forms and People Categories – Japanese

equal status or familiar persons. In other words, expressions used toward *soto* (outgroup) members contain politeness forms and addressee honorifics, while the expressions used toward *uchi* (in-group) members do not. Examining figure 72.2,. it can be said that the clearer the distinction between the white area and the dotted area, the higher the relative weight of discernment. However, some expressions, such as 'Could I borrow ...?', 'Can I borrow ...?' and 'Can I use ...?', are used for almost all the categories of people. The distribution of responses is broad, with little compartmentalization. This result from American English speakers shows that the discernment aspect of politeness forms in American English has a lower degree of relevance.

This difference between Japanese and American English provides a clue to finding

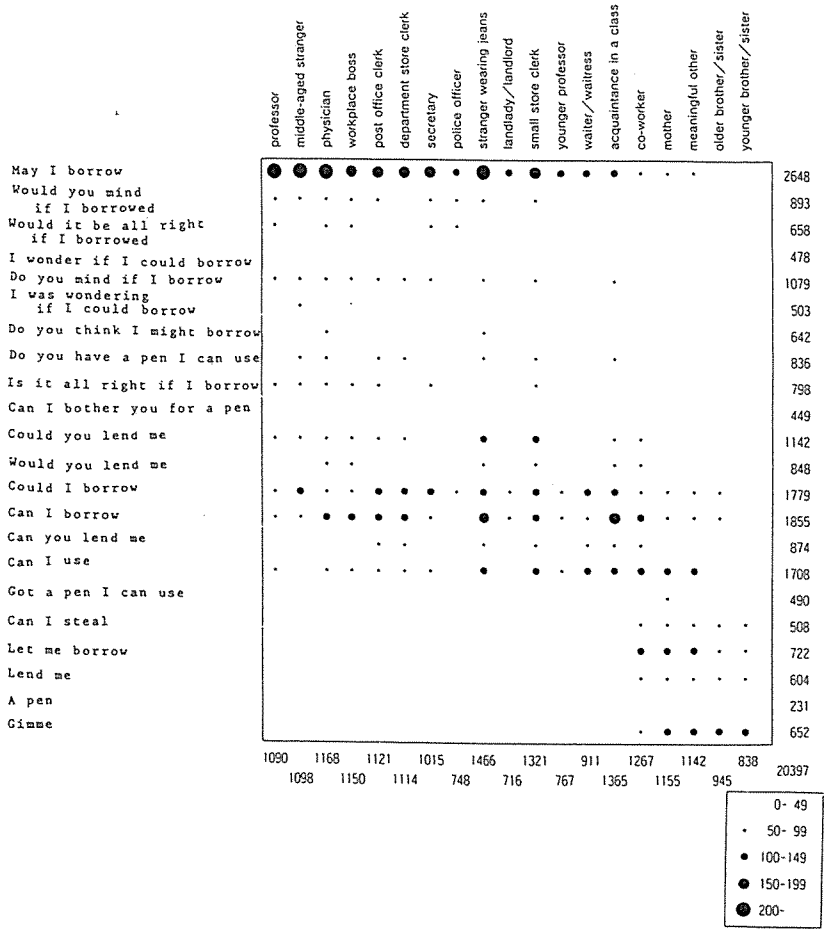

Fig. 72.2: Correlations of Request Forms and People Categories – American English

the key factor that determines how Japanese people characterize Japanese politeness forms according to *wakimae*. In Hill et al., the Japanese speakers were obliged to make choices among linguistic forms with or without honorifics. This shows that the speaker of an honorific language has to be sensitive to the levels of formality of the immediate context, just as a native speaker of English, for example, must be sensitive to the countable and non-countable property of things because of the grammatical distinction between count and mass nouns in English. To the extent the linguistic system of a language provides a linguistic system of politeness forms such as honorifics, the greater will be the part the *wakimae* aspect of language use plays in the language. It follows that speakers of languages with honorific systems like Japanese have a strong con-

cern for the *wakimae* aspect of linguistic politeness.

Sanada (1993) also presents conclusive empirical research demonstrating clearly that the use of honorifics in Japanese is governed by *wakimae*. Sanada made a detailed study of the use of honorifics by every member of a hamlet where only six families live in six households. This research was conducted in the early 1970s. The reason for introducing it here with the figure is that it shows prototypical *wakimae*.

