

Sociolinguistics Soziolinguistik

An International Handbook of the Science
of Language and Society

Ein internationales Handbuch zur Wissenschaft
von Sprache und Gesellschaft

2nd completely revised and extended edition
2., vollständig neu bearbeitete und erweiterte
Auflage

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Preface

A. Preliminaries

Since the first edition of the handbook “Sociolinguistics/Soziolinguistik”, the discipline has changed considerably and undergone important developments. It has moved beyond the discussion of linguistic barriers and has started to investigate language from many new points of view as a phenomenon that is determined by society and affects society in its turn. In the course of this development, sociolinguistics has left behind its earlier status of interdisciplinarity (a “hyphenated” discipline) and has become independent. It is now established on a world-wide basis. It is true that within institutions it is still often situated within linguistics and also partly within sociology, but there are now numerous independent institutes for sociolinguistics quite separate from other disciplines. They represent important sources of information that can be consulted in both scientific and practical investigations.

The growth of the field of sociolinguistics is also reflected in the sheer number of publications among which there are several, firmly established journals as well as other, sometimes competing, handbooks. Whereas *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, ed. by Florian Coulmas (Oxford, UK/Malden, Mass. 1997) is considerably shorter than our handbook, the *Concise Encyclopedia of Sociolinguistics*, ed. by Raj Mesthrie (Amsterdam etc. 2001) has a more similar format. However, the fact that their contents differ significantly illustrates the multifaceted perceptions of the discipline’s structure. The editors of the present handbook hope that it will provide meaningful additions to already existent reference books.

This new edition of the handbook emphasizes the specific nature and autonomy of the discipline more strongly than the first edition of 1987/1988. Moreover it is much broader in scope, extending to all parts of the globe. It is intended to give a worldwide overview of the many and varied endeavours in sociolinguistics. To this end at least all the larger countries of the world are included in the section that gives a regional overview (the present **Section IX**). Concern for global representativeness was also one of the motives for adding Peter Trudgill to the team of editors. His collaboration guarantees both a larger regional spread and greater representativeness within the discipline. For the same reason, this second edition sees the replacement of some authors and the addition of new ones.

Of course, some elements had to be taken over from the earlier edition. However, because the discipline has developed, no single article could remain unchanged. Even where titles have remained the same, a thorough reworking of the articles themselves proved necessary. Generally, this was not just a question of leaving out dated ideas and adding more recent research, but required a more fundamental reformulation. Each article had to be made to fit in with the changed concept of the handbook, in which many new areas have been separated out and areas that were originally seen as distinct have been brought together.

This new conception can clearly be seen in the increased number of sections in a different sequence, and in changes to their titles. A new first section is dedicated to the discipline's specific object of study: the relationship between language and society. This reflects the fact that in many areas this object of study has now developed relatively clearly and quite separately from other disciplines. On the other hand, it no longer seemed necessary to discuss the theoretical foundations of this now well-established discipline in a separate chapter; in many respects they are much the same as those of the other social sciences. Today sociology and social psychology no longer serve as the foundation for sociolinguistics since this has become autonomous and indeed is nowadays frequently seen as itself the foundation for the other two sciences. The historical circumstances surrounding the genesis of sociolinguistics have therefore become less important; and the discipline itself has become increasingly able to solve its own problems of systematic description and explanation. This means that the specific methodology of the discipline can now be presented in a more coherent way in a single section (there were formerly three sub-headings). Just as regional coverage has been expanded by the addition of regions from all over the world, so too all the other sections have been expanded by the addition of new themes which did not appear to be relevant, or at least not obviously so, at the time the first edition was being prepared.

Besides regional and disciplinary representativeness, we have tried to achieve encyclopaedic usefulness for all potential readers. To this end we offer theoretical depth and stringency for those interested in theory, as well as methodological richness and detail for the empirical researchers. The methodological presentations are intended to be informative and precise so that they can serve directly as a preparatory stage in the conception of projects. Likewise, the presentation in the articles concerned with practical application is, as a rule, concrete enough for practitioners to be able to assess precisely what they can expect sociolinguistics to contribute to the solution of their problems.

Finally, it seems to be appropriate to remark upon the bilingual nature of this handbook which, considering the present predominance of the English language in science, may appear almost outdated. However, by choosing two languages, the editors wanted to point out that sophisticated studies in sociolinguistics produced in other language communities have often gone unnoticed due to the narrow focus on the English-speaking world. For practical reasons, German was chosen to highlight the value of multilingualism. Nevertheless, the growing importance of English as the global language of science was taken into account by including more English contributions than in the first edition.

B. The Sections in Detail

I. The Subject Matter of Sociolinguistics

This section presents an initial look at the whole discipline, focusing on the present areas of interest of sociolinguistics and largely excluding the history of the discipline and its theoretical conception. It is also not our intention to present detailed results: more crucial is what sociolinguists actually do nowadays and why they do it. A series of themes come to the fore which were not considered in the first edition of the handbook and are a consequence of the changed structure of the subject.

One of the overriding questions of the first section is how to present the varied research premises and aims of the different representatives of the discipline. Many who work within the discipline use an approach which differs little from that common in general linguistics. They are mainly interested in a deeper understanding of human language, its structures and speakers' behaviour, and the nature of language change. These include representatives of generally recognized sociolinguistic disciplines; or those that overlap with sociolinguistics, such as psycholinguistics, social dialectology, geolinguistics, and certain strands of language contact research such as the linguistic investigation of pidgins and creoles.

At the other extreme there are quite a number of researchers who often consider themselves sociolinguists or who are so categorized by others. They are mainly interested in sociological, anthropological or socio-psychological problems. The linguistic data they examine serve to provide them with a deeper understanding of human societies or their structures and conditions of change. They are thus not interested in a deeper understanding of the structures and structural properties of language. In their case, it is particularly obvious that they do not work within sociolinguistics proper; that is why they appear in **Section VI** "Neighbouring Disciplines".

Other researchers have tried from the beginning to combine linguistic and sociological perspectives, developing independent approaches and knowledge. These approaches can be seen in terms like "The Sociology of Language", "Interactional Sociolinguistics", "Discourse Analysis", "Conversation Analysis", "Social Psychology of Language", "Anthropological Linguistics" and "Ethnography of Speaking". Most of the research areas designated by these terms do not simply form sub-areas of sociolinguistics, but also deal with non-sociolinguistic questions; nevertheless, they all contain essential sociolinguistic elements. In **Section 1** an attempt has thus been made to reveal, amongst this plethora of terms, the nature of sociolinguistics as a coherent area of study

II. Basic Sociolinguistic Concepts

In contrast to the first section, which is orientated towards the subject matter, **the second section** is more theoretical in its approach. Those elements of developing sociolinguistic theory that have become established concepts with their own terminology are dealt with individually. An important subset of basic sociolinguistic concepts relates to types of linguistic systems conceived of in broadly sociological terms. This was the case in the first edition too; however, the concepts handled here are more varied and new ones have been added.

A second group of concepts consists of types of societies or sections of society seen from the perspective of communication theory. This group includes varieties of language as well as linguistically governed processes of socialization.

This last area in particular has been extended by the addition of concepts which do not appear in the first edition: "Concentration and Diffusion", "Domain" and "Code-Switching". The types of society as defined in terms of linguistics or communication theory, and the concepts associated with them, have not been expanded since the first edition; but it is important to note that recent developments, many of which are permanent, have been properly taken into account by the authors. The types of linguistic system determined from a broadly sociological point of view have been considerably expanded and further differentiated in comparison with the first edition. So, for

example, “Dialect” is distinguished from “Language” and connected with “Accent”. “Vernacular” is related to “Nonstandard” and distinguished from “Slang”. “Antilanguage” has been added to the latter term. “Style” and “Register” too have been re-evaluated on the basis of more recent, more extensive research in individual articles. The series “First Language – Second Language – Native Language – Foreign Language” has been divided into two articles on the basis of clearer conceptual distinctions.

This section does not deal with detailed presentation of all the research into these basic sociolinguistic concepts but mainly with their clarification. “Basic concept” is not meant here in the sense in which it is used in calculus, that is as a non-definable concept, but with the meaning ‘fundamental concept’. In individual instances it may well be the case that, given the present state of research, the concept cannot be defined in a strict sense. More than other sections, **Section II** also serves as a reference list for unknown terms. For this reason a concise presentation was aimed at throughout and unnecessary elaborations were avoided.

III. Sociological Concepts

As in **Section II**, this section was not intended as a detailed discussion of theoretical connections or empirical findings. The aim was rather to discuss the most important sociological and socio-psychological concepts and to include sociological questions posed by them, insofar as they are relevant to sociolinguistics. Dividing up two large areas of knowledge – sociology and social psychology – into individual research concepts which are often connected with certain sociological or socio-psychological research projects is of necessity problematical and cannot lead to a consistent picture of “society” as the object of study. The criterion for deciding to include a concept in this series of topics was not its significance for sociology or social psychology, but exclusively its relevance to sociolinguistics.

This last aim was used to structure the articles in general. The concepts presented are integrated into the study of sociolinguistics at the beginning and at the end of each article. First their relevance to sociolinguistic research is briefly sketched in each case. Then they are presented from a sociological or socio-psychological perspective in relation to the most recent state of research, in such a way that different conceptual traditions are highlighted. Finally, the concepts discussed are once more placed firmly in the context of sociolinguistic questions and problems.

It is sometimes difficult to separate specifically sociolinguistic terms from those of neighbouring disciplines. One example is the article “Domains”, which has been taken out of this section in the second edition and included amongst the sociolinguistic concepts (**Section II**). The concept “Community”, on the other hand, has enough theoretical independence to warrant separate treatment alongside the article “Speech Community” dealt with in **Section II**. At first glance it appears that concepts such as “Age” and “Sex”, which are clearly basic sociological concepts, are missing. However, they have acquired such a close connection with sociolinguistic problems that it seems appropriate to present them in **Section VIII** under the results of sociolinguistic research.

To associate concepts unambiguously with sociology or with social psychology is often dubious from a sociolinguistic perspective. Certainly “Religion”, “Orders and Castes” and “Minority” are essentially sociological concepts, whereas “Attitude”,

“Identity” and “Prestige and Stigma” are mainly socio-psychological concepts. Articles dealing with themes such as “Role”, “Norm” and “Network” show, however, that the consistent separation of sociological and socio-psychological concepts on the one hand and specifically sociolinguistic ones on the other is often not possible.

It seems at first view possible to organize the themes according to the dominant sociolinguistic approach distinguishing the macrosociolinguistic and microsociolinguistic levels of analysis. Whilst “Region”, “Nation” and the new article “City” belong unambiguously in the first area, “Norm”, “Attitude” and “Prestige and Stigma” belong to the second. But here too there are articles on themes such as “Ethnicity”, “Situation” or “Network” which made such attempts at differentiation seem questionable.

The articles “City”, “Minority” and “Community” are additions. In particular the concept *City* has proved to be an important analytical entity in sociolinguistics in recent years and this is becoming clearer all the time. In it, complex structures of communicative competence develop, especially where there are multilingual conurbations. The terms “Minority” and “Community” exhibit a sociological profile independent of the representation of linguistic minorities and linguistic communities, which can be important as a framework for sociolinguistic work.

IV. The Social Implications of Levels of Linguistic Analysis

Taking semiotics as a starting point, the influence of extralinguistic factors on verbal and non-verbal systems of signs is organized into themes. The central question is: “Which extralinguistic factors influence linguistic characteristics on the different levels of analysis of the linguistic code and to what extent?” The articles refer to the following questions:

- What is the state of theoretical discussion about the level of linguistic analysis in question and its various characteristics?
- What empirical and sociolinguistically relevant descriptions are available?
- What prototypical social functions are taken on by those linguistic principles which organize a particular level of description?
- Which social functions are central, which peripheral? How can social knowledge be categorized, bearing in mind that it is mediated quite specifically by the features of the linguistic level under investigation?
- Can isolated functions of the particular level of description or its units be connected with linguistic items in syntax, semantics or pragmatics?

The separation of “Phonetics” and “Phonology” was made in order to achieve a clearer coverage of the rigorous description of variety in phonological systems. On the other hand, in the area of phonetics, consideration should be given to prosodic and supra-segmental features of utterances more than has been the case hitherto. “Morphology” is particularly well documented in anglophone linguistics, and its interaction with syntax is significant. In this regard, consideration was given to the issue of whether specific encoding procedures (diminutives, aspect and the like) are linked to language-specific social functions. In the area of “Syntax”, the range stretches from traditional investigations of sentence and attribute complexity, through word position and the role of negation, to syntactic focusing and topicalization. In this section the question is also posited as to how far syntactic variation is to be explained sociolinguistically or pragmatically.

“Lexicon”, “Semantics” and “Pragmatics” also exhibit certain features in common. In the lexical area, a central question is that of lexical differences, in particular the existence of lexical fields in domains of linguistic usage, according to theme, interlocutor and situation. On the other hand, in the article on semantics it is more a question of thematizing the levels of sentence, utterance and speech act. In the case of pragmatics, consideration is given to situationally determined differences and those arising from the linguistic perspective of utterances. This level of description is crucially characterized by the numerous investigations of institution-specific behaviour in language and communication.

“Code-Switching” is connected more or less directly with the previously mentioned areas: the more recent investigations refer to all areas of the grammar in an increasingly comparative way; pragmatic aspects have also been studied, but apparently in a less detailed and thorough way. “Discourse” and “Text” are once again closely linked. In the case of text the results of text linguistics are highlighted in connection with text types and their social functions. On the other hand, the article on discourse is more concerned with spoken language and thereby emphasizes the ways in which conversations are constructed as organizational principles of social behaviour. A clear separation from pragmatics was not always easy. In the article on discourse, however, the focus is less on the linguistic behaviour specific to particular institutions than on the principles of social organization that are laid down as rules, sequences and contextualizing factors in conversation. The article on “Politeness Forms” makes reference both to pragmatics and to the grammatical levels of linguistic usage. The main focus of the presentations on individual languages is on the way differences in social function are reflected in the organization of linguistic structures.

The remaining five articles contrast spoken and written language and also contrast these with repertoires of both vocal and gestural as well as other non-verbal symbols which accompany speech.

V. The History of Sociolinguistics

The starting point for this group of themes was that questions of sociolinguistic research in the past have been formulated and analysed not just within an established sociolinguistic paradigm. Long before the institutional establishment of sociolinguistics as an area of research, academics were concerned with the problems posed by the relationship between language and society, between language and nation, between language and population shifts, and between language and social evaluation. Thus sociolinguistics existed before it was known as such. Furthermore, in the past, sociolinguistic questions were raised and answered not only within sociolinguistics but also in other areas of research such as in dialectology and cultural anthropology. In addition, areas of research which are today partly integrated into sociolinguistics or overlap with it, such as research into pidgins and creoles and language contact, often have long traditions of their own which are sociolinguistically interesting.

Finally there are special theoretical approaches, such as Marxist approaches and symbolic interactionism, which have independent historical developments.

All these aspects are brought together in **Section V**. This seems to be important in particular because discussion of the historical dimension of sociolinguistics is still to some extent in its infancy. Individual observations on the origins of sociolinguistic research have remained sporadic up until now. It is precisely this extreme fragmentation

of questions about the relationship between language and society – for example, in dialectology or pidgin and creole research – that has made comprehensive tendencies difficult to see. They definitely do exist, however, partly in the work of particular researchers such as Hugo Schuchardt.

The whole field of sociolinguistics in its more restricted sense is expounded historically in the first two articles. Whilst the first article deals with sociolinguistics before its institutional recognition as a subject, and therefore unavoidably focuses on a European context, the second article deals with the actual history of sociolinguistics as a subject. Language contact and pidgin and creole research have been separated from sociolinguistics proper; they have their own traditions, partly stretching back into the 19th century, whose sociolinguistically relevant aspects are presented.

A separate treatment is also given to those sociolinguistic questions which have developed in the areas of dialectology and cultural anthropology. If one considers that questions of the social value of varieties were discussed thoroughly in the German-speaking area as early as the 18th century, one could expect this to be a rich area of study. Three special historical areas of research in which the relationship between language and society has been the subject of debate many times are (i) sociology, (ii) symbolic interactionism and (iii) Marxist approaches, which developed in particular in the period between the two world wars.

However, the historical presentation is not limited to the development of theoretical problems. It is also a question of presenting where and when in the past concepts of sociolinguistic research were applied in a practical way, including their effects and results. For example, the language policy of the Habsburg Empire in the 19th century is largely obscure, as well as the sociolinguistic effects of plans for colonization in past centuries. For this reason an article on applied sociolinguistics has been added to the existing ones.

VI. Neighbouring Disciplines

Those disciplines that are of immediate importance for sociolinguistic theory and methodology come under this heading. Both traditional and modern sociology and linguistics feed in to almost all areas of sociolinguistics. That is why no separate sections have been devoted to them. Cultural sociology, especially of the kind proposed by Bourdieu, has contributed in particular to more rigorous explanations of observed phenomena in sociolinguistics. It has connections with categories such as “social stratum”, “taste”, “cultural change”, etc. The enmeshing of cultural and sociological arguments opens up fruitful perspectives for explaining sociolinguistic findings. The article “Social Psychology” deals in particular with the enmeshing of group communication and communicative processes in interactions embedded in particular situations. Under this heading also belong psychological aspects which conceive of the individual as a social being and the group as the basic social unit. Consideration was also given to the conditions governing the existence of social and communicative networks, since network theory plays an important role in present day sociolinguistics.

Interaction, intercultural behaviour and forms of social organization in various cultures are investigated successfully from a comparative point of view in “Ethnology and Anthropology”. This is where the differences of cultural categories and sociological categorization are worked out. The principles of investigation, especially those from ethnography that are often used in sociolinguistics, are understood as differentiated,

qualitative, interpretative and structuralist principles. A considerable part of sociolinguistics is also fed by anthropology and its comparison of cultures. With the integration of cognitive concepts, anthropology has recently gained a basis for comparison which is particularly relevant to sociolinguistics.

At first sight “Dialectology” may be seen as less directly related to sociolinguistics than the other disciplines. However, an understanding of the sociolinguistics of urban speech, for example, involves investigating both the areal spread of linguistic varieties and their social differentiation. To this end dialectology developed the first methodological instruments and valid techniques of data collection, and for this reason its contribution to more recent sociolinguistics is highly significant. It was also important to ask what more recent research into measuring various dimensions of dialects can contribute to the development of sociolinguistics.

An early trigger for the investigation of linguistic variation and of linguistic differences with social consequences was the theory of linguistic relativity formulated by Wilhelm von Humboldt and, much later, Benjamin Whorf, amongst others. It made many linguists more receptive to the study of psychological and sociological issues. In this context a central question of “Psycholinguistics” becomes relevant to sociolinguistics. Psycholinguistics is presented not only in its modern form but also in its historical development, insofar as this is significant for sociolinguistics. Finally, “Human Geography” has recently linked regional facts with vertical social divisions. The methods developed in this field and their theoretical background offer enough material to stimulate sociolinguistic descriptions and explanations.

VII. Sociolinguistic methodology

In this section the problems of sociolinguistic methodology are collected in 32 articles. **Articles 95–103** are devoted essentially to research planning, **104–110** to data collection and **111–126** to the methodology of describing verbal, and to some extent also non-verbal, behaviour. The authors have built in informative cross-references in the articles. Because of the numerous overlaps, no explicit differentiation of the various blocks in the list of contents was undertaken, unlike in the first edition.

“Research Policy” and “Research Ethics” are to some extent two sides of the same coin: the orientation of the researcher towards political principles or ethical maxims in deciding for or against particular research programmes. Which types of research are at all feasible also depends of course on the “Possibilities and Limits of a Sociolinguistic Theory”. Only on that basis can one assess which questions can be addressed and answered by structural knowledge.

The series of **articles 98–105** address almost in the form of a flow diagram those questions which must be answered in the course of planning a sociolinguistic investigation. First of all, the “Research Aims” have to be established and linked to decisions about “Methods”. The methodology should help to achieve the aims: “Quantitative” or “Qualitative” methods are available according to the particular state of research and the explanatory intention. Once these decisions have been made, then the “Stages of Research” have to be determined. In collecting data there is always the issue of “Problems of Representativeness”. Also, the kind of interaction and the process of “Elicitation” are of significance for the validity of findings. Finally, a decision has to be made with reference to the explanation of data as to whether a “Cross-Sectional” or a “Longitudinal” study is more appropriate. Concluding the first group of themes, dif-

ferences in investigation between “Micro- and Macro studies” are discussed. **Articles 106–110**, which concentrate on the actual techniques of data collection beginning with “Observation”. In sociolinguistics, under certain circumstances, this even presupposes participation in the life of those being studied. The “Interview” is not only one of the most widely used methods of data collection in sociolinguistics, but it has even developed in a specific way; hence the explicit adjectival specification “Sociolinguistic Interview”. In contrast to this oral method, “Investigation” is taken to refer to written forms of data collection (for example, questionnaires) which have considerable importance in macrosociolinguistic research in particular. Large parts of the two articles from the first edition “Experiments” and “Tests” are still current today, though the most recent state of research had to be worked into them. Of particular importance are the semi-natural experiments that have been developed in detail in recent years.

Articles 111–116, which are aimed at sociolinguistic descriptions, are introduced with a consideration of the “Possibilities and Limits of Corpus Linguistics”. The article “Language Censuses” shows how very large corpora of written data can be as representative and valid as possible. The article “Contrastive Sociolinguistics” is new – an approach which has been inspired by contrastive linguistics and has been developed only recently. “Transcription” has for a long time been judged as a rather trivial activity in linguistics, but has been developed in many different ways in sociolinguistics.

“Statistical Descriptions of Language” shows how descriptive statistics can be applied to linguistic structures, especially in the description of linguistic variation, and also explains briefly how it differs from explanatory statistics. In the article “Linguistic Measurements” the sociolinguistic relevance of the mathematical and linguistic bases of measurement is presented. **Articles 117–119** deal with different possibilities of presentation and explanation of linguistic variation. The **article 120** “Computer Analysis” gives an overview of procedures, software and computer programmes for evaluating data. **Articles 121–123** relate to pragmatic aspects of linguistic and communicative behaviour. The last three articles (**124–126**) of this section are divided between a number of different questions. As a correlate of objective linguistic data, subjective dimensions of linguistic behaviour – “Attitudes” to language – must be included in sociolinguistic investigations. In order to obtain this type of data there are many techniques of direct and indirect observation. As a rule, very little attention is paid to receptive linguistic behaviour. The article “Analyses of Intelligibility” gives an overview of the possible ways of measuring the comprehension of utterances as precisely as possible. In the last article, on “Non-Verbal Behaviour”, descriptive possibilities are scrutinized, including its interplay with verbal behaviour.

VIII. Findings of Sociolinguistic Research

Since the first edition a vast amount of sociolinguistic research has been carried out, and it is important to give an overview which is as representative and well organized as possible. In order to give a detailed presentation, a process of selection was unavoidable for each article; but at least in the form of references an acceptable degree of completeness was nevertheless aimed at. This applies in particular to the bibliographical information which is not restricted, if possible, to particular languages. The findings are arranged in a way which makes sense from a theoretical point of view and are evaluated according to both their scientific and their social relevance. There is geographical concentration, but not at the expense of related research in other regions.

One particular difficulty has been that the empirical results can hardly be presented meaningfully without at the same time making pronouncements about theoretical approaches and methodology. Sometimes, it has been possible to truncate the presentation to some extent by means of references to other articles, especially those from the methodology section. The presentation of research findings is arranged either on a chronological basis or more systematically, but usually incorporates both aspects.

A number of themes from the first edition have been retained. In almost all cases there were, however, extensive new pieces of research which had to be included, as for instance in the investigation of "Urban Varieties". Other new themes have been added, such as for example "Research on Sociolinguistic Style", "Code-Switching" and "Pluricentric and Divided Languages". On the other hand, the topic "Linguistic Minorities", which was in two parts in the first edition, has been combined into one article. Some articles have been taken over from other sections of the earlier edition, in particular from the former **Section XII** "Historical Sociolinguistics", namely "Sound Change in Progress", "Sound Change" (completed sound change, including general laws), "Grammatical Change" and "Semantic and Lexical Change". This group of articles is introduced by a general article on "Historical Sociolinguistics".

It is noteworthy that in this large section devoted to the results of sociolinguistic research, terms from nearly all the preceding sections reappear. This is unavoidable because the concepts, theoretical approaches and methodologies, which were presented concisely or only from certain points of view in the previous sections, are handled here in greater detail and with a wider spread of empirical evidence: there are topics here which are also discussed under the "Subject Matter of Sociolinguistics", the basic "Sociolinguistic" and "Sociological" concepts, and under "Levels of Linguistic Analysis", "Neighbouring Disciplines" and "Sociolinguistic Methodology". The present section discusses factors which were omitted from the articles in these earlier sections, and because of the complementarity of these particular articles, precise cross-references are given.

It is clear that in articles with such global titles as "Research on Language Contact" or "Research on Language for Special Purposes" there can never be a complete presentation of such huge areas of research, for which separate handbooks with a similar format to this one are available. These articles are restricted to the sociolinguistically relevant findings of the respective research areas. The fact that they are thus restricted is not reflected explicitly in their titles because this is obvious in the context of a sociolinguistics handbook and it is also important to avoid too much repetition.

IX. Regional Overview

This section has been completely re-planned in two aspects. Firstly, those articles in the first edition dealing with specific countries or areas needed to be thoroughly reworked and brought up to date. Secondly, and this is more fundamental, this time we aimed to represent all areas of the world. The articles of the first edition were inconsistent in relative size (for example China compared to Berlin) and this has now been remedied by aiming for individual articles which are more consistent. It was not, however, the geographical size but the linguistic complexity of the area that was the determining factor.

The representative coverage of the whole world is an ambitious aim but it proved not unrealistic. Every country or every linguistically-based political entity was investigated

with regard to its sociolinguistic characteristics, specifically the languages or at least the types of language used, the sociolinguistic relationships between them, and the basic social, cultural and political situation. The reader is thus given information about the languages and their genetic relationships, the demography of the languages, linguistic minorities, official and national languages, lingua francas and other functional types of language, such as the languages used in the school system, linguistic varieties and attitudes towards them, dialect variation, questions of autonomy and heteronomy of varieties, and political tensions between language communities. The consideration of as representative a sample as possible of all pertinent sociolinguistic publications was particularly important.

Each article was to follow the same basic pattern, which was given in advance by the editors. The material in all articles is intended to be comparable wherever possible. The way the different countries and political entities are grouped is obvious in many cases. In others it has proved difficult and was only possible with a certain amount of arbitrariness. In a few cases the only grouping possible was one which arose from the work of the individual authors concerned, although objective reasons took precedence wherever possible. Even the principle of dealing with subject matter of roughly the same degree of sociolinguistic complexity in the individual articles could not be rigidly applied.

Groupings, therefore, could not always be made according to homogeneous criteria. Africa, for example, was divided up according to geographical, colonial and various other sociolinguistic criteria. In other cases clear geographical classification was hardly possible, for instance in the case of Gypsy languages which cannot readily be associated with one particular region. Sometimes languages or groups of speakers are included even though they lie outside the region under discussion; an example is the article on Israel, in which the Jewish languages used outside the country are included. Often a shared official language has served to bring together various countries, while not ruling out the possibility of striking differences below the level of the official language.

The task of the authors was extremely difficult. The reader must bear in mind that each article is intended to serve as a representative and comprehensive source of sociolinguistic information of various kinds relating to the group of countries under consideration. The authors often had to be very succinct because there were restrictions on space. Extensive and pertinent bibliographical references fill some of the gaps. In some cases, maps are included for presenting additional information.

X. Linguistic Change, Sociolinguistic Aspects

The structure of this section has changed considerably in comparison with Section VIII of the first edition. To start with, all the articles that deal with sociolinguistic aspects of language-internal change at various linguistic levels, from sounds to text, have been removed. They have now been assigned to the new **Section VIII** "Findings of Sociolinguistic Research". Only those articles have been retained that deal with the linguistic effects of the processes of social change which permeate communities in their historical development.

Developments which are decisive in that they radically change the communicative structure of societies are, for example, the development of written languages and the transition from oral to scribal societies and, in connection with this, the spread of com-

petence in writing within a society (“Alphabetization”). The structural development and expansion of societies towards independent nations or states gives rise to processes of convergence and divergence within the means of communication; these processes bring about regional languages and later standard languages. The general socio-historical framework for such processes is formed by social modernization which can be observed in most of the industrialized societies of the world. This modernization extends to language and communication, and in this context professionalization of languages and the development of languages for special purposes recur constantly.

Further elements in the process of social change are colonialism and the subsequent phase of decolonization, the formation of linguistic empires, social migration, the diffusion of linguistic innovation, and the spread of particular languages over wide areas. There has been wide-ranging research on the complex of topics “Language Maintenance, Language Decline, Language Death”. A rather more theoretical article concludes this group of topics: under the title “Linguistic History and Historical Sociolinguistics”; it is not the historical aspects of the discipline which are examined here, but the question of how sociolinguistic approaches and topics can be integrated into diachronic investigations.

XI. Application

In present-day research, sociolinguistics is often classified as a part of applied linguistics, or the two are largely equated. It seems that many linguists think of linguistics which is related to society as necessarily applied. To counteract such misunderstandings, it is made clear in this book that sociolinguistics does not have to be applied but in many areas is purely theoretical. For many sociolinguists the discipline is no more than a type of linguistics with a better theoretical foundation. It is therefore appropriate to deal with the application of sociolinguistics in a separate section. Notwithstanding its purely theoretical side, it is self-evident that sociolinguistics is also applicable in all kinds of ways; this is to be expected of a type of linguistics which is related to society in a complex way.

In the present section the potential applications of sociolinguistics are presented in as comprehensive a way as possible. It is obvious that these applications must be based on the theory, methodology and data that have been dealt with in the preceding sections. This section, however, does not present the applicability of sociolinguistic approaches and findings to other disciplines but their applicability to the solution of real social problems. Thus the concept of application used here is specifically that of application in the real world. The application of sociolinguistics in all those activities by means of which the real world can be improved, whatever the philosophical or ideological basis, is entirely consistent with this view.

The present section is connected with **Section XIII** of the first edition which had the same title but is more systematic and much more comprehensive. All potential applications of sociolinguistics that are currently recognized are discussed, at least in the form of references. In the forefront are applications in the fields of education, medicine, language planning, and the interaction between language and politics. Particular applications of sociolinguistics in lexicography, in the choice of official languages, in the context of feminist attempts at linguistic reform, and in linguistic human rights have been added. As far as themes retained from the first edition are concerned, all the articles needed thorough reworking, since the opportunities for applied socioling-

uistics have developed considerably in the last few years. In contrast to the first edition, the references too have been integrated more closely with the preceding articles, so that the foundations of application in theory, methodology and data are even clearer; for example, the findings of discourse analysis have been applied many times in law courts, classrooms and in therapy. The presentation of the different applications makes reference to the basic concepts dealt with in earlier articles, for example the article on “Discourse and Conversational Analysis”. The same applies to language planning, language maintenance, language revival, and language cultivation. Many of the new articles do not have an obvious connection with the preceding articles, and explicit references have had to be made to highlight this connection. An example of this is “Sociolinguistics and Cross-Cultural Communication” which relates amongst other things to anthropological linguistics, to the ethnography of speaking, to research into language conflict, to language barriers between speech communities, and to language choice in international contacts.

C. Responsibilities of the Editors and Thanks to All Concerned

The present edition of this handbook was conceived jointly by the four editors. The responsibility for contacting the authors, supplying and editing the articles was divided according to chapters. The editors (in alphabetic order) were in charge of the following chapters:

Ammon Chapters II, VIII

Dittmar Chapters IV, VI, VII

Mattheier Chapters III, V, IX (Art. 169–184), X

Trudgill Chapters I, IX (Art. 185–218), XI

Ammon acted as a coordinator and main editor.

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Vorwort

A. Vorbemerkung

Seit der 1. Auflage des Handbuches „Sociolinguistics / Soziolinguistik“ hat sich die Disziplin erheblich verändert und weiterentwickelt. Sie ist ganz aus dem Schatten der Sprachbarrierendiskussion herausgetreten und hat Sprache als ein gesellschaftlich geprägtes und auf die Gesellschaft zurückwirkendes Phänomen nach vielen neuen Richtungen hin thematisiert und untersucht. Im Zuge dieser Entwicklung hat die Soziolinguistik auch ihren früheren Status als Interdisziplin („Bindestrich-Disziplin“) hinter sich gelassen und ist eigenständig geworden. Sie ist nun weltweit etabliert. Zwar ist sie institutionell noch immer häufig in der Linguistik, teilweise auch in der Soziologie verankert; es gibt aber auch schon zahlreiche von anderen Disziplinen institutionell unabhängige Institute für Soziolinguistik. Sie bilden gefragte Informationsquellen bei wissenschaftlichen und praktischen Problemstellungen.

Die Weiterentwicklung der Soziolinguistik ist auch sichtbar an der inzwischen kaum mehr zu überschauenden Anzahl von Publikationen, zu denen mehrere fest etablierte Zeitschriften sowie andere, teilweise konkurrierende Handbücher für die Disziplin zählen. *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, hg. von Florian Coulmas (Oxford, UK/Malden, Mass. 1997) ist allerdings deutlich kleiner im Format. Dagegen hat die *Concise Encyclopedia of Sociolinguistics*, hg. von Raj Mesthrie (Amsterdam etc. 2001) einen unserem Handbuch ähnlichen Umfang. Ihr recht andersartiger Aufbau belegt anschaulich, wie unterschiedlich die Disziplin strukturiert werden kann. Die Herausgeber des vorliegenden Handbuchs hoffen, dass sich die verschiedenen Nachschlagewerke sinnvoll ergänzen.

Die Neuauflage akzentuiert stärker als die 1. Auflage aus den Jahren 1987/88 die Spezifik und Autonomie der Disziplin. Sie weitet darüber hinaus den Blick konsequenter aus auf alle Erdteile. Das Handbuch soll eine weltweite Übersicht über die vielfältigen soziolinguistischen Bestrebungen geben. Dem entspricht die Aufnahme zumindest aller größeren Länder der Erde in das Kapitel, das einen regionalen Überblick gibt (jetziges **Kapitel IX**). Das Bemühen um globale Repräsentativität war auch eines der Motive für die Erweiterung des Herausgeberkreises durch Peter Trudgill, dessen Mitwirkung allerdings außer der regionalen auch die disziplinäre Repräsentativität noch besser gewährleistet. Aus denselben Gründen wurden für die 2. Auflage einige Autorinnen und Autoren ausgetauscht und neue hinzugenommen.

Selbstverständlich wurden von der alten Auflage eine Reihe inhaltlicher Elemente übernommen. Wegen der Weiterentwicklung der Disziplin ließ sich jedoch kein einziger Artikel unverändert beibehalten. Soweit Titel von Artikeln gleich geblieben sind, war dennoch stets die gründliche Überarbeitung der Artikel selber erforderlich. Sie konnte generell nicht allein im Weglassen überholter Auffassungen und der Hinzufügung der neueren Forschung bestehen, sondern erforderte tiefgreifende Umgestaltung. Jeder Artikel war nämlich auch auf die veränderte Gesamtkonzeption des

Handbuches abzustimmen, in der vielfach neue Bereiche ausgegliedert oder bislang getrennte Bereiche zusammengefasst wurden.

Die Neukonzeption wird schon deutlich an der unterschiedlichen Zahl, Überschrift und Reihenfolge der Kapitel. Dem spezifischen Gegenstand der Disziplin: dem Zusammenhang von Sprache und Gesellschaft, ist ein neues, an den Anfang gestelltes Kapitel gewidmet. Dies entspricht der Tatsache, dass sich dieser Gegenstand inzwischen in breiten Bereichen verhältnismäßig klar und von anderen Disziplinen deutlich unterschieden herausgebildet hat. Dagegen mussten die wissenschaftstheoretischen Grundlagen jetzt nicht mehr in einem eigenen Kapitel thematisiert werden, da sie in der nunmehr etablierten Disziplin in weiten Bereichen mit denen der anderen Gesellschaftswissenschaften übereinstimmen. Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie sind heute keine Grundlagenwissenschaften mehr, da die Soziolinguistik ihnen gegenüber autonom geworden ist; sie wird heute teilweise selbst als Grundlagendisziplin dieser Wissenschaften gesehen. Die historischen Bedingungen für die Entstehung der Soziolinguistik rückten daher in den Hintergrund; damit ist die Disziplin für die anstehende Lösung systematischer Beschreibungs- und Erklärungsprobleme offener geworden. So konnte die disziplinspezifische Methodologie kohärenter in einem einzigen Kapitel dargestellt werden (zuvor drei Unterkapitel). Was bei den Regionen durch die repräsentative Auswahl aus allen Ländern der Erde evident ist, gilt auch für alle übrigen Kapitel: Sie wurden durch Hinzunahme neuer Themen erweitert, deren Relevanz bei der Vorbereitung der 1. Auflage noch nicht oder zumindest nicht deutlich absehbar war.

Außer der regionalen und der disziplinären Repräsentativität wird enzyklopädische Brauchbarkeit für alle in Betracht kommenden Leser angestrebt. Dazu gehören theoretische Tiefe und Stringenz für die Theorieinteressierten ebenso wie methodischer Reichtum und Detailliertheit für die empirisch Forschenden. Die Methodendarstellungen sind in der Regel so informativ und präzise, dass sie unmittelbar zur Vorbereitung von Projektplanungen dienen können. Ebenso ist in den anwendungsbezogenen Artikeln die Darstellung weithin so konkret, dass Praktiker genau abschätzen können, was sie von dem jeweiligen soziolinguistischen Ansatz für die Lösung ihrer Probleme zu erwarten haben.