As figure 72.3 shows, the choices of honorifics are determined by the referent's or addressee's family status and age. What is remarkable in reading these figures is that the same honorific form is used to the same listener or about the same referent regardless of who is speaking. This shows the extent to which the choice of expressions is determined by cultural appropriateness, as well as the overwhelming agreement in the community about what constitutes appropriate behaviour. Unlike the Indo-European tradition of speaking, in which the speaker actively chooses expressions according to current intentions, these speakers are unanimous in their choice of expressions according to the status and age of the referents and addressees. The speaker's mind is geared toward matching the social norm to the context, and to asking "what is supposed to be used, what is appropriate?" instead of asking "what seems indicated at the moment?". The speaker thus expresses the *wakimae* type of politeness by conforming to the social norm. This is not to say that the speakers perform this matching in a painstaking, step by step process consciously. On the contrary, they perform this evaluation automatically, since it is as much a routine part of speaking the language as making subjects and verbs agree in Indo-European languages.

If a person in the hamlet did not use the linguisitic form expected in that community and to that particular listener, but used an alternate form which would be standard form for an outsider, it would convey a clear message. Silverstein (1976, 35) described the multifunction of language use in context as presupposed or creative. Viewed from that perspective, the *wakimae* use of language discussed here equates to the presupposed use. A violation of that presupposed use would be 'creative use', because there is a clear rule. Any time that rule is not adhered to, the meaning conveyed is that the speaker either does not know the rule, or wants to highlight a lack of agreement with the rule, and thus with society.

What figure 72.3 illustrates is that the essence of *wakimae* is language use prescribed by the social norm, not a system to be employed as the individual chooses or in accordance with momentary intentions. It is easy to understand that this way of using a language conveys politeness when the individual is seen as a part of the whole, the whole consisting of partners, family, community, town, city, country, the globe, and nature. This view is important in Japanese traditional philosophy, where they conceive of ourselves as a part of nature.

Why does matching linguistic forms to the expected social norm make speech polite? According to the definition of politeness in language use offered at the outset, polite speech is partially realized through the speaker's choice of expressions to conform to the expected and/or prescribed norms of speech appropriate to the contextual situation in individual speech communities. This can be described as concord of linguistic form with the contextual situation, or sociopragmatic concord. Speakers of honorific languages react to incorrect sociopragmatic concord in the same way speakers of Indo-European languages respond to incorrect subject-predicate concord. Just as a speaker of a Indo-European language feels that a plural verb "fits" a plural subject, speakers of languages with honorifics react to the fit exhibited by a pragmatically well formed utterance. Whether pragmatic concord is equal to positive politeness or negative politeness is difficult to determine. This type of politeness may be different from what Brown and Levinson defined as politeness, which is geared to the primacy of the individual speaker and the individual hearer, because this type of politeness puts much larger elements into focus. While a Indo-European language focuses on the coherence at sentence level, an honorific language like Japanese focusses on the coherence realized by the matching of language use and the contextual situation. The difference is the speakers' perspective in language use.

These examples illustrate the various functions of politeness forms in indexing speakers' acknowledgment of their sense of place in relation to both the situational and the social context. The use of honorifics expresses the appropriate relationship between

Speakers

Listeners

	u 88 女	k 86 男	n 84 男	k 83 女	n 73 女	u 66 女	j 65 女	k 58 男	t 52 男	t 52 女	a 48 男	a 46 女	n 44 男	j 43 男	n 43 女	k 44 女	j 39 女	t 33 男	t 27 女	n 22 男	a 21 男	t 19 女	k 17 女	j 16 女	k 15 男	j 14 女
u 88 女	\	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	<	○	○	○	○	<	<	<
k 86 男	○	\	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	<	○	○	○	○	<	<	<
n 84 男	●	●	\	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	<	<	<
k 83 女	○	*	○	\	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	<	○	○	○	○	<	<	<
n 73 女	●	●	○	●	\	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	<	<	<
u 66 女	○	○	○	○	○	\	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	<	○	○	○	○	<	<	<
j 65 女	○	○	○	○	○	○	\	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	<	○	○	○	○	<	<	<
k 58 男	○	*	○	○	○	○	○	\	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	<	○	○	○	○	<	<	<
t 52 男	○	○	○	○	○	○	●	○	\	●	○	●	○	○	●	●	●	<	○	○	●	○	<	<	<	<
t 52 女	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	*	\	○	●	○	○	○	○	○	<	○	○	○	○	<	<	<	<
a 48 男	●	○	●	●	●	●	●	○	○	●	\	<	●	●	●	●	●	<	<	●	*	●	<	<	<	<
a 46 女	●	○	●	●	●	●	●	○	○	●	*	\	○	●	●	●	●	<	<	<	<	*	<	<	<	<
n 44 男	●	●	○	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	○	●	\	●	●	●	●	<	<	*	●	<	<	<	<	<
j 43 男	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	●	○	●	○	\	●	○	<	<	<	●	<	<	<	<	<	<
n 43 女	●	●	○	●	○	●	●	●	●	●	○	○	*	●	\	●	<	<	<	*	●	<	<	<	<	<
k 44 女	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	*	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	\	<	<	○	○	○	<	<	<	<	<
j 39 女	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	*	○	○	\	<	○	○	○	<	<	<	<	<
t 33 男	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	○	●	○	<	○	○	<	<	<	\	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<
t 27 女	*	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	*	*	*	<	○	○	<	○	<	<	\	<	<	<	<	<	<	<
n 22 男	○	*	*	*	*	●	●	*	*	●	*	<	*	<	*	<	<	<	<	\	*	<	<	<	*	<
a 21 男	○	*	*	○	○	<	●	*	*	<	*	*	*	●	<	<	<	<	*	*	\	<	<	<	*	<
t 19 女	*	*	*	*	*	*	○	*	*	*	*	*	<	*	<	<	○	<	<	*	*	\	<	<	*	<
k 17 女	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	\	<	*	<
j 16 女	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	\	*	*
k 15 男	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	\	*
j 14 女	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	\