Schließlich erscheint ein Hinweis zur Zweisprachigkeit des vorliegenden Handbuches angebracht. Sie mag in Anbetracht der heutigen Dominanz der englischen Sprache in den Wissenschaften fast antiquiert anmuten. Die Herausgeber des vorliegenden Handbuches möchten durch die Zweisprachigkeit jedoch signalisieren, dass es auch in anderen Sprachgemeinschaften differenzierte Forschungen zur Soziolinguistik gibt, die durch die einseitige Fixierung auf die englischsprachige Welt oft aus dem Blick geraten. Dass für diese Betonung des Werts der Mehrsprachigkeit gerade die deutsche Sprache gewählt wurde, hatte praktische Gründe. Immerhin wurde der wachsenden Bedeutung von Englisch als Weltwissenschaftssprache durch einen gegenüber der ersten Auflage erhöhten Anteil englischsprachiger Beiträge Rechnung getragen.

B. Die Kapitel im einzelnen

I. Der Gegenstand der Soziolinguistik

Das Kapitel liefert einen ersten Überblick über die gesamte Disziplin. Dabei liegt der Schwerpunkt auf den derzeitigen Interessengebieten der Soziolinguistik. Die Geschichte der Disziplin und ihre theoretischen Konzeptionen bleiben dagegen hier weitgehend ausgeschlossen. Es geht auch nicht um die Darstellung detaillierter Ergebnisse; entscheidend ist vielmehr, was Soziolinguisten heutzutage wirklich tun und warum sie es tun. Dabei treten eine Reihe von Themen ins Blickfeld, die in der 1. Auflage des Handbuches unberücksichtigt geblieben und der veränderten Struktur des Faches geschuldet sind.

Eine der übergreifenden Fragen des ersten Kapitels besteht darin, die unterschiedlichen Forschungsprämissen und Zielsetzungen der verschiedenen Vertreter der Disziplin herauszustellen. Manche Vertreter der Disziplin unterscheiden sich in ihrer Fragestellung kaum von der allgemeinen Linguistik. Sie sind hauptsächlich interessiert an einem tieferen Verständnis der menschlichen Sprache, ihrer Strukturen und ihres Wandels. Dazu gehören durchaus auch Vertreter so allgemein anerkannter soziolinguistischer oder sich mit der Soziolinguistik überschneidender Disziplinen wie der Psycholinguistik, der Sozialdialektologie, der Geolinguistik oder bestimmter Richtungen der Sprachkontaktforschung wie beispielsweise der Pidgin- und Kreol-Linguistik.

Auch auf dem gegenteiligen Pol bewegen sich nicht wenige Wissenschaftler, die sich häufig selbst für Soziolinguisten halten oder von anderen so eingestuft werden. Sie sind hauptsächlich an soziologischen, anthropologischen oder sozialpsychologischen Problemen interessiert. Die linguistischen Daten, die sie heranziehen, dienen ihnen zu einem vertieften Verständnis menschlicher Gesellschaften bzw. deren Strukturen und Wandlungsbedingungen. Sie sind somit nicht an einer vertieften Erkenntnis von Strukturen und Struktureigenschaften von Sprache interessiert. Bei ihnen ist es besonders offenkundig, dass sie eigentlich nicht im Bereich der Soziolinguistik selber arbeiten, daher kommen sie in **Kapitel VI** „Nachbarwissenschaften“ zur Sprache.

Andere Wissenschaftler haben von Anfang an versucht, die linguistische und die soziologische Perspektive in spezifischer Weise zu verbinden und haben dabei eigenständige Ansätze und Erkenntnisse entwickelt. Sie manifestieren sich u. a. in Bezeichnungen wie „Sprachsoziologie“, „Interaktionale Soziolinguistik“, „Diskursanalyse“, „Konversationsanalyse“, „Sozialpsychologie der Sprache“, „Anthropologische Linguistik“ oder „Ethnographie des Sprechens“. Die meisten der mit diesen Termini bezeichneten Forschungsrichtungen bilden nicht einfach Teilmengen der Soziolinguistik, sondern befassen sich auch mit nicht-soziolinguistischen Fragen; jedoch enthalten sie allesamt wesentliche soziolinguistische Elemente. In **Kapitel I** geht es darum, hinter der Vielfalt dieser Bezeichnungen einen kohärenten Gegenstandsbereich der Soziolinguistik sichtbar zu machen.

II. Soziolinguistische Grundbegriffe

Gegenüber dem mehr gegenstandsbezogenen ersten Kapitel ist das **zweite Kapitel** von seinem Ansatz her stärker theoriebezogen. Es werden diejenigen Elemente soziolinguistischer Theorie einzeln behandelt, die sich in spezifischen Begriffen mit eigenen

Termini herausgebildet und bewährt haben. Eine wichtige Teilmenge der soziolinguistischen Grundbegriffe bezieht sich auf im weiteren Sinn soziologisch konzipierte Typen von Sprachsystemen. Dies war zwar auch schon in der 1. Auflage der Fall; die nunmehr behandelten Begriffe sind jedoch differenzierter, und es sind neue hinzugekommen.

Eine zweite Begriffsgruppe sind kommunikationstheoretisch konzipierte Typen von Gesellschaften oder Gesellschaftssegmenten. Hinzu kommen Typen von Varietäten und Sprachgebrauchsweisen sowie sprachlich induzierte Prozesse der Vergesellschaftung.

Vor allem der letztgenannte Bereich ist durch Hinzunahme von Begriffen erweitert worden, die in der 1. Auflage gefehlt haben: „Konzentration und Diffusion“, „Domäne“ und „Sprachwechsel (Code-Switching)“. Die linguistisch oder kommunikationswissenschaftlich konzipierten Typen von Gesellschaften bzw. die dazugehörigen Begriffe sind zwar gegenüber der 1. Auflage nicht erweitert worden; es wurde jedoch großer Wert darauf gelegt, dass die zum Teil nachhaltig neuen Entwicklungen von den Verfassern wirklich berücksichtigt wurden. Die im weiteren Sinn soziologisch konzipierten Typen von Sprachsystemen sind gegenüber der I. Auflage erheblich differenziert und erweitert. So ist u. a. „Dialekt“ von „Sprache“ getrennt und mit „Akzent“ verbunden worden. „Umgangssprache“ ist durch „Nonstandard“ erweitert und von „Slang“ getrennt worden. Letzterem wurde dafür „Argot“ hinzugefügt. Auch „Stil“ und „Register“ wurden aufgrund umfangreicher neuerer Forschungen zu jeweils eigenen Artikeln aufgewertet. Die Reihe ‚Erstsprache – Zweitsprache – Muttersprache – Fremdsprache‘ – wurde gespalten und im Sinne klarerer begrifflicher Oppositionen auf zwei Artikel aufgeteilt.

Es geht in diesem Kapitel nicht um die detaillierte Darstellung sämtlicher Forschungen zu diesen soziolinguistischen Grundbegriffen, sondern hauptsächlich um deren begriffliche Klärung. *Grundbegriff* ist dabei nicht im kalkültheoretischen Sinn als nicht definierbarer Begriff gemeint, sondern im Sinne einer verkürzten Ausdrucksweise für ‚grundlegender Begriff‘. Dabei mag es sich allerdings im Einzelfall durchaus erweisen, dass der Begriff – beim derzeitigen Stand der Forschung – tatsächlich nicht in einem strengeren Sinn definierbar ist. **Kapitel II** dient mehr als manche anderen Kapitel auch zum Nachschlagen unbekannter Termini, weshalb durchgehend auf eine prägnante Darstellung geachtet und Ausuferungen vermieden wurden.

III. Soziologische Begriffe

Wie im **Kapitel II** sollen hier nicht theoretische Zusammenhänge oder empirische Befunde im Detail ausgebreitet und diskutiert werden. Zielsetzung war vielmehr, die wichtigsten soziologischen und auch sozialpsychologischen Begriffe zu erläutern, und zwar einschließlich der von ihnen strukturierten gesellschaftswissenschaftlichen Forschungsfragen, insofern sie für die Soziolinguistik besonders relevant sind. Eine solche Aufgliederung von einem bzw. zwei großen Wissenschaftsbereichen – Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie – in einzelne Begriffe oder auch Forschungskonzepte, die zudem häufig noch an bestimmte soziologische bzw. sozialpsychologische Forschungsansätze gebunden sind, ist notwendigerweise problematisch und kann zu keinem gesellschaftswissenschaftlich geschlossenen Bild des Gegenstandes „societas“ führen. Entscheidungskriterium für die Aufnahme eines Begriffs in diesen Themenkatalog war nämlich nicht seine Bedeutung für die Soziologie bzw. die Sozialpsychologie, sondern ausschließlich die Relevanz, die er für die Soziolinguistik hat.

Die letztgenannte Intention strukturiert im Allgemeinen auch die Artikelgliederung. Die dargestellten Begriffe werden am Anfang und am Ende des Artikels mit der Soziolinguistik vernetzt. Zu Beginn ist jeweils kurz ihre Relevanz für die bisherige soziolinguistische Forschung skizziert. Danach sind sie aus soziologischer bzw. sozialpsychologischer Perspektive in ihrem Bezug auf den neuesten Forschungsstand dargestellt. Dabei werden nicht zuletzt auch unterschiedliche begriffliche Traditionen erkennbar. Den Abschluss bildet wieder die mehr inhaltliche Einbettung in bzw. Anknüpfung an soziolinguistische Forschungsfragen und Problemstellungen.

Die Abgrenzung von spezifischen soziolinguistischen Begriffen ist nicht immer unproblematisch. Ein Beispiel ist der Artikel „Domäne“, der in der 2. Auflage hier herausgenommen und den soziolinguistischen Begriffen zugeordnet wurde. Der Begriff „Gemeinschaft“ hat dagegen soviel theoretische Eigenständigkeit, dass er neben dem Artikel „Sprachgemeinschaft“ (**Kapitel II**) eine selbständige Behandlung verdient. Vermissen wird man auf den ersten Blick Begriffe wie „Alter“ und „Geschlecht“, bei denen es sich zweifellos um soziologische Grundbegriffe handelt. Ihre Verbindung mit soziolinguistischen Problemen ist im Laufe der Zeit jedoch so eng geworden, dass es angemessen erschien, sie im **Kapitel VIII** unter den Ergebnissen der soziolinguistischen Forschung zu präsentieren.

Die eindeutige Zuordnung der Begriffe zur Soziologie oder zur Sozialpsychologie ist gerade unter soziolinguistischen Aspekten oft zweifelhaft. So sind zwar „Religion“, „Stand und Kaste“, „Minderheit“ in erster Linie soziologische, dagegen „Attitüde“, „Identität“ und „Prestige und Stigma“ hauptsächlich sozialpsychologische Begriffe. Artikelthemen wie „Rolle“, „Norm“ und „Netzwerk“ zeigen jedoch, dass die konsequente Trennung zwischen soziologischen und sozialpsychologischen Begriffen einerseits und spezifisch soziolinguistischen Begriffen andererseits oftmals nicht möglich ist.

Auf den ersten Blick schien eine innere Strukturierung des Themenblocks nach dem jeweils dominierenden soziolinguistischen Zugriff möglich, und zwar nach makrosoziolinguistischer und mikrosoziolinguistischer Analyseebene. Während „Region“, „Nation“ und der neue Artikel „Stadt“ eindeutig in den ersten Bereich gehören, liegen „Norm“, „Attitüde“ und „Prestige/Stigma“ eher im mikrosoziolinguistischen Bereich. Auch hier gibt es jedoch Artikel wie „Ethnizität“, „Situation“ oder „Netzwerk“, die derartige Differenzierungsversuche fragwürdig erscheinen ließen.

Neu aufgenommen sind die Artikel „Stadt“, „Minderheit“ und „Gemeinschaft“. Insbesondere die Stadt hat sich in den letzten Jahren innerhalb der Soziolinguistik immer deutlicher als eine wichtige Analyseeinheit erwiesen, in der sich komplexe Strukturen kommunikativer Kompetenz entwickeln, insbesondere wenn mehrsprachige städtische Agglomerationen vorliegen. Die Begriffe „Minderheit“ und „Gemeinschaft“ weisen über die Darstellung von sprachlichen Minderheiten und Sprachgemeinschaften hinaus ein eigenständiges sozialwissenschaftliches Profil auf, das als Rahmen für die soziolinguistische Darstellung wichtig sein kann.

IV. Soziale Implikationen von Sprachanalyse-Ebenen

Ausgehend von der Semiotik war der Einfluss außersprachlicher Faktoren auf verbale und nicht-verbale Zeichensysteme zu thematisieren. Die Kernfrage lautete: „Welche außersprachlichen Faktoren beeinflussen in welchem Maße sprachliche Eigenschaften der verschiedenen linguistischen Analyseebenen des Sprachkodes?“ Die Artikel nehmen auf folgende Fragen Bezug:

- Wie ist der Stand der theoretischen Diskussion bezüglich der Eigenschaften der betreffenden Ebene sprachlicher Analyse?
- Welche empirischen, soziolinguistisch relevanten Beschreibungen liegen vor?
- Welche prototypischen sozialen Funktionen übernehmen die spezifischen linguistischen Organisationsprinzipien der vorliegenden Beschreibungsebene?
- Welche sozialen Funktionen sind zentral, welche peripher?
- Wie lässt sich das soziale Wissen kategorisieren, das ganz spezifisch mit den Eigenschaften der untersuchten Sprachbeschreibungsebene vermittelt wird?
- Lassen sich die isolierten Funktionen der jeweiligen Beschreibungsebene, bzw. ihrer Einheiten, mit linguistischen Positionen in der Syntax, Semantik oder Pragmatik verbinden?

Mit der Trennung von „Phonetik“ und „Phonologie“ sollte erreicht werden, dass sich die eher strengen systemischen Varietätenbeschreibungen im Bereich der Phonologie kompakt erfassen lassen. Dagegen sollte im Bereich der Phonetik mehr als bisher der Prosodie und den suprasegmentalen Eigenschaften sprachlicher Äußerungen Rechnung getragen werden. Die „Morphologie“ ist besonders in der anglophonen Linguistik breit dokumentiert, wobei ihre Interaktion mit der Syntax bedeutsam ist. Hier war auch zu berücksichtigen, ob spezifische Kodierungsprozeduren einzelsprachspezifische soziale Funktionen ausbilden (Diminutiv, Aspekt und dergleichen). Im Bereich der „Syntax“ spannt sich der Bogen von traditionellen Untersuchungen zur Satz- und Attributkomplexität über die Wortstellung und die Rolle von Negationen bis hin zu syntaktischen Fokussierungen und Topikalisierungen. Hier war auch der Frage nachzugehen, inwieweit syntaktische Variation soziolinguistisch oder pragmatisch zu erklären ist.

„Lexikon“, „Semantik“ und „Pragmatik“ weisen ebenfalls gewisse Gemeinsamkeiten auf. Im lexikalischen Bereich geht es um Wortschatzunterschiede, insbesondere die Belegung von Wortschatzfeldern in Sprachgebrauchsdomänen – je nach Themen, Interagierenden und Situationen. Demgegenüber sollte in dem Artikel zur Semantik eher die Satz-, Äußerungs- und Sprechaktebene thematisiert werden. Bei der Pragmatik war zu denken an situativ bedingte Unterschiede und solche der linguistischen Perspektivierung von Äußerungen. Ganz entscheidend geprägt ist diese Beschreibungsebene durch die zahlreichen Untersuchungen zum institutionsspezifischen Sprach- und Kommunikationsverhalten.

„Code-Switching“ hat mit den vorher genannten Bereichen mehr oder weniger direkt zu tun: Die neueren Untersuchungen beziehen sich auf alle Bereiche der Grammatik in einer zunehmend sprachvergleichenden Perspektive; pragmatische Aspekte wurden auch untersucht, aber offenbar weniger detailliert und gründlich. „Diskurs“ und „Text“ sind wiederum eng miteinander vernetzt. Beim Text stehen die textlinguistischen Ergebnisse in Verbindung mit Textsorten und ihren sozialen Funktionen im Vordergrund. Demgegenüber bezieht sich der Artikel über Diskurs eher auf gesprochene Sprache und stellt dabei die Verfahren der Gesprächskonstitution als Organisationsprinzipien sozialen Handelns in den Vordergrund. Eine Abgrenzung von der Ebene der „Pragmatik“ ist nicht immer leicht. In dem Artikel über Diskurs steht jedoch weniger das institutionsspezifische Sprachverhalten im Mittelpunkt als die Prinzipien der sozialen Organisation, die sich als Regeln, Sequenzen und Kontextualisierungen im Gespräch niederschlagen. Der Artikel über „Höflichkeitsformen“ hat Bezugspunkte zur Pragmatik und zu den grammatischen Ebenen des Sprachge-

brauchs. Die Schwerpunkte der einzelsprachlichen Darstellung wurden danach gewählt, wie sich Unterschiede in den sozialen Funktionen in der Organisation sprachlicher Strukturen niederschlagen.

Die verbleibenden fünf Artikel kontrastieren gesprochene Sprache mit geschriebener und mit sowohl die Rede begleitenden stimmlichen wie auch gestischen und anderen nicht-verbale Zeichenrepertoires.

V. Geschichte der Soziolinguistik

Bei diesem Themenblock wurde davon ausgegangen, dass soziolinguistische Forschungsfragen in der Vergangenheit nicht nur innerhalb einer etablierten Soziolinguistik formuliert und analysiert worden sind. Schon lange vor der institutionellen Einrichtung einer Soziolinguistik als Forschungsbereich hat man sich in den verschiedenen Kulturen und Sprachräumen mit der Problematik des Zusammenhanges zwischen Sprache und Gesellschaft, mit dem Verhältnis von Sprache und Nation, von Sprache und Bevölkerungsverschiebung und von Sprache und gesellschaftlicher Ab- oder Aufwertung beschäftigt. Es gibt also eine Soziolinguistik 'avant le lettre'. Weiterhin wurden soziolinguistische Fragestellungen in der Vergangenheit nicht nur innerhalb der Soziolinguistik gestellt und beantwortet, sondern auch in anderen Forschungsrichtungen, wie etwa in der Dialektologie oder der Kulturanthropologie. Darüber hinaus haben Forschungsbereiche, die heute teilweise in die Soziolinguistik integriert sind oder sich mit ihr überschneiden, wie die Pidgin- und Kreol-Forschung oder die Sprachkontaktforschung, oftmals weit zurückreichende eigene Forschungstraditionen, die soziolinguistisch interessant sind. Schließlich gibt es spezielle theoretische Ansätze, wie etwa die marxistischen oder den des symbolischen Interaktionismus, die eigenständige wissenschaftshistorische Entwicklungsstrukturen aufweisen.

Alle diese Aspekte sollten in **Kapitel V** zusammengeführt werden. Dies erschien insbesondere deswegen wichtig, weil die wissenschaftshistorische Beschäftigung mit der Soziolinguistik bislang noch weitgehend in den Kinderschuhen steckt. Einzelne Beobachtungen zu den Anfängen soziolinguistischer Forschungsfragen sind bisher sporadisch geblieben. Gerade die extreme Aufsplitterung der Fragen nach dem Verhältnis zwischen Sprache und Gesellschaft – etwa in den Bereichen Dialektologie oder Pidgin- und Kreol-Forschung – ließ übergreifende Tendenzen nicht in den Blick kommen; sie sind jedoch durchaus vorhanden, teilweise schon von den Forscherpersönlichkeiten her, wie z. B. Hugo Schuchardt.

Das Gesamtfeld der Soziolinguistik im engeren Sinn wird durch die ersten beiden Artikel wissenschaftshistorisch aufgeschlossen. Während der erste Artikel – möglichst im gesamteuropäischen Rahmen – die Soziolinguistik 'avant le lettre', und damit auch vor der Institutionalisierung des Faches, behandelt, befasst der zweite Artikel sich mit der eigentlichen Fachgeschichte der Soziolinguistik. Ausgliedert aus der Soziolinguistik im engeren Sinn wurden die Sprachkontaktforschung und die Pidgin- und Kreol-Forschung, die eigenständige, teilweise bis in das 19. Jahrhundert zurückreichende Traditionen haben, deren soziolinguistisch relevante Aspekte darzustellen waren.

Ebenfalls gesondert behandelt wurden diejenigen soziolinguistischen Fragestellungen, die sich in den Bereichen der Dialektologie und der Kulturanthropologie entwickelt haben. Wenn man bedenkt, dass Fragen nach der sozialen Bewertung von Varietäten im deutschen Sprachgebiet schon im 18. Jahrhundert ausführlich diskutiert

wurden, konnte man hier ein reiches Darstellungsfeld erwarten. Drei forschungsgeschichtliche Sonderbereiche, in denen das Verhältnis von Sprache und Gesellschaft ebenfalls immer wieder thematisiert wurde, bilden zum einen die Soziologie, zum andern der Symbolische Interaktionismus und drittens schließlich marxistische Ansätze, die sich insbesondere in der Zeit zwischen den Weltkriegen entfaltet haben.

Die wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Darstellung sollte sich jedoch nicht auf die historische Entwicklung von theoretischen Problemen beschränken. Vielmehr sollte auch dargestellt werden, wo und wann in der Vergangenheit soziolinguistische Forschungskonzepte praktisch angewandt wurden, einschließlich ihrer Wirkungen und Ergebnisse. So liegt etwa die Sprachenpolitik des Habsburger Reiches im 19. Jahrhundert noch weitgehend im Dunkeln, ebenso wie die soziolinguistischen Auswirkungen von Kolonisierungskonzepten in den vergangenen Jahrhunderten. Deshalb wurde zusätzlich zu den bisherigen Artikeln einer zur Geschichte der angewandten Soziolinguistik aufgenommen.

VI. Nachbarwissenschaften

Hierzu zählen diejenigen Disziplinen, die für die soziolinguistische Theorie und Methodologie von unmittelbarer Bedeutung sind. Traditionelle und moderne Soziologie und Linguistik gehen praktisch allenthalben in die Soziolinguistik ein, weshalb ihnen kein eigenes Kapitel gewidmet ist. Die „Kultursoziologie“, insbesondere diejenige Bourdieuscher Prägung, hat in der Soziolinguistik vor allem zur stringenteren Erklärung beobachteter Phänomene beigetragen. Sie steht in Berührung mit Kategorien wie „Sozialschicht“, „Geschmack“, „kultureller Wandel“ etc. Die Verzahnung kultureller und soziologischer Argumente eröffnet fruchtbare Erklärungsperspektiven für soziolinguistische Befunde. Im Artikel „Sozialpsychologie“ werden insbesondere die Verzahnung von Gruppenkommunikation und kommunikativen Prozessen in situativ eingebetteten Interaktionen thematisiert. In diesen Bereich gehören auch psychologische Aspekte, die das Individuum als soziales Wesen und die Gruppe als gesellschaftliche Basiseinheit auffassen. Soweit möglich, werden außerdem die Bedingungen für die Existenz sozialer und kommunikativer Netzwerke reflektiert, da die Netzwerktheorie in der heutigen Soziolinguistik eine wichtige Rolle spielt.

Interaktion, interkulturelles Verhalten und soziale Organisationsformen in unterschiedlichen Kulturen wurden in der „Ethnologie und Anthropologie“ mit großem Erfolg komparatistisch untersucht. Hier waren die Unterschiede kultureller Kategorien und soziologischer Kategorisierungen herauszuarbeiten. Die Untersuchungsprinzipien, insbesondere auch die in der Soziolinguistik oft angewandten ethnographischen, werden vor allem als differenzierte qualitative, hermeneutisch-interpretative und strukturalistische erfasst. Ein beträchtlicher Teil der Soziolinguistik nährt sich auch von der Anthropologie und ihren kulturvergleichenden Verfahren. Mit kognitiven Konzepten hat die Anthropologie neuerdings eine soziolinguistisch besonders relevante Vergleichsbasis gewonnen.

Auf den ersten Blick mag die „Dialektologie“ weniger als die übrigen Disziplinen in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft der Soziolinguistik gesehen werden. Will man jedoch beispielsweise die Soziolinguistik der Stadtsprachen verstehen, so muss man sowohl die räumliche Verbreitung sprachlicher Varietäten als auch ihre soziale Differenzierung untersuchen. Dafür hat die Dialektologie die ersten methodischen Instrumente und validen Datenerhebungstechniken entwickelt. Daher ist ihr Beitrag zur neueren

Soziolinguistik durchaus bedeutsam. Nicht zuletzt können neuere dialektometrische Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung der Soziolinguistik beisteuern.

Die ursprüngliche Triebfeder zur Untersuchung von sprachlicher Variation und von Sprachunterschieden mit gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen war die von Wilhelm von Humboldt und später von Benjamin L. Whorf und anderen formulierte These der sprachlichen Relativität. Sie hat viele Linguisten für psychologische und soziologische Fragestellungen empfänglich gemacht. In diesem Kontext wird eine zentrale Frage der „Psycholinguistik“ soziolinguistisch relevant. Die Psycholinguistik wird nicht nur in ihrer modernen Form, sondern auch – soweit für die Soziolinguistik bedeutsam – in ihrer historischen Entwicklung dargestellt. Schließlich hat die neuere „Sozialgeographie“ regionale Gegebenheiten mit vertikaler Sozialschichtung verschränkt. Die hierbei entwickelten Methoden und ihr theoretischer Hintergrund geben Stoff genug, um soziolinguistische Beschreibungen und Erklärungen zu stimulieren.

VII. Soziolinguistische Methodologie

In diesem Kapitel sind die Probleme der soziolinguistischen Methodologie in 32 Artikeln zusammengefasst. Die **Artikel 95–103** sind im wesentlichen der Forschungsplanung, **104–110** der Datenerhebung und **111–126** den Beschreibungsmethoden von verbalem, teilweise aber auch nonverbalem Verhalten gewidmet. In die Artikel haben die Autoren möglichst informative Querverweise eingebaut. Wegen der zahlreichen Überschneidungen wurde im Gegensatz zur 1. Auflage im Inhaltsverzeichnis auf die explizite Unterscheidung verschiedener Blöcke verzichtet.

„Forschungspolitik“ und „Forschungsethik“ sind teilweise zwei Seiten der gleichen Medaille: die Orientierung an politischen Prinzipien bzw. an Maximen bei Entscheidungskriterien für oder gegen die Durchführung bestimmter Forschungen. Welche Typen von Forschung überhaupt durchführbar sind, hängt natürlich auch von den Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer soziolinguistischen „Theorie“ ab. Erst auf ihrer Grundlage lässt sich einschätzen, welche Fragestellungen von strukturellem Wissen gestützt und lösbar sind.

Die folgenden **Artikel 98–105** beantworten fast in der Art eines Flussdiagramms die Fragen, die sukzessive im Zuge der Planung einer soziolinguistischen Untersuchung beantwortet werden müssen. Zunächst ist ein „Ziel der Forschung“ festzulegen und mit Entscheidungen in der „Methodologie“ zu verbinden. Die Methodologie soll die Ziele zu erreichen helfen: „Quantitative“ oder „Qualitative Methoden“ bieten sich je nach Forschungsstand und Erklärungsintention an. Sind diese Entscheidungen gefallen, so müssen die „Phasen des Forschungsprozesses“ festgelegt werden. Bei der Erhebung der Daten ist stets das „Problem der Repräsentativität“ zu beachten. Schließlich ist im Hinblick auf die Erklärung von Daten zu entscheiden, ob eine „Querschnitt-“ oder „Längsschnittuntersuchung“ angemessener ist. Bei der Datenerhebung ist die Art der Interaktion und der „Elizitation“ für die Validität der Daten von Bedeutung. Den ersten thematischen Komplex abrundend, werden Unterschiede in der Untersuchungsanlage zwischen „Mikro- und Makrostudien“ thematisiert.

Die Artikelgruppe **106–110**, die sich auf die Datenerhebungstechniken konzentriert, beginnt mit der „Beobachtung“. Diese setzt in der Soziolinguistik unter Umständen sogar die Teilnahme am Leben der Probanden voraus. Das „Interview“ ist nicht nur eines der in der Soziolinguistik am meisten genutzten Erhebungsinstrumente, sondern hat hier auch eine spezifische Ausprägung erfahren; daher die ausdrück-

liche adjektivische Spezifizierung „*Soziolinguistisches Interview*“. Im Gegensatz zu diesem mündlichen Instrument sollen unter „Befragung“ schriftliche Erhebungsformen (z. B. Fragebogen) verstanden werden, denen insbesondere in makrosoziolinguistischen Untersuchungen große Bedeutung zukommt. In den beiden Artikeln aus der 1. Auflage „Experiment“ und „Tests“ sind weite Teile noch heute aktuell; allerdings musste der neueste Forschungsstand eingearbeitet werden. Dabei waren vor allem die in letzter Zeit detailliert entwickelten quasi-natürlichen Experimente zu berücksichtigen.

Die auf soziolinguistische Beschreibungen abzielenden **Artikel 111–126** werden durch Überlegungen zu „Möglichkeiten und Grenzen korpuslinguistischer Beschreibung“ eingeleitet. Der Artikel „Sprachenzensus“ stellt dar, wie Mega-Korpora schriftlich erhobener Daten möglichst repräsentativ und valide sein können. Neu ist der Artikel „Kontrastive Soziolinguistik“ – ein Ansatz, der durch die kontrastive Linguistik angeregt ist und sich erst neuerdings entwickelt hat. Das „Transkribieren“ wurde in der Linguistik lange Zeit als ziemlich triviale Tätigkeit bewertet, wurde jedoch in der Soziolinguistik zu großer Differenziertheit entwickelt.

Die „Statistische Sprachbeschreibung“ zeigt, wie die deskriptive Statistik auf sprachliche Strukturen angewandt werden kann, insbesondere zur Beschreibung sprachlicher Varianz, und erläutert auch kurz den Unterschied von der schließenden Statistik. Im Artikel „Linguistische Messverfahren“ werden mathematische und linguistische Grundlagen des Messens in ihrer soziolinguistischen Relevanz dargestellt. Die **Artikel 117–119** befassen sich mit verschiedenen Darstellungs- und auch Erklärungsmöglichkeiten sprachlicher Variation. Im **Artikel 120** „Computeranalyse“ wird ein Überblick über Verfahren, Software und Auswertungsprogramme mittels Computern gegeben. Die **Artikel 121–123** beziehen sich auf pragmatische Aspekte sprachlichen und kommunikativen Verhaltens. Die letzten drei Artikel (**124–126**) dieses Kapitels schließlich verteilen sich auf heterogene Fragestellungen. Als Korrelat zu objektiven sprachlichen Daten müssen in soziolinguistischen Untersuchungen die subjektiven Dimensionen des Sprachverhaltens, die „Einstellungen“ zu Sprache erfasst werden. Hierzu gibt es vielfältige Techniken der direkten und indirekten Beobachtung. Dem rezeptiven Sprachverhalten wird in der Regel nur wenig Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Der Artikel „Verständlichkeitsanalysen“ soll einen Überblick über die Möglichkeiten geben, die Verständlichkeit von Äußerungen möglichst präzise zu messen. Im letzten Artikel über „Non-verbales Verhalten“ werden dessen Beschreibungsmöglichkeiten thematisiert, und zwar auch hinsichtlich des Zusammenspiels mit verbalem Verhalten.

VIII. Ergebnisse der soziolinguistischen Forschung

Seit der Erstauflage ist eine kaum mehr überschaubare Fülle an soziolinguistischer Forschung durchgeführt worden, über die hier ein möglichst repräsentativer und wohlgegliederter Überblick gegeben wird. Dabei war für die detaillierte Darstellung eine Auswahl unvermeidlich; zumindest in Form von Hinweisen wurde indes dennoch weitgehende Vollständigkeit der Darstellung angestrebt. Dies gilt insbesondere auch für die bibliographischen Angaben, die vor allem nicht auf bestimmte Sprachen eingeschränkt sind. Wichtig ist selbstverständlich, dass die Befunde sinnvoll theoretisch eingeordnet und sowohl nach ihrer wissenschaftlichen als auch nach ihrer sozialen Relevanz bewertet werden. Geographische Konzentration war zwar zulässig, aber

nicht im Sinne der vollständigen Vernachlässigung verwandter Forschung in anderen Regionen. Eine besondere Schwierigkeit war die, dass die empirischen Ergebnisse kaum sinnvoll ohne gleichzeitige Aussagen über den theoretischen Ansatz und die Methoden dargestellt werden konnten. Teilweise ließ sich die Darstellung abkürzen durch Verweise auf andere Artikel, insbesondere solche aus dem Methodenkapitel. Die Darstellung der Forschungsergebnisse ist entweder mehr chronologisch oder mehr systematisch angelegt, umfasst aber beide Aspekte.

Eine Reihe von Themen aus der 1. Auflage konnte beibehalten werden. In fast allen Fällen sind jedoch umfangreiche neuere Forschungen hinzugekommen, die aufgenommen werden mussten, beispielsweise im Bereich Stadtsprachenforschung. Andere Themen sind ganz neu hinzugekommen, z. B. die „Soziolinguistische Stilfeorschung“, „Sprachwechsel“ und „Plurizentrische und geteilte Sprachen“. Dagegen wurde die zuvor zweigeteilte Thematik „Sprachliche Minderheiten“ zu einem Artikel zusammengefasst. Zum Teil wurden auch Artikel aus vormals anderen Kapiteln übernommen, insbesondere aus dem **Kapitel XII** der ersten Auflage „Historische Soziolinguistik“, nämlich „Aktuell stattfindender Lautwandel“, „Lautwandel“ (bereits vollzogener Lautwandel, einschließlich allgemeiner Gesetzmäßigkeiten), „Grammatischer Wandel“ und „Bedeutungs- und Wortschatzwandel“. Diese Gruppe von Artikeln wird eingeleitet durch einen allgemeinen Beitrag zur „Historischen Soziolinguistik“.

Es fällt auf, dass in diesem großen Kapitel, das den Ergebnissen soziolinguistischer Forschung gewidmet ist, Termini aus fast allen vorausgehenden Kapiteln wieder erscheinen. Dies ist deshalb unvermeidlich, weil hier die in den vorausgehenden Kapiteln prägnant oder nur auf bestimmte Aspekte hin dargestellten Begriffe, Theorieansätze und Methoden detailliert und in empirischer Breite behandelt werden. Selbstverständlich kommen dabei Themen zur Sprache, die schon unter dem „Gegenstand der Soziolinguistik“, unter den „Soziolinguistischen“ und „Soziologischen“ Grundbegriffen, unter den ‘Sprachanalyse-Ebenen’, unter den „Nachbarwissenschaften“ und unter der „Soziolinguistischen Methodologie“ thematisiert wurden. Das vorliegende Kapitel liefert nach, was in den Artikeln jener Kapitel weggelassen wurde. Wegen der gegenseitigen Ergänzung zwischen den jeweiligen Artikeln waren gezielte Querverweise unverzichtbar.

Es liegt auf der Hand, dass es in Artikeln mit so globalen Titeln wie „Sprachkontaktforschung“ oder „Fachsprachenforschung“ nie um eine Gesamtdarstellung dieser riesigen Forschungsgebiete geht, für die es übrigens gesonderte Handbücher ähnlichen Formats wie das vorliegende gibt. Diese Artikel sollen sich vielmehr strikt auf die soziolinguistisch relevanten Befunde der betreffenden Forschungsrichtungen beschränken. Diese thematische Ausrichtung ist – wegen ihrer Selbstverständlichkeit im Rahmen eines Handbuches der Soziolinguistik – nicht ausdrücklich im Titel der Artikel formuliert, zumal die betreffende Spezifizierung oftmals hätte wiederholt werden müssen.

IX. Regionaler Überblick

Dieses Kapitel ist in zweierlei Hinsicht völlig neu konzipiert worden. Zum einen bedurfte diejenigen Länderartikel, die schon in der 1. Auflage enthalten waren, der gründlichen Überarbeitung und Modernisierung. Zum anderen, und dies ist tiefgreifender, wurde diesmal ausgewogene Repräsentativität für die ganze Welt angestrebt. Daher wurden – im Gegensatz zur großemäßigen Inkonsistenz der Beiträge zur

1. Auflage (China neben Berlin) – nun für die einzelnen Artikel möglichst konsistente Größenordnungen angestrebt, wobei allerdings nicht die geographische Ausdehnung, sondern die linguistische Komplexität der Einheiten ausschlaggebend war.

Die repräsentative Abdeckung der ganzen Sprachwelt war ein ehrgeiziges Ziel. Es erwies sich jedoch nicht als unrealistisch. Jedes Land oder jede einem Land ähnliche sprachpolitische Einheit sollte in die Betrachtung einbezogen und auf die soziolinguistischen Besonderheiten hin geprüft werden: bezüglich der vorkommenden Sprachen oder zumindest Sprachtypen, der soziolinguistischen Beziehungen zwischen ihnen sowie der zugrundeliegenden sozialen, kulturellen und politischen Situation. Die Leser erhalten also Informationen über die Sprachen und ihre genetischen Beziehungen, die Demographie der Sprachen, sprachliche Minderheiten, Amts- und Nationalsprachen, *Linguae francae*, und andere funktionale Sprachtypen, z. B. die Schulsprachen, über Sprachvarietäten und die Einstellung zu ihnen, die Dialektvariation, Fragen von Autonomie und Heteronomie von Varietäten und die sprachpolitischen Spannungen. Besonders wichtig war die möglichst repräsentative Berücksichtigung aller einschlägigen soziolinguistischen Publikationen.

Jeder Artikel folgt im Prinzip demselben Grundmuster, das von den Herausgebern vorgegeben wurde. Alle Artikel enthalten also möglichst vergleichbare Daten. Die Gruppierung der verschiedenen Länder und politischen Einheiten liegt in manchen Fällen auf der Hand, in anderen Fällen hat sie sich als schwierig erwiesen und war kaum ohne Willkür möglich. In Einzelfällen mussten sogar Gruppierungen nach Maßgabe der Möglichkeiten der Autoren vorgenommen werden, wenngleich sachliche Gründe immer Vorrang hatten. Auch das Prinzip der ungefähr gleichen soziolinguistischen Komplexität der Gegenstände für die einzelnen Artikel ließ sich nur näherungsweise durchhalten. Nicht immer konnte also nach einheitlichen Kriterien gruppiert werden. So ist z. B. Afrika eingeteilt nach geographischen, kolonialen und sonstigen soziolinguistischen Kriterien. In anderen Fällen war eine eindeutige geographische Zuordnung kaum möglich, beispielsweise bei den Sprachen der Sinti und Roma, die sich nicht ohne weiteres einer bestimmten Region zuordnen lassen. Bisweilen wurden sogar Sprachen oder Sprechergruppen einbezogen, die außerhalb der thematisierten Region selber liegen; ein Beispiel ist der Artikel über Israel, in dem die außerhalb des Landes gebräuchlichen jüdischen Sprachen mit thematisiert sind. Vielfach diente das Kriterium der gleichen Amtssprache zur Zusammenfassung verschiedener Länder, das freilich eklatante Unterschiede unterhalb der Amtssprachebene nicht ausschließt.

Die Aufgabe für die Autoren war oft schwierig. Man muss sich vergegenwärtigen, dass jeder Artikel als repräsentative und umfassende Quelle für soziolinguistische Informationen jeglicher Art über die betreffende Ländergruppe dienen soll. Aufgrund des verhältnismäßig geringen Raumes mussten sich die Autoren oft sehr knapp fassen. Umso wichtiger sind die extensiven und einschlägigen bibliographischen Angaben, die alles Wesentliche enthalten. Nicht selten kommen kartographische Darstellungen dazu.

X. Sprachwandel, soziolinguistische Aspekte

Die Struktur dieses Kapitels hat sich gegenüber der von Kapitel VIII der 1. Auflage erheblich verändert. Zum einen wurden alle Artikel herausgenommen, die sich mit den soziolinguistischen Aspekten des innersprachlichen Wandels auf verschiedenen

Sprachebenen, von den Lauten bis zu den Texten, beschäftigt. Sie sind jetzt dem neuen **Kapitel VIII** „Ergebnisse der soziolinguistischen Forschung“ zugeordnet. Verblieben sind nur diejenigen Artikel, in denen die sprachlichen Auswirkungen gesellschaftlicher Veränderungsprozesse thematisiert werden, die historische Gemeinschaften in ihrer Entwicklung durchlaufen.

Solche einschneidenden, weil die soziokommunikativen Strukturen von Gesellschaften grundlegend verändernden Entwicklungen sind etwa die Entstehung von Schriftsprachen und der Übergang von oralen zu skribalen Gesellschaften und – damit zusammenhängend – die Verbreitung von Schreibkompetenzen innerhalb einer Gesellschaft („Alphabetisierung“). Die strukturelle Fortentwicklung oder Ausweitung von Gesellschaften hin zu eigenständigen Nationen bzw. Staaten löst innerhalb der Kommunikationsmittel Konvergenz- und Divergenzprozesse aus, die Regionalsprachen und später auch Standardsprachen entstehen lassen. Den allgemeinen sozialhistorischen Rahmen für derartige Vorgänge bildet die in den meisten Industriegesellschaften der Welt zu beobachtende gesellschaftliche Modernisierung, die sich auch auf Sprache und Kommunikation erstreckt. Die Professionalisierung der Sprachen und die Ausbildung von Fachsprachen sind dabei immer wieder auftretende Entwicklungen.

Weitere Komponenten im Prozess gesellschaftlich bedingten Wandels sind der Kolonialismus und die anschließende Phase der Dekolonisierung, ferner die Bildung von Sprachimperien, die gesellschaftliche Migration, die Diffusion sprachlicher Neuerungen und die Sprachverbreitung über größere Räume hinweg. Forschungen in größerem Umfang gibt es zum Themenkomplex „Spracherhaltung, Sprachverfall, Sprachtod“. Ein eher theoretischer Artikel schließt den Themenblock ab: Unter der Überschrift „Sprachgeschichte und historische Soziolinguistik“ geht es nicht um wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Aspekte, sondern um die Frage, auf welche Weise sich soziolinguistische Fragestellungen und Themen in sprachhistorische Untersuchungen integrieren lassen.

XI. Anwendung

Im heutigen Wissenschaftsbetrieb wird Soziolinguistik häufig der angewandten Linguistik zugeordnet, oder beide werden weitgehend gleichgesetzt; offenbar meinen manche Linguisten, dass eine auf die Gesellschaft bezogene Linguistik notwendigerweise anwendungsorientiert ist. Gegenüber solchen Missverständnissen muss hier deutlich gemacht werden, dass Soziolinguistik keineswegs notwendigerweise angewandt, sondern in wesentlichen Teilen rein theoretisch ist. Für manche Soziolinguisten ist die Disziplin sogar nichts anderes als eine theoretisch besser fundierte Art von Linguistik. Daher war es angebracht, die Anwendung der Soziolinguistik in einem eigenen Kapitel zu thematisieren. Ungeachtet der vielfach rein theoretischen Ausprägung ist die Soziolinguistik naheliegenderweise auch vielfältig anwendbar, wie man es von einer Sprachwissenschaft erwartet, die in komplexer Weise auf die Gesellschaft bezogen ist.

Im vorliegenden Kapitel geht es darum, die Anwendungsmöglichkeiten der Soziolinguistik so umfassend wie möglich zu präsentieren. Es liegt auf der Hand, dass diese durch die in den vorausgehenden Kapiteln dargestellte Theorie, Methodologie und Empirie fundiert sein müssen. In diesem Kapitel geht es jedoch nicht um die Anwendbarkeit soziolinguistischer Ansätze und Befunde in anderen Disziplinen, sondern um

ihre Anwendbarkeit für die Lösung realer gesellschaftlicher Probleme. Im Bezug auf die reale Welt also besteht die Spezifik des hier zugrunde liegenden Anwendungsbegriffs. Damit vereinbar ist auch die Anwendung der Soziolinguistik in all denjenigen Aktivitätsbereichen, durch die – auf welcher philosophischen oder ideologischen Grundlage auch immer – die wirkliche Welt verbessert werden kann.

Das vorliegende Kapitel knüpft zwar an das gleichlautende **Kapitel XIII** der 1. Auflage an, ist jedoch systematischer und weit umfassender. Zumindest in Form von Verweisen werden alle derzeit erkennbaren Anwendungsmöglichkeiten der Soziolinguistik thematisiert. Im Vordergrund stehen dabei Anwendungsfelder in den Bereichen der Erziehung, Medizin, Sprachplanung und des Zusammenhangs von Sprache und Politik. Neu hinzugekommen sind insbesondere Anwendungen der Soziolinguistik in der Lexikographie, der Wahl von Amtssprachen, im Rahmen feministischer Sprachreformbestrebungen sowie im Zusammenhang mit dem Thema sprachliche Menschenrechte. Sofern Themen aus der 1. Auflage beibehalten wurden, bedurften die Artikel durchgängig der gründlichen Überarbeitung, da sich gerade die Anwendungsmöglichkeiten der Soziolinguistik in den letzten Jahren breit entfaltet haben. Gegenüber der 1. Auflage musste auch das Verweisnetz zu den vorausgehenden Artikeln dichter geflochten werden, damit die Grundlagen der Anwendung in Theorie, Methodologie und Empirie deutlicher wurden. Als Beispiel sei nur die Diskursanalyse genannt, deren Befunde vor Gericht, im Klassenzimmer und in der Therapie vielfältig angewandt werden. Bei der Darstellung der verschiedenen Anwendungen wird jeweils auf die in den vorausgehenden Artikeln beschriebenen Grundlagen verwiesen, beispielsweise auf den Artikel über „Diskurs- und Konversationsanalyse“. Entsprechendes gilt für die Sprachplanung, den Spracherhalt, die Sprachwiederbelebung oder die Sprachpflege. Gerade bei manchen der neu aufgenommenen Artikel ist der Bezug zu vorausgehenden Artikeln nicht ohne weiteres ersichtlich und daher durch ausdrücklichen Verweis hervorgehoben. Ein Beispiel ist „Soziolinguistik und transkulturelle Kommunikation“ mit Bezügen unter anderem zur Anthropologischen Linguistik, zur Ethnographie des Sprechens, zur Sprachkonfliktforschung, zu den Sprachbarrieren zwischen Sprachgemeinschaften und zur Sprachwahl in internationalen Kontakten.

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Ammon Kap. II, VIII

Dittmar Kap. IV, VI, VII

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Trudgill Kap. I, IX (Art. 185–218), XI

Darüber hinaus fungierte Ammon als Koordinator und federführender Herausgeber.

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Im Sommer 2004

Ulrich Ammon
Norbert Dittmar
Klaus J. Mattheier
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Contents/Inhalt

Volume 1/1. Teilband

Preface	V
Vorwort	XVIII

I. The Subject Matter of Sociolinguistics Der Gegenstand der Soziolinguistik

1. <i>Peter Trudgill</i> , Sociolinguistics: An Overview / Soziolinguistik: Ein Überblick	1
2. <i>William Labov</i> , Quantitative Analysis of Linguistic Variation / Quantitative Analyse sprachlicher Variation	6
3. <i>Paul Kerswill</i> , Social Dialectology / Sozialdialektologie	22
4. <i>David Britain</i> , Geolinguistics – Diffusion of Language / Geolinguistik – Sprachdiffusion	34
5. <i>Suzanne Romaine</i> , Language-Contact Studies / Sprachkontaktstudien	49
6. <i>John Holm</i> , Pidgin and Creole Studies / Pidgin- und Kreolstudien . . .	58
7. <i>Karol Janicki</i> , The Sociology of Language / Sprachsoziologie	67
8. <i>Deborah Tannen</i> , Interactional Sociolinguistics / Interaktionale Soziolinguistik	76
9. <i>Deborah Schiffrin</i> , Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis / Diskurs und Konversationsanalyse	88
10. <i>Howard Giles / Jennifer Fortman</i> , The Social Psychology of Language / Sozialpsychologie der Sprache	99
11. <i>Muriel Saville-Troike</i> , Anthropological Linguistics and the Ethnography of Speaking / Anthropologische Linguistik und Ethnographie des Sprechens	109
12. <i>J. R. Martin / G. Williams</i> , Functional Sociolinguistics / Funktionale Soziolinguistik	120
13. <i>Colin H. Williams</i> , The Geography of Language / Geographie der Sprache	130

II. Basic Sociolinguistic Concepts Soziolinguistische Grundbegriffe

14. <i>Joachim Raith</i> , Sprachgemeinschaft – Kommunikationsgemeinschaft / Speech Community – Communication Community	146
15. <i>Georg Kremnitz</i> , Diglossie – Polyglossie / Diglossia – Polyglossia . . .	158
16. <i>Hitoshi Yamashita / Kayoko Noro</i> , Kommunikative Kompetenz – Sprachliche Kompetenz / Communicative Competence – Linguistic Competence	165

17.	<i>Hideaki Takahashi</i> , Language Norms / Sprachnorm	172
18.	<i>Ulrich Ammon</i> , Funktionale Typen und Statustypen von Sprachsystemen / Functional Types and Status Types of Linguistic Systems	179
19.	<i>Gaetano Berruto</i> , Sprachvarietät – Sprache (Gesamtsprache, historische Sprache) / Linguistic Variety – Language (Whole Language, Historical Language)	188
20.	<i>Martin Durrell</i> , Linguistic Variable – Linguistic Variant / Sprachvariable – Sprachvariante	195
21.	<i>Martin Durrell</i> , Sociolect / Soziolekt	200
22.	<i>Bernd Spiller</i> , Stil / Style	206
23.	<i>Norbert Dittmar</i> , Register / Register	216
24.	<i>Martin Pütz</i> , Sprachrepertoire / Linguistic Repertoire	226
25.	<i>Lothar Hoffmann</i> , Fachsprache / Language of Specific Purposes	232
26.	<i>Harald Haarmann</i> , Abstandsprache – Ausbausprache / Abstand-Language – Ausbau-Language	238
27.	<i>Norbert Dittmar</i> , Umgangssprache – Nonstandard / Vernacular – Nonstandard	250
28.	<i>Connie Eble</i> , Slang and Antilanguage / Slang und Argot	262
29.	<i>David Britain</i> , Dialect and Accent / Dialekt und Akzent	267
30.	<i>Ulrich Ammon</i> , Standard Variety / Standardvarietät	273
31.	<i>Ronald Butters</i> , Focussing and Diffusion / Konzentration und Diffusion	283
32.	<i>Stephen Barbour</i> , National Language and Official Language / Nationalsprache und Amtssprache	288
33.	<i>Michael G. Clyne</i> , Pluricentric Language / Plurizentrische Sprache	296
34.	<i>Bettina Migge</i> , Pidgin Language and Creole Language / Pidginsprache und Kreolsprache	300
35.	<i>Rainer Dietrich</i> , Erstsprache – Muttersprache / First Language – Mother Tongue	305
36.	<i>Rainer Dietrich</i> , Zweitsprache – Fremdsprache / Second Language – Foreign Language	311
37.	<i>Alberto M. Mioni</i> , Classical Language – Dead Language / Klassische Sprache – Tote Sprache	314
38.	<i>Ingwer Paul</i> , Ritualsprache / Ritual Language	323
39.	<i>Lars Vikør</i> , Lingua Franca and International Language / Verkehrssprache und Internationale Sprache	328
40.	<i>Iwar Werlen</i> , Domäne / Domain	335
41.	<i>Georges Lüdi</i> , Code-Switching / Sprachwechsel	341

III. Sociological Concepts Soziologische Begriffe

42.	<i>Gary D. Bouma / Haydn Aarons</i> , Religion / Religion	351
43.	<i>Ana Deumert</i> , Ethnicity / Ethnizität	355
44.	<i>Hans Heinrich Blotvogel</i> , Region / Region	360
45.	<i>Andreas Gardt</i> , Nation / Nation	369
46.	<i>Werner Georg</i> , Schicht / Class	378
47.	<i>Uta Gerhardt</i> , Rolle / Role	384

48.	<i>Klaus Gloy</i> , Norm / Norm	392
49.	<i>David Lasagabaster</i> , Attitude / Einstellung	399
50.	<i>Lothar Krappmann</i> , Identität / Identity	405
51.	<i>Hermann Strasser / Norbert Brömme</i> , Prestige und Stigma / Prestige and Stigma	412
52.	<i>Ute Schönflug</i> , Individuum / Individual	417
53.	<i>Rudolf Fisch</i> , Gruppe / Group	423
54.	<i>Uta Gerhardt</i> , Situation / Situation	430
55.	<i>Michael Schenk</i> , Alexander Berge, Netzwerk / Network	438
56.	<i>Hartmut Häußermann</i> , Stadt / City	443
57.	<i>Hermann Strasser / Norbert Brömme</i> , Stand und Kaste / Orders and Castes	461
58.	<i>Hans J. Hummell</i> , Institution / Institution	467
59.	<i>Wolfgang Lipp</i> , Subkultur / Subculture	478
60.	<i>Rosita Rindler Schjerve</i> , Minderheit / Minority	480
61.	<i>Glyn Williams</i> , Community / Gemeinschaft	486

IV. The Social Implications of Levels of Linguistic Analysis Soziale Implikationen von Sprachanalyse-Ebenen

62.	<i>Ernest W.B. Hess-Lüttich</i> , Die sozialsymbolische Funktion der Sprache / The Social Symbolic Function of Language	491
63.	<i>Bernd Pompino-Marschall</i> , Phonetics / Phonetik	503
64.	<i>Silke Hamann / Marzena Zygis</i> , Phonology / Phonologie	512
65.	<i>Rüdiger Harnisch</i> , Morphologie / Morphology	522
66.	<i>David Singleton / Jeffrey L. Kallen</i> , Lexicon / Lexikon	530
67.	<i>Werner Kummer</i> , Syntax / Syntax	540
68.	<i>Martina Rost-Roth / Almut Zwengel</i> , Semantik / Semantics	546
69.	<i>Jochen Rehbein</i> , Shinichi Kameyama Pragmatik / Pragmatics	556
70.	<i>Shana Poplack</i> , Code-Switching / Sprachwechsel	589
71.	<i>Deborah Schiffrin</i> , Discourse / Diskurs	597
72.	<i>Sachiko Ide / Chikako Sakurai</i> , Politeness Forms / Höflichkeitsformen	605
73.	<i>Konstanze Jungbluth / Brigitte Schlieben-Lange †</i> , Text / Text	614
74.	<i>Utz Maas</i> , Geschriebene Sprache / Written Language	633
75.	<i>Gerhard Augst</i> , Orthografie / Orthography	646
76.	<i>Hartmut Trau Müller</i> , Paralinguale Phänomene / Paralinguistic Phenomena	653
77.	<i>Harald G. Wallbott †</i> , Nonverbale Phänomene / Nonverbal Phenomena	666
78.	<i>Bencie Woll / Rachel Sutton-Spence</i> , Sign Language / Zeichensprache	677

V. The History of Sociolinguistics Geschichte der Soziolinguistik

79.	<i>Hans Goebel</i> , Vorsoziolinguistische Entwicklungen in der Erforschung von Sprache und Gesellschaft / Pre-Sociolinguistic Developments in the Research on Language and Society	684
-----	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

80.	<i>Norbert Dittmar</i> , Forschungsgeschichte der Soziolinguistik (seit Verwendung dieses Ausdrucks) / History of Research on Sociolinguistics (after the Coining of the Term)	698
81.	<i>Raphael Berthele</i> , Dialektsoziologie – Soziolinguistische Aspekte der Dialektologie / Dialect Sociology – Sociolinguistic Aspects of Dialectology	721
82.	<i>Fritz Schütze</i> / <i>Jörg Meindl</i> , Die Rolle der Sprache in der soziologischen Forschung – historisch gesehen / The Role of Language in Sociological Research – in a Historical Perspective	739
83.	<i>Harald Haarmann</i> , Sociolinguistic Aspects of Cultural Anthropology / Soziolinguistische Aspekte der Kulturanthropologie	769
84.	<i>Martin Steinseifer</i> / <i>Jean Baptiste Marcellesi</i> / <i>Abdou Elimam</i> , Marxian Approaches to Sociolinguistics / Marxistische Ansätze der Soziolinguistik	786
85.	<i>Michael Clyne</i> , History of Research on Language Contact / Geschichte der Sprachkontaktforschung	799
86.	<i>Ian Hancock</i> / <i>Ana Deumert</i> , History of Research on Pidgins and Creoles / Geschichte der Pidgin- und Kreolforschung	806
87.	<i>Harald Haarmann</i> , Geschichte der Anwendungen der Soziolinguistik / History of Application of Sociolinguistics	818
88.	<i>Wolfgang Serbser</i> , Forschungsgeschichte des symbolischen Interaktionismus / History of Research on Symbolic Interaction	836

Volume 2/2. Teilband

VI. Neighbouring Disciplines Nachbarwissenschaften

- | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 89. | <i>Christine A. Monnier</i> , Cultural Sociology / Kultursoziologie |
| 90. | <i>Carl-Friedrich Graumann</i> , Sozialpsychologie / Social Psychology |
| 91. | <i>Volker Heeschen</i> , Ethnology and Anthropology / Ethnologie und Anthropologie |
| 92. | <i>Hannes Scheutz</i> , Dialektologie / Dialectology |
| 93. | <i>Rainer Dietrich</i> / <i>Patrick Grommes</i> / <i>Jürgen Weissenborn</i> , Psycholinguistik / Psycholinguistics |
| 94. | <i>Wilfried Krings</i> , Sozialgeographie / Human Geography |

VII. Sociolinguistic Methodology Soziolinguistische Methodologie

- | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 95. | <i>Hartmut Haberland</i> , Research Policy / Forschungspolitik |
| 96. | <i>Norbert Dittmar</i> , Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer soziolinguistischen Theorie / The Possibilities and Limits of a Sociolinguistic Theory |
| 97. | <i>Hans Goebel</i> , Forschungsethische Probleme / Issues in Research Ethics |
| 98. | <i>Matthew J. Gordon</i> , Research Aims and Methodology / Forschungsziele und Methodologie |

99. *Toni Rietveld / Roeland van Hout*, Quantitative Methods / Quantitative Methoden
100. *Werner Kallmeyer*, Qualitative Methoden / Qualitative Methods
101. *Peter Schlobinski*, Phasen des Forschungsprozesses / Stages of Research
102. *David Sankoff*, Problems of Representativeness / Probleme der Repräsentativität
103. *Gillian Sankoff*, Cross-Sectional and Longitudinal Studies / Querschnitt- und Längsschnittuntersuchungen
104. *Aaron V. Cicourel*, Elicitation as a Problem of Discourse / Elizitierung als ein Diskursproblem
105. *Heinrich Löffler*, Forschungsplanung bei Mikro- und Makrostudien / Research Planning in Micro- and Macro-Studies
106. *Hartmut Lüdtke*, Beobachtung / Observation
107. *Charles L. Briggs*, Sociolinguistic Interviews / Soziolinguistisches Interview
108. *Peter Atteslander*, Schriftliche Befragung / Written Investigations
109. *Manfred Auwärter*, Experiment / Experiments
110. *Bernard Spolsky*, Tests / Test
111. *Edward Finegan*, The Possibilities and Limits of Corpus-Linguistic Description / Möglichkeiten und Grenzen korpuslinguistischer Beschreibung
112. *John de Vries*, Language Censuses / Sprachenzensus
113. *Marlis Hellinger*, Contrastive Sociolinguistics / Kontrastive Soziolinguistik
114. *Helmut Richter*, Transkriptionssysteme / Transcription Systems
115. *Roeland van Hout*, Statistical Descriptions of Language / Statistische Sprachbeschreibung
116. *Roeland van Hout*, Linguistische Messverfahren / Linguistic Measurements
117. *David Sankoff*, Variable Rules / Variablenregeln
118. *Wolfgang Klein*, The Grammar of Varieties / Varietätengrammatik
119. *Norbert Dittmar / Peter Schlobinski*, Implikationsanalyse / Implicational Analysis
120. *Romuald Skiba*, Computeranalyse / Computer Analysis
121. *Frederick Erickson*, Ethnographic Description / Ethnographische Beschreibung
122. *Werner Kallmeyer*, Konversationsanalytische Beschreibung / Conversational Analysis
123. *Kristin Bührig / Jan D. ten Thije*, Diskurspragmatische Beschreibung / Discourse-Pragmatic Description
124. *Peter Garrett*, Attitude Measurements / Messung von Einstellungen
125. *Eugene Casad*, Analyses of Intelligibility / Verständlichkeitsanalyse
126. *Cailin Kulp / Karen M. Cornetto / Mark L. Knapp*, The Description of Non-Verbal Behavior / Beschreibung nonverbalen Verhaltens

VIII. Findings of Sociolinguistic Research

Ergebnisse der soziolinguistischen Forschung

127. *Basil Bernstein †*, Social Class and Sociolinguistic Codes / Sozialschicht und soziolinguistische Codes
128. *William F. Mackey*, Research on Urban Varieties / Stadtsprachenforschung
129. *Ulrike Altendorf*, Stadtdialektforschung / Urban Sociolinguistics
130. *Sonja Vandermeeren*, Research on Language Attitudes / Spracheinstellungsforschung
131. *Wolfgang Wildgen*, Sprachkontaktforschung / Research on Language Contact
132. *Peter Hans Nelde*, Research on Language Conflict / Sprachkonfliktforschung
133. *Françoise Gadet*, Research on Sociolinguistic Style / Soziolinguistische Stilforschung
134. *Harald Haarmann*, Research on National Languages / National-sprachenforschung
135. *Peter Mühlhäusler*, Research on Pidgins and Creoles / Pidgin- und Kreol-Forschung
136. *Lothar Hoffmann*, Fachsprachenforschung / Research on Language for Special Purposes
137. *Gudrun Held*, Ethnographie des Sprechens / The Ethnography of Speaking
138. *Penelope Brown*, Linguistic Politeness / Sprachliche Höflichkeit
139. *Jürgen Streeck*, Ethnomethodologie / Ethnomethodology
140. *Iwar Werlen*, Linguistische Relativität / Linguistic Relativity
141. *Klaus J. Mattheier*, Dialektsoziologie / Dialect Sociology
142. *Patrick Renaud*, Domain and Role Specific Research / Domänen- und rollenspezifische Forschung
143. *Peter Schlobinski*, Netzwerkuntersuchungen / Research on Networks
144. *Jeanine Treffers-Daller*, Code-Switching
145. *William F. Mackey*, Bilingualism and Multilingualism
146. *Jannis K. Androutsopoulos*, Research on Youth-Language / Jugendsprach-Forschung
147. *Guus Extra / Durk Gorter*, Linguistic and Ethnic Minorities / Sprachliche und ethnische Minderheiten
148. *Harald Haarmann*, Linguistic Barriers between Speech Communities and Language Choice in International Contacts / Sprachbarrieren zwischen Sprachgemeinschaften und Sprachwahl in internationalen Kontakten
149. *Ulrich Ammon*, Pluricentric and Divided Languages / Plurizentrische und geteilte Sprachen
150. *Mysore E. Annamalai*, Communities with „Undeveloped Languages“ / Gemeinschaften mit „unentwickelten Sprachen“
151. *Harald Haarmann*, Roofless Dialects / Dachlose Dialekte

152. *Jenny Cheshire*, Age and Generation-Specific Use of Language / Alters- und generationsspezifischer Sprachgebrauch
153. *Gisela Klann-Delius*, Sex and Language / Geschlecht und Sprache
154. *Monica Heller*, Language and Identity / Sprache und Identität
155. *Richard Y. Bourhis*, Linguistic Prejudice and Stereotypes / Linguistisches Vorurteil und Stereotyp
156. *Ruth Wodak*, Communication in Institutions / Kommunikation in Institutionen
157. *Jürgen Schmitz*, Sprache und Massenkommunikation / Language and Mass Communication
158. *Dieter Nerius*, Gesprochene und geschriebene Sprache / Spoken and Written Language
159. *Ruth Wodak / Rudolf de Cillia*, Political Discourse / Politischer Diskurs
160. *Harald Haarmann*, The Politics of Language Spread / Sprachverbreitungspolitik
161. *Florian Coulmas*, Economic Aspects of Languages / Ökonomischer Aspekt von Sprachen
162. *Karen Risager*, Cross-and Intercultural Communication / Trans- und interkulturelle Kommunikation
163. *Dennis R. Preston*, Perceptual Dialectology / Perzeptive Dialektologie
164. *Suzanne Romaine*, Historical Sociolinguistics
165. *Hannes Scheutz*, Aktuell stattfindender Lautwandel / Sound Change in Progress
166. *Peter Auer*, Sound Change / Lautwandel
167. *Helmut Lüdtke*, Grammatischer Wandel / Grammatical Change
168. *Malgorzata Fabiszak*, Semantic and Lexical Change / Bedeutungs- und Wortschatzwandel

Volume 3/3. Teilband

IX. Regional Overview Regionaler Überblick

169. *Lars Vikør*, Scandinavia / Skandinavien
170. *Li Wei*, The British Isles / Die Britischen Inseln
171. *Roland Willemyns*, The Low Countries / Niederlande
172. *Ulrich Ammon*, Die deutschsprachigen Länder / The German-Speaking Countries
- 172a. *Walter Haas*, Die Schweiz / Switzerland
173. *Françoise Gadet*, France / Frankreich
174. *Edgar Radtke*, Italy / Italien
175. *Juan Andrés Villena Ponsoda*, The Iberian Peninsula / Die Iberische Halbinsel
176. *Miklós Kontra*, Hungarian In and Outside Hungary / Ungarisch in und außerhalb Ungarns

177. *Klaus Steinke*, Rumänien und Moldau / Romania and Moldavia
178. *Gerhard Neweklowski*, Die südslawische Region / The South-Slavic Area
179. *Wladyslaw Lubaś*, Die westslawischen Sprachen / The West-Slavic Languages
180. *Karl Gutschmidt*, Die ostslawische Region / The East-Slavic Area
181. *Ina Druviete*, The Baltic States / Die baltischen Staaten
182. *Ian Hancock*, Gipsy Languages / Zigeunersprachen
183. *Victor A. Friedmann*, Albania / Albanien
184. *Peter Trudgill* / *Daniel Schreier*, Greece and Cyprus / Griechenland und Zypern
185. *Lars Johanson* / *Elisabetta Ragagnin*, Central Asia and Mongolia / Zentralasien und Mongolei
- 186a. *George Hewitt*, Georgia / Georgien
- 186b. *Jos. J. S. Weitenberg*, Armenia / Armenien
187. *Birgit N. Schlyter*, Turkey / Türkei
188. *Yahya Modarresi*, Iran, Afghanistan and Tajikistan / Iran, Afghanistan und Tadschikistan
189. *Enam Al-Wer*, The Arabic-speaking Middle East / Der arabischsprachige Mittlere Osten
190. *Bernard Spolsky*, Israel and the Jewish Languages / Israel und die jüdischen Sprachen
191. *Clive Holes*, The Arabian Peninsula and Iraq / Die Arabische Halbinsel und der Irak
192. *Keith Walter*, North Africa / Nordafrika
193. *Louis-Jean Calvet*, Francophone West Africa / Das frankophone Westafrika
194. *Ronny Meyer*, Sudan and the Horn of Africa / Sudan und das Horn von Afrika
195. *Magnus Huber*, Anglophone West Africa / Das anglophone Westafrika
196. *Silvester Ron Simango*, East Africa / Ostafrika
197. *Louis-Jean Calvet*, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Burundi / Die demokratische Republic Congo, Ruanda und Burundi
198. *Emilio Bonvini*, Lusophone Africa / Das lusophone Afrika
199. *Tore Janson*, Southern Africa / Südliches Afrika
200. *Robert Chaudenson*, Madagascar and the Comoros / Madagaskar und die Komoren
201. *Robert Chaudenson*, The Indian Ocean / Der Indische Ozean
202. *Braj B. Kachru*, South Asia / Südasien
203. *Cheng Tien-mu* / *Fritz Pasierbsky* China / China
204. *David Bradley*, Mainland Southeast Asia / Südostasiatisches Festland
205. *Lars Vikør*, Malaysia and Insular Southeast Asia / Malaysia und insulares Südostasien
206. *Shinji Sanada*, Japan und Korea / Japan and Korea

207. *Anne Pauwels*, Australia and New Zealand / Australien und Neuseeland
208. *Andrew Pawley*, The South Pacific / Der südliche Pazifik
209. *John Edwards*, Canada / Kanada
210. *Lyle Campbell*, The USA / Die USA
211. *Cecilia Cutler* / *Stephanie Hackert* / *Chanti Seymour*, Bermuda and the Bahamas / Bermuda und Bahamas
212. *Yolanda Lastra*, Mexico and Central America / Mittelamerika
- 212a. *Ralph Penny*, The Hispanophone Caribbean / Die hispanophone Karibik
213. *Hubert Devonish*, The Anglophone Caribbean / Die anglophone Karibik
214. *Jean Bernabé*, The Francophone Caribbean / Die frankophone Karibik
215. *Marta Dijkhoff* / *Silvia Kouwenberg* / *Paul Tjon Sie Fat*, The Dutch-speaking Caribbean / Die niederländischsprachige Karibik
216. *Rainer Enrique Hamel* / *Pedro Martín Butragueño*, Hispanophone South America / Hispanophones Südamerika
217. *Maria Marta Pereira Scherre*, Brazil / Brasilien
218. *Daniel Schreier* / *Andrea Sudbury* / *Sheila Wilson*, English in the South Atlantic Ocean / Englisch im Süd-Atlantik

X. Linguistic Change, Sociolinguistic Aspects Sprachwandel, soziolinguistische Aspekte

219. *Ana Deumert*, The Relationship between Linguistic and Social Change / Das Verhältnis von sprachlichem und sozialem Wandel
220. *Utz Maas*, Der Übergang von Oralität zu Skribalität in soziolinguistischer Perspektive / The Change from Oral to Written Communication from a Sociolinguistic Perspective
221. *Joachim Gessinger*, Alphabetisierung von Sprachgemeinschaften / The Alphabetization of Speech Communities
222. *Edgar Radtke*, Konvergenz und Divergenz regionaler Varietäten / Convergence and Divergence of Regional Varieties
223. *František Daneš*, Herausbildung und Reform von Standardsprachen und Destandardisierung / Development and Reform of Standard Languages and Destandardization
224. *Jiří V. Neustupný*, Sociolinguistic Aspects of Social Modernization / Soziolinguistische Aspekte gesellschaftlicher Modernisierung
225. *Jiří Nekvapil*, The Development of Languages for Special Purposes / Herausbildung von Fachsprachen
226. *Robert Phillipson*, Colonisation and Decolonisation / Kolonisation und Dekolonisation
227. *Rainer Enrique Hamel*, The Development of Language Empires / Entwicklung von Sprachimperien
228. *Wolfgang Dressler* / *Rudolf de Cillia*, Spracherhaltung – Sprachverfall – Sprachtod / Language Maintenance, Language Decline and Language Death

229. *Paul Kerswill*, Migration and Language / Migration und Sprache
 230. *Marinel Gerritsen / Roeland van Hout*, Sociolinguistic Developments as a Diffusion Process / Soziolinguistische Entwicklungen als Diffusionsprozesse
 231. *Robert Phillipson*, Language Spread / Sprachverbreitung
 232. *Paul T. Roberge*, Language History and Historical Sociolinguistics / Sprachgeschichte und historische Soziolinguistik

XI. Application Anwendung

233. *John Gibbons*, Forensic Sociolinguistics / Forensische Soziolinguistik
 234. *Roger W. Shuy*, Discourse Analysis and the Law / Diskursanalyse und Recht
 235. *Nikolas Coupland / Virpi Ylänne-McEwen*, The Sociolinguistics of Ageing / Soziolinguistik des Alterns
 236. *Jenny Cheshire*, Sociolinguistics and Mother-tongue Education / Soziolinguistik und Muttersprachdidaktik
 237. *Sarah Michaels / Richard Sohmer / Mary Catherine O' Connor*, Discourse in the Classroom / Diskurs im Schulunterricht
 238. *Marilyn Martin-Jones*, Sociolinguistics and Second Language Teaching / Soziolinguistik und Zweitsprachunterricht
 239. *Helga Bister-Broosen*, Sociolinguistics and Foreign Language Teaching / Soziolinguistik und Fremdsprachenunterricht
 240. *Helge Omdal*, Language Planning: Standardization / Sprachplanung und Standardisierung
 241. *Ana Deumert*, Language Planning – Language Determination / Sprachplanung – Sprachdeterminierung
 242. *Harald Haarmann*, Language Planning: Graphization and the Development of Writing Systems / Graphisation und die Entwicklung von Schreibsystemen
 243. *Rodolfo Jacobson*, Language Planning: Modernization / Sprachplanung: Modernisierung
 244. *Götz Kaufmann*, Language Maintenance and Reversing Language Shift / Spracherhalt und Umkehr von Sprachumstellung
 245. *Aaron Bar-Adon*, Language Revival / Sprachwiederbelebung
 246. *František Daneš*, Sprachpflege / Language Cultivation
 247. *Ulrich Püschel*, Lexicographie und Soziolinguistik / Lexicography and Sociolinguistics
 248. *Ludwig Eichinger*, Soziolinguistik und Sprachminderheiten / Sociolinguistics and Linguistic Minorities
 249. *Claude Piron*, Choosing an Official Language
 250. *Helga Kotthoff*, Angewandte feministische Linguistik / Applied Feminist Linguistics
 251. *Walt Wolfram*, Sociolinguistics and Speech and Language Pathology / Soziolinguistik und Sprachtherapie
 252. *Robin Tolmach Lakoff*, Therapeutic Discourse / Therapeutischer Diskurs

- 253. *Helen Spencer-Oatey*, Sociolinguistics and Intercultural Communication / Soziolinguistik und interkulturelle Kommunikation
- 254. *Carolyn Temple Adger / Donna Christian*, Applied Social Dialectology / Angewandte Sozialdialektologie
- 255. *Reinhard Fiehler*, Rhetorik / Rhetoric
- 256. *Matthias Jung*, Aufklärung von ideologischem Sprachgebrauch / Revealing the Implications of Ideological Language Use
- 257. *Tove Skutnabb-Kangas*, Linguistic Human Rights / Sprachliche Menschenrechte

Index of Subjects / Sachregister

I. The Subject Matter of Sociolinguistics Der Gegenstand der Soziolinguistik

1. Sociolinguistics: An Overview/Soziolinguistik: Ein Überblick

1. Sociolinguistics
2. Macro- and microsociolinguistics
3. Objectives
4. Subdivisions
5. Conclusion
6. Literature (selected)

1. Sociolinguistics

The purpose of this first section of the Handbook is to present an overview of the field of sociolinguistics as a whole. We propose to produce in this section an exhaustive coverage of the entire field of sociolinguistics in terms of what sociolinguists actually *do*, and *why* they do it. We will be including – as in the Handbook as a whole – a number of topics which were not dealt with in the first edition; and, again as in the Handbook as a whole, those subjects which were discussed in the first edition and remain in this second edition will sometimes be subdivided and grouped together rather differently, under different headings, in the new edition, in order to reflect the changing preoccupations and practices of the twenty-first century. There will also, obviously, be considerable updating to take account of the very considerable amounts of work that have been carried out in the intervening period. The intention is also to give a picture of the activities of scholars currently working in sociolinguistics. That is, the history of sociolinguistics will not be covered in this section, and there will be no extensive discussion here of theoretical concepts either. Neither will the section be concerned with sociolinguistic findings; and, in spite of the fact that we will be citing major references, we will not provide, at this point, detailed or extensive bibliographies. We will not, either, be discussing the applications of sociolinguistics. All the areas of sociolinguistics discussed in this section of the Handbook are potentially utilisable in an applied way to

the solution of real-world difficulties and problems. For example, workers in interactional sociolinguistics have often been concerned with the way in which linguistic interaction may be involved in the maintenance of social inequality and discrimination. Equally, work in the ethnography of speaking has been employed in attempts to elucidate problems of cross-cultural miscommunication. Applications of sociolinguistics are dealt with in a separate section of this Handbook.

2. Macro- and microsociolinguistics

One way of categorising sub-areas within sociolinguistics is to divide them into *macrosociolinguistics* and *microsociolinguistics*. The former term is sometimes used to cover variationist linguistics, social dialectology, the sociology of language, and other areas involving the study of relatively large groups of speakers. Microsociolinguistics, on the other hand, is a term which is sometimes used to cover the sociolinguistic study of face-to-face interaction such as in discourse and conversation analysis, interactional sociolinguistics, and the social psychology of language, as well as other areas of sociolinguistics involving the study of relatively small groups of speakers. Another way of categorising sub-areas within sociolinguistics, which is related to this but rather different in emphasis, is the well-known distinction introduced by Ralph Fasold in the titles of his two books *The sociolinguistics of society* and *The sociolinguistics of language* (published by Blackwell in 1984 and 1990 respectively). The sociolinguistics of society covers macrosociolinguistic topics such as multilingualism but also more microsociolinguistic areas such as language attitudes i.e. the social psychology of language, together with applications of the sociology of language and social dialectology as in language planning/

standardisation and vernacular language education. The sociolinguistics of language covers microsociolinguistic topics such as discourse and the ethnography of communication plus more macrosociolinguistic areas such as variationist linguistics, as well as areas which could be considered under either the macro- or microsociolinguistic heading depending on the precise nature of the approach involved, such as pidgin and creole linguistics, and language and sex/gender.