● *ikassaru* (High Honorific)
○ *ikyaru* (Honorific)
< *ikareru* (New Honorific)
* *iku* (Neutral)

男 = male
女 = female

Fig. 72.3: 'Where are you going?' (Individuals are identified by a letter indicating the household to which they belong, followed by age) (Sanada 1993, 84)

the speaker and the hearer and at the same time it expresses the speaker's attributes or identities. (By identity is meant the fact that, at different times, a person can be a teacher talking to a pupil at school, a shopper talking to a clerk at a store, and a friend in a group). In this sense, honorifics do more than express the contextual information of the immediate speaking contexts. Honorifics can index the speakers' acknowledgment of the social norm of behaviour. If honorifics are used appropriately according to the social norm, *wakimae*, a person is likely to be judged as a person who has a sense of cultural appropriateness.

Studies of honorific languages suggest that speakers subconsciously carry on a continuous and complex analysis of a variety of factors while speaking. These factors include the speaker's relationship with the addressee, the situation in which the communication is taking place, the attributes of the speaker and the identity of the speaker. Ide (1989) explains that the speakers first acknowledge a variety of factors and then choose the linguistic forms which index the all the contextual factors. Therefore, it is important that speakers establish a fit between their comprehension of the contextual factors and the system of language. Hanks (1996,193) describes what speakers must have as "... the ability to judge the fit between a linguistic form and the immediate context of its production". This fit is exactly what is described here as pragmatic concord according to *wakimae*.

ABBREVIATIONS
COP copula
DAT dative
HON honorific
NEG negation
OBJ object
PAST past
Q question
REF referent
TOP topic

5. Literature (selected)

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73. Text/Text

1. Text/Diskurs

1.1. Definitionen

Der Begriff des *Texts* teilt das Schicksal vieler, gerade zentraler Begriffe der Sprachwissenschaft wie etwa *Wort* oder *Satz*: Jede Definition steht in Konkurrenz zu einem alltagssprachlichen Vorverständnis. *Text* wird dem Bild gegenübergestellt in der Bildunterschrift, den Noten im Liedtext, der Bibelauslegung im Unterschied zur Heiligen Schrift, entsprechend variiert der Umfang zwischen mindestens einem Wort und mehrseitigen Ausführungen. Verbindende Elemente eines solchen Alltagsverständnisses von *Text* wären etwa: Schriftlichkeit, nicht veränderbare Formulierung, Abgeschlossenheit.

In der Sprachwissenschaft hat dieser Begriff zunächst eine Erweiterung dergestalt erfahren, dass auch mündliche Diskurse eingeschlossen wurden: „Text (wird) als Summe aller kommunikativen Signale verstanden, d.h. dass auch nonverbale Zeichen wie Mimik, Gesten, Bilder, Verkehrszeichen u.a.m. unter dem Oberbegriff Text subsumiert werden" (Bußmann 1983, 535). Auch wir werden im letzten Teil dieses Artikels (4.4.) einen solchen weiten Textbegriff in der Tradition der Rhetorik (zur Rhetorik als Vorläufer der Textlinguistik vgl. Kalverkämper 2000) zu Grunde legen, wenn neben den verbalen Zeichen auch andere, die Situation und die Finalität der Handlung beeinflussenden kontextuellen Phänomene in die Beschreibung einbezogen werden, um dem Ziel einer Rekonstruktion des im sozialen Kontext bedeutsamen Sinns der sprachlichen Handlung näher zu kommen.