3. Objectives

I have myself in the past discussed an alternative way of examining the structure of academic work involving the study of language and society as a scientific field of inquiry. This lies in an examination of the extent to which different practitioners in the field have different *objectives* (e.g. Trudgill, 1978). It is clear, for example, that some scholars work the field of language and society with objectives which are indistinguishable from those of social scientists such as sociologists, anthropologists and social psychologists. Such scholars employ linguistic data in order to achieve a deeper understanding of the nature of human societies and of issues to do with social structure and social change. For example, ethnomethodology is a branch of sociology which has links with certain sorts of sociolinguistics such as conversation analysis because of its use of recorded conversational material as data. Most ethnomethodologists, however, are generally not interested in the language of conversation as such but rather in the content of what is said. They study, not language or speech, but 'talk'. In particular, they are interested in what is *not* said. They focus on the shared common-sense knowledge that speakers have of their society which they can leave unstated in conversation because it is taken for granted by all participants. So although workers of this type do focus on language, they are not concerned to further our knowledge about language. Since areas such as these are thus somewhat peripheral within sociolinguistics, we do not discuss research of this type in this first section of the Handbook but rather in the section on *Neighbouring Disciplines* and, in the case of ethnomethodology, also in the *Results of sociolinguistic research* section. Notice also that we assign to the status of disciplines which are not sociolinguistics

even though they are related to it: Social Psychology (in general, as opposed to the Social Psychology of Language, which is a form of sociolinguistics), Ethnology, Anthropology (as opposed to Anthropological Linguistics), Psycholinguistics, and Human Geography (as opposed to Geolinguistics and The Geography of Language). We also assign General Dialectology a similar status, in spite of the fact that Social Dialectology is clearly a branch of sociolinguistics.

To return now, then, to sociolinguistics as such, the field is so broad in its coverage that it is hardly surprising that different sociolinguists may have very different interests and very different goals. For example, it can be argued that some sociolinguistics scholars have objectives which are indistinguishable from those of linguists generally. They are concerned to achieve a deeper understanding of the nature of human language and to arrive at a more profound grasp of issues concerning linguistic structure and linguistic change. Articles in this section which could be seen as reflecting this kind of preoccupation include those on Quantitative Analysis, Social Dialectology, Geolinguistics, Functional Sociolinguistics, Language Contact Studies, and Pidgin and Creole Studies.

It could also be suggested that yet other scholars are working in sociolinguistics with objectives which combine, to differing extents, both linguistic and social scientific issues. These sociolinguists are concerned to achieve better insights into both human language and human societies, and into the relationship between the two. Articles in this section which perhaps reflect such combined preoccupations include those on The Sociology of Language, Interactional Sociolinguistics, Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis, The Social Psychology of Language, Anthropological Linguistics and the Ethnography of Speaking, and The Geography of Language.

However, it will be clear from what follows that, even if this sort of division on the basis of objectives is helpful in distinguishing between core sociolinguistics and other areas of study within language and society such as ethnomethodology, it is not so easy to maintain this division in the face of current developments in the subject. For example, Social Dialectology can be conceived of as that part of sociolinguistics that is concerned with "mapping monolingual linguis-

tic variation onto social parameters” (Kerswill, art. 3). It concentrates on variation within single languages employing the linguistic variable as the key unit of analysis; and social factors are then employed in order to shed light on this linguistic variation. However, the social correlations thrown up by work in social dialectology do in fact also tell us much about society. “Linguistic variation, to the extent that it is socially governed, will mirror in a rather exact way the social parameters which have been marshalled” (Kerswill, art. 3). Thus, as a kind of by-product, social dialectologists may produce insights into social structure itself, thus demonstrating the difficulty of maintaining the distinction between different forms of sociolinguistics in terms of objectives as outlined above. Indeed, recent work in social dialectology and linguistic variation (see Chambers et al, 2001) illustrates the extent to which linguistic variation may in fact be *constitutive of* social parameters such as social class and gender, thus demonstrating that social dialectology has links to other fields such interactional sociolinguistics (art. 8). Social dialectology, moreover, may also take on a more *sociolinguistics of society* hue when it comes to issues such as the study of the relationship between standards and their related dialects.

4. Subdivisions

It will also become clear as we proceed that distinctions between different branches of sociolinguistics are by no means clear-cut and, moreover, that we really would not wish them to be. The labels we employ to discuss our discipline are helpful, but they are not intended to establish ownership for any one group of scholars over particular types of data or analyses, nor to set up rigid boundaries between sub-areas of this discipline. This can on occasion be confusing but, most often, given a certain amount of good-will and flexibility, serious misunderstandings do not occur. For example, the distinction between social dialectology and work in the ‘variationist’ or ‘linguistic variation and change’ paradigm (art. 2.) or geolinguistics (art. 4) are not very clear nor, in the final analysis, especially important.

Geolinguistics itself is a relatively recent label used by some linguists to refer to work in sociolinguistics which has clearly linguistic objectives and which represents a

synthesis of Labovian secular linguistics and spatial dialectology. The quantitative study of the geographical diffusion of words or pronunciations from one area to another is an example of work in this field. It is also, however, a term which is used by human geographers to describe modern quantitative research, of a type which has less obviously linguistic goals, into geographical aspects of language maintenance and language shift, and other aspects of the spatial relationships to be found between languages and dialects, including the more obviously macrosociolinguistic study of the spread of languages. An example of such work is the study of geographical patterning in the use of English and Welsh in Wales. In my own view it might be better to refer to this sort of work as the *geography of language*, and this is the title we have chosen to use for art. 13. However, the author of that article, the human geographer Colin Williams, as is the practice in his field, employs the term *geolinguistics* to refer to the type of research that he does, and, as an example of the flexibility just referred to, the editors of this volume have not sought to change this practice.

Another area of study which would appear to have clear linguistic aims is Language Contact Studies. “The term *contact linguistics* is now used in a wide sense to refer to both the process and outcome of any situation in which two or more languages are in contact” (Romaine, art. 5). It is under this heading that sociolinguists study phenomena such as borrowing, transfer, convergence, code-switching, interference, language shift, and language mixing. But this then means that there are links from this area to the more obviously sociologically motivated subject of the Sociology of Language (art. 7) and to pidgin and creole studies.

Pidgin and Creole Studies are covered here in art. 6. A pidgin can be said to be a variety of language without native speakers which arises in a language contact situation, and which operates as a *lingua franca*. Pidgins are languages which have been derived from a source language through pidginization i.e. the admixture, reduction and simplification which is associated with all imperfect adult second-language learning. The degree of pidginization in this case however is such that mutual intelligibility with the source language is impossible or difficult. And pidgin languages can be described as such once they have achieved a stable

form through the processes of focusing and stabilization. A creole, on the other hand, is a language which has undergone considerable pidginization but where the reduction associated with pidginization has been repaired by a process of expansion or creolization, as a result of its having acquired a community of native speakers, and of being employed for an increasingly wide range of purposes. Of course, as our authors on this topic show (see also arts. 34 and 135), things are actually much more complex than that, but the extent to which the goals of this form of sociolinguistics are specifically linguistic shows up very clearly in the work of Bickerton, who has suggested that the structure of creoles provides unique insights into the nature of language universals and the human language faculty.

Linguistic goals are also apparent in the case of Functional Sociolinguistics, which perhaps can be seen as representing the obverse of the social science of ethnomethodology in that it examines society in order to gain insights about language. Functional linguistics as a whole attempts to account for language in relation to how it is used in social contexts – “an explanation which ultimately depends on the development of a model of language in tandem with a model of social context so that one informs the other in relation to this enterprise” (Williams/Martin, art. 12). They continue “it is probably most appropriate to use the term *functional sociolinguistics* for research in which a functional model of language is strongly implicated in the design of a model of the social”. Work of this type grows out of the systemic functional linguistics model as this was developed by Michael Halliday, whose important contribution was to begin the study of variation in language in terms of both the *users* of language and of the *use* of language – such as in the development of register and genre theory. There is a strong inclination in this kind of work towards the study of meaning in discourse. And this link with discourse analysis shows once again that the division of sociolinguistics into discrete branches is not really possible and that discussions of objectives, although helpful, can only go so far.

The Sociology of Language (art. 7), as its title suggests, is a branch of sociolinguistics which has partly social scientific goals and which deals on a large or macrosociolinguistic scale with issues to do with the rela-

tionship between sociological factors and language, and in particular with issues to do with language choice. It thus incorporates the study of topics such as multilingualism, language planning, language maintenance and language shift. Interactional Sociolinguistics, on the other hand, “typically entails case-study microanalysis of the language of real interaction in the context of social relationships” (Tannen, art. 8). According to this approach, language as it is used in social interaction is constitutive of social relationships, and the object of study is the way in which meaning is communicated through language use. There is thus a clear connection here to Functional Sociolinguistics. Interactional sociolinguistics is less ‘linguistic’, however, in the sense that it pays less attention to, say, the linguistic analysis of intonation patterns in conveying meaning, and more to the assumption that meaning is not totally inherent in words as such but is also created by speakers and listeners together as they use language to accomplish interactive goals.

Discourse analysis is a branch of linguistics which deals with linguistic units at levels above the sentence i.e. texts and conversations. Those branches of discourse analysis which come under the heading of language and society presuppose that language is being used in social interaction and thus deal with conversation. (Other non-sociolinguistic branches of discourse analysis are often known as text linguistics.) Discourse analysis is contrasted by some writers with conversation analysis, an area of sociolinguistics which has connections to ethnomethodology and which analyses the structure and norms of conversation in face-to-face interaction. Conversation analysts look at aspects of conversation such as the relationship between questions and answers, or summonses and responses. They are also concerned with rules for conversational discourse, such as those involving turn-taking; with conversational devices such as discourse markers; and with norms for participating in conversation, such as what are the rules for interruption, for changing topic, for overlapping between one speaker and another, for remaining silent, for closing a conversation, and so on. Insofar as norms for conversational interaction may vary from society to society, conversation analysis may also have links with cross-cultural communication and the ethnography of speaking.

The ethnography of speaking is a branch of sociolinguistics which studies the norms and rules for using language in social situations in different cultures. The concept of *communicative competence* is a central one in the ethnography of speaking. Central topics include the study of who is allowed to speak to who – and when; what types of language are to be used in different contexts; how to do things with language, such as make requests or tell jokes; how much indirectness it is normal to employ; how often it is usual to speak, and how much one should say; how long it is permitted to remain silent; and the use of formulaic language such as expressions used for greeting, leave-taking and thanking. Anthropological linguistics is a related branch of the study of language and society in which the objectives of the study are in part identical with those of anthropologists – to find out more about the social structure of particular communities (especially but not exclusively in smaller non-European societies) – but where the methodology involves analysis of languages and of norms for language use. Areas studied in anthropological linguistics include kinship terminology, linguistic relativity, and linguistic taboo. Anthropological linguistics as a sub-branch of anthropology “dates back over a century to research which focused on the linguistic codes of primarily colonized/conquered populations of both hemispheres, treating their languages as components of their cultures to be described as well as media through which other components of culture could be accessed and interpreted” (Saville-Troike, art. 11).

The Social Psychology of Language is an area of the study of the relationship between language and society which examines language attitudes and looks at sociopsychological aspects of language use in face-to-face interaction, such as the extent to which speakers are able to manipulate situations by code-switching. The extent to which this is a discipline with ‘mixed’ objectives is revealed by the way in which Giles/Fortman (art. 10) describe this subject as being located in “the language and communication sciences”. Their emphasis is on the way in

which linguistic behaviour is determined by how speakers and listeners perceive themselves and each other and by how “they jointly negotiate their understandings of the ... situation they believe they are in”. This of course shows similarities in interest, though not in methodology, with the practitioners of Interactional Sociolinguistics.

5. Conclusion

It will be clear, then, that the editors of this handbook have taken the line that, while sociolinguistics is – obviously – concerned with language and society, we may, without too much distortion, observe as an organisational principle that some work tends to be more language oriented, while other work is more society oriented. It is more important, however, to stress that this organisational principle should not be allowed to overshadow the fact that sociolinguistics is a unitary subject in its own right and that much of the work described and discussed in what follows is, whatever the objectives of their practitioners may be, genuinely sociolinguistic in that it cannot be reduced to either the mainly sociological or the mainly linguistic in the sense that our subject matter can be illuminatingly studied only in terms of the combination language-and-society/society-and-language. In the end, in any case, all of us who work in sociolinguistics share a common preoccupation with human beings as speaking, thinking, communicating, social animals.

6. Literature (selected)

Chambers, J.K./Schilling-Estes, Natalie/Trudgill, Peter, eds., (2001) *Handbook of Linguistic Variation and Change*, Oxford.

Fasold, Ralph W. (1984) *The Sociolinguistics of Society*, Oxford.

– (1990) *The Sociolinguistics of Language*, Oxford.

Trudgill, Peter (1978) “Introduction: Sociolinguistics and Sociolinguistics”, in: *Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English*, Trudgill, Peter, ed., London, 1–18.

Peter Trudgill, Fribourg (Switzerland)

2. Quantitative Analysis of Linguistic Variation Quantitative Analyse sprachlicher Variation

1. Variation: the central problem of linguistics
2. Exploring single dimensions of variation
3. The comparison of several dimensions
4. Multiplicative effects
5. Correlations among linguistic variables
6. The analysis of apparent time
7. Summary
8. Literature (selected)

The study of linguistic variation requires a familiarity with both the basic tools of qualitative linguistic analysis and quantitative methods for pursuing that analysis to deeper levels. This presentation will assume a basic familiarity with both sets of tools, and focus upon how they are used to address the major questions of linguistic structure and linguistic change. Given the output of quantitative analyses, we ask, what good are they? What inferences and implications can be found in these numbers that justify the time and energy needed to produce them? What are the principles of quantitative reasoning that allow us to pass from the measurement of surface fluctuations to the underlying forms and principles that produce them?

1. Variation: the central problem of linguistics

It will be helpful to begin with the general considerations that lead us to the study of variation. From one point of view, linguistics is as diverse as the languages it studies; from another, linguistics centers upon a common problem: variation. If every yes-no question were related to the corresponding declarative in a uniform way, no linguist would be needed to describe the system or tell new learners how to use it. But when a question is asked sometimes in one way and sometimes in another, sometimes with inversion and sometimes without, or sometimes with a final rise in pitch and sometimes a fall, a linguist is called for.

Thus the central task of linguistics is to eliminate variation by discovering the exact conditions that produce one variant or the other on the surface. This is usually done by establishing *complementary distribution* of the variants. But the analysis of variation often results in an approximation to complementary distribution: a given variant may

appear 90% of the time in one environment but 10% of the time in another. In the *categorical view* shared by structural linguistics and generative grammar, this proportion cannot be reported as a linguistic fact. In this framework, there are only three statements that be made about the existential status of a given rule, constraint, or process: that it always applies, never applies, or is optional. There is nothing theoretically intelligible to be said about how often a variant occurs, or the degree to which a process determines the output.

The consequences of this theoretical stance is that linguists are driven to find 100% solutions to the problem of defining complementary distribution. Exceptional cases that violate the pattern must be disposed of as the result of dialect mixture, performance errors, co-existent systems, or simply ignored. Otherwise there is no finding to report, no dissertation to be written, no paper to be published. The rest of this article is devoted to the alternative approach that accepts variation as a significant linguistic fact.

1.1 Fundamental considerations

The *fundamental fact of phonetics* is that no two utterances are alike. Utterances vary in unlimited ways: in their segmental phonology and prosody as well as their syntax and pragmatic context. It is not really possible to say the same thing twice.

The *fundamental postulate of linguistics* is that some utterances are the same. When someone answers the telephone, we learn a great deal from the many ways he or she has of saying "Hello," and yet it is the same morpheme "hello" with the same phonemic realization /həlow/.

The contradiction between the fundamental fact of phonetics and the fundamental postulate of linguistics is that, from a linguistic point of view, some differences do not make a difference. They are in *free variation*. Free variation is then the obverse of the fundamental concept of linguistic 'same'. Without free variation there can be no linguistic structure.

The existence of free variation within a linguistic category is equivalent to saying that the occurrence of any one token of a category is a *random event*: that is, an event

whose outcome cannot be predicted with certainty. This event may be the choice among a discrete number of options, or the realization of a continuous variable.

The study of linguistic variation begins with the introduction of the further concept of the *linguistic variable*. It differs from elements of free variation in that the distribution of its variants is of linguistic interest. This presentation is an attempt to define what that interest is.

1.2 Definition of the linguistic variable

The definition of a linguistic variable is the first and also the last step in the analysis of variation. It begins with the simple act of noticing a variation – that there are two alternative ways of saying the same thing.

A first attempt to define the envelope of variation searches for the largest environment in which this variation occurs, in order to apply the *principle of accountability*: that reports of the occurrences of a variant must be accompanied by reports of all non-occurrences. The definition of a linguistic variable then requires establishing a closed set to which the axioms of probability theory apply.

More precise definitions of the variable are achieved by locating and setting aside *neutralizations*: environments in which it is not possible to distinguish all variants of the variable. We also note *exclusions*: individual items that behave differently from other members of their class.

Once this defining envelope is established for the dependent variable, the major task is to locate and define the independent variables to be included in the study. These are the *constraints* on the variable, sets of sub-categories which may or may not differ significantly in the frequency in which the variants of the dependent variable are found.

One approach to the selection of constraints is to search for every possible category that can affect the dependent variable in a significant way, or include every category that has been found to be significant in past studies. Many interesting and valuable results have been found by following this procedure. For many variables there are now fairly clear guide lines to a relatively small set of social and linguistic categories that are prime candidates for examination. Nevertheless, it seems to me that inserting into the analysis all of the constraints that have appeared in the literature leads to the proliferation of studies with no clear termi-

nation and no necessary connection to the broader problems of linguistics. In the approach to follow, it is the social or linguistic problem that dictates the choice of independent variables.

2. Exploring single dimensions of variation

The most common first step in selecting constraints for quantitative analysis of a linguistic variable is the binary division of the population (of speakers or utterances) into salient groups: men vs. women, middle class vs. lower class, pre-consonantal final custers vs. pre-vocalic clusters, and so on. The result may be a significant difference in the frequency of variants; yet these differences are often hard to interpret even if they are quite large, since there are many possible explanation for the observed effect.

The observed difference may be an artifact of some other difference, a third variable, which is unevenly distributed across the binary division chosen. A finding of difference in gender may turn out to be due to a difference in education, if the distribution of educational levels is not uniform across men and women. This type of error is resolved by using one or another form of multivariate analyses which correct for such skewing of the data by taking into account the simultaneous effect of all relevant independent variables. Multivariate analyses are strongly preferred for most complex situations, although cross-tabulations and scattergrams will often give clearer views of the distribution of data and the degree of independence of the intersecting variables. The discussion from this point on will apply equally to univariate and multivariate analysis of linguistic data.

The first quantitative sociolinguistic study was Fischer's report on the use of (ING) in a small New England town (1958). As an anthropologist, Fischer was interested in gender differences, and he therefore calculated the difference in the use of the /in/ variant for boys and girls. He found in this small study that boys use more of the /in/ variant than girls with a p value (chi-square) of less than .05. Many parallel studies have since shown that this was an instance of the general finding that for stable sociolinguistic variables, males show a higher use of stigmatized variants behavior than females (Labov 1990). The next step taken by Fischer shows how an investigator can go beyond the limi-

tations of a binary division of the population. From his other observations of the community, he reasoned that the crucial difference between boys and girls behavior was in differences in their conformity to established norms. Rather than treating males as a homogeneous group, he divided them into two types along this dimension. His analysis was limited to two boys: a “model” boy, who conformed perfectly to the behavioral pattern endorsed by adults, and a “typical” boy, who did not. The model boy used /in/ once out of 39 tokens, while the typical boy used it 10 out of 22 ($p < .001$).

The procedure suggested by Fischer’s brief exploration is to use another independent variable—conformity—to subdivide the gender dimension and thus create a more finely graded dimension: girls/model boys/typical boys. This is parallel to the strategy adopted by Eckert in her study of the Northern Cities Shift in a Detroit suburb (1999). For the backing of (ʌ) in *lunch, bust, etc.*, the Burn-Out youth were in advance of the Jocks, and female Burn-Outs even more so. Eckert designated a sub-class of “Burned-Out Burn-outs” who exemplified the norms of the Burn-Out group more clearly than the others, and their backing of (ʌ) was even more extreme. Thus our confidence in the relation between Burn-out norms and the backing of (ʌ) is considerably reinforced.

2.1 The incremental principle

The general strategy here may be termed the *Incremental Principle*. Confidence in the relationship between variables A and B is highest when it can be shown that each increment in A is accompanied by an increment in B. If A is temporally prior to B and can be shown to influence B, a causal relationship is inferred. This is the basis for our confidence that smoking is a cause of heart disease and lung cancer: it has been shown that each increment in smoking, no matter how small, is associated with an increase in the incidence of these diseases.

In the study of coronal stop deletion (TD), the first constraints selected were binary: a following consonant vs. a following vowel, and monomorphemic vs. bimorphemic (past tense) clusters. An understanding of how these environments affected (TD) was achieved by a more fine-grained subdivision. The effect of the initial segment of the following word formed the series (from most to least deletion): obstruent, liquid,

glide, vowel. This is the well-known sonority hierarchy (Saussure 1959): the more sonorous a segment following a cluster, the less likely it is to be simplified. This in turn was attributed to the greater possibilities for resyllabification of coronals with following sonorants and glides (Guy 1991).

A similar development occurred in the exploration of internal constraints on the variable (ING). It was found that the velar variant is strongly favored by the progressive, and the apical variant by nouns (Labov 1989, Houston 1985). This appears to be the result of long-term continuity with the O.E. participle *-ilende* and the O.E. verbal noun *-ilyngē*. This proposal receives support from more fine-grained divisions of the grammatical dimension: in order of decreasing use of [in], we find participle, adjective, gerund and noun (Houston 1985).

Many studies of the social class hierarchy are carried out with binary divisions, such as middle class vs. working class. Our confidence that there is a causal link correlation between social class position and the use of a given sociolinguistic variable is increased when the number of divisions of the social class hierarchy is increased from 2 to 4 or 5 (Weinberg 1974, Wolfram 1969, Trudgill 1974). This leads to the well established principle that stable sociolinguistic variables are associated with monotonic functions of social class (Labov 2000, Ch. 5).

Monotonic functions of this type are not necessarily linear. In fact, a great deal of information is obtained by observing the nature of departures from linearity. Thus the relatively sharp social stratification in England is shown by the clustering of middle class and working class sub-groups, and a wide gap between them (Trudgill 1974). In Philadelphia, negative concord (NEG) is more sharply stratified than (ING): (NEG) shows relatively low values for middle class sub-groups, and relatively high values for all working class sub-groups (Labov 2000, Ch. 3).

3. The comparison of several dimensions

So far, we have been considering the relationship between one dependent variable and a single independent variable – sometimes elaborated by intersection with a second. A great deal can be learned from the patterns formed by mapping the linguistic

variable against several constraints, or mapping the paths of several variables together.

3.1 Inferences from independence

The most striking results are found in the joint mapping of social and stylistic stratification of stable sociolinguistic variables: New York City (Labov 1966), Detroit (Wolfram 1969), Norwich (Trudgill 1974), Bahia Blanca (Weinberg 1974), Glasgow (Macaulay 1978), Ottawa (Woods 1979), Teheran (Modaresi 1980), Copenhagen (Gregerson and Pedersen 1991). The surprising regularity of these patterns had considerable influence on those who had believed that linguistic variation in large cities was chaotic and unmanageable. These displays, replicated for many different speech communities, show that the community is highly differentiated: with stable sociolinguistic variables all social classes are stratified in each stylistic context. On the other hand, they show that the community is remarkably uniform: each social class follows a parallel path of style shifting.

Figure 2.1 displays the fact that members of the speech community share a set of values that are correlated with their use of linguistic variables. It is the same consensus that is found in the uniform results of matched guise tests (Anisfeld and Lambert 1964, Lambert 1972, Labov et al. 1968, Labov 1972): the negative evaluation of stigmatized features is shared by those who use them rarely and those who use them frequently. Some students of sociolinguistics, wishing that the facts were otherwise, oppose these conclusions as reflecting an ideology that approves of the situation, sometimes called a “consensus theory” of society. However, the consensus reflected here is not an inference or a theory, but simply an observed phenomenon.

The cross-tabulations that produce these displays are a direct display of the *independence* of style and social class as constraints on the linguistic variable. The effect of style is independent of social class, and is replicated for each social class.

The mathematical independence of social and stylistic stratification does not mean that they are unrelated. On the contrary, their parallel effects may be due to the fact that one is derived from the other. This is the inference put forward by Bell (1977) and Preston (1991). In supporting the view of style as audience design, Preston pointed

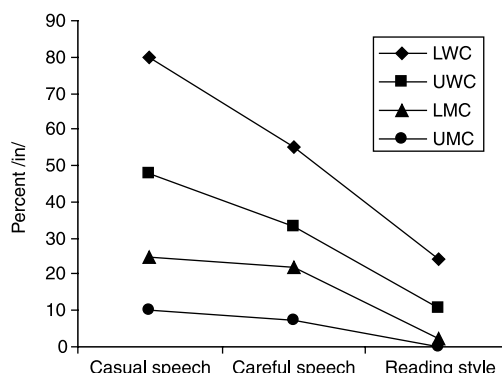


Fig. 2.1: The social and stylistic stratification of (ing) in New York City.

out that the range of stylistic stratification in such displays is always less than the range of social stratification, and argues that the former is therefore derived from the latter.

A different form of independence is found when several linguistic variables are mapped together in the same context. In Kroch’s study of long-range historical change, strong conclusions are drawn from displays of two to five different dependent variables with time as the horizontal axis, and frequency (or logit frequency) on the vertical axis. Figure 2.2 shows how the decline in subject inversion and null subjects is accompanied by a rise in left dislocation (shown here as the negative of “reprise”). The eye can directly observe the parallelism of these curves and calculations show that the slopes are not significantly different. The inference is then drawn that these different variables are the product of a single, more abstract variable: in this case, the decline of the verb-second constraint in French. This is the basis of Kroch’s characterization of variation as “competing grammars.” From the standpoint of our initial discussion of the linguistic variable, it represents the final redefinition of the variable, responding to the imperative to find the largest linguistic phenomenon that varies in a uniform way.

The “Constant Factor” principle that flows from much of Kroch’s work is the product of a similar mapping of sub-cases of what can be seen as the same variable. In the case of *do*-support, it is affirmative questions, negative declaratives, negative questions, and so on. The striking finding of this work – that the logistically transformed curves are parallel throughout the course of the change – leads to the conclusion that the

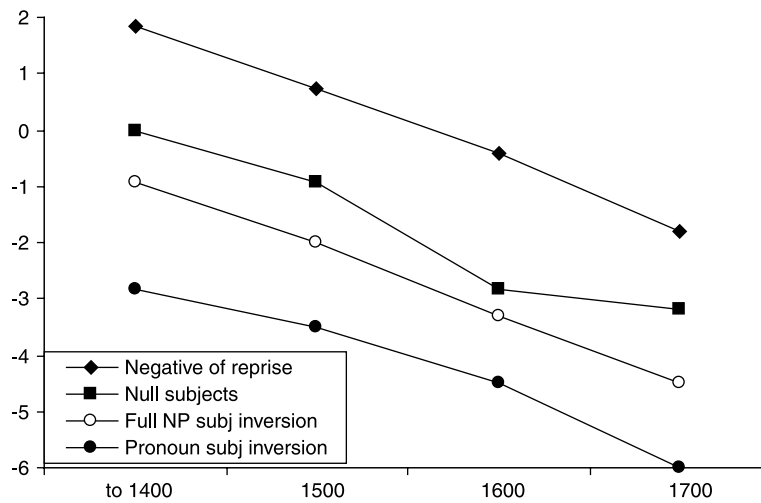


Fig. 2.2: Decline of inversion and null subjects accompanied by the inverse of the rise of left dislocation (reprise). Source: Kroch 1989, Fig. 5.

object which changes over time is more abstract than any of the observed structures. Thus the Constant Factor and Competing Grammar principles both embody the major thrust of quantitative reasoning: to characterize surface variation in terms of the largest (and most abstract) set of objects that vary in the same way. Once this goal is achieved, the task of discovering the cause of the change, and its relation to other changes, begins to come within reach.

3.2 Inferences from interaction

The converse of independence is interaction, where values of a variant along one dimension differ according to the values of another dimension. The elegance and simplicity of the independent mapping in linguistic variation may lead us to think that interaction is a less systematic phenomenon, and that constraints that interact with each other give us less insight into the organization of the system. Thus social variables typically interact with each other, so that the differences between men and women vary from class to class and from style to style. This may be true for a single case of interaction, but when the same pattern of interaction emerges in repeated studies, the inferences we can draw are even more powerful than in the simpler pattern of complete independence.

One of the first examples of interaction was the “cross-over pattern” found in the social distribution of (r) in New York City. In

general, the use of the incoming norm of *r*-pronunciation is directly related to social status. But in the most formal style, the second highest status group surpasses the use of (r) by the highest status group, and in general, shows a much steeper slope of stylistic stratification. Further explorations of this situation show a further interaction involving social class, gender and style. Figure 2.3 shows the variable (ing) in Norwich by social class and gender (Trudgill 1974). Here it is the women in the second highest status group who show an exceptionally steep slope of style shifting, quite different from any other group.

This greater sensitivity of lower middle class women to overt linguistic norms has been the subject of much discussion and further reasoning that go beyond the scope of linguistic argumentation. It is sufficient at this point to note that the recurrence of this more complex pattern in various contexts leads to greater confidence in the significance of the result. In general, the more complex the pattern, the less likely that its replication is the result of chance.

A very different type of interaction can be noted when we examine the same variable in a large city and a small city. Modaresi (1978) studied the same variables in Teheran and Ghazvin, a small city 150 Km from Teheran. The variable (AN) represents the raising of /a/ to [u] before nasals: at a high rate in the speech of Teheran, but at a lower frequency in Ghazvin. In Teheran, there is a

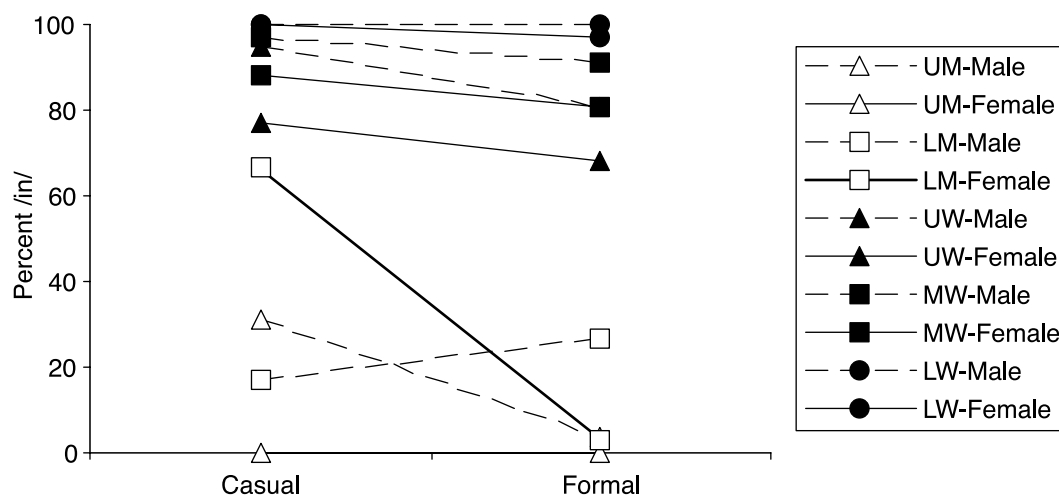


Fig. 2.3: (/ɪn/ in Norwich by social class, style and gender (Source: Trudgill 1974).

direct correlation with social status, and a very sharp stylistic stratification where [u] practically disappears in the most formal styles. Modaresi also found that the pattern of social stratification of (AN) was reversed in the two cities. In the capital city, the frequency of [u] was inversely correlated with social class; in Ghazvin it was directly correlated. How can such a reversal come about? We can infer that diffusion of the Teheran vernacular to Ghazvin was the product of limited stylistic and social contacts, so that the vernacular of the capital city was re-interpreted as a prestige form.

One of the most dramatic examples of gender interaction is found in the study of Sydney high school students by Eisikovits (1981). She divided all of the students' utterances into those that immediately followed her own turns of talk, and those that did not. For the girls, she found the expected accommodation to her standard form for eight grammatical variables. However, the boys shifted in the opposite direction for 5 of the 8 variables. This dramatic reversal of accommodation patterns gives us one of the clearest indications of the existence of covert norms opposing the standard norms.

3.3 Reasoning from ambiguity

In the course of coding tokens of a linguistic variable, it often happens that we encounter a case whose status is unclear: it could belong in one of two different categories, de-

pending on the linguistic analysis. Thus the effect of final pause on (TD) could be seen as similar to the effect of a following consonant: it does not have the opportunity for resyllabification that is available when a vowel follows. On the other hand, final consonants can be released, creating a semi-syllable, and so are more easily perceived than when an obstruent follows. Since there is no unique solution to this problem from general qualitative arguments, the reasonable quantitative strategy is to treat following pause as a separate category. When this was done, the results were surprisingly diverse. For most dialects, following pause behaved like a following vowel; but for others, like a following obstruent (Guy 1980). In general, we can say that if linguists can see two radically different modes of analysis of a structure, then native speakers can too – at least in their unconscious productions.

The same strategy was followed in regard to ambiguous past tense verbs like *kept*, *told*, *lost*, etc. Is the /t/ a past tense form? One argument is that it is not, since the vowel change can carry the past tense information. Another argument is that it is, since a final /t/ or /d/ cannot be added accidentally to a past tense, and must carry at least part of the past tense information. The solution was to create a separate category of semi-weak or derivational forms, as opposed to the inflectional forms *rapped*, *rolled*, *passed*. This was a fruitful decision

which led to a long series of profitable findings that illuminated the nature of variation. Some are presented below.

3.4 Triangulation

It is not only a constraining factor that may be subject to competing explanations. The linguistic variable itself may be the product of several processes, independently determining the outcome. This is the key to the puzzling situation that confronted Patrick in his first analysis of (TD) for Jamaican Creole English in Kingston (1991). In the initial analysis, monomorphemic forms showed a deletion rate of 71%, and regular past tense suffixes a rate of 80%. This is certainly an anomaly in the light of the consistent findings for AAVE and all other dialects studied previously.

The key to the situation lay in the existence of competing processes. For most American dialects, (TD) is a simple phonological process, which as we have seen, operates upon a consistent underlying form. This may not be the case for young children, who have not yet acquired consistent past tense marking. Patrick believed that it was not the case for Jamaican Creole English, where there is variable past tense marking in addition to phonological reduction of past tense clusters. He undertook to separate these two effects by the strategy that I have here termed *triangulation*: to locate another variable that registers the frequency of only one of the two competing processes. In this case, it is the irregular verbs that do not have final consonant clusters but mark past tense only by ablaut vowel alternation: *give ~ gave, see ~ saw* etc. Using this sub-class and others, Patrick was able to calculate that the rate of past tense marking for all Jamaican verbs was 50%. It followed that only 202 of the 405 verbs that could have been marked with a final past tense suffix were in fact marked in this way as underlying forms. Only 79 suffixes remained on the surface. It follows that these were remnants of a pool of 202 possible deletions, not 405, and that only 123 were deleted, not 326. Thus Patrick was able to calculate that the rate of deletion of the past tense suffix was 123/202, or 61%, considerably lower than the 71% for monomorphemic forms.

Ziqiang Shi undertook a study of the historical development of the Chinese particle *le*, which occurs after the main verb of the sentence to denote relative anteriority (1989).

This sentential particle developed from the main verb *liao* in classical Chinese. *Le* grew rapidly in use as an anterior marker from the 12th to the 14th centuries, increasing sevenfold, but Shi was puzzled to discover that *de*, the main item that *le* replaced, declined only by half. *Le* continued to grow in use to reach a maximum in the 17th century, without any marked decline of other competitors. It was possible, of course, that Chinese were marking anteriority more often over five centuries, but it is not likely.

Shi suspected that *le* was essentially a vernacular form, but the texts he was working with were an intimate mixture of Classical Chinese and the vernacular. The steady growth of *le* might then reflect not one, but two processes: replacement of the other competing forms (*que, de*) and the gradual decline of Classical Chinese in the texts. In order to separate these two effects, he located another particle that was used only in Classical Chinese. This was *ye*, a sentence-final copula or interjective marker. By charting the frequency of *ye*, Shi was able to estimate the decline in the proportion of classical characters in texts. He used this to calculate a corrected chart of the growth of *le* and decline of *de*. In these corrected figures, *le* increased only four-fold from the 12th to the 14th century, and *de* declined by roughly the same proportion. Furthermore, it appears in this view that *le* reached its maximum in the 14th century, when it had displaced all competitors, and has not increased in frequency since. The original view of a steady increase of *le* over five centuries actually represented a decline in the frequency of classical elements in Chinese texts.

3.5 Competing constraints

The cases just considered concern the separation of influences on the linguistic variable that operate in the same direction. Perhaps the most common type of debate in linguistic analysis is the competition between constraints that have opposite effects. This situation arises dramatically in efforts to test the *functional hypothesis*. This is essentially the proposition that variability can be explained by the tendency of speakers to preserve the semantic information in their messages (Kiparsky 1982). In the case of (TD), the functional hypothesis was immediately advanced to explain the lower percentage of deletion of past tense clusters as compared to monomorphemic clusters. In

regular past tense forms, the /t/ or /d/ carries past tense information in itself, and this information is obviously preserved if the cluster is preserved. It has even been suggested that the morpheme will be deleted only when it is redundant – that information is never lost.

Guy (1996) examined this situation with the technique I have called triangulation. He located a form that has the same phonological structure as the past tense clusters but does not share their semantic load. Guy noted that the functional hypothesis predicts that the participial suffix in passives and perfects will be deleted at the rate of monomorphemic forms, since it is clearly redundant. In fact, most studies of (TD) deletion show that it is deleted at the same low rate as preterit clusters (1996, Table 2.2).

Perhaps the most thoroughgoing exploration of the functional hypothesis was carried out by Poplack in her studies of the aspiration and deletion of /s/ and the weakening and deletion of /n/ in Puerto Rican Spanish (1979, 1980, 1981). The possible constraints on the variable included two major sets of influences. One set registered the informational status of the variable – primarily dealing with signals of plurality. This included the grammatical status of the segment, the presence of other grammatical signals carrying the same information, other morphological or syntactic configurations that conveyed such information, semantic information from other parts of the discourse, and cultural knowledge that would influence singular or plural interpretations. Another set of constraints registered the mechanics of articulation: the nature of the following or preceding segment. A third type of constraint concerned the position of the grammatical signal in a complex noun phrase. In a three-membered noun phrase of article, noun and adjective, an /s/ signal might be preceded by one or more /s/ signals, or by one or more zeroes. An informationally-based view would predict that the frequency of deletion would be higher after an /s/ that was preserved in the surface structure. Poplack's results showed that just the opposite was true: a preceding /s/ favored a following /s/, and a preceding zero favored a following zero. This finding has been reinforced by a variety of studies that support a strong tendency towards *perseverance* (Weiner and Labov 1983, Sherre and Naro 1991, 1992). It is the equivalent in produc-

tion of perceptual priming; it appears that language production is facilitated by parallelism of production. Thus the strongest influence on the choice of the passive in subjectless sentences is the choice made in the last token of the same variable – no matter how widely separate in time (Weiner and Labov 1983). At the same time, one can show that informational considerations also play a part: as in the tendency to place the given first and the new information second.

With such complex sets of constraints, a univariate analysis is not informative. Any one of the competing constraints will show a positive result. A multivariate analysis (in this case, the Varbrul logistic regression) will allow one to see which of the effects predominate. In both the passive variable and Spanish/Portuguese inflections, multivariate analyses showed that the mechanical effects were stronger.

3.6 Rational and irrational constraints

One of the major tasks in the study of variation is the identification of underlying forms. Given a fluctuation between the presence and absence of a segment, we must ask whether it is present in the representation in the lexicon and variably deleted, or whether it is variably inserted at some other level of the grammar. If the segment also functions as a separate morpheme, like the past tense /t/ or /d/, we might locate the variation at the phonological level, at the level of morphological realization of the past, or at a more abstract level of variable past tense marking.

The presence of an underlying segment may be inferred from a variety of observable phenomena: from the absence of hypercorrection, uniformity of use among community members, and/or a moderate and systematic slope of stylistic shifting. But the clearest indication of the presence of an underlying form is the existence of phonological conditioning. As indicated above, coronal stop deletion is sharply inhibited by a following vowel, and promoted by a following obstruent. One might well imagine a process of insertion that was sensitive to this factor, but many different studies of variation support the general principle that phonological conditioning implies the presence of an underlying form on which the conditioning is exerted. This finding is consonant with the modularity of language structure. Phonological spellings are not visible at the level at which morphological elements are inserted.

This situation with (TD) contrasts sharply with the behavior of third singular /s/ in African American Vernacular English. Some of the first studies showed the reverse constraint--/s/ was inhibited by a following vowel, and others showed no phonological conditioning at all (Labov et al. 1968). This finding was correlated with the presence of hypercorrection and other indications that subject-verb agreement is not present in the grammar. It was concluded that the variable /s/ that was found in speech was not an underlying form, but the product of a variable process of insertion at the morphological level.

An irrational constraint is one that runs counter to all established linguistic findings and principles. Barale's study of Mandarin VN syllables (1982) hypothesized three variable phonological stages to be accounted for:

1. Nasalization of the vowel of a VN rhyme
2. Loss of the nasal segment
3. Denasalization of the vowel

For stage 1, it was found that nasalization was promoted by the presence of an adjoining nasal syllable. But for stage 3, the opposite appeared: nasalization was favored by conjunction with a syllable headed by an oral vowel. There are no known cases of dissimilating nasalization, and it could only be inferred that the three-stage model had to be modified. Closer study detected the presence of a small number of common words that showed almost categorical use of oral vowels. It could be inferred that they had lost the underlying nasal and were represented in the lexicon with oral vowels. When these were removed from the data set, the irrational constraint disappeared.

Thus the detection of irrational constraints discredits the abstract model being considered, and leads the analyst to revise that model. Such a logic is not confined to internal variables, but applies to social variables as well. Here one must be cautious, since there may not be principles of social life as compelling as the uniform principles of linguistic structure that are based on the common physiology of all human beings. Nevertheless, there are sociolinguistic findings that approach such a high level of confidence, where reverse findings are not only surprising but suspicious. One such generalization is that concerning the linguistic non-conformity of male speakers, cited above. In the face of a very large number of studies

supporting this finding from many parts of the world, urban and rural, a small number of exceptions appeared in regard to the use of the Arabic *qaf*. In various modern Arabic dialects, the uvular stop /q/ of classical Arabic appears variably as /k/, /g/, /ʔ/ or /q/. Given the prestige of Classical Arabic, it would be expected that men would use less /q/ than women. But in a number of studies, in Jordan, Egypt and other countries, the opposite was found (Abdel Jawad 1981, Al Wer 1991, Schmidt 1974, Salam 1980, Haeri 1996). One explanation advanced was consistent with the caveat that both men and women would have to have equal access to the public norms for the principle to apply (Labov 1982). But Abdel Jawad showed that even upper middle class women in Amman used less /q/ than men. The situation was resolved by Haeri who pointed out that the model was wrong in assuming that Classical Arabic was comparable to the standard languages of other countries. In any case, the low frequency of /q/ found in colloquial speech is not the result of phonological variation, but rather of borrowings of particular words from the Classical Arabic lexicon. This argument finds strong confirmation in Abdel-Jawad's report that in his Amman data, there is no phonological conditioning of /q/, but only lexical conditioning. Haeri demonstrated in her own study of Cairo Arabic that /q/ was not part of a productive linguistic variable, but occurred in lexical borrowings. The variant comparable to a standard form of modern urban Arabic was the glottal stop, and here indeed, women used more of this variant than men did.

4. Multiplicative effects

Many quantitative studies use elaborate techniques to gather data in a controlled fashion, but ultimately reduce the results to a simple qualitative statement, X is significantly greater than Y in the context Z. The study of linguistic change and variation has been heading strongly in the other direction, and preserving the quantitative output to make the best use of the actual numerical relations involved. This and the following sections will attempt to show what profit is to be derived from working with more precise statements.

A classic problem in variation studies is a linguistic variable with three major variants which may be related either in a hierarchical

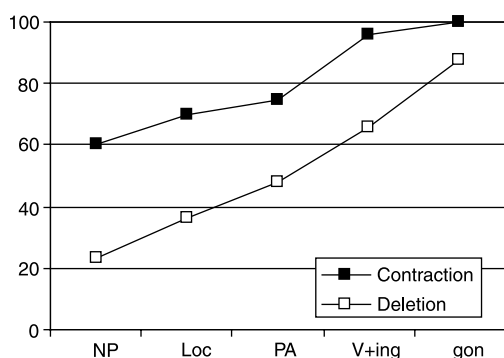


Fig. 2.4: Contraction and deletion of *is* by following grammatical environment for the Thunderbirds [N=13]. Slope of contraction: 10.0; slope of deletion: 12.8

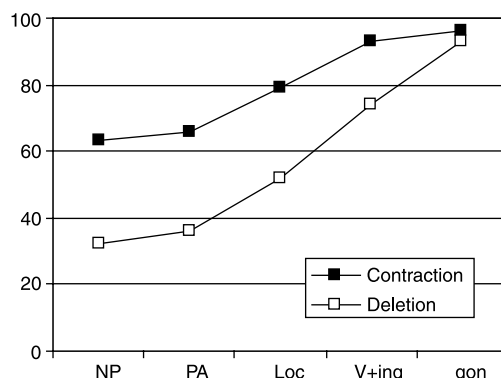


Fig. 2.5: Contraction and deletion of *is* by following grammatical environment for the Jets [N=29]. Slope of contraction: 9.3; slope of deletion: 16.

or unstructured manner. The first of these is the study of the contraction and deletion of the auxiliary and copula in African American Vernacular English [AAVE] (Labov 1969), a topic that continues to grow and expand at the present writing. The analysis began with the relation between contraction and deletion. It was first observed from qualitative arguments that speakers of AAVE delete or contract the copula only in those environments in which other dialects contract it. The basic conception is that contraction is the removal of an unstressed vowel, and that deletion is the removal of the lone consonant that is left after the vowel is deleted: that is, deletion can apply only to the pool of contracted forms. In their consequences for syllable structure, contraction and deletion are opposed. One of the most important bodies of evidence concerned the phonological conditioning found: the nature of the preceding segment. When the lone consonant is cliticized on a subject with a final vowel, contraction is favored; when the subject has a final consonant, deletion is favored. Both processes then favor the unmarked syllable structure CVC.

Contraction and deletion are parallel processes in regard to the grammatical environment. Both are favored by pronominal subjects, and both show a profile of following grammatical factors in the increasing order: noun phrase, adjective or locative, verb, future (*gonna*). The crucial quantitative argument is that these grammatical effects are intensified for deletion, with greater differences between the environments for deletion. In other words, the syntactic constraints

seem to have applied once for contraction, and twice for deletion. This would be a natural result if they were parallel rules with parallel constraints, and deletion was fed by contraction. Figure 2.4 and Figure 2.5 show the effect of the following environment on the contraction and deletion of *is* for the pre-adolescent Thunderbirds and the adolescent Jets. Note that the relative positions of the following predicate adjective and the following locative are reversed for these two groups. This relationship is not stable across groups (but see Cukor-Avila 1999).

This type of argument was given a more precise form by Guy in his studies of coronal stop deletion (1991a, 1991b). Guy discovered that the relation between the factors in the grammatical group for (TD) was exponential:

regular past tense clusters	x
semi-weak derivational clusters	x^2
monomorphemic	x^3

These results have been supported in a number of studies since then (Santa Ana 1992, Bayley 1994). In the period since Guy's initial publication, I have had students in Quantitative Analysis at the University of Pennsylvania carry out tests of Guy's exponential relationship in their own data. In five successive trials, the exponential relation was found the best fit to the data. Table 2.1 shows the numbers of tokens and percent clusters retained for the preterit, derivational and monomorphemic subclasses for each successive year. Below this is the estimate of the probability of retention, calculated as the same as the percent retained for the preterit, the square root for

Tab 2.1: Five tests of the exponential relationship in coronal stop deletion, 1991–1997. [Source: Linguistics 562: Quantitative Analysis]

		Preterit	Derivational	Monomorphemic	Best Fit p_r	Chi-sq
1991	N	100	53	539		
	Retained	79	29	221		
	p_r	0.79	0.73	0.74	0.74	0.37
1992	N	116	64	583		
	Retained	93	32	250		
	p_r	0.80	0.71	0.75	0.75	0.93
1995	N	404	229	922		
	Retained	323	149	496		
	p_r	0.80	.80	0.81	0.82	0.67
1996	N	96	82	374		
	Retained	85	62	219		
	p_r	0.88	0.87	0.84	0.84	0.56
1997	N	258	90	906		
	Retained	209	71	491		
	p_r	0.81	0.89	0.82	0.82	1.99

the derivational class, and as the cube root for the monomorphemic class. All of these figures are of course subject to chance deviations. The “best fit” column shows the probability that fits the over-all data best in terms of the minimal chi-square in the last column. This is of course closest to the subclass with the most data, the monomorphemic class. None of the chi-square figures shown are large enough to register a deviation from the exponential model greater than one would expect by chance. No other mathematical model tested – linear, logarithmic, polynomial – showed a fit of this kind over the whole range of data.

The exponential model has then received strong empirical confirmation. How are we to account for it? Guy reasons that this multiplicative effect must be the result of repeated applications of the same constraint, that is, a cyclical effect. Such a cyclic process is found in the framework of Lexical Phonology, where a rule is applied within brackets which are successively erased as new material is added to the construction. Thus the rule would apply to monomorphemic forms alone in the narrowest scope, to monomorphemic forms and semi-weak clusters at the next stage when derivational (Level 1) suffixes are added, and to all three at the next stage when inflectional (Level 2) suffixes are added.

A similar model should logically apply to other variables and other languages. Guy is currently examining the reduction of final consonants in Spanish and Portuguese to see if the same logic applies. The status of Lexical Phonology as a theory is now in flux, and it remains to be seen if the cyclical argument will receive other empirical support. Here my focus is on the form of the argument: that multiplicative relations imply such a hierarchical structure.

5. Correlations among linguistic variables

This report has moved from the study of single linguistic variables to the analysis of conjoined and sequential variables. The techniques of analysis and reasoning just discussed carry the linguistic argument to several levels of abstraction beyond the surface data. The simpler technique of correlation can lead to equally strong conclusions when it is applied to a larger number of dependent variables.

Table 2.2 is an assembly of all possible Pearson product-moment correlations among 12 linguistic variables in the study of change and variation in the Philadelphia speech community. Correlations, above .5

Tab. 2.2: Pearson product-moment correlations among 12 Philadelphia variables. aehN, æhS, æh\$ = F2 of /æh/ before nasals, fricatives, and apical stops (*mad, bad, glad*); aw = F2 of /aw/; eyC = F2 of checked /ey/; owC, uwC = F2 of checked allophones; owF, uwF = F2 of free allophones; The three sociolinguistic variables (DH), (NEG), (ING) are careful speech values.

	aehN2	aehS2	aeh\$2	aw2	eyC2	owC2	uwC2	owF2	uwF2	dhb	N%B	IPGB
aehN	1											
aehS	0.83	1										
aeh\$	0.81	0.84	1									
aw	0.72	0.7	0.73	1								
eyC	0.67	0.64	0.62	0.66	1							
owC	0.18	0.12	0.13	0.33	0.23	1						
uwC	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	0.05	-0.13	0.48	1					
owF	0.13	0.12	0.18	0.25	0.12	0.54	0.39	1				
uwF	0.23	0.12	0.22	0.33	0.14	0.47	0.38	0.5	1			
(DH)	0.23	0.31	0.39	0.21	0.18	-0.3	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	1		
(NEG)	0.31	0.38	0.35	0.22	0.2	-0.2	-0.1	-0.2	-0.1	0.6	1	
(ING)	0.18	0.37	0.39	0.15	0.09	-0.2	-0.1	-0	-0	0.58	0.49	1

are outlined with black borders; intermediate correlations from .3 to .5 in grey.

Let us first consider correlations among variables of the same type. The highest correlations are naturally found among allophones of the same phoneme. The three /æh/ allophones at upper left have correlations above .8. But the correlation of the two new and vigorous changes /aw/ and /eyC2/ with them and with each other are almost as high. The entire set outlined in black at upper left represents the most heavily weighted among changes from below. Thus the unity of sociolinguistic processes is at the same level as the structural relationship of allophonic identity.

A second set are the stable sociolinguistic variables (DH), (NEG) and (ING). They are strongly correlated with each other, as shown in the lower right corner. It is important to note that the indexes of all three are set so that the higher the value, the higher the use of stigmatized forms.

A third set are the four allophones of /ow/ and /uw/. The grey boxes indicate that they are only moderately correlated with each other, and not particularly with any other set of variables. This corresponds with the weak social and age stratification found for these variables in the neighborhood studies.

A great deal is to be learned from examining how these sets are correlated with each other. The figures at lower left indicate that there is a moderate correlation between the stable sociolinguistic variables and the nearly completed raising and fronting of

/æh/. In fact, the latter was the only linguistic change in progress to be mentioned by Philadelphians in the field matched guise experiments. The stigmatization of /æ/ raising was used as a test case for normalization: it is so firmly established in fact that any normalization process that weakened it would have to be rejected (Labov 2000:Ch. 5). Yet these moderate correlations are not found between the stable sociolinguistic variables and the new and vigorous changes /aw/ and /eyC2/. The absence of social stigma with the newer changes is thus clearly demonstrated in the correlation matrix. A set of low negative correlations are found between the stable sociolinguistic variables and the fronting of /uw/ and /ow/. This shows even more clearly that these vowels do not function as sociolinguistic markers, in sharp contrast to the front vowels.

6. The analysis of apparent time

The earliest treatments of change in progress inferred the existence of change from the existence of monotonic functions in age distributions, or *apparent time*, coupled with auxiliary data from real time studies (Labov 1963, 1966). Some recent comparisons of real time and apparent time data have confirmed the fact that such apparent time functions do reflect change in real time. On the other hand, re-studies of the same speakers in real time have regularly shown a mixture of age-grading and community change (Cedergren 1984, Trudgill 1988).

In the discussion of independence and interaction above, it was pointed out that gender and social class normally show strong interaction. This observation holds for stable sociolinguistic variables and for changes from above. However, it does not hold for the new and vigorous changes in progress in Philadelphia that are, like most changes from below, led by women. The difference between men and women in the fronting of /ey/ and /aw/ is independent of social class (Labov 1990). This leads us to believe that the gender differences in changes from below are due to distinctly different causes than gender differences in changes from above or stable variables. The independence of the gender effect in changes from below must be associated with a phenomenon that is common to all social classes. One candidate explanation is based on the asymmetry of language learning. The great majority of children acquire their first language from a female caretaker. It follows that if a linguistic change is more advanced for women, it will be accelerated. On the other hand, if a change is one of the minority that is more advanced among men, the female caretaker will be transmitting a relatively conservative form to children, and the change will be decelerated. The fact that few linguistic changes are male-dominated is consistent with this logic (Labov 1990).

As noted above, the Philadelphia case is far from exceptional. Most studies of linguistic change in progress show that women are ahead of men by about one generation (Gauchat 1905, Labov 1966, Chambers and Hardwick 1986, Haeri 1996). Moreover, a close examination of the progress of the change shows that the incrementation among women is approximately linear. Figure 6 shows regression analyses of the fronting of /aw/ by decade for men and women separately. For women, the decade-by-decade analysis is almost linear. A second regression line drawn through these points has an r^2 of .961, indicating that the straight line explains 96% of the differences from the mean. On the other hand, the decade-by-decade analyses for men follow a more step-like pattern with an r^2 of only .788. The implication seems clear. The linear incrementation among women indicates that they participate in the change beyond the initial impetus given by their mothers. Men do not, and the step-like pattern reflects the increase that occurs as each generation learns their first language from women whose linguistic forms have steadily advanced.

Figure 2.6 shows a monotonic function of age in apparent time for women. However, the original idea that change in real time

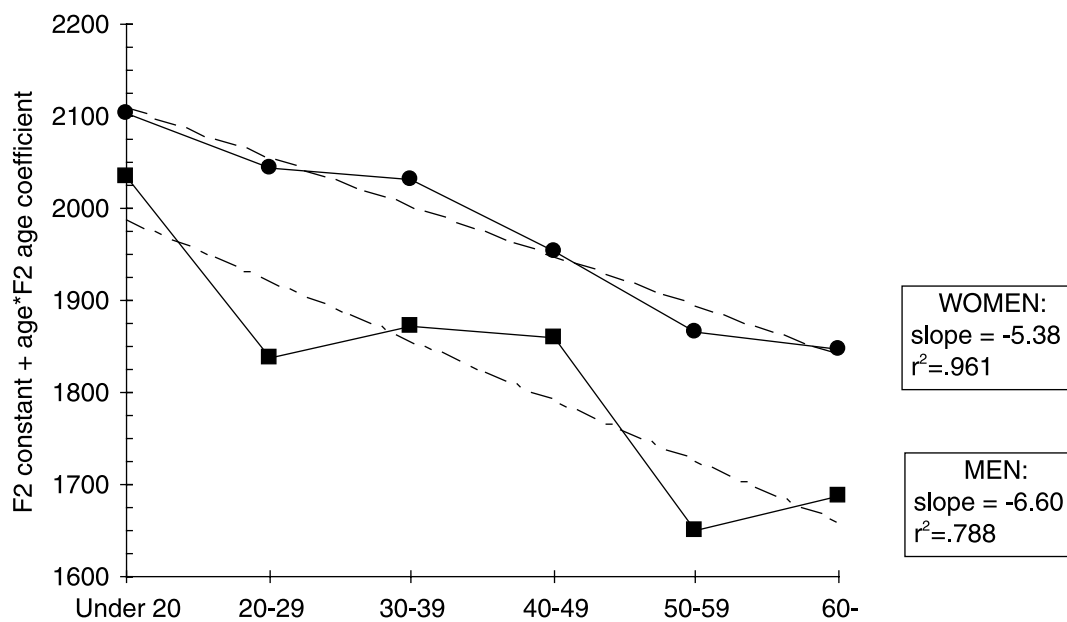


Fig. 2.6: Regression analyses of the fronting of /aw/ for men and women by decade in Philadelphia. [Source: Labov 2000, Figure 9.5].

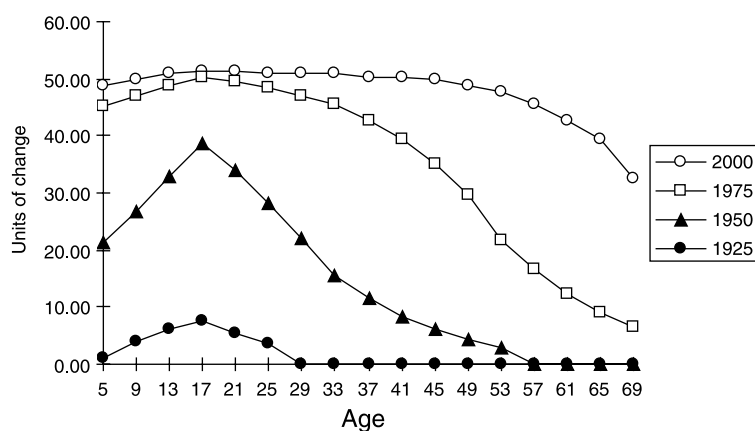


Fig. 2.7: Model of logistic incrementation from 5 to 17 years of age for four generations of female speakers in a hypothetical change that began in 1913 [Source: Labov 2000: Fig. 14.5.]

would be associated with monotonic functions in apparent time (Labov 1972) does not hold up under closer examination. If children learn their first language forms from their parents, it cannot be the case that the youngest children have the most advanced forms of the change in progress. Linguistic change demands that children must learn to talk differently from their parents, and since most linguistic changes continue in the same direction for a century or more, this re-learning must continue in the same direction across many generations. At the heart of the *transmission problem* there lies the *incrementation problem* (Labov 2000, Chs. 13,14).

It is not likely that incrementation continues throughout the speaker's lifetime, although it may not stop abruptly at some critical age. But whatever model of incrementation we choose will show a peak at some age later than first acquisition – perhaps in early adolescence, or late adolescence, or even in early adulthood. Figure 7 shows a model of incrementation that traces the level of female speakers for a hypothetical change that began in 1913. Each speaker acquires the change at the level of her mother, and participates in a logistic incrementation process from 5 to 17 years of age. The increase is not linear, but logistic, following the same s-shaped curve as the community. A 9 year old in 1925 would have participated in the change from 5 to 9. A 17 year old would have entered into the change 12 years before and participated in it for

8 years. A young woman who was 21 years old in 1925 would have remained at the lower peak that she reached in 1921 at the age of 17. A 29 year-old who was born in 1896 would not have participated in the change at all, since she reached the age of 17 just as the change was beginning. The adolescent peak is clearest in the second generation of 1950. A child at the age of 5 then begins at the level of her mother who was born in 1920, and reached the peak level of 20 units in 1937. This is the generation in which change is most rapid, at the half-way point in the logistic curve. The adolescent peak is much less clear in the 3rd generation, and all but disappears as the change nears completion.

This incrementation model approximates the linear pattern for adult women of Figure 2.6 but only for the 2nd and 3rd generations. It does correspond to the patterns found for youth when speakers from 8 to 17 are examined. Figure 2.7 shows the age coefficients for the nine linguistic changes in progress led by women that involve changes in F2. Each age group forms a dummy category with a value of 1 for a speaker in that age range, and 0 for all others. Eight age groups show a peak in the 13–16 year age range, and one – the fronting of free /uw/, has a peak in the 17–29 year range. The new and vigorous changes are marked with bold lines, with remarkably similar profiles. All lines converge at 0 for the 60 and over age group, since that is the residual point of reference for this set.

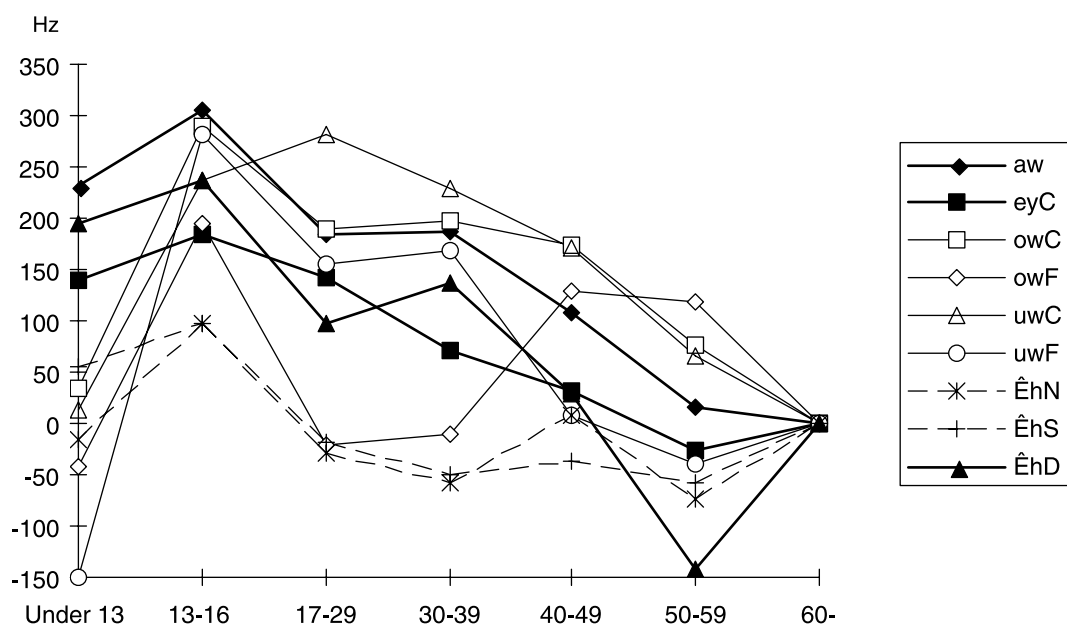


Fig. 2.8: Normalized coefficients for age groups of female speakers for nine linguistic changes in progress led by women in Philadelphia. [Source: Labov 2000:Fig. 14.9].

7. Summary

This report has presented a variety of different modes of quantitative reasoning using data on linguistic change and variation to answer fundamental questions about language structure and language change. It is of course true that the inferences to be drawn from quantitative data can be no stronger than our confidence that the data is significant and replicable. However, it is the direction of inference and reasoning that justifies the enterprise as a whole.

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3. Social Dialectology/Sozialdialektologie

1. Introduction
2. The enterprise: the social embedding of language change
3. The formalisation of variation
4. Identity of meaning and function in the (socio)linguistic variable
5. Issues and methods in social dialectology
6. Literature (selected)

1. Introduction

There are few references to “social dialectology” in the indices of encyclopedias and textbooks: perhaps it needs no definition, because it *is* sociolinguistics. More realistically, let us take as a starting point the view that it is that part of the subject that is concerned with mapping monolingual linguistic variation onto social parameters. We restrict ourselves to “monolingual” variation to emphasise that we are dealing, not with the alternation of codes (bilingualism and its interactional counterpart, code-switching), but with structured variation within one language. This being so, the focus is on the linguistics of variation. The linguistic model espoused is broadly structuralist (and not, say, generative – notwithstanding the initial use of Chomsky/Halle (1968)-style rule notation), because the unit of analysis, the “linguistic variable”, fits best into this model. Social factors are brought to bear to elucidate the linguistic variation. At the same time, the social correlations potentially tell us much about society: surely linguistic variation, to the extent that it is socially governed, will mirror in a rather exact way the social parameters which have been marshalled. Social dialectology may then shed light on social structure itself. It is then only a short step to claiming that linguistic variation, as manifested in the mouths of speakers in particular interactions, is actually constitutive of those social parameters – gender, class, identity – and also serves to define the context of speech. At that point, we have clearly left the concerns of social dialectology and have arrived at interactional sociolinguistics and social theory.

The above is intentionally programmatic, rather than descriptive of the field. Perhaps it will resonate most with practitioners of this way of doing (socio)linguistics – whatever label they would apply to it themselves.

I will not try to delimit the field from neighbouring ones – most particularly not from what is now routinely called the “variationist” paradigm, whose agenda was set by Weinreich, Labov and Herzog in 1968 (though the term is not used by them), and which most scholars will not perceive as distinct anyway. Nor will I set it off from dialectology, which as a field has moved so far in the direction of social dialectology/variationism that it is now a sub-field of these focusing on variation related to spatial and other geographical factors rather than to variation in speech communities.

I shall characterise social dialectology by the questions people working in this area ask and by what they do to answer these questions. We will see that a common core of concerns and methods has become established, and that model-building in this area is possible. In particular, the Saussurean notion of the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign has emerged as central. However, at many points in the discussion that follows, we will find ourselves unable to avoid addressing issues that are not part of social dialectology thus defined: there turns out to be linguistically non-arbitrary variation, and there are alternative interactional approaches to social meaning that social dialectologists must relate to in their model-building.

2. The enterprise: the social embedding of language change

Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968) (“WLH”) is central to all later thinking in social dialectology. It claimed to provide an entirely new, coherent model of how language change can be best described, taking as its starting point Weinreich’s critique of the work of the German linguist Hermann Paul. Paul believed that language resided only in the individual psyche. The collectivity of individual idiolects formed the “language custom” (*Sprachusus*; WLH, 106). The language custom has no existence, since (WLH claim) it is merely an “average” of all the idiolects that make it up. WLH argue that this theory makes it difficult to make claims about the nature of language change: first, its *actuation* will be due to chance fluctuations (WLH, 112), and it is then not poss-

ible to explain how a change is spread to all idiolects; second, all changes are said by Paul to result from the factor of “ease”; yet only changes such as assimilation can be explained this way (WLH, 111); third, it fails to account for why changes, especially those that we can recognise today as somehow linked to “ease”, do not happen all the time and in all places, but only at certain times in certain languages (WLH, 111). WLH present the alternative view that systematicity is to be found at the level of the community as well as the individual. Labov himself has long taken the view that systematicity at the community level is actually greater than that in the individual, because idiolects are “studded with oscillations and contradictions”, at least in New York City (Labov 1966, 6; cf. Labov 2001, 33–4). To demonstrate their point about group regularity, WLH present some of Labov’s key New York City findings, notably the “sloping lines” graph depicting frequencies of non-prevocalic *r* (Labov 1966, 240; WLH, 180). The pattern we see here is said to represent “orderly heterogeneity”: the social classes are precisely ranked according to the aggregated frequency of their use of the feature, and this ranking is maintained even when speakers are put in a more “formal” situation requiring “careful speech”, as well as even more highly monitored styles, as when reading. Social classes all increase their use of the feature, but remain in lockstep. The mechanism of language change now becomes easier to conceptualise: particular groups within the “speech community” are seen as leaders in the introduction of features from outside, or in the generation of innovations – the most usual groups mentioned being women and groups in the middle of a class hierarchy. The symptom of change is the “crossover” pattern, by which, in more “monitored” styles (5.1.) the group leading the change exceeds the usage by the next higher group in the social hierarchy.

So what is this a model of? Clearly the focus is not on the individual; only later does the individual re-appear in the Labovian paradigm, but then only as an exemplar of personality types likely to lead in linguistic change (cf. Labov 2001, 409). There are many indications that this is intended as an internally coherent model of language itself. Referring to his own work, Labov (1972a, 183) says: “This type of research has sometimes been labelled as “sociolinguis-

tics”, although it is a somewhat misleading use of an oddly redundant term. Language is a form of social behavior [...] In what way, then, can “sociolinguistics” be considered as something apart from “linguistics”?”. We shall see below (3.) how variation was formalised, in the hope of incorporating it into the mainstream generative theory of the time.

The 1960s and 1970s were heady years for social dialectologists. Labov had shown by example how a new type of theory, in tune with prevailing linguistic theory, could be elucidated by principled data collection methods which were accountable to the idea that speech production should be the primary focus of linguists – a departure from generative theory but not from other schools, such as Halliday’s. However, only a small number of large-scale studies followed, perhaps restricted by the exigencies of funding and the labour involved. Prominent among these are Wolfram (1969), Nordberg (1970; 1985), Cedergren (1973), Trudgill (1974), Macaulay (1977) and Feagin (1979). A large corpus of Montreal French was recorded in 1971 (Sankoff/Sankoff 1973; Cedergren/Lemieux 1985; Thibault/Vincent 1990). Labov, with colleagues, undertook a survey of Philadelphia from 1973–76, reported in Labov (1994; 2001). In the earlier publications, there was only sporadic critical discussion of the central tenets of the model. In particular, the assumptions of a hierarchical social stratification and the unidimensionality of stylistic variation were both left largely unchallenged (see 5.2.); nor was there much discussion of causality until the next decade (Romaine 1982). However, the central tenet of the “variable rule” was seen as problematic quite early on, and was virtually rejected after the late 1970s, as we shall see shortly.

From the 1980s, the emphasis was no longer on phonology (or “grammar” in general). As already pointed out, there was instead a move towards delineating a distinct “sociolinguistic theory”, in which the emphasis was on gaining a much deeper understanding of the social processes (both large-scale and interpersonal) behind linguistic variation. Milroy (1980) is the prime example of this new direction, followed by the even less overtly variationist-linguistic work of Eckert (1988; 2000) and Lippi-Green (1989). (For space reasons only, this work, based on the notions of *social network* and

social practice, will not be reviewed in this article.) With this shift came an increasing disjunction between the concerns of sociolinguists and “theoretical” linguists, summed up by Chambers (1995, 30) in his comparison of “categorical” (or Chomskyan generative) theory and “variation theory”. They are “separate enough that they need only share the general view of the language faculty. That shared view marks their common ground as linguistic theories. Beyond that, they have their own domains and ways of proceeding”.

Since the late 1990s, there have been new rapprochements in the form of adaptations of linguistic theory to account for community and individual variation (e.g., Henry 1995, Hinskens/van Hout/Wetzels 1997; Guy 1997; Wilson/Henry 1998; Boersma 1998). However, this renewed interest in variation by theoretical linguists represents only a partial coming together with social dialectology, because little light is shed on the social organisation of variation. An ideal theory would encompass both. For the present, the concern of the social dialectology/variationist mainstream remains that of characterising the relationship between linguistic variation and social factors. The social side of the equation is currently prioritised, with the development of theory in sociolinguistics being a central aim.

3. The formalisation of variation

Presenting this research programme as developing a particular model of language, as Labov does, entails detailed attention to the “parts” of language, including syntax and (especially) phonology. The concentration on phonological features is not just expedient because of their frequency (Labov 1966, 5). It also results from the fact that the phonology is the part of the grammar where a high degree of interdependence of elements is most clearly demonstrable. Later scholars have pointed to the high potential of phonological features to acquire an indexical function by virtue of their frequency (e.g. Hudson 1996, 45), and hence the social marking function that is central to “orderly heterogeneity”.

The variable features are formalised in terms of the *linguistic variable*. Phonological variables are systematically related to the structuralist concept of phoneme and allophone. Just as the phoneme has allophones

which are not associated with differences in meaning, so the variable has variants which do not affect any aspect of the propositional meaning. (Problems with this assumption have been raised since the late 1970s, especially in relation to grammatical variables: we return to this in 4.) The phonological variable in most cases maps onto a phoneme-in-context. This is also part of the definition of an allophone: the difference is that the variable describes variation *within* the allophone, and this is by definition not accounted for by the phonological context.

This structuralist and functionalist parallel is taken further in that the indexical function of variation is seen as a motivator of change. Variants of a variable undergoing change may be seen to vary with age, but this would be a “mysterious fact” were it not for the correlation of the variable with *style* as well (WLH, 171; see 5.2.). Linguistic units vary not only with linguistic context, but also with a wider non-linguistic context that can be formalised. Most phonological changes are regular, or “Neogrammarian”, and many (especially vowel shifts) have no obvious explanation in terms of “naturalness”, the modern counterpart of ease. We can agree that language has an indexical function, and that the precise value of this indexing is at least partly linguistically arbitrary in the Saussurean sense, despite attempts to look for “salience” as an explanatory factor (Trudgill 1986; Auer/Barden/Grosskopf 1998; Kerswill/Williams 2002a). Therefore, if there were no social indexing (=social evaluation), as reflected in style differentiation, there would be no change.

The close parallel between the variable and the allophone gave the impetus to attempts to integrate the phonological variable into the phonology of the language. WLH (p. 170) provide early examples of *variable rules*, formulated as optional generative rules in the then prevailing model, but with probabilistic linguistic and extra-linguistic weightings, such as those related to phonological context, grammatical category, class, style and age, built in – though the extra-linguistic factors were later excluded from the rule formulation itself. In certain ways, allowing probabilistic statements into phonological rules is a departure from standard “categorical” phonology. This is so where a linguistic variable covers a continuum (usually phonetic): degrees of

frontness and backness, or whatever, are overtly expressed by the rule, and the variation is succinctly described. However, much more fundamental is the fact that the variable rule was not intended to account for an individual's production: WLH (p. 173) state: "Rules such as (11) [referring to a variable rule] are not predictions about individual utterances of individual speakers [...] (11) is a rule of grammar of a speech community, not of an idiolect". This is because "a large number of small effects contribute to a base level of fluctuation which makes such predictions impossible".