In der Wissenschaftsgeschichte scheint die Verwendung eines literale und orale Texte umfassenden Textbegriffs in engem Zusammenhang mit der Notwendigkeit zu stehen, die Ausweitung des Gegenstandes der Linguistik auf mündliche Sprache einerseits zu rechtfertigen, andererseits zu kaschieren, indem indirekt behauptet wurde, die Beschäftigung mit mündlicher Rede sei lediglich eine Beschäftigung mit einer anderen Art von Texten (vgl. 1.4.). Das Bedürfnis nach einem die beiden möglichen medialen Erscheinungsformen überwindenden gemeinsamen Oberbegriff wurde nicht nur mit dem Begriff *Text* erprobt, sondern auch mit dem Begriff *Diskurs*. Insbesondere in einer gesellschaftskritisch ausgerichteten Theorie der mit dem Sprechen und Schreiben verknüpften Machtausübung entfalteten zunächst französische Wissenschaftler den Begriff des *discours*, der in einer demokratischen Gesellschaft die Teilhabe von Individuen und sozialen Gruppen am Entscheidungsprozess und den Zugang zu den in diesem Zusammenhang zu verteilenden gesellschaftlichen Gütern wesentlich mitbestimmt (vgl. auch 3.2.). Die Arbeiten von Jacques Derrida (1967), besonders aber die von Michel Foucault (1963; 1971; 1972; 1975), zuletzt die Arbeiten von Pierre Bourdieu (1972; 1984; 1993) stießen auch in anderen Sprachräumen auf eine große Resonanz und die daran anknüpfende kritische Diskursanalyse (vgl. 3.3.) hat Eingang in den sprachwissenschaftlichen Kanon in vielen Ländern der Erde gefunden (Wodak 1998; Fairclough 1997; 1999).

Aus einem mittlerweile erreichten historischen Abstand lassen sich jedoch auch für eine inhaltliche Trennung der Begriffe *Text* und *Diskurs* gute Gründe nennen. In diesem Fall soll naheliegender Weise das Charakteristikum der Schriftlichkeit konstitutiv für *Text* sein, für mündliche Rede wäre im Gegensatz dazu die Bezeichnung *Diskurs* zu wählen.

The terms *text* and *discourse* need a deductive determination of their value in the whole of linguistic action. Their interchange in linguistic literature does not contribute to a better understanding but hinders a thorough analysis of the phenomena under consideration. One consequence of the indiscriminate use of the two terms in newer literature is the simple application of terms like *action* etc. to *text*. This application in general simply uses either the term *text* or the term *action* or both terms in a metaphorical way, without indicating the exact value of either of the terms in a larger theoretical framework. (...) The use of metaphors in science underlies specific constraints with regard to their formation and application. (I would not agree that metaphors should be totally eliminated from scientific discourse. Instead, precision in the determination of **what** semantic parts are actualized to do **what** job in meaning, is necessary.) (Ehlich 1992, 21–22)

Obwohl wir diese Unterscheidung für gut heißen, wird aufgrund der angesprochenen Tradition im Folgenden von Diskursen und Texten unter dem Oberbegriff *Text* die Rede sein, insbesondere soll die Ebene der diesen zu Grunde liegenden Diskurstraditionen bzw. Texttypen berücksichtigt werden. Die Wahl für *Text* als Oberbegriff betont einerseits die philologische Traditionslinie, für die Texte schon immer der ausgewählte Gegenstand waren (vgl. Aschenberg, die von einer *hermeneutisch verstandenen Textlinguistik* spricht, 1999, 5), andererseits lässt sie erkennen, dass auch bei der Beschäftigung mit Diskursen die Übertragung ins schriftliche Medium mit allen damit verknüpften Verkürzungen und Veränderungen erst die Grundlage für die wissenschaftliche Analyse schafft (zur Bias der Linguistik und der schriftlichen Form vgl. Linell 1982; Ehlich 1992). Die dabei entstehenden Texte schaffen die Daten für eine qualitative Forschung, die sich in den Sozialwissenschaften einschließlich der Ethnographie und der Psychologie mittlerweile etabliert hat (Bohnsack 1993; Flick 1995b; Berg/Fuchs 1993). Gerade auch für diejenigen, die sich soziolinguistischen Ansätzen verpflichtet sehen, ist insofern ein umfassender Textbegriff bedeutsam, der die Gemeinsamkeiten mit den angrenzenden Disziplinen durchscheinen lässt.