However, serious discussion of variable rules had ceased by the late 1970s, as Fasold's discussion implies (1990, 248–257). Thus, Sankoff/Labov (1979, 202–3) explained that the strong version of the variable rule speech community, where linguistic constraints on rules were shared by all community members, was not intended: instead, individuals participate in "over-lapping and intersecting speech communities", with the ordering and relative strengths of constraints differing systematically within the different speech communities – yet these can none the less be stated "for the entire community as a whole" (Sankoff/Labov 1979, 210). Kay/McDaniel (1979, 153) objected to the use of variable rules as an extension to a generative grammar because the latter has the function of producing types, not tokens; in other words, one cannot say that a variable rule is simply an optional rule made more precise by specifying the frequency of its application (Kay/McDaniel 1979, 153). It found no favour with phonologists and syntacticians of the time: the notion of probabilistic output, even when governed by language-internal factors, was seen as irredeemably a matter of performance.

Further problems arise if we try to compare the "variable rule speech community" with a Chomskyan individual, psychological model of grammar. These lie primarily in the idea that a grammar can reside in a group. Rules are stated as mathematical properties of the group, yet there is no obvious mechanism by which an individual can acquire such a "community grammar". These mathematical relations are what the linguist has discovered by aggregating large amounts of data, and are not recoverable by individuals (Downes 1998, 124). The regular patterns of the group as compared with the individual can only be given realism if one accepts a no-

tion of "group mind" (Downes 1998, 124). If, however, the statistical tendencies discovered by the variable rule methodology are instead taken as modelling a part of a more general communicative competence, we can claim that the approach offers an insight into the way people structure their verbal communication and how they relate their speech systematically to that of others with whom they come in contact. How they do this is a matter for social psychologists (Giles/Powesland 1975/1997), ethnographers (Hymes 1972), acquisitionists (Croft 2000, 44–49; Aitchison 2001, cf. Kerswill 1996) and dialect contact theorists (Trudgill 1986). Variable rules, even when shorn of their status as part of generative grammar, cease to be part of any model of an individual grammar.

4. Identity of meaning and function in the (socio)linguistic variable

The linguistic variable (the terms "linguistic variable" and "sociolinguistic variable" appear to be used synonymously in the literature) is the most "linguistic" part of the Labovian theory. As we have seen, phonological variables have been favoured because of their frequency, linguistic embeddedness and potential for social indexing. More central still is the fact that phonological variants are not meaning-bearing. For example, in British English, the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] as an alternative to [t] for the variable (t) (=intervocalic /t/) makes no semantic difference: phonologically, these are free variants occurring in the same environment. There seems to be no problem, either, with treating distinct realisations of morphemes and function words as variables. Thus, Kerswill (1994) discussed variation resulting from contact between a rural and an urban dialect of Norwegian. Here, morpholexical differences prevail, as between *kasta* and *kaste* ("to throw"; variable infinitive ending), or between *hjá* and *hos* ("at the house of"; variation in a function word). A similar approach can be taken with reasonable validity in the case of certain sorts of morphosyntactic variable. Cheshire (1982), for example, deals with variation between forms in Reading (UK) English such as *I likes it* vs. *I like it*, where the former displays the universal present-tense marker *-s* in that dialect, and *he don't do it* vs. *he doesn't do it*, the former displaying the lack of number agreement in

auxiliaries. Semantic equivalence is clearly not a problem here. However, there are differences between the grammars of standard English and Reading English that make the possibility of “closing the set” of possible variants of a variable rather more difficult (Labov 1982, in Milroy 1987, 151). The first difference is that, in Reading, *-s* is the universal present tense marker only for main verbs, while auxiliaries follow the modals in having no overt marker. Standard English has *-s* for the third person singular for both verbal categories. This can clearly be handled by a more precise specification of the variable, and semantic equivalence is in any case not at issue.

However, a second, related case is much more problematic. Cheshire (1999, 72–3) finds it necessary to distinguish between two functions of the collocation “you know”. Thus, “you know” takes *-s* when the verb has its normal lexical meaning, as in *You knows him don't you, Nod?*. When the sequence has the discourse function of presenting a new topic, the *-s* does not appear: *You know that hill down there?*. The latter is a fixed phrase occurring only in spoken language. According to Cheshire, this case shows that we must take account of discourse function in delimiting the scope of a variable. Here, identity of function replaces identity of meaning as a criterion for the variable: we must treat each function separately.

Identity of function itself becomes problematic where two varieties differ in their aspectual organisation, as in the contrast between standard English and Irish English (Milroy 1987, 162–4; Harris 1984). I cite two examples, where the standard English perfect tense would be “translated” by Irish English speakers as indicated (Milroy 1987, 163):

He has finished his course = (Irish English)
 He has his course finished
 I've been waiting here for ten minutes =
 (Irish English) I'm waiting here ten minutes

Aspectual categories are realised differently in the two varieties, with – significantly – no one-to-one matching between the forms used and the function. Furthermore, the first example additionally illustrates a syntactic difference between the two varieties. Establishing straightforward semantic or functional equivalence across the two sets of forms is not possible. Instead, if we want to

discuss variation within a community which uses the two systems, we must start from the different aspectual categories and investigate their realisation (Harris 1984).

So far, we have dealt with essentially grammatical differences between varieties, covering morpholexis (the realisation of morphological categories and function words), morphosyntax (here, number agreement) and syntax – as well as aspectual organisation and phonology. In each case, it is, ultimately, possible to argue for a principled form of equivalence which enables us to apply a variationist analysis, even if we cannot always “close the set” of variants. If, however, we move into the realm of *pragmalinguistic choices* (cf. Thomas 1983), then we are no longer able to perform such an analysis. We can think of a pragmalinguistic choice as (1) choosing lexical material and/or (2) choosing the *organisation* of lexical material. Consider the following:

- (1) Could you pass the butter, please
- (2) Pass the butter
- (3) Shove the butter along, would you
- (4) My bread's dry

Referentially and truth-conditionally, (1) – (3) show varying degrees of (very close) equivalence and could therefore be regarded as variants of a variable. This misses the point, because all four utterances have the same (broad) function (see Romaine 1984, on functional equivalence), and it is the exercise of choice of the two types just mentioned that is of sociolinguistic interest. Similarly, Weiner/Labov (1983) discuss a range of constraints on the selection of active vs. passive forms, as in *they broke into the liquor store* vs. *the liquor store was broken into*. They treat this as a variable on the grounds of truth-conditional equivalence. As Romaine (1984, discussed in Milroy 1987, 159) points out, because of the link between syntactic choices and discourse factors – as is obvious from the choice of active vs. passive (cf. Winford 1996) – it is difficult to talk about semantic or functional equivalence.

Yet it is the case that different social groups do opt for different pragmalinguistic choices, and this leads us straight into a dilemma. If the different strategies for, let us say, requests (perhaps one employing mitigating strategies, the other not, and perhaps additionally using taboo) are to be regarded as variants of a variable, then, as Levinson

(1988, 168–9) points out, we have no particular interest in *how* this speech function is realised. Rather, we are interested in the social distribution of the forms. This, however, deprives the sociolinguist of important information to do with what Levinson (1988, 168) calls the “cultural distinctiveness of speech functions”, by which the existence of a distinctive and perhaps unique discourse style in a given sub-group is the focus of attention. Examples would be the rules for ritual insults studied by Labov in Harlem (1972b) or the “Berlin brutal style” discussed by Levinson himself. In neither of these cases is the *comparison* with other sub-groups within the same community at issue (that is, we are not dealing with variables). The cultural distinctiveness of ways of speaking lies at the centre of Hymesian ethnography and anthropological linguistics – and here, again, as with interactional sociolinguistics, we clearly fall outside the domain of social dialectology. In Levinson’s words, the social dialectologist, who espouses the “alternates perspective”, would have no special interest in matters of motivation: “it is silly to ask *why* Group A uses variant V1 and Group B uses variant V2 and not vice-versa, for in the best Saussurean sense V1 and V2 are *arbitrary* carriers of social value” (Levinson 1988, 169; emphasis in original). In the case of pragmalinguistic choices, taking such a view would amount to the sidelining of some fundamental issues. Social dialectology is not the discipline to deal with them.

Yet a bridge between this rarefied social dialectology and a more ethnographic treatment is possible, giving us the possibility of finding social explanations. Systematic variation in ellipsis – a type of pragmalinguistic choice – is found in Oslo Norwegian between social classes: working-class older men use slightly more ellipses than other groups, along with more low-prestige dialectal morphology (Hanssen et al. 1978). Referring to this result, Wiggen (1986, 108) talks of an “elliptical way of speaking which functions in the context of high group solidarity (shared frame of reference)” [my translation]. It is also possible to apply this kind of explanation to non-discourse features as well. Trudgill (2002) argues that certain sorts of linguistic change are found particularly in close-knit, small communities, including relatively extreme, dialect-specific fast-speech processes, a reduction in phonological inventories, and “unusual” sound

changes, while complex and irregular morphology is maintained in such communities. It is precisely because of the high degree of shared knowledge in such communities that such redundancy- and transparency-reducing changes can be tolerated, while strong group norms preserve irregularity. However, there remains a large residue of linguistic, especially phonetic, changes where no such explanation can be adduced: this is a consequence of Saussurean arbitrariness, alluded to by Levinson. (See also Macaulay 1991; 1995; 1997; 1999 for fuller discussions of discourse features in the context of social differences.)

5. Issues and methods in social dialectology

5.1. The vernacular

In Labovian sociolinguistics, the term *vernacular* has two distinct meanings. The first relates to a “casual” style of speech in which “the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech” (Labov 1972a, 208). The second relates to the lowest-status speech in a given community, which, folklinguistically, may go by the name of “dialect” or “patois” (or some such term), or a local tag, such as “Scouse” (Liverpool speech). In Labov’s work, the connection between these two uses is as follows. Both an individual’s vernacular and a local vernacular are minimally affected by the external influence of a prestigious superposed language variety, such as a standard. For the individual, this means that, if we could only gain access to it, we will find the most consistent form of speech in that person’s repertoire in his or her vernacular, unaffected by excursions into a standard variety imperfectly learned in adolescence and later (Labov 1972a, 208; 1984, 29). Access is difficult, and requires special techniques – but is essential as a base-line calibration against which other styles are measured (Labov 1984, 29). A local vernacular is the least affected by the “larger-scale public dimension of standardization” (Milroy 1987, 58). Because standardisation has the effect of fossilising a language state, the least standardised varieties show “natural” (i.e. not institutionalised, literacy-induced) aspects of language change the most clearly. To that extent, Labov’s concern resembles that of traditional dialectologists, who aim to rec-

ord the “genuine” dialect, purportedly found among the least educated, most localised individuals; as such, this is an essentialist view (Figuroa 1994, 92; 98). The object of study is, therefore, vernacular speakers in their most vernacular style.

This model has been criticised from many quarters, and I cite just some of the issues below. Suffice it to say, it forms part of a consistent model of language-in-society, inseparable from Labov’s view of grammar as a property of the group, his notion of the speech community (5.3.), and his insistence that language change would not be possible in the absence of such a speech community. The idea of studying a local vernacular, along with people’s vernacular styles, seems uncontroversial, as long as the whole repertoire of a speech community is studied as well. It is Labov’s achievement to demonstrate the need to investigate a complete community repertoire in both language-change and language-use studies.

Yet the central tenet of the vernacular – as that style of speech in which the least attention is paid to speech – simply does not hold. We all pay varying degrees of attention to our speech all of the time, and this can include approximating to our vernacular (cf. Milroy 1987, 58); how this insight can itself be modelled will be addressed below (5.2.). Figuroa (1994, 96) points out that, in recording local vernacular speakers with their peers in order to get at their least monitored style, we may be getting something that is highly monitored because of the active normative pressure of that group – and this pressure will obviously not be in the direction of the standard. Furthermore, early attempts to find a psychological correlate of “attention to speech” were unconvincing, and in any case other parameters, in particular “audience design” (the idea that all speech contains elements that are a response to its audience; Bell 1984 – see 5.2.), were a better predictor than attention. Regardless of how we end up defining it, the fact that the vernacular (in both meanings) is the form of speech most remote from superposed standard varieties gives it a legitimate and privileged position in social dialectology.

5.2. Style

A good deal has already been said in this article about style. This is because it is constitutive of the “sloping lines” speech community model (2.) and the notion of the

vernacular (5.1.). I turn here to some criticisms of the notion of sociolinguistic style, as well as some alternative approaches. The principal problem, for many sociolinguists, is that Labov’s notion of style is unidimensional, a fact that goes hand-in-hand with the unidimensionality of social differentiation. For Labov, this seems so uncontroversial as not to warrant any separate or new discussion in Labov (2001). In the preceding section, we saw how “attention” is not a valid predictor. “Casual speech” is a misnomer because (as we saw in 5.1.) strong normative pressure from the in-group can be felt in contexts which are defined as casual. “Formal speech” is not just a reflex of greater attention, but a style appropriate in more public contexts, with the speaker taking into account his or her knowledge of the linguistic market (Sankoff/Laberge 1978, 239). We should move towards a view of style that is (a) multidimensional and (b) takes the speaker’s intentions more into account. Bell (1984) expounds an “audience design” model, whereby speakers take into account not only their interlocutors but also other people, present or not present. This allows Bell to make visible a greater complexity in people’s selection of stylistic features (for him, mainly sociolinguistic variables), with speakers orienting themselves linguistically in relation to outside reference groups which may be salient in the particular context. Macaulay (1999, 12) claims that Bell’s approach takes rather a passive view of the roles of speakers and hearers: Bell’s main evidence is from radio newscasters whose audiences by definition do not give immediate feedback. Macaulay (1999, 17–21) advocates a more interactional approach to style which takes account of the complex interplay between topic, genre (narrative vs. non-narrative) and the participants’ active roles in defining the speech event.

As with the linguistic variable, an investigation of style entails a distinction between the study of the social patterning of linguistically arbitrary “alternates” and the study of the “cultural distinctiveness of speech functions” (4.; Levinson 1988). Macaulay (1999, 23f.) finds consistent social patterning in both types of features. Thus, a middle-class, as opposed to working-class, discourse style is characterised by more evaluative adjectives, but fewer discourse markers and highlighting devices, as well as by more non-restrictive relative clauses and subordinate

clauses. (Recall that differences in clause type were also found in the Oslo study – 4.; Wiggen, 1986.) More robust as social-dialect markers are phonological and morphological features, however, probably because they are not linked to the organisation of conversation. We are still left with the uncomfortable task of explaining why these differences in discourse style exist. This kind of cultural explanation is a matter for linguistic anthropology.

Labov's notion of style is anchored in his belief in the vernacular as the "purest" part of a speaker's repertoire – an essentialist view, as we have seen (5.1.). Implied in this is the assumption that the vernacular represents the *authentic self* of the speaker (Coupland 2001, 346), and that linguistic performance in general is a manifestation of a speech community's normal repertoire and directly represents its cultural norms. "Dialect" (in our terms, the vernacular) is "a rather direct behavioral manifestation of cultural identity" (Coupland 2001, 348). However, the fact that speakers can and do use dialect features, their own and others', for metaphorical purposes to allude to a range of identities (in-group or out-group) calls authenticity into question. It is a moot point whether such behaviour is on the increase, as Coupland suggests (347), with people (at least in some Western countries) being exposed more and more to dialect used out of its authentic context, particularly in the spoken media (368). Yet, Coupland says, these metaphorical uses of dialect must still be seen against a background of authenticity, since "languages and language varieties can and often do focus a sense of cultural essence" (Coupland 2001, 369). However, let us not forget, *pace* Coupland, that "cultural essence" is a subjective and changing thing, subject to negotiation and reinterpretation even within the space of a single encounter. Labov's notional vernacular style is objective, describable and (reasonably) fixed. We cannot hope, even in theory, to match a culture's essence with a closely-defined vernacular style. Unless we succeed in confirming its psycholinguistic validity, perhaps we must accept that the vernacular itself, far from being definable, is subject to this kind of renegotiation.

5.3. The speech community

There have been relatively few treatments of the speech community that tackle seriously the characterisation of the social unit within

which language variation shows systematic and meaningful patterning. As Patrick points out, the three influential ones which appeared in the 1960s seem programmatic today: Labov focused on "linguistic evaluation and style-shifting", Gumperz on multilingualism and interaction, and Hymes on "ways of speaking and communicative competence" (Patrick 2002, 575). In general, accounts of the speech community vary along an axis starting from an abstract, functionalist, structuralist model with little scope for human agency, through to speaker-based, interactional models which deny structure but allow for individual negotiations of social meaning. Labov's model is the exemplar of the former, structuralist approach, while some versions of Gumperz's model, as well as that of Le Page, represent the speaker-centred approach. Thus, Gumperz/Levinson (1996, 11; quoted in Patrick 2001, 18) state: "If meaning resides in interpretive practices [...] located in the social networks one is socialized in, then the 'culture-' and 'language-' bearing units are not nations, ethnic groups or the like [...] but rather networks of interacting individuals". Le Page (1980, 15) focuses even more on individual action, without reference to social networks: "[W]e create our 'rules' so as to resemble as closely as possible those of the group or groups with which from time to time we wish to identify".

For the quantitative social dialectologist, the task is to find a speech community model which most economically accounts for the data that has been collected. While interactional models may more accurately reflect the behaviour of individuals, they run the risk of losing sight of large-scale regularities in a society. It turns out that Labov's model reveals many of these regularities, and I will therefore focus on it (see Patrick 2002 and Chapter 14 for more comprehensive surveys). The "community grammar", which we can take as referring to the shared linguistic and social constraints on a variable, is the main component of the model. For monolingual communities, the neat ordering of speakers by class and by style with respect to linguistic variables is a substantive finding. This "orderly heterogeneity" is a property of a "speech community" sharing "a set of norms for the interpretation of language", as reflected in "patterns of social stratification, style shifting, and subjective evaluations" (Labov 1989, 2). Orderly het-

erogeneity also “normally rests on a uniform structural base: the underlying phrase structure, the grammatical categories, the inventory of phonemes, and the distribution of that inventory in the lexicon” (Labov 1989, 2).

The model can be stated as a hypothesis testable against data from given cases and, in deductive fashion, modifications made to it. A number of issues arise, which I deal with in turn: linguistic relatedness, nativeness, nesting, and focusing and diffusion.

5.3.1 Linguistic relatedness and “nativeness”

Labov’s approach to the practical delimitation of a speech community (as distinct from its theoretical definition) was to choose an ethnically mixed district of New York City and then to select only “native speakers”. The choice of the Lower East Side, a district which had seen massive immigration and out-migration, allowed him to test the proposition “that the native New York City pattern of speech can absorb a tremendous bulk of foreign influence without being seriously transformed itself” (Labov 1966, 157). By applying criteria to do with the manner of acquisition of English, Labov finally excluded 68% of the original (stratified random) sample of 988 because they were potentially non-native speakers (Labov 1966, 170; 175). This was not just a matter of expediency: it rests on the idea that sociolinguistic patterning is robust even in the face of a majority of non-natives, a finding confirmed by Labov’s own data. We should not be surprised at Labov’s result: later studies suggest that, provided a stable core of “native speakers” is present as a linguistic focus for newcomers, the linguistic effect of the newcomers is rather small (Mufwene 1996; Labov 2001, 503f. makes a similar point).

As a picture of overall language use in a community, Labov’s model is, deliberately, very restricted, simply because it is not intended as such. However, serious problems arise even when we take the model on its own terms. Even among “natives” in monolingual Western cities, neither the “same norms” nor the “shared linguistic system” criteria necessarily holds true. The picture the Milroys give of variation in the Northern Irish city of Belfast suggests that this is not a speech community in the Labovian sense: here, there is a range of non-standard norms involving phonological variables whose

variants cannot be placed on a unidimensional continuum. Stylistic variation and variation associated with class are not always in the direction of standard English or of any nameable prestigious spoken variety, such as Received Pronunciation (see especially J. Milroy 1982; L. Milroy 1980, 101ff.). Moreover, Irish English and standard English, which is used by many middle-class Belfast speakers, have fundamentally different ways of encoding aspect, as we saw above (4.) – refuting the notion of a shared structural base.

5.3.2 Nesting

Perhaps even more important is the question of the optimum level of analysis for the speech community, that is, the degree of *nesting* that can be meaningfully and empirically demonstrated. Kerswill (1993; 1994, 137–161; 2001) shows that a city can contain not one, but two or more “Labovian” speech communities defined according to their shared norms and uniform structural bases. Most rural migrants in the Norwegian city of Bergen show degrees of quasi-permanent accommodation to the urban dialect. Much of their style shifting involves varying the proportion of urban forms; as such, and given the fact that they speak similar dialects distinct from the city variety, they can be said to share norms and a structural base. They are distinct from the native urban speech community and from non-migrated people living in the country. However, the migrant and native Bergen groups are systematically related in a complex way that shows that they must be treated as part of a single, larger speech community. This is shown primarily in their treatment of a phonetic variable, the lowering of utterance-final /ə/, a conscious, but not stereotyped marker of working-class Bergen speech. The migrant community borrows this variable, but gives it a different function. Lowering increases with formality of speech style, in contexts where for native Bergeners the opposite is expected. Because the migrants use more Bergen features generally in these contexts, we can argue that, for them, the use of Bergen features, even low-prestige ones, is part of “sounding urban”, and encodes (*à la* Le Page) a set of desirable identities.

The importance of findings of this sort is that one must postulate a larger speech community subsuming the smaller, “Labovian” communities, which are nested under it. To

fail to do so would be to deny an important source of explanation: the variation in one speech community is only meaningful with reference to its relationship with other communities at the same level. At this point, we come up against an important debate: it has been claimed that a conflict model of society better accounts for variation data than Labov's consensus model (L. Milroy/J. Milroy 1992, 3; J. Milroy 1992, 207–11). Patrick argues that the two approaches are to some extent complementary, depending largely on "scale factors: higher points on the population scale may be more heterogeneous and divided" (Patrick 2002, 589). In the Bergen case, the migrants' speech patterns are best accounted for by a conflict model *seen at the level of the overarching speech community*: the rural migrant community traditionally has low prestige, and it is clear from their sociolinguistic patterns that they orient themselves towards the native Bergeners. However, internally to each community (the migrants and the Bergeners), a consensus model seems applicable.

It is clear that these two particular levels within a speech community model, the "Labovian" and the next-higher level, are crucial for the interpretation of linguistic variation. At least this is true in medium-to-large cities which can sustain relatively separate speech communities including a linguistically distinct "native" community, while still allowing for a reasonable chance of interaction among speakers of different social and ethnic groups. Any larger superordinate unit, such as a region or a country, cannot be taken as a unit within which language change occurs because of the absence of this "interaction" criterion. For larger units, it seems more appropriate to hypothesise the presence of geographical diffusion, which for our purposes can be glossed as resulting from contact between adjacent speech communities.

5.3.3 Speech community focusing and diffusion

We turn now specifically to the shared norms of the speech community: how strong are they? Does everybody share them in equal measure? The key notion is the scalar distinction between *focusing* and *diffusion* (Le Page 1980): a speech community is said to be focused if there is relatively little variation and if the variation that remains is clearly patterned. Such communities are so-

cially stable, and linguistic change is likely to be slow. Diffuse communities, on the other hand, do not have such clear norms, reasons for this usually lying in a more volatile social structure resulting from migration. A useful approach to the study of relative focusing and diffusion is through perceptual dialectology (Preston 1996). The link is this: in a focused community, one would expect members to be more successful at recognising other members through their speech than the case would be in diffuse communities. Kerswill (2002) and Kerswill/Williams (2002b) show that the correct identification of voices is much higher in socially stable communities, such as Bergen and the northern English city of Hull, than in socially and linguistically diffuse ones. A corollary of this is that, where the local vernacular is undergoing rapid change, as it is in the south-eastern English town of Reading, young natives simply fail to recognise older natives, associating them (in the Reading case) with rural counties to the west. They are also less successful at identifying age-mates than Hull young people are. Despite demonstrably strong social continuity across generations in Reading, it seems that both local norms as well as the shared structural base have been to some extent lost, in this case due to the diffusion of general south-eastern phonetic features.

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4. Geolinguistics – Diffusion of Language Geolinguistik – Sprachdiffusion

1. Introduction
2. Putting the ‘geo’ in sociolinguistics
3. Linguistic Diffusion
4. Geolinguistic patterns: core and relic areas and transition zones
5. A future for geolinguistics?
6. Literature (selected)

1. Introduction

The geographical dimension of space has been an almost wholly unexplored dimension in sociolinguistics. This is a somewhat surprising state of affairs since modern sociolinguistics can rightfully claim roots in a number of (seemingly) spatially-aware antecedents: the cartographic tradition of early dialectology, early linguistic anthropology, the cultural geography of Vidal de la Blache (e.g., 1926) and so on. Almost without exception, and rather than having been critically explored as a potential social variable, space has been treated as a blank canvas onto which sociolinguistic processes are painted. It has been unexamined, untheorised and its role in shaping and being shaped by language untested. What is more, human geography, the discipline to which sociolinguists might reasonably look in order to rectify this under-exploration, itself underwent, in the latter quarter of the 20th century, a great deal of critical soul-searching, questioning its goals and even its very existence as a separate field of enquiry. As we will see in Section 2.0, there are remarkable parallels between the recent history of human geographic thought, and the ongoing interest in language variation across space (see, further, Britain 2001a).

Although space has been undertheorised in variation studies, a number of researchers, from the traditional dialectologists through to those interested in the dialectology of mobility and contact, have, of course, been actively engaged in research on the geography of language variation. This chapter will present an overview of current research in the spatial realisation of language use from within the variationist tradition. Two topics will be considered most prominently: spatial configurations shaped by language use, such as core and relic areas and transition zones, and the spatial diffusion of linguistic variants, both by geographical spread (‘expan-

sion’ diffusion) and transplantation (‘relocation’ diffusion). Such spatial diffusion (and resistance to it) involves contact between speakers of the innovative variant, on the one hand, and speakers of the traditional form, on the other. Contact linguistics, then, is a necessary tool in understanding geographical configurations of linguistic behaviour.

2. Putting the ‘geo’ in sociolinguistics

Human geographers distinguish three types of space which together form a *socialised* construct appropriate to the study of spatial – including linguistic – behaviour:

Euclidean space – the objective, geometric, socially divorced space of mathematics and physics.

Social space – this is the space shaped by human agency and cultural organisation, by the human manipulation of the landscape, by the contextualisation of face-to-face interaction, by the creation of a built environment, and by the relationship of these to the way the state spatially organises and controls at the institutional, local, regional and national level. As Giddens (1984, 368) has claimed ‘space is not an empty dimension along which social groupings become structured, but has to be considered in terms of its involvement in the construction of systems of interaction’.

Perceived space: this is how society perceives its immediate and not so immediate environments – important given the way people’s environmental perceptions and attitudes construct and are constructed by everyday practice.

Together these three combine to create *spatiality*, a key human geographic dimension. None of these three can exist independently of one another. Geometric space is appropriated and thus made social through human settlement, but social space can never be entirely free of the physical friction of distance. And our perceptions and value judgments associated with our surroundings, although deeply affected by both social and Euclidean space, can in themselves affect the way space is later appropriated, colonized and interacted with.

Spatiality, furthermore, is not fixed and concrete but always in a state of ‘becoming’

(Pred 1985) driven by changes in social and psychological spaces.

In an overview of the theoretical development of spatiality in social scientific thought, the human geographer Doreen Massey (1984, 1985; see also Curry 1996; Johnston 1991) charted three distinct periods, all of which are clearly mirrored in sociolinguistic theorising on spatial issues. Before the 1960s, human geography, she claims, was about ‘regions’ with the focus of study being on place, difference and distinctiveness. ‘Too often’, she states (Massey 1984, 2), however, ‘it degenerated into an essentially descriptive and untheorized collection of facts’. This period coincides most obviously with that of traditional dialectology. It, too, focussed on regions, on focal areas and their boundaries, and on the local dialectal variability and differentiation from place to place which drove its opposition to the Neogrammarian hypothesis. At least in its earlier manifestations, it treated space as little more than a background setting against which dialectological findings could be mapped, and it was pre-sociolinguistic, making few demands on social theory of any kind. So although traditional dialectology is usually portrayed as one of the earliest forms of geographical linguistics, there is virtually no *geographical* component to this work at all beyond the Euclidean representation of data on a map. In fact, the historical aspatial aims of traditional dialectology represent but one example of a pervasive historicism in sociolinguistics (see Britain 2001a), a problem noted in human geography more generally by Soja (1989).

In the 1960s, the social sciences generally were rocked by the outbreak of the quantitative revolution. The revolution had different effects on sociology and sociolinguistic dialectology on the one hand, and human geography and geographical dialectology on the other. Within the former, spatiality was largely ignored. Social relations and social structures were quantified and correlated with other social structures, or in the case of sociolinguistic dialectology, with linguistic variables (Labov 1966). The scientific empiricism of the time meant that the regular, the general and the neutral took precedence over the specific, the individual and the unique.

Within sociolinguistics, the consequence of the quantitative revolution was the focus, quite contrary to traditional dialectology in

many ways, of charting the ‘orderly heterogeneity’ of the speech community, finding ‘universals’ of variation and change, and demonstrating that even within the most diverse, heterogeneous and mobile communities in the world (e.g. New York), there was regularity, structure and conformity to communal norms (e.g. Labov 1966; Trudgill 1974a, etc). Dialectological research shifted from a concentration on the extreme rural (and on older, non-mobile males in such communities – see Chambers and Trudgill 1998) to an equal concentration on the extreme urban. Sociolinguistic dialectology for many years was about ‘language in the city’, where the social embedding of language was (apparently) at its most complex, most heterogeneous, yet, nevertheless still highly structured, highly ordered. This urbanism still pervades much of the dialectological literature, however: the rural is still portrayed as the insular, the isolated, the static, as an idyll of peace and tranquility rather than as composed of heterogeneous communities, of contact, of change and progress and conflict (Cloke and Little 1997; Macnaghten and Urry 1998; Cloke 1999; Shucksmith 2000).

Whilst sociologists were (rightly or wrongly) quantifying society, and sociolinguistic dialectologists quantifying linguistic variables, human geographers were at somewhat of a loss. All they had was space, a dimension. So they set about the task of establishing a quantified human geography, drawing up spatial laws, spatial relationships and spatial processes all of which could be explained by spatial factors, without reference to the social content of the spaces they were quantifying. It was at this time that such concepts as ‘the friction of distance’ and, hence, gravity models, were drawn upon to explain empirically discovered spatial regularities.

This despatialisation of society and desocialisation of space found its way into sociolinguistic dialectology. Labov (1982), in his review of the first twenty years of variationism, firmly separated ‘spatial’ contributions to language variation and change from the ‘social’, and treated the study of linguistic heterogeneity in space, society and time as a ‘natural alliance’ (1982, 20) but of separate disciplines. As Massey notes, this view was typical of the time: ‘in terms of the relation between the social and the spatial, this was the period of perhaps the greatest

conceptual separation ... the other disciplines continued to function, by and large, as though the world operated, and society existed, on the head of a pin, in a spaceless, geographically undifferentiated world' (1984,4).

Much of the early sociolinguistic work in dialect *geography* derived from this quantitative tradition in human geography, perhaps most notably in the analysis of the spatial diffusion of innovations and, in particular, the adoption and adaptation of gravity models (e.g. Trudgill 1974b, 1983; Calvary 1975; Larmouth 1981; Hernández Campoy 1999, 2000; see also, however, the work in the earlier 'neolinguistic' tradition such as Bartoli 1945; Bonfante 1947; Weinhold 1985). Early sociolinguistic work on the geographical diffusion of innovations was triggered by the highly influential models of diffusion proposed by the Swedish human geographer Torsten Hägerstrand (e.g., 1952). It was his modelling of spatial diffusion that provided a methodological framework that could be readily adopted to visually display geographical distributions of the frequencies of linguistic innovations, 'the spatial diffusion of ratios' (Trudgill 1983, 61).

Massey criticises spatial quantification as being insensitive to the local and the unique: 'The 'old regional geography' may have had its disadvantages but at least it did retain within its meaning of 'the spatial' a notion of 'place', attention to the 'natural' world, and an appreciation of richness and specificity. One of the worst results of the schools of quantification and spatial analysis was their reduction of all this to the simple (but quantifiable) notion of distance' (Massey 1984, 5). The difference between this 'sociolinguistic dialect geography' (Trudgill 1974b) and the largely urban speech community sociolinguistics of the late 60s and 70s cannot be clearer, with the former asocially quantifying space, and the latter aspatially quantifying society. Dialect geographers were busy quantifying geometric space, devoid of its social content, whilst urban sociolinguists studied their speech communities with little regard for their integration into a larger socio-*spatial* framework.

Since the mid-70s, a radical shift has taken place away from a fetishisation of the spatial in human geography (Massey 1984, 1985). The response to this rejection of the spatial was that "geography" was underestimated ... Space *is* a social construct – yes. But social re-

lations are also constructed over space, and that makes a difference' (Massey 1985, 12). Subsequently, therefore, 'the difference that space makes' (Massey 1984; Sayer 1985; Cochrane 1987; Johnston 1991) became a dominant theme of mainstream human geography in the 1980s. Rather than space being seen as having no effect whatsoever on social process or it having, in itself, causal powers, geographers argued for the need to consider spatiality as a contingent effect which contributes to the contextual conditions which can affect how or if causal powers act (see Duncan 1989,133; Johnston 1991). Britain (2001a) introduces a number of sociolinguistic contexts which highlight how dialectology could be sensitised to this contingent role of space, such as the spatiality of sociolinguistic processes, the role of the perpetual 'becoming' of place in dialect contact studies; and the question of *whose* geographies we should be interested in (see also Britain, in preparation) as sociolinguists.

3. Linguistic Diffusion

The diffusion of a linguistic form from a community in which that form is the norm to a community in which it is foreign necessarily involves dialect contact between speakers of the old and new forms. In such circumstances, therefore, we should expect that contact processes should operate, and contact outcomes emerge: likely, therefore, are *dialect focusing* – the crystallization, from a diffuse collection of varieties at the point of contact, of a newly focused speech community norm – and *koineisation* – the production of a new variety characteristically more leveled and structurally less complex than at the point of contact, and demonstrating evidence of the interaction of mixed forms. This is important, because much of the diffusion literature, as we will see, has suggested that the diffusing innovation obliterates everything before it, rather than *competing* in different locations with locally significant and meaningful forms. Key to understanding the outcomes of contact is the nature of the linguistic accommodation that occurs when speakers of different dialects meet. Crucially (see Trudgill and Britain, forthcoming, for more details), accommodation, especially between adults, is often both incomplete and imperfect, and so the accommodatory process in contexts of diffusion can, for example, lead to the

emergence of new intermediate forms (present neither in the innovating nor in the traditional dialects) which appear to represent the stabilization of incomplete accommodation (interdialect) or the restructuring of a number of forms in the contact into novel allophonic or allostylistic roles (reallocation).

I now explore the linguistic consequences of the two principal types of diffusion discussed in the literature: *expansion diffusion* – whereby linguistic forms are spread geographically from a central core area to neighbouring areas through contact and interaction – and *relocation diffusion* where forms are transported to a geographically non-contiguous community and interact with other transported forms and/or with preexisting local forms (see Gerritsen 1988; Abler, Adams and Gould 1977). Both involve contact, but that contact is usually more extreme, brings together structurally more divergent varieties and leads to structurally greater adjustments in cases of relocation diffusion as the new forms in the relocated dialect mix compete for selection, largely according to a seemingly universal set of principles (see Trudgill and Britain, forthcoming).

3.1 Expansion Diffusion

Expansion diffusion involves the spread of linguistic forms from a core locality to neighbouring ones, through everyday interactions between core and neighbouring localities. Travel to school and work, suburbanisation and rurbanisation, regional tourism, sporting, business and entertainment visits and so on all lead to speakers of sometimes subtly different varieties coming into contact and accommodating to each other. If this accommodation becomes routinised (see Britain 1997a, 2001a for a discussion of the role of routinisation in new dialect formation) and becomes the target form for younger language acquirers, the accommodated form may be adopted and spread. One issue that continues to vex researchers is which variants appear to be easily acquired in this way, and hence spread rapidly, and which ones appear to be unattractive to accommodators (see, for example, Kerswill and Williams, 2002; Kerswill 2001). One (partial) account lies in the salience of the linguistic forms concerned. Those forms which are neither too stigmatized nor too far below the level of speaker consciousness appear to be the forms which are the most successfully diffused (Trudgill

and Britain, forthcoming). Expansion linguistic diffusion appears to operate in one of three different ways, outlined in 3.1.1 – 3.1.3 below.

3.1.1 Wave-Model diffusion:

The earliest and perhaps most iconic model of the spatial diffusion of innovation, and the simplest since it relies solely on the friction of distance is the ‘*wave model*’ (sometimes labeled the ‘contagion diffusion model’ – Bailey, Wikle, Tillery and Sand 1993), whereby innovations, over time, radiate out from a central focal area, reaching physically nearby locations before those at ever greater distances. Relatively few examples of such diffusion have been found in the literature. Bailey et al (1993, 379–380), suggest that the wave model is at work in the spread of lax nuclei of /l/ in ‘field’ across Oklahoma, and Trudgill, in a discussion of the diffusion of changes from London to East Anglia in England, suggests that the slow, unsalient and phonetically gradual diffusion of frontier realisations of /ʌ/ (‘cup’ [kɛp – kʌp]) is spreading in a wave-like way (1986, 51–3).

3.1.2 Urban Hierarchy diffusion:

A much more common finding is an urban hierarchical effect, with innovations descending down a hierarchy of large city to city to large town, to town, village and country. One such example is highlighted in Figure 1, which shows the distribution of innovative /l/ vocalization in the English Fens (see Radford et al 1999). The vocalised /l/ form is spreading northwards from London (100km to the south of this area) and so as we might expect, vocalization is more common in the south than in the north. Note, however, the higher levels of vocalization found in the urban centres of Wisbech and Downham Market than in the rural areas which surround them – a typical urban hierarchical pattern. Hierarchical effects have also been found: by Trudgill investigating the diffusion both of /æ/ lowering (Trudgill 1983, 66–72) and [sj] to [s] (Chambers and Trudgill 1998, 178) in Brunlanes peninsular in southern Norway; as well as the diffusion of /h/-dropping in East Anglia (Trudgill 1983, 76–78); in Bailey et al’s (1993, 368–372) research on the diffusion of the unrounding of /ɔ/ to [ɑ] (in words such as ‘hawk’) in Oklahoma; in Callary’s (1975) study of the raising and diphthongisation of /æ/ in northern Illinois; by Gerritsen and

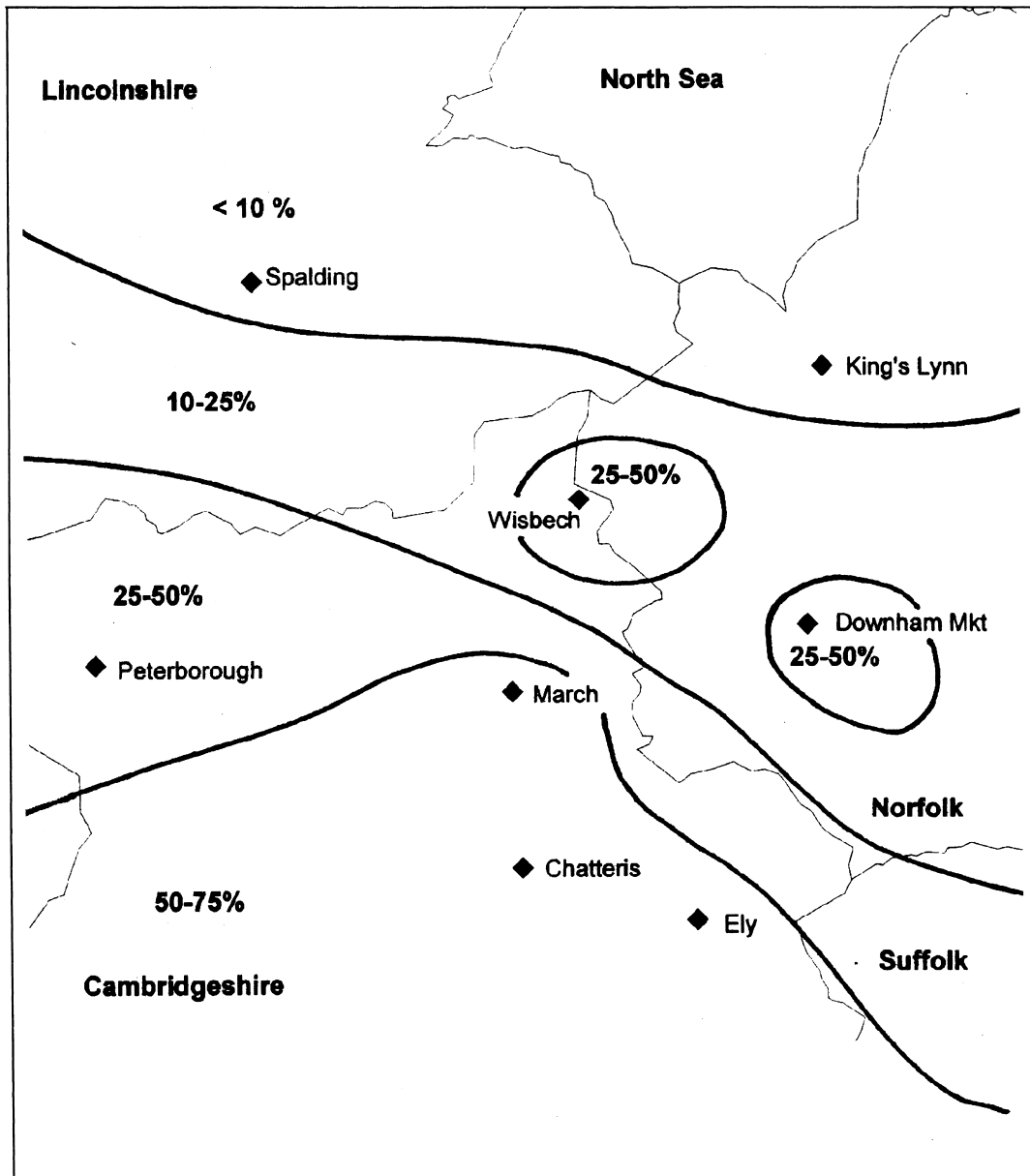


Fig. 4.1

Jansen (1980) investigating the spread of open monophthongised variants of /ei/ in the Netherlands; and by Hernández Campoy (2000) studying the standardisation of Spanish in the Murcia region of south-east Spain. The usual explanation for this finding is that whilst distance plays some role, interaction between urban centres in modern societies is likely to be greater, and therefore a more frequent and effective channel

for accommodation and transmission of innovations, than between urban and rural. Transportation networks tend to link urban with urban, the socio-economic and consumer infrastructure tends to be based in and oriented towards urban centres, with the ensuing consequences for employment and commuting patterns, and these obviously feed the hierarchical nature of diffusion.

In some of the earliest work in sociolinguistic dialect geography, Trudgill (1974b) adopted from the human geography of the time *gravity models* which suggested not only that a combination of population and distance interacted in the likely influence two places would have on each other, but also that they could be used to predict the routes of change an innovation may take. (The standard calculation of the interaction of places A and B involves multiplying the populations of the two places, and then dividing that total by the square of the distance between the two places). Many of the urban hierarchy studies listed above (Trudgill's both in Norway and England, and those of Callary and Hernández Campoy) adopted this technique in their own research. Trudgill (1983, 72–78), for example, found that the gravity model accurately predicted the ranking of East Anglian urban centres with varying levels of /h/ dropping. Norwich, the largest city in the area, was predicted by the model to have (and did in fact have) higher proportions of /h/ dropping than Lowestoft (nearer to London but considerably smaller) which in turn had higher levels than the more distant and smaller King's Lynn.

In research on the vocalisation of // in Australian English, Horvath and Horvath (1997) show that perhaps a combination of the wave and hierarchy models can help explain some changes. Quite unexpectedly, they found that vocalisation was at its greatest not in the metropolitan centres of Sydney and Melbourne, but in 'the most slowly growing parts of the older core' (1997, 120) of the country, the South Australian centres of Adelaide and Mount Gambier. They propose a 'cultural hearth model' whereby the feature gains a foothold in both town and country in one particular region before diffusing to other regions. In later work (2001), and adding investigations of New Zealand cities into the equation, they make important inroads into the cartography of diffusion, by using VARBRUL analyses to visually display statistically significant *interactions* between place and social and linguistic constraints.

3.1.3 Contra-hierarchical diffusion

Rather rarely, innovations diffuse against the urban hierarchy. Bailey et al (1993, 371–3) found that the diffusion of the quasi-modal 'fixing to' was diffusing to urban from

rural Oklahoma. Trudgill (1986) describes how a number of smoothing processes found in rural north Norfolk in eastern England were diffusing southwards to urban centres in the county of Suffolk. Hence, 'tower' was undergoing change from /tauə/ to /tɑ:/, 'do it' from /dɜ:ə?/ to /dɜ:ʔ/ and 'pure' from /pɜ:ə/ to /pɜ:ʔ/, etc. Little is known about the social embedding of such contrahierarchical changes, or their motivations – our lack of knowledge about this important phenomenon is perhaps one consequence of the turn to the urban in sociolinguistics – change in rural areas is rarely investigated.

3.1.4 A Critique of Expansion Diffusion Models:

The purely spatial, asocial approach to the study of diffusion has been criticized by a number of human geographers, and the criticisms apply just as forcefully to sociolinguistic research on the diffusion of linguistic innovations and to the use of gravity models. Firstly, there has been the charge that the model is insensitive to the social arena in which the innovation is spreading. In a detailed critique, Gregory (1985) has suggested that the diffusion model fails to 'cut through the connective tissue of the world in such a way that its fundamental integrities are retained. Obvious examples include the detachment of 'potential adopters' from their social moorings and the displacement of subjects from social struggles' (1985, 328) and presents the world as 'squashed into a flat surface, pockmarked only by the space-time incidence of events' (1985, 328). Secondly, as highlighted by Yapa (1977, 359) and Gregory (1985, 319), the model treats the non-adoption of an innovation as 'a passive state where the friction of distance applies a brake to innovation ... rather [than] an active state arising out of the structural arrangements of society'. As highlighted earlier, diffusion necessarily implies contact, and therefore non-adoption is more likely to be explained by the local contest between adopting the innovation and retaining the traditional form than with the spatial impetus for the innovation to spread further. A combination of social and spatial factors will ultimately determine local outcomes. Gregory adds that the model provides no attempt to account either for the *consequences* of innovation diffusion, which, in the diffusion model, are merely 'a sequence of distributional changes' (Gregory 1985, 304). If

for example feature A diffuses from place X to place Y, will feature A (i) be unchanged at Y from its state at place X and (ii) carry the same social connotations, the same values, in the two places, or will the contact between A and what it is replacing alter the structural integrity and social meaning of A in the rather different community of Y?

Gravity models, too, depend on a Euclidean, geometric view of space where physical distance and total population count as the sole determinants of the influence one community is likely to have on another. Firstly, however, although gravity models are able to rank the influence of place X on a number of places, W, Y, Z, based on the distance between place X and the other locations, the spatiality of that distance remains unexamined. Physical, social and perceptual factors can all shape how that distance is experienced and, thereby, strongly determine the actual effect place X will have on others. Secondly, the gravity model assumes everyone in place X has an equal and likely chance of coming into contact with any resident of the other location. But some groups are more mobile than others, and are more likely therefore to meet non-locals than more territorially circumscribed groups. Social network research (L Milroy 1980; J Milroy and L Milroy 1985; J Milroy 1992) has taught us that it is the central classes of society who, with weaker networks, tend to be more mobile (in the hunt for job stability and socioeconomic advancement) whilst at the extremes are those who can't move or don't need to.

3.2 Relocation Diffusion

Relocation diffusion tends to have more dramatic linguistic consequences than expansion diffusion. This is largely because it usually involves greater social upheaval, and a greater likelihood of contact with structurally distinct dialects, causing much more dramatic accommodation in contexts of greater linguistic diversity. The classic contexts of such diffusion are those resulting from colonialism (e.g. the settlement of British colonialists in North America (Montgomery 2001) and Australasia (Trudgill, Gordon, Lewis and Maclagan 2000; Britain 2001c); Spanish settlement in the Americas (Penny 2000); French settlement in parts of Canada; Japanese settlement in parts of the Pacific (Matsumoto and Britain 2002, etc.)), from indentured labour movements (e.g.,

the movement of Hindi/Bhojpuri speaking workers (Barz and Siegel 1988; Siegel 1987, 1997; Mesthrie 1991, see further below) from the Indian subcontinent to Fiji, Mauritius, South Africa, Trinidad, Guyana etc.), from New Town formation (e.g. Kerswill and Williams 2000; Dyer 2002), rapid urbanization, etc., as well as other less usual contexts where speakers of dramatically different dialects of the same or typologically very similar languages are brought together (e.g. reclaimed land settlements in the Netherlands (Scholtmeijer 1992) and the UK (Britain 1991)). The linguistic repercussions of two types of relocation are particularly relevant here: firstly, the consequences for individuals or small groups of moving to an area with a dominant target dialect – i.e., *second dialect acquisition* – and secondly, the new dialects formed by much larger waves of migrants who, because of numerical dominance, are the primary shapers of the new emergent dialect (see Trudgill and Britain, forthcoming, Kerswill 2001). There has been considerable research interest in this area, particularly since the influential work by Trudgill (e.g. 1986) and Siegel (1985, 1987) in the 1980s on dialect contact and by J K Chambers (1992) on second dialect acquisition.

3.2.1 Second dialect acquisition

Despite some earlier work on dialect acquisition among migrants (e.g. Wells 1973; Payne 1980; Janice Chambers et al 1982; Trudgill 1986; Shockey 1984; Henton 1990; Vousten and Bongaerts 1990), J K Chambers' (1992) research on the extent to which Canadian youngsters were able to acquire the southern British accent of Oxfordshire provides the most detailed and most systematic account to date, and proposes a number of constraints on acquisition ability. His empirically derived set of acquisition principles has been subsequently used by others exploring their universality and refining their detail (e.g. Amastae and Satcher 1993; Auer et al 1998; Al-Dashti 1998; D'Arcy 1999; Munro et al 1999; Watts 2000; Drews 2000; Foreman, 2001). A few of the main principles are briefly discussed here. Firstly, Chambers claims that lexical variants are acquired faster than phonological variants. He found (1992, 680), for example, that the group of Canadian migrant children that he studied acquired over 50% of the examined lexical forms (such as using 'trousers' instead of 'pants', 'nappy' instead of 'diaper',

etc.) but only a quarter of the phonological forms studied in their first two years in the non-native speech community. Secondly, Chambers provided convincing evidence that ‘simple’ (= dependent on automatic exceptionless distinctions) rules are more quickly and successfully adopted by second dialect acquirers than ‘complex’ (= distinctions with exceptions, variant forms and/or abstract linguistic conditioning, phonological splits, new phonemes, etc.) ones (Chambers 1992, 682). He compares the acquisition of unvoiced British English /t/ (a simple, exceptionless change from a Canadian voiced [d]) with that of the TRAP-BATH split – a lexically-diffused, phonologically complex characteristic of southern British English (see Britain 2001b for an empirical study of this feature in a southern English variety). Whilst one 9 year old Canadian child acquired both features perfectly in Oxfordshire, older children acquired the former, simple rule on average in around 45% of possible places, but the latter no more than 10%. This principle has been highlighted by other researchers, most notably by Payne (1980) in her groundbreaking study of the acquisition of Philadelphia English by children born outside the State (see also Vousten and Bongearls 1990; Wells 1973). In an investigation of the acquisition of three ‘complex’ rules of Kuwaiti Arabic by Egyptians, Al-Dashti found that female (but not male) Egyptians acquired the local Kuwaiti [j] form of the variable (dʒ) and the [g] form of (q) but were unsuccessful at acquiring the [ð] form of (ḍ) (Al-Dashti 1998; see also Trudgill and Britain, forthcoming), suggesting that some ‘complex’ rules are harder to acquire than others. Kerswill (1996, 200) proposes a cline of acquisition difficulty from vocabulary at the ‘easy to acquire’ end to lexically unpredictable phonological rules at the ‘difficult to acquire’ end as a way of classifying constraints on acquisition in a more fine-grained way. Further investigations are needed, however, on second dialect acquisition in languages other than English to assess the universality of his difficulty scale.

Two other (and perhaps more controversial) claims in Chambers’ work are, firstly, that ‘eliminating old rules occurs more rapidly than acquiring new ones’ and secondly that ‘orthographically distinct variants are acquired faster than orthographically obscure ones’ (1992, 695, 697). As

evidence of the first claim he points to the relative ease with which the Canadian children in his study lose /t/ voicing (a derived rule of Canadian English, he claims) but their contrasting difficulty in acquiring the TRAP-BATH split or intrusive /r/ (which, in his opinion, amount to rules of British English). Watts (2000), studying American expatriate children in Wilmslow, north-west England, found, furthermore, that the migrant children were better at devoicing /t/ than acquiring /t/ glottalisation or intrusive /r/.

Chambers supports his claims about the role of orthography by pointing to the success at devoicing /t/ (where using [t] instead of [d] for intersonorant /t/ brings the pronunciation in line with the spelling) as opposed to the failure to acquire non-rhoticity (where using Ø instead of [r] in non-prevocalic positions makes spelling and pronunciation less similar). Drews (2000) suggests, however, that difficulties in acquiring (non) rhoticity stem from the fact that it is an extremely complex feature, with phonemic, derivational and realisational factors distinguishing the competing forms.

Chambers found highly significant differences in acquisition success, as we might expect from the second *language* acquisition literature, for children of different ages. Very few of the variable analyses he conducted showed distributions other than ‘younger = better’. The acquisition of the loss of rhoticity (1992, 691) was the only non age-graded pattern that he (and, interestingly, Watts (2000)) found. Another, perhaps obviously significant factor in acquisition success has been length of exposure to the target dialect. Chambers, Watts, Al-Dashti and Foreman, for example, all show that longer exposure leads to more successful acquisition. Other social factors which may influence the acquisition process have been under-investigated to date and require further research. Both Al-Dashti (1998) and Henton (1990) – investigating the acquisition of /ʌ/ by middle class speakers living near Oxford, southern England but brought up near Leeds in northern England – for example, find significant gender differences in acquisition, with, in both cases, women proving to be better acquirers than men. Foreman’s (2001) study of Americans in Australia emphasizes the role of social identity in acquisition rates, claiming that ‘feeling Australian’ and engaging in mostly Aus-

tralian and few American social network ties contributed to acquisition success.

3.2.2 Dialect contact.

Although ‘traditional’ sociolinguistic dialectology, as mentioned earlier, had shifted its focus from rural to urban, it continued to concentrate on socially stable communities. Very often in early urban sociolinguistic studies, potential informants would be excluded if they were not native to, or had not arrived at an early age in the community under investigation. The focus on mobility as a sociolinguistic variable has emerged, however from the analysis of communities that have undergone extreme socio-demographic upheaval and in which the first ‘native-born’ generations of speakers are acquiring their dialects in circumstances where there is no clear and unambiguous target variety. In the early colonial context (e.g., Trudgill et al 2000; Sudbury 2000), or following mass indentured labour migrations (e.g. Siegel 1987; Barz and Siegel 1988), or in the immediate aftermath of migration to a New Town (Kerswill and Williams 2000; Dyer 2002), for example, the child acquirer is faced with a mixed and diffuse pool of features from which to forge a native variety. This pool will contain dialect features from all those varieties brought by the migrants. Some will be non-native dialect features, others will be dialect features affected by the imperfect adult accommodation underway in the new speech community. The principal question for dialect contact studies has been the following: Given the extremely diffuse target variety, what principles govern the selection of features from this *mêlée* and what sorts of features emerge as a result? The answer to this question appears to be truly sociolinguistic: partly social and partly linguistic (see Trudgill and Britain, forthcoming, for a more detailed discussion).

Social factors include:

- the proportions of different migrant groups from different places in the mixed dialect community (see, for example, Trudgill 1986, Mufwene 2001, Britain 2001c);
- the social ecology of the new speech community (Mufwene 2001): the levels of social contact and mixing between different groups, interaction with newcomers, the development of social norms;

- the extent to which pre-existing sociolinguistic patterns (e.g. *vis à vis* the role of prestige, standardization, social stratification) are recreated or disrupted in the new community.

The linguistic factors involve, among others:

- differing degrees of markedness of the competing variants (Trudgill 1986, Mufwene 2001);
- the role of Universal Grammar (Mufwene 2001) (although the import of UG has yet to be explored to any great extent in dialect contact studies);
- the consequences of imperfect linguistic accommodation;
- the perceptual salience of different variants in the mix;
- the relative ‘complexity’ (in the same sense as Chambers’ use mentioned above) of the competing linguistic variants.

The process of koineisation – the operation of these factors on a mixed and diffuse dialect – has been shown to give rise to a number of characteristics in the new and focused dialects which emerge from the mixture.

Firstly, they tend to be *leveled* in comparison with the input varieties: leveling favours those variants which are in a majority in the dialect mix, unmarked as opposed to marked, and socially neutral as opposed to those strongly stigmatized as belonging to a particular social or geographical grouping (whether standard or non-standard). Plenty of examples can be found in the literature. Sudbury’s pioneering study of the English of the Falkland Islands (2000, 2001) showed dramatic degrees of leveling between the input (mostly varieties of English from south-west England and Scotland) and present-day FIE. Gone (or almost gone), for example, are: rhoticity, initial fricative devoicing, periphrastic *do*, the velar fricative /x/, the /w – m/ distinction, Scottish vowel length, double modals, the distinctive south-western pronoun system and so on (see Sudbury 2000, 202–206 for more details). Secondly, new dialects resulting from koineisation tend to be ‘*simpler*’ – structurally less complex than those in the input mix. Mühlhäusler defines simplification as the ‘*optimization of existing rules and the development of regularities for formerly irregular aspects of a language*’ (1980,44). It can include increases in morphophonemic

regularity and, for example, ‘fewer obligatory categories marked by morphemes of concord’ (Trudgill 1986, 103). Many examples of such simplification have been reported, especially in the extensive work carried out on the diaspora varieties of Hindi/Bhojpuri that emerged in Fiji (e.g. Siegel 1987, 1997), Mauritius (Baker and Ramnah 1985; Domingue 1981), South Africa (Mesthrie 1991), Trinidad (Bhatia 1982) and Guyana (Gambhir 1981). Gambhir (1981, 259), for example, compares the number, gender and person sensitive present tense system in Indian varieties of Bhojpuri (with over *two dozen* morphemes) with that of Guyanese Bhojpuri which has just *two*. The important role of accommodation is highlighted in the third outcome of koineisation – the emergence of *interdialect* forms: These are variants which did not exist in the input varieties but have emerged from the acquisition of imperfectly accommodated forms. Usually they are forms intermediate between two or more of the input variants. In the Fens of Eastern England – koineised as a result of in-migration of south-eastern and north-western dialect speakers following reclamation from the 17th century onwards – contact between southern [ʌ] and northern [ʊ] variants of the STRUT vowel has resulted in the (very gradual) emergence of an interdialectal, phonetically intermediate [ɜ] form (see Britain 1997b, 2001b). Less frequently occurring during koineisation is an outcome which combines variants from more than one variety and *reallocates* them to serve new functions. Often, this reallocation is stylistic, with one variant serving formal functions in the repertoire and others more informal ones (see, for example, Trudgill 1986; Wouk 1999; Domingue 1981; Khamkhong 2001). The reallocation can be phonological (and, of course, morphosyntactic – see Long (forthcoming) for a fascinating Japanese example). In the English Fens, south-eastern [əi] variants of the PRICE diphthong combined with north-western [ai – a:] forms and were reallocated such that both survived, but in differing phonological environments: [əi] is used in the central Fens before voiceless consonants, and [ai – a:] elsewhere (so ‘night time’ [nəi?tɑ:m]), matching the pattern stereotypically found in Canada (see Britain 1997a, b). Some have indeed claimed that the presence of this pattern in Canada and elsewhere (e.g. in the Falklands) similarly

represents reallocation of input variants following dialect mixture (see Trudgill 1985, 1986; Sudbury 2000).

3.3 Geographical isolation and linguistic change

We have seen that high levels of contact lead to the emergence of varieties that are more leveled and less complex than those varieties that were part of the original dialect melting pot. What happens to those varieties that, at the other extreme, are highly isolated, and, sheltered from migration and frequent interaction with outside communities, retain dense and multiplex social networks in the locality? Trudgill suggests (1989, 1992, 1997, 2001) that since such communities have large amounts of shared knowledge in common, they:

- Can resist linguistic changes from outside more successfully than less isolated communities (J. Milroy and L. Milroy 1985);
- Need to accommodate to different varieties less routinely, and hence are less likely to level away marked or uncommon features and more likely to perpetuate and solidify in-group norms;
- Are able, because of their social network strength and restricted population size to diffuse and enforce, within the group, ‘changes of a less ‘natural’ or usual phonological type’ (1997, 8).

He compares (1997, 9) some relatively unexceptional changes that various dialects of Norwegian have undergone (such as the raising of /a:/ to /o:/ and the fronting of /u:/ to /ɥ:/) with changes in the related but more socio-geographically isolated North Germanic language of Faroese (for example, /kigv/ ‘cow’ developed from earlier /ku:/) – a rather marked and unexpected change.

Work in the US by Walt Wolfram and Natalie Schilling-Estes (see for example, Wolfram 1997, 2001; Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1995; Schilling-Estes and Wolfram 1999) gives us some indication of the sorts of communities likely to undergo these ‘unkoineising’ kinds of developments. They contrast two communities – Ocracoke off the East Coast of North Carolina and Smith Island in the Chesapeake Bay of Maryland – which appear, on the surface, to be rather similar. Both were once relatively isolated but today more and more speakers from both islands are coming into contact with people from the mainland and are mov-

ing away to seek better employment prospects. Both share some distinctive dialect characteristics: a back and raised nucleus of /ai/: [ɹ¹] and a front gliding realization of /au/: [æ¹]. However, whilst Ocracokers appear to be losing these distinctive features, Smith Islanders are increasing their use of them and continuing, therefore, to diverge from neighbouring dialects (see Wolfram 2001, 770). The important socio-demographic distinction between the two communities is that while Ocracoke is becoming a popular destination for short and long term residence by non-islanders, few people are moving onto Smith Island and many are leaving, resulting in a concentration of the dialect in the mouths of the few that remain. Such small communities, where there is little inward migration to disrupt local dialect norms, and a gradual movement away of those motivated by economic mobility, appear to be the loci of the kinds of changes that Trudgill discusses. Such communities are, of course, becoming increasingly rare.

3.4 Resistance to diffusion

Whilst it is often the case that linguistic innovations diffusing from culturally dominant urban centers erase evidence of traditional dialect norms, local varieties do not always surrender to linguistic attack from outside. One reaction is a (perhaps temporary or short term) divergence from the threatening innovation: the emergence of hyperdialectalisms – forms which overextend the local form to linguistic contexts where it was previously not used. One example of such a divergent shift occurs on the rhotic side of the rhotic/non-rhotic dialect boundary in western England along the border with Wales. Here, contact with advancing non-rhoticism has led to the emergence of rhotic forms in words with no etymological <r>: the Survey of English Dialects (SED) data (Orton and Barry 1969–71) show ‘last’, for example, in a number of locations along the English-Welsh border, pronounced as [la¹st]. Furthermore, Vivian (2000) finds similar hyperdialectally rhotic forms in the Lancashire towns of Accrington, Blackburn and Burnley – situated on an island of rhoticity surrounded by urban and rural non-rhotic varieties. She found ‘lager’ variably realized as [largə¹] and ‘sauce’ as [sɔ¹rs] (see, further, Trudgill and Britain, forthcoming). Evidence that this is a contact phenomenon,

however, comes from the fact that in the SED data such forms did not appear to be found further within the rhotic heartlands of south-western England.

4. Geolinguistic patterns: core and relic areas and transition zones

The consequences of the innovation diffusion discussed above are a set of geographical patterns that cartographical dialectology has repeatedly exemplified (see Chambers and Trudgill 1998 for a review). Innovations spread (bearing in mind their variable success rates discussed above) across the socio-economic functional zones of the (usually) urban centers from which they originated. Furthermore, mobility and contact within these functional zones provokes koineisation which leads to further leveling and internal homogenization. This is, of course, not new, although improvements in transportation routes, the normalisation of long(er)-distance commuting, changes in employment structure and the consequent geographical elasticity of family ties and other social network links have meant that macro-functional zones are probably larger than ever before. Functional regions are partly shaped by physical barriers to inter-zone communication (although this is becoming less important because of the widespread application of technology to overcome such obstacles). They are also shaped, however, by routinised human activity within them. Giddens has forcefully argued that routine behaviour is not only ‘the material grounding for the recursive nature of social life’ (1984, xxiii), channeling everyday human behaviour into a set of socio-geographical ‘grooves’ which helps perpetuate that behaviour, but also that it is both a norm-enforcement mechanism and engenders reassurance and faith in everyday life. The linguistic realization of a functional zone is usually known as a ‘core area’. Such core areas share a substantial cluster of features and intra-core variation is less than inter-core.

There is evidence that mobility and diffusion are breaking down linguistically local zones in favour of larger supra-local ones, creating a smaller number of *regiolects* (see, for example, J. Milroy, L. Milroy and Hartley 1994; J. Milroy, L. Milroy, Hartley and Walshaw 1994; L. Milroy 1999; Watt and Milroy 1999; Watt 2002; Britain in press). J. Milroy et al (1994), for example, demon-

strated that in the North-eastern English city of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the local glottalised [ʔt] variant of /t/ is losing out, particularly among younger female speakers, in favour not of the standard [t] variant, but the regionally more widespread but non-standard glottalised form [ʔ]. Similarly, a supra-local koine is developing in south-eastern England, much to the excitement of journalists and politicians, under the name ‘Estuary English’ though its ‘power’ and reach have been somewhat overestimated (see Britain, in press, for further details).

Some socio-geographically isolated areas, outside of the main core areas and often preserving highly routinised life-modes and strong multifunctional social network ties resist the waves of innovations to which more central and interdependent localities succumb and retain more conservative dialect norms. These are known in the dialectological literature as relic areas. Fewer and fewer speakers now live in relic areas as many move to more ‘core’ regions in search of greater prosperity, better job opportunities and improved service provision. Left in the hands of fewer and fewer speakers, however, relic dialects behave in quite unexpected ways, as we saw in Section 3.3 above.

Dialect boundaries usually emerge as a result of breaks or dips in intercommunication between two areas, and often these breaks cause and are caused by functional zone boundaries. Labov (1994, 317–318), for example, demonstrates how a number of lexical boundaries in central Pennsylvania correlate with a trough in traffic flow densities. But how strict are these boundaries? For the most part, isoglosses – distinct and sharp linguistic boundaries between different core regions – are a by-product of early dialect cartography and the traditional dialectological method of collecting the first and only token of a particular variable (see Chambers and Trudgill 1998 for a critique of traditional dialectology), and few real examples are found of two areas of categorical differentiation abutting each other without interdialectal variation (see Britain 2001a, b for an example of a near-isogloss, however). Most studies of isoglosses have found that the frontier dialect is a variable, interdialectal and transitional area, where speakers with networks and life-paths in both functional zones fuse elements from each. The STRUT-FOOT transition in Eastern England (as examined by Chambers and Trud-

gill 1998; Britain 2001a, b) is highly variable and largely unfocussed except among the young (see Britain 1997b), with speakers using a range of variants of the STRUT vowel from [ʊ] through [ʊ̥ – ʏ – ʌ – ʌ] to [e], and varies in ‘width’ from three or four kilometers at its easternmost edge (where it meets the North Sea) to around 40 kilometres further southwest.

5. A future for geolinguistics?

The underexploration of ‘space’ as a social variable in sociolinguistics has led, to a great extent, to the equation of geolinguistics with dialect cartography. This is regrettable. Whilst maps (increasingly computer-generated ones) are superb visual devices for the presentation of data, they do not explain that data. A critical sensitivity to the socialized nature of human space(s) is required if we are to advance the discipline further. Potential avenues of enquiry may include the role of unequal access to space, place and mobility in the diffusion of innovation; the geographies of adolescents and children who are negotiating, adopting and diffusing innovative forms; the interrelationship between linguistic boundaries and the routinised geographical functional zones created, shaped and adapted by human agency, and, for example, the role the forces of global capital play in local and supralocal employment and housing markets, its effect on mobility, and hence dialect structure (see Britain, in preparation, for an example). Social mobility has geographical as well as social (and therefore geolinguistic as well as sociolinguistic) repercussions.

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5. Language-Contact Studies/Sprachkontaktstudien

1. Brief history
2. Linguistic consequences of language contact
3. Code-switching
4. Contact-induced change and convergence at the community level
5. Literature (selected)

1. Brief History

For some time, linguistic research has emphasized the study of divergence rather than convergence. This went hand in hand with a tendency to ignore external factors constraining and facilitating the implementation of change believed to be messy and unsystematic. Purist attitudes also worked against the study of language contact and contact languages because linguists were interested in 'pure' languages rather than ones that were mixed, and therefore difficult to classify in genetic terms. Indeed, some linguists even denied the existence of mixed languages and have been reluctant to acknowledge in the case of a language such as Maisin spoken in southeastern Papua New Guinea that it might belong to more than one language family at the same time. Maisin is now generally regarded as an Austronesian language with heavy contact influence from Papuan languages.

Thanks to the groundbreaking work of Weinreich (1953), increasing attention has been given to the systematic study of language contact and the term *contact linguistics* is now used in a wide sense to refer to both the process and outcome of any situation in which two or more languages are in contact. A related field of research has focussed on particular types of languages called pidgins and creoles which have emerged in instances where the groups in contact do not learn each other's language or some other language of wider communication already in existence (see Romaine 1988, and Articles 6, 34 and 135).

2. Linguistic consequences of language contact

Linguists studying language contact often seek to describe changes at the level of linguistic systems in isolation and abstraction from speakers, thus losing sight of the fact that the bilingual individual is the ultimate

locus of contact, as Weinreich (1953) pointed out many years ago. Various linguistic phenomena associated with language contact such as borrowing, transfer, convergence and code-switching occurring in the speech of bilinguals may become conventionalized and established in linguistic systems so that over time their use is no longer dependent on bilingualism, as in the Hiberno-English variety spoken in Ireland by English monolinguals. Some monolingual speakers use syntactic constructions which are traceable to Gaelic, e.g. *I'm after eating my dinner*. ('I have already eaten my dinner.'). The effects of long term contact can be cumulative, and lead to new norms of language use, which are different from those observed in monolinguals who use the languages elsewhere. More than half of the nearly four hundred million people around the world who speak Spanish, for example, do so in situations of intensive contact with other languages.

2.1. Borrowing, transfer, interference and crosslinguistic influence

Problems of terminology continue to plague the study of language contact phenomena with terms such as borrowing, interference, convergence, shift, code-switching, language mixing, relexification, pidginization and creolization not being used by all researchers in the same way or even defined at all, which makes comparison across studies difficult. The term 'borrowing' has been most often used in connection with the importation of words from one language to another. However, it is not possible to talk about the borrowing of words without also taking into account the fact that in order to be used, words do not exist on their own, but must interact with phonology, syntax, morphology and semantics.

In one of the fullest treatments of what he called 'interference' in bilingual speech, Weinreich (1953,1) used the term to refer to any difference existing between the speech of monolinguals and bilinguals. Others have preferred the more neutral term 'transfer' or 'crosslinguistic influence' (particularly within the field of second language acquisition) to refer to the adoption of any elements or features from one language into another.

What is referred to as a foreign accent is an obvious reflection of cross-linguistic influence at the level of pronunciation. Weinreich (1953, 14–28) provided a detailed analysis of what happens when the phonological systems of the bilingual individual are in contact. He says that interference arises when bilinguals identify a phoneme of the secondary system with one in the primary system. When they reproduce it, they subject it to the phonetic rules of their primary language. This has four different consequences: under-differentiation, over-differentiation, re-interpretation and substitution. Under-differentiation can occur where one language makes a distinction that is not matched in the other. English, for instance, distinguishes, by means of both quantity and quality, the vowels of *sit*, /ɪ/, and *seat*, /i/. Spanish, however, has only one sound in this area of vowel space, i.e. the /i/ in *si*. This may lead Spanish/English bilinguals to underdifferentiate the two sounds in English and replace both with /i/.

Over-differentiation can result from the imposition of phonological distinctions made in one language on sounds in the second one. Speakers of Romantsch transfer vowel length into Schwyzertütsch (Swiss German), where it is not distinctive. Reinterpretation takes place when the bilingual makes distinctions in the second language according to features which are relevant in the first language. Haugen (1953) reports that Norwegian/English bilinguals in the United States substitute /s/ for English /z/ because there is no /z/ in Norwegian.

Other instances of cross-linguistic influence occur due to mismatches at the level of allophonic variation and differences in the phonotactic patterns between two languages. English and Spanish both have /m,n,n/ as phonemes, but they differ in terms of the positions where they may occur. They can all occur finally in English, while in Spanish only /n/ can appear finally. Spanish/English bilinguals may not distinguish between English *run*, *rum* and *rung*, pronouncing all as /rʌn/.

The fact that English permits consonant clusters containing up to three sounds syllable initially (e.g. *strip*), and up to four finally (e.g. *glimpsed*), whereas other languages allow no clusters or fewer, or different combinations of consonants in the clusters which are permitted, is the source of difficulty for some speakers bilingual in English and another language. Japanese/English bi-

linguals who say /garufurendo/ for English *girlfriend* are making the English word conform to the syllable structure patterns of Japanese, which allows no consonant clusters.

Differences in stress and intonation between two languages can lead to transference of patterns from one language to the other. Italian/English bilinguals may give equal stress to every syllable when speaking English because this is characteristic of Italian speech timing. English stressed syllables, however, tend to occur at equal intervals interspersed with a series of unstressed syllables.

Intensive language contact appears to be a prerequisite for frequent use of discourse markers borrowed from another language. King and Nadasdi (1999) found that use of English discourse markers such as *anyway*, *well*, *but*, *so*, etc. is extensive in varieties of Canadian French outside Quebec, particularly among speakers who make frequent use of both French and English.

Cross-linguistic influence may take place at the pragmatic level and thus involve a mismatch in the communicative competence required to belong to more than one speech community. Not saying the right thing at the right time or in the right way may result from the application of the communicative norms from one language to a setting in which the other language is used. The meaning of German *Bitte* includes not only 'please' but also encroaches on English 'thank you'. A German host might say *Bitte* when offering a guest a seat, food, drink, etc. After the guest has replied 'thank you', the appropriate reply in German is again *Bitte*. In English either *you're welcome* or silence would follow, but not *please*.

One of the most obvious effects of cross-linguistic influence at the syntactic level is reflected in word order divergence. For example, Dutch/French bilinguals in Belgium may place adjectives before the nouns they modify instead of after them because Dutch adjectives precede nouns, e.g. *Tu prends ton plus haut chiffre*. 'You take your highest figure.' (cf. Dutch: *je neemt je hoogste cijfer*. Beatens-Beardsmore 1986,70).

The extent of syntactic divergence between two languages in contact will play a role in determining how much and what kind of influence is likely to occur. In Panjabi, for example, there is no definite or indefinite article comparable to English *the/alan*.

In the English of bilinguals utterances without articles occur often, e.g. *I went to post office*.

2.2. Types of lexical borrowing and their effects

One of the earliest attempts to categorize types of lexical influence (based on degree or manner of integration) can be found in Haugen (1950). At the phonological level a word may be unassimilated, in which case there is no adaptation to the phonology of the recipient language, or it may be partially or wholly assimilated. Similarly, at the morphological and syntactic levels, there may be assimilation of various degrees or no assimilation. Words which are adapted phonologically and morphologically are referred to by Haugen as loanwords, e.g. *pizza*, *czar*, etc. in English. However, these are of a different character from those which are only partially assimilated. The former are used by monolinguals who may or may not be aware of their foreign origin, unless they happen to know the history of the language. In other words, they are probably not even perceived as foreign by the majority of speakers.

Loanwords often show partial and variable integration, depending on a range of factors, some of which may include social characteristics of the speaker such as degree of education, attitudes towards the borrowed language and culture, etc. Borrowed items tend to have an uncertain linguistic status for some time after they are first adopted. Before a particular loan has met with more general social acceptance, individuals may adapt it to varying degrees. Moreover, the same individual may not use the same phonological form for the same loanword from one occurrence to the next. In the first stage the bilingual introduces the new word in a phonetic form which is as close to that of the model as possible. Once other speakers start using it, it may be integrated, and native elements will be substituted for foreign ones. An even later stage may involve the use of the word by monolinguals. By this time there is practically total or complete substitution at the phonetic level. The main mechanism of phonological adaptation is the replacement of the donor language phonemes by the phonemes of the borrowing language.

There are differences in the amount of effort native speakers of English exert in the reproduction of original phonemes when

borrowing from languages with high socio-cultural status such as French as compared to Native American languages. Where the language has great prestige, words borrowed from it may be pronounced in a phonetic form as close as possible to the original. Such pronunciations may serve as a mark of status and education. However, even this is not uniformly so. Pronunciations such as /pə'ris/ for *Paris* would be regarded as pompous. Conversely, aggressively nativized pronunciations far removed from French such as /mɑ:seilz/ *Marseilles* and /laiənz/ *Lyons* are characteristic of conservative RP (received pronunciation). Thus, the degree of integration of any given word may vary in different varieties of English. Compare Spanish [don 'xwɑn] *Don Juan*, American English [dɑn 'wɑn], but British English [dɒn 'ʒuən]; and Spanish Sp. [don ki 'xo te], *Don Quixote*, American English [dɑn ki 'hoti], but British English [dɒn 'kwɪk sət]. Compare also the British pronunciation of *lasagna* or *pasta* as well with [æ], and *lasagna* with /s/ by comparison to the American pronunciation with [a] and [z], respectively. Although the American pronunciations are in each case closer to the original Spanish or Italian than British ones and hence less integrated, they are still different from the pronunciations used by native speakers. Another type of borrowing is sometimes called a loan blend because one part of a word is borrowed and the other belongs to the original language, e.g. *Gumbaum* 'gumtree', and *Grüngrocer* 'greengrocer' in the German used in Australia. Loanwords and loanblends are particularly common in coases of so-called 'immigrant bilingualism' for obvious reasons. When moving to a new setting, speakers will encounter a variety of things which are specific to the new environment or culture and will adopt readily available words from the local language to describe them.

Another type of borrowing is called a loanshift. This consists of extending the meaning of a word so that it corresponds to that of a word in another language. This type of loanshift has also been called (semantic) extension. For example, Portuguese/English bilinguals in the United States have taken the Portuguese word *grosseria* 'rude remark' and have extended it to refer to a 'grocery store' instead of borrowing the English term. In this case the phonetic similarity between the Portuguese and English

terms motivates the shift. However, the words in the two languages do not have to resemble each other phonetically for a loan-shift to take place.

The use of greetings in contemporary Hawaiian such as *aloha kakahiaka* 'good morning', *aloha 'aunalā* 'good afternoon', *aloha ahiahi* 'good evening' represents another pattern of borrowing called calques or loan translations. Although all the words in these greetings are Hawaiian, they were not used together in such phrases until after contact with English speakers. The new greetings are calqued on English models, composed of native elements which translate the English equivalents. Because they incorporate no foreign material, they often pass unnoticed as borrowings. Idioms and longer phrases may be calqued, such as *für schlechter oder besser* [for worse or better] 'for better or worse' in the speech of German/English bilinguals in Australia. These kinds of borrowings are not always intelligible to monolinguals.

The question of why loanshifts and calques are preferred to borrowing in some cases is not entirely clear. Some communities may react negatively to borrowing and prefer to calque instead, since that allows the morphology and phonology of the recipient language to be preserved. Most of the major European countries have reacted unfavorably at one time or another to borrowings in their languages and have tried to oust loanwords.

Loanwords can be integrated into the morphology of the borrowing language in various ways. In the speech of many Panjabi/English bilinguals in Britain, the word *chips* has been borrowed. Some speakers integrate this word by giving it the Panjabi plural marker *-ā*, i.e. *chippā*. Others, however, use the English plural marker *-s*. In other cases the effects of borrowing on the structure of the borrowing language are minimal. The English suffix *-ing* has been taken into French in loans such as *le building*, *le smoking*, etc. However, it does not have any syntactic effects on French because it is only marginally productive and is assimilated into the regular system of plural marking.

Borrowed words have to be assigned to gender classes in languages with grammatical gender. In many cases borrowed words are simply given the gender their equivalents have in the borrowing language. In Panjabi the borrowed word *language* is given femi-

nine gender. The Panjabi equivalents *zāban* and *boli* are both feminine. In other cases where the gender in the donor language is phonetically or semantically determined, these factors may affect the assignment of gender to the borrowed word. In German nouns that end in *-er* are masculine, and in French nouns that end in *-tion* are feminine. Thus, when English *squatter* and *insulation* are borrowed into German and Canadian French, respectively, they are assigned to the appropriate gender based on their phonological and morphological shape, and become *der Squatter* and *l(a) insulation*.

Phonological integration tends to increase with frequency of use of loanwords. In some cases, however, the degree of adaptation may depend more on the borrower's bilingual ability than on the time depth of the loanword. Mougeon, Beniak and Valois (1985) argued that borrowings displayed variable integration according to the speaker's proficiency in both languages. This was especially the case for the word *hockey*. As members became increasingly bilingual, however, loanwords could undergo what they called 'disintegration'. Given these problems of individual variability, it is necessary for a word to occur frequently in order to be able to gauge the extent to which it is assimilated. An isolated occurrence does not tell us anything about the status of a word in the bilingual community. In the English/French community in Ottawa/Hull, Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988) distinguished between established loanwords and 'nonce borrowings', i.e. a single occurrence of an item which may be integrated only momentarily. Analysis showed that although there was no differentiation between the Ottawa/Hull monolingual and bilingual populations in terms of the grammatical categories of the words they borrowed, there were differences between the occurrence of nonce vs. established loans, as well as in the degree of integration. Most of the English loanwords in the French of bilingual speakers were syntactically integrated; the ones that weren't usually involved the omission of an obligatory definite article.

They found a correlation between increasing phonological integration and age of attestation of loanwords and frequency of use. This relation interacted with degree of bilingual proficiency. Proficient English speakers used less French phonology than monolinguals, but all speakers integrated

old widespread loanwords more often than nonce words. The most highly bilingual speakers play a crucial role in the importation and diffusion of innovations. However, these speakers rely heavily on nonce borrowing. In principle, the whole lexicon of the two languages is at the disposal of the proficient bilingual. Every word from English theoretically has the potential to become an established loan in French, but few may ever achieve more than nonce status. Through their introduction of such items into a general lexical pool, they provide a source of potentially integratable items for other less proficient bilingual and monolingual members to draw on.

3. Code-switching

Although not all researchers agree on the extent to which borrowing and code-switching are distinct, code-switching is usually defined as the use of two languages in one clause or utterance. Borrowing involves the incorporation of lexical elements from one language into another. Whereas borrowing can occur in the speech of those with only monolingual competence, code-switching implies some degree of competence in the two languages. The discussion here is primarily concerned with accounting for the linguistic constraints on code-switching (see Article 144) rather than its social motivations.

3.1. Types of code-switching

Different types and degrees of code-switching can be observed, depending on the situation. Poplack (1980) identified the following types: tag-switching, inter-sentential and intra-sentential. Tag-switching involves the insertion of a tag in one language into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in the other language, e.g. *you know, I mean*, etc. Because tags are subject to minimal syntactic restrictions, they may be easily inserted at a number of points in an otherwise monolingual utterance without violating syntactic rules. *I wish, you know* [English tag], *ke mə pure panjabi bol saka*.

Inter-sentential switching involves a switch at a clause or sentence boundary, where each clause or sentence is in one language or another. It may also occur between speaker turns. This kind of switch requires greater fluency in both languages than tag switching since major portions of the utter-

ance must conform to the rules of both languages, *Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English y terminó in español*. 'Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English and finish it in Spanish.'

Intra-sentential switching involves switching within the boundaries of a clause or sentence, as well as within word boundaries, e.g. English words with Panjabi inflectional morphology *shoppā* 'shops'. All three types of code-switching may be found within one and the same discourse.

Poplack found that full sentences are the most frequently switched constituents, followed by switches occurring at various major constituent boundaries, e.g. between NP (noun phrase) and VP (verb phrase). At the lower end of the continuum are switches within major constituents, e.g. within the noun phrase. The higher the syntactic level of the constituent, the more likely it is to serve as a potential site for a switch. Within the category of intrasentential switches, however, nouns accounted for the largest proportion of switches. One reason why nouns are so frequently borrowed and code-switched is that they are relatively free of syntactic restrictions.

3.2. Linguistic constraints on code-switching

Linguists are not agreed on how code-switching constraints can be best formulated. Are they language-specific, or do they arise from an independently motivated principle of universal grammar such as government? Models which propose syntactic constraints relying on the linear organization of sentence constituents do not handle very well cases where what is mixed does not form a constituent, or where equivalent items appear from both languages. However, there are exceptions to all the models proposed thus far, which have led some researchers to reject absolute constraints in favor of probabilistic ones.

One of the first attempts to formulate general syntactic constraints is in Poplack's (1980) study, which proposes that Spanish/English code-switching can be generated by a model of grammar governed by two constraints. The 'free morpheme constraint' predicts that a switch may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the lexical form has been phonologically integrated into the language of the morpheme. This constraint would pre-

dict that *flipeando* 'flipping' would be permissible, but that **catheando* would not be, because *catch* has not been integrated into the phonology of Spanish, and therefore cannot take the Spanish progressive suffix *-eando*.

The 'equivalence constraint' predicts that code switches will tend to occur at points where the juxtaposition of elements from the two languages does not violate a syntactic rule of either language. This means that a language switch can take place only at boundaries common to both languages, and switching cannot occur between any two sentence elements unless they are normally ordered in the same way. In the case of Spanish/English, this means that switches may occur between determiners and nouns, but not between nouns and adjectives in the noun phrase. Noun phrases such as *his favorite spot/su lugar favorito*, cannot be mixed because combinations like **su favorito spot*, **his favorito lugar*, **his favorito spot* would result in ungrammatical combinations of constituents in either language. Because, however, both languages share the same ordering for determiners and nouns, a switch is possible between them. The theory predicts different possible switch sites for pairs of languages which differ in basic word order typology. If switches do occur at sites where there is no structural equivalence between the languages, they often involve omission or repetition of constituents. For example, although Dutch and English are not normally pro-drop languages (i.e. ones which allow the omission of subject pronouns), subject pronouns are sometimes left out in Dutch/English code-switching when they occur at the boundary of a switch where English and Dutch require different word order.

The equivalence constraint assumes that the two languages in contact share the same categories and does not make predictions about category mismatches. A variety of anomalies arise in cases where typologically dissimilar languages are involved in code-switching. In Hebrew/Spanish code-switching many ungrammatical utterances occur as a result of switches to Hebrew from a Spanish base. The most frequent involves the omission of the definite or indefinite article. The indefinite article does not exist as a grammatical category in Hebrew.

Bentahila and Davies (1983,315) found a variety of permissible switches within the

verb phrase for French/Arabic, the least frequent type of code-switch for Spanish/English bilinguals. In one type the French infinitive is accompanied by an Arabic inflection, and thus involves switching across word internal morpheme boundaries (e.g. *tatbqa tatgratter* 'You keep scratching'). Otherwise, switches between a root morpheme and inflections are ruled out. Apart from this constraint, they found that switching is permissible at all syntactic boundaries from the sentence to nouns and verbs.

Other attempts to account for the grammatical constraints on code-switching have relied on different models and principles, such as government (Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh 1986, Halmari 1997), and minimalism (MacSwan 1999). The government model claims that the highest element in the tree determines the language for the whole tree. In theory, this should be the inflection on the finite verb. However, as with other models proposing absolute constraints, there are exceptions such as *les canadiens scrivono 'c'* 'The Canadians write "c"', where there is a switch between the subject and the inflectional element. This led to revised models with a more restricted notion of lexical government (Muysken 1995).

The assumption that one language must be the base or matrix language, which is switched into and out of has also been taken as a basis for grammatical models capable of accounting for code-switches. The Matrix Language Frame model assumes a matrix language which sets the morphosyntactic frame for codeswitched utterances (Myers-Scotton 1993). Within this model the notion of Embedded Language (EL) Island functions much in the same way as the category of borrowing does in the other models. That is, exceptions to the predictions made by the theory are explained as 'islands'. EL islands are composed only of EL morphemes, follow EL rather than ML (matrix language) grammatical constraints, and show internal dependency relations. This would allow for the very frequently observed category of switches between verb and object NP, as in: *I see la casa* 'I see the house'. This should not be allowed under either government or the matrix language frame model because if the matrix language is English, both word order and system morphemes must be English. Therefore, we would expect: *I see the casa*. In the government model the verb should govern its object NP. Poplack's equivalence

constraint, however, does not rule out this category of switching, at least for Spanish and English, so there is no need to claim that *la casa* represents an ad hoc borrowing.

While the government model does not require specification of a base language over a structural unit such as the clause, each governing element sets a language over the constituents it governs. If there is no break in the chain of government, then the highest element would determine the language for the whole, i.e. the inflection on the finite verb, or in subordinate clauses, the complementizer. Ungoverned elements such as tags and interjections, and most adverbs, can be freely switched.

4. Contact-induced change and convergence at the community level

Another alternative to these models would be to consider a convergent grammar, or at least a partly convergent grammar for some subsystems. This option is attractive in cases of intense language contact where it is not entirely clear there are two or more separate or distinct languages in the community concerned. In such cases the grammatical norms of the languages in isolation could not provide the basis for determining what is grammatical in so-called 'mixed' or 'intertwined languages' such as *Mitchif* or *Media Lengua* (Bakker and Mous 1994). A related example of convergence exists where a group of languages participate in a *Sprachbund* (language group or area) such as the Balkans, where linguistic features may cross genetic, language and national boundaries. Albanian, Macedonian, Romanian and Bulgarian all place the definite article after the noun, although historically related languages outside the Balkan *Sprachbund* such as Italian do not.

Other examples of convergence can be found in Fort Chipewyan in Alberta, Canada, where the languages involved are Chipewyan, Cree, French and English, which have co-existed for more than a century (Scollon and Scollon 1979). In Kupwar, India there has been contact between Marathi, Urdu and Kannada (and to a lesser extent Telegu) for around 400 years (Gumperz and Wilson 1971). In Kupwar sentences are lexically distinct, but yet have identical categories and identical constituent structures. The varieties used in bilingual interaction have a single syntactic structure so that the

only differences which remain are morphophonemic, i.e. lexical shape. In Fort Chipewyan too it is grammar which has been most adaptive and lexical shape most persistent. Although there has been relatively little wholesale borrowing, there is a general reduction in lexical complexity in Chipewyan, which may be leading to a structuring of the lexicon into classes of verbs. Convergence has also affected the meaning of lexemes either by extension of the meanings of existing words or creation of new forms through calquing. The net result is a set of community-wide meanings with separate phonetic shapes for the different languages. There is a tendency for the same meanings to be mapped onto the same grammatical classes in English and Chipewyan.

4.1. Language intertwining and mixing, pidgins and creoles

A 'mixed language' has its own rules and constraints, as well as its own sociolinguistic role in the community repertoire. *Media Lengua* ('half way' language) found in Ecuador is a distinct language, all of whose lexical bases are Spanish but with predominantly Quechua affixes. Its status as halfway between Spanish and Quechua is recognized explicitly in the name given to it by its speakers, who are bilingual in Spanish and Quechua.

According to traditional definitions, pidgins and creoles have also been regarded as mixed languages with the vocabulary of one language (i.e. the superstrate, also called the lexifier or base language) and the grammar of another (i.e. the substrate). However, it is by no means entirely clear what counts as a mixed language, what counts as an extreme case of borrowing, and what counts as a pidgin/creole. The distinction is one of degree.

In some mixed languages the proportion of foreign lexemes is close to or greater than 90 %, whereas the proportion is closer to 45 % in extreme borrowing. In pidgins and creoles, there is a great deal of variation in terms of the extent to which a particular language draws on its so-called lexifier for its vocabulary, and there is a variety of problems in determining the sources of words, due to phonological restructuring. Compare, for instance, the lexical composition of *Sranan* and *Saramaccan*, two of six English-based creoles spoken in Surinam, in what was formerly the Dutch-controlled part of

Guyana. In Saramaccan 50 % of the words are from English (e.g. *wáka* 'walk'), with 10 % from Dutch (e.g. *strei* 'fight' <*strijd*), 35 % from Portuguese (e.g. *disá* 'quit' <*deixar*), and 5 % from the African substrate languages (e.g. *totómbotí* 'woodpecker', Bakker, Smith and Veenstra 1995). In Sranan only 18 % of the words are of English origin, with 4.3 % of African origin, 3.2 % of Portuguese, 21.5 % of Dutch, 4.3 % could be derived from either English or Dutch. Innovations comprise another 36 %, and 12.7 % have other origins (Koefoed and Tarenskeen 1988, 120). African words are concentrated in the semantic domains of religion, traditional food, music, diseases, flora, and fauna. Words from the other languages do not concentrate in particular semantic domains. Numbers, for instance, draw on both English and Dutch. Sranan and Saramaccan are not mutually intelligible and neither is mutually intelligible with any of the input languages. Other languages show a more equal distribution between two main languages, such as Russenorsk, a pidgin once spoken along the Arctic coast of northern Norway from the 18th until the early 20th century. Its vocabulary is 47 % Norwegian, 39 % Russian, 14 % other languages including Dutch (or possibly German), English, Sami, French, Finnish, and Swedish (Broch and Jahr 1984).

Many creoles started out with a far more mixed lexicon than they possess today. Where contact with the main European lexifier was permanently terminated, as in Surinam, the lexicon retains a high degree of mixture to the present day; where such contact continued, as in the Lesser Antilles, items from the main lexifier tended gradually to replace items from other sources. Depending on the circumstances, a creole may adopt more items from the superstrate language due to intense contact. In Tok Pisin (an English-based pidgin/creole spoken in Papua New Guinea) some of the 200 German elements as well as words from indigenous languages, are now being replaced by English words. Thus, Tolai *kiau* is giving way to English *egg*.

However, pidgin/creole lexicons do not contain simply a subset of the lexical entries of the input languages. Instead, a process called relexification applies to the words of the substrate language which are matched with phonological representations from the lexifier language. Although linguistic forms

appear to be retained, their semantic content differs. Thus, Haitian Creole French *gade* shares the meanings 'to watch over, take care of, to keep' with the French verb *garder* from which it derives its phonetic form, but it does not share the additional meaning of 'to take care of/defend oneself'. The semantics of *gade* is very similar to that of the substrate Fongbe verb *kpón* 'to watch over, take care of, to keep, to look'. Haitian Creole French *gade* also means 'to look', while in French that meaning is expressed by *regarder* (Lefebvre, 1998).

4.2. Language maintenance and shift

It is always easy to suspect borrowing if we know there has been contact between two languages, but it is much more difficult to prove that it is actually responsible for a given syntactic pattern or construction. It is always possible that the form in question evolved independently. Part of the problem in coming to grips with this issue is that we have yet to develop a rigorous theory of language contact which allows us to make reliable predictions about what can be borrowed under what circumstances. The traditional position claiming that the lexicon is highly receptive to borrowing, and syntax, less so, is an oversimplification.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988,35) claim that the sociolinguistic history of the speakers and not the structure of their language is the primary determinant of the extent and direction of interference. They have identified two types of interference with contrasting effects: borrowing and shift-induced interference. Borrowing is defined as the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language. The native language is maintained but is altered by the incorporation of features from another language. Shift-induced interference results from imperfect group learning of another language. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) have proposed a methodological criterion for establishing external causation of language change, namely, that if a language has undergone structural interference in one subsystem then it will have undergone interference from the same source in others as well. They believe that interference can occur in all subsystems of a language. Language shift leads to phonological and syntactic interference in the newly acquired language, whereas language maintenance leads to lexical borrowing in the old language. By looking at the re-

sults of contact, one can reconstruct the social setting in which it occurred.

Treffers-Daller (1999) has argued that despite the differences in the sociolinguistic situations of Brussels and Strasbourg, the contact patterns are similar. Many speakers of Brussels Dutch and Alsatian German have shifted to French. French has exerted influence primarily in the lexicons of Dutch and Alsatian, respectively, while Dutch and Alsatian have affected mainly the phonology and syntax of French. Although Thomason and Kaufman's distinction appears to characterize well this case and some others, it is not without considerable problems, for it presupposes that linguists are able to identify a given contact situation as a shift or maintenance one independently of the results of the contact. This may be possible in some cases of very long-standing stable bilingualism, but in practice, without long-term monitoring of a contact situation, it would be difficult to tell at what point, say, a stable maintenance situation gives way to a shift situation.

An important issue which needs clarification is the role of typological similarity as one of the linguistic determinants of type of influence likely to be undergone in language contact. Discussions of language contact focussing exclusively on linguistic forms, however, often simplify the issue since contact does not manifest itself solely in terms of transfer of features from one language to another. Other effects of contact may be simplification or regularization of irregularity in paradigms, reduction of variants or options, overgeneralization, or an acceleration of change already underway. The phenomenon of language contact cannot be separated from the issue of decreasing usage. Where restriction in use occurs as it does when a language is dying when its speakers shift to another language, the frequency of irregular and marked forms falls below a critical threshold and makes it less likely that these elements will be acquired by younger speakers (see Article 228).

The most radical change tends to occur in languages undergoing intense contact. It is also such languages which tend to display an unusual amount of what Grace (1992) calls 'aberrant' change, i.e. not easily explicable in terms of traditional comparative historical reconstruction. Heavy borrowing as a result of intensive contact can obscure genetic relationships and make reconstruction difficult.

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6. Pidgin and Creole Studies/Pidgin- und Kreolstudien

1. Introduction
2. The bioprogram and its aftermath
3. Sociolinguistic models
4. The gradualist hypothesis
5. Grammaticalization
6. Societies and journals
7. Other scholarly publications
8. Linguistic camps
9. Semi-creolization
10. A creole typology?
11. Creolistics as a part of contact linguistics
12. Future challenges
13. Literature (selected)

1. Introduction

What pidginists and creolists have been doing over the past decade reflects their discipline’s having come in from the cold marginal areas of general linguistics to bask in the agreeable warmth closer to the field’s central concerns. The time now seems remote when creole data could be rejected for coming from languages considered “aberrant” (Bloomfield 1933, 471). In part this change in status stemmed from forces outside linguistics: the increasingly multicultural perspective of American and western European universities that followed the decolonization and civil rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s, a perspective that was conducive to taking the languages of pidgin and creole speakers seriously. But it also stemmed from the proliferation of the subfields of linguistics, from sociolinguistics to applied linguistics, with their new interest in

aspects of language that had appeared to lack order: the speech of very young children, aphasics, foreigners and others in contact with more than one language. Pidgin and creole data have also become relevant to those working in more traditional subfields, such as dialectology and historical linguistics, and are now an acceptable focus of study even in the core areas of the discipline: phonetics, phonology, syntax and semantics.

This has been going on since at least the early 1980s, when generativists took to examining data from all manner of languages in their quest for universals. Creolists had been publishing within a transformational framework since Bailey (1966), and by 1981 Muysken had edited *Generative Studies on Creole Languages* (today even the MIT Press publishes books on creolization: e.g. de Graff, ed. 1999). It was also in 1981 that Bickerton claimed that the structure of creoles offered special insights into the nature of language universals. Because the debate over his language bioprogram hypothesis influenced the research agenda of so many creolists publishing in English over the following decade (see Muysken and Smith, eds. 1987), it is worth examining in more detail.

2. The bioprogram and its aftermath

Bickerton’s concept of language universals was radically different from that of Chomsky (1965). In an earlier article (1980) and in

the discussion in Bickerton et al. (1984), Bickerton made it clear that what he understood by language universals was not just the general parameters on the possible structure of human language, but rather quite specific syntactic structures: “there is a natural tense-aspect system, rooted in specific neural properties of the brain” (1980, 12). He claimed that this verbal system, with preverbal markers for tense, modality and aspect (occurring in that order in various combinations) is part of a natural semantax, neurally based, which guides first language acquisition in its early stages but then is systematically suppressed in natural languages, which have developed their own marked, non-universal structures. However, in the earliest stages of creolization, he claimed, children use this natural semantax and it is not suppressed by older members of the speech community, who themselves use an unstable or even chaotic pidgin variety of the language without many norms. Bickerton attempted to prove this theory by maintaining that neither substratum influence (which he claimed was insignificant) nor diffusion could account for the structural features common to the “radical creoles” – e.g. the syntactic traits shared by Jamaican and Haitian that cannot be found in their lexical source languages, English and French. The bioprogram claimed that these shared features were due not to the creoles’ common substratum of typologically similar African languages, nor to the spread of features through contact; therefore, they could only be the result of a universal, innate language ability.

Mufwene (1986) pointed out that the substratist and universalist positions were irreconcilable only in their most extreme forms, i. e. when each excluded the possibility of the other. While most creolists could agree that certain universals of adult second language acquisition play a significant role in the creation of pidgins (such as the preference for free rather than bound morphemes to convey grammatical information, with the resulting lack of inflections retained in the creoles which grow out of these pidgins), far fewer found the bioprogram a convincing explanation for creoles having specific syntactic constructions.

Bickerton’s criticism of the substratists’ competing theory to explain the origin of these features common to many creoles – and the research on which they based it –

had some positive effects, among which was a renewed effort to sort out which African languages were most relevant to the formation of the various Atlantic creoles (e.g. Singler 1986). While considerably more research is still needed in this area, including more comprehensive descriptions of the grammars and lexicons of the relevant African languages, a growing number of Africanists have begun working with creoles as well, and their research seems promising.

3. Sociolinguistic models

Sociolinguistics continues to be of primary importance to pidgin and creole studies, quite beyond its centrality in defining the field’s most basic concepts (Holm 1989, xvi–xix). In the 1970s the sociolinguistic model of the creole continuum (DeCamp 1971) dominated the field. Later, in an attempt to analyse the bewildering complexity of sociolinguistic issues often found in creole-speaking communities, Le Page and Tabour-et-Keller (1985) proposed a multidimensional model to relate language and social identity, viewing “linguistic behaviour as a series of *acts of identity* in which people reveal both their personal identity and their search for social roles” (p. 14). They contrasted communities that are socially and linguistically *focused* (“tightly-knit and closely-interactive communities ... [in which] the sharing of rules, and the regularity of rules, can be considerable,” p. 5) as opposed to those that are *diffuse*, with great variation and seeming irregularity.

4. The gradualist hypothesis

Another recent development in theory (in part a reaction against the bioprogram claim that creolization took place “instantaneously”, primarily among the first generation of children) is the opposing gradualist hypothesis that the complexity of the structure of creole languages grew gradually over a number of generations, as suggested by the records of those creoles that have been documented since the eighteenth century (Arends 1993, ed. 1995; Carden and Stewart 1988). Arends found that the earliest Sranan document from 1718 revealed syntax more like that of a pidgin than a creole, e.g. verb phrases without any of the tense, mood and aspect markers of the modern creole, and no copulas at all. While a single equative copula

indicated both attribution and identification until around 1800, afterwards two different copulas emerged to indicate this distinction. Furthermore, in the earliest text there are several different constructions for making comparisons, but one was later lost and a stable system did not emerge for a number of generations. Drawing support from socio-historical data, Arends (1993, 376) concludes that “the creolization of Sranan must have been largely a process of second language acquisition by adult speakers which extended over several generations.” Further evidence for a similar scenario from a number of other creoles is adduced in Arends (ed., 1995).

5. Grammaticalization

Up to this point historical documentation of earlier stages of pidgin, creole and semi-creole languages had usually been dismissed as too unreliable for serious consideration (but see Rickford 1987, 81–82). While this is often true, it is not always the case, and the gradualists made clear the advantages of basing theory about the development of creole syntax on solid historical data – linguistic as well as social, when possible – rather than merely speculating. This interest in a historical approach led to a renewed focus on grammaticalization, the development of loosely combined lexical items into function words making up syntactic constructions with grammatical constraints. This window on grammar in the making had been the exciting promise of some of the earlier work on Tok Pisin: Kay and Sankoff (1974) observed that such phenomena as the evolution of pidgin time adverbials into creole tense, mood and aspect markers suggested that “the process of creolization of a pidgin involves the creation of transformational machinery which moves the surface structure progressively further away from universal deep structure” (1974, 66), an idea that helped set the stage for the bioprogram. Creolists’ interest in grammaticalization was also stimulated by the attention it was receiving among functionalists and formalists in the early 1990s. In 1995 a conference on grammaticalization in contact languages was held at the University of Westminster in London, leading to a book (Baker and Sycia, eds. 1996) which the *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* considered sufficiently important to merit two separate reviews. However, one reviewer (Plag 1999, 206) con-

cluded that “creolization seems not to be the grammaticalization laboratory that some creolists ... had hoped that it would be ... if we cannot arrive at convincing language-internal grammaticalization continua, or evoke innate structures as explanations, transfer becomes all the more plausible.” This refers to the article by Bruyn (1996), derived from her 1995 dissertation, which was precisely on grammaticalization in Sranan from a gradualist perspective. She cautions against misidentifying what she calls “apparent” grammaticalization in creoles, which is actually “the transfer of the result of a process of grammaticalization that has taken place in another language” (p. 42), i.e. the creoles’ superstrate or substrate). Such “apparent” grammaticalization (e.g. the use of Sranan *gi* from English *give* as part a serial verbal construction with the meaning of a benefactive preposition, as in the substrate language Ewe) should not be confused with “ordinary” grammaticalization, which is gradual and language-internal, occurring in both creole and non-creole languages (e.g. the evolution of eighteenth-century Sranan *da* ‘that’ into the modern definite article ‘the’, a development that is not at all unusual among the world’s languages). Nor should it be confused with what Bruyn (1996, 39) calls “instantaneous” grammaticalization (e.g. the use of Sranan *wan* from English *one* as the indefinite article ‘a, an’ from the eighteenth century onward). However, the grammatical use of the numeral for ‘one’ is also widespread, and she acknowledges the possibility of all three kinds of grammaticalization “converging with universal, cognitively-based developments” (p. 42).

6. Societies and journals

The expansion and consolidation of pidgin and creole linguistics as an academic discipline has been the impetus for providing the trade with the necessary tools: largely print publications, but also scholarly societies, journals, newsletters, internet discussion groups, archives and other resources. To trace their creation chronologically, 1972 saw the establishment of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics at a conference in Trinidad. Its members are largely anglophone creolists from the West Indies, Britain and North America, and it meets biennially (usually in the Caribbean area), and pub-

lishes occasional papers (usually on English-based creoles of the West Indies). In 1973 a newsletter, *The Carrier Pidgin*, began publishing (mostly in English) and has continued to do so out of various universities in the United States. 1975 saw the publication of *A Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages* (Reinecke *et al.* eds.), a massive work that became a major mainstay of the discipline. It has long been out of print, and the proliferation of publications in the field since 1975 seems to have made any updating – at least in print – too daunting.

In 1976 the first Colloque International des Créolistes met in France to organize the Comité International des Études Créoles, which has met every two to six years in countries where French or French-based creoles are spoken. It publishes the journal *Études Créoles* (focusing largely on French-based varieties) and a newsletter, as well as supporting the publication of related works such as a *Bibliographie des Études Créoles* (M. C. Hazaël-Massieux *et al.* 1991).

An English-language *Journal of Creole Studies* began and ended in 1977, but in 1986 a new *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* emerged to become the organ of a new Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics, focusing on contact languages worldwide. Since 1989 it has usually met annually with the Linguistic Society of America in the United States. In 1989 the Society on Pidgins and Creoles in Melanesia was established in Papua New Guinea, and in Australia a newsletter on the use of Pidgins and Creoles in Education began. Atlantic creolists and Pacific pidginists publishing in English seemed to be growing more aware of the need to work together (Byrne and Holm 1993).

In 1991 the first conference on creoles based on Portuguese and Spanish was held in Lisbon (d'Andrade and Kihm, eds. 1992), leading to the journal *Papia: Revista de Crioulos de Base Ibérica*, published in Brazil in Portuguese and Spanish. More books about creolistics began to appear in these languages; of particular note are do Couto 1996 (a textbook) and Perl and Schwegler, eds. 1998 (supported by the Asociación de Lingüística y Filología de América Latina). In 1999 a society for the study of creoles based on Portuguese and Spanish was established in Lisbon, formalizing the association of creolists that had been meeting in Europe and Brazil since 1991. Most of these creolist

societies have held (or plan to hold) joint meetings to encourage communication across linguistic borders or geographical divides. The Netherlands, where scholarly publications are often in English, has been an important center for creole studies because of its historical and linguistic links to a number of creole languages. In Germany creolistics has largely remained fragmented as a sub-field within the study of lexifier languages. However, the body of important scholarly literature in German in this area of linguistics has continued since Schuchardt (1881), from general theory (e.g. Boretzky 1983) to the description of particular varieties (e.g. Günther 1973, Bollée 1977). Interest in the field has also been increasing elsewhere, from Scandinavia (Ureland and Clarkson, eds. 1984) to Russia (Belikov and Vardul, eds. 1987).

Since the mid 1990s international communication within the field has been both facilitated and accelerated by electronic mail and the internet. The Creolist Archives website (<http://www.ling.su.se/creole>), set up at the University of Stockholm in 1996 by Mikael Parkvall, provided pidgin and creole language samples, early texts, creolists' addresses, etc. along with an e-mail discussion group, the CreoLIST, which was conducted mainly in English but also in French, Spanish and Haitian.

7. Other scholarly publications

The most fundamental task of linguists working in this field is, of course, to describe pidgin and creole languages. Happily, this has remained the principal focus of most new scholars entering the field, and that of many older ones as well. Recent additions to such descriptions range from fuller accounts of such previously undescribed or underdescribed languages as Angolar Creole Portuguese (Maurer 1995, Lorenzino 1998) to the discovery of language varieties whose existence had been unknown to the scholarly community, e.g. Tayo, a French-based creole spoken in New Caledonia (Corne 1995), or Pororó, a semi-creolized variety of Dominican Spanish (Green 1997). Other recent discoveries include old pidgin or creole texts that have been newly unearthed and recognized for what they are, such as the earliest known attestation of any creole language from Martinique, dated 1671 (Carden *et al.* 1990). Interest in such early texts has

increased so that it is now possible to publish whole books of them, such as those in Negerhollands (van Rossem and van der Voort, 1996) or Sranan and Saramacan (Arends and Perl, 1995).

Recent books have ranged widely in scope: from single features in particular languages – e.g. Papiamentu preverbal markers (Maurer 1988); to profiles of entire languages and their ecology – e.g. French and Creole in Louisiana (Valdman, ed. 1998); or comparisons of particular features among a variety of creoles – e.g. serial verbs (Sebba 1987) or tense-mood-aspect markers (Singer 1990); or a survey of many such traits – e.g. a parallel outline of some 100 syntactic constructions in 17 creoles (Holm and Patrick, eds. forthcoming).

Dictionaries are basic tools for research, but compiling them requires monumental amounts of time and labor. Luckily lexicographers have continued to write pidgin and creole dictionaries without much hope of producing bestsellers. Cassidy and Le Page (1967, 1980) wrote the first substantial etymological dictionary of any creole language, the *Dictionary of Jamaican English*, providing a model of scholarship for later descriptions of Bahamian English (Holm with Shilling 1982) and Caribbean English (Allsopp 1996). Other recent dictionaries of previously undescribed lexicons mainly derived from English include Suriname's Ndyuka (Shanks *et al.* 1994) and two Pacific varieties, Australia's Torres Strait Broken (Shnukal 1988) and Vanuatu's Bislama (Crowley 1990). Recent dictionaries of French-based creoles have, partly for practical reasons, tended to come from places where French is not the main official language, e.g. Mauritius (Baker and Hoo-koomsing 1987) or Louisiana (Valdman *et al.* 1998). Practical considerations have also encouraged the compiling of Papiamentu dictionaries in the Netherlands Antilles, the most recent of which (Joubert 1991) has a very respectable number of entries: 23,000. Recently described creole lexicons derived mainly from Portuguese include those of Cape Verde (Fernandes Rodrigues 1990, Lang *et al.* 2002) and Guiné-Bissau (Scantamburlo 1981, 1999). Lexicographical research has also resulted in etymological dictionaries of words derived from African languages for both Caribbean creoles (Anglade 1998) and a semi-creole, Brazilian vernacular Portuguese (Schneider 1991). At-

lases are also valuable resources for creolists. Beyond the usefulness of traditional linguistic atlases (e.g. Orton *et al.*, eds. 1978) in tracing the source of regionalisms that found their way into pidgin and creole lexicons, there is now an entire atlas devoted to contact languages (Wurm *et al.*, eds. 1996). With an increasing awareness of restructured languages among scholars, they are also more often included in general language maps and surveys (e.g. Grimes, ed. 1988; Posner 1996).

The availability of good textbooks for teaching pidgin and creole linguistics is crucial to the future of the field. Hall (1966) marked the emergence of this branch of linguistics as a distinct academic discipline, but – except for the very fat Hymes (ed.) 1971 and very slender Todd (1974) – there was a dearth of alternatives until Mühlhäusler (1986, revised 1997), Romaine (1988), and Holm (1988–89, 2000). There is now a wide choice in English, including Arends *et al.*, eds. (1994) and Sebba (1997). Introductions to the field in French include Chaudenson (1979, 1995), as well as the more grown up Valdman (1978). Textbooks in German are restricted to particular lexical base groups: English (Hellinger 1985), French (Stein 1984), and Spanish and Portuguese (Bartens 1995), except for the more general book by Bartens (1996). There is now a textbook on creolistics in Portuguese as well (do Couto 1996).

Series of books devoted exclusively to the study of pidgins and creoles now include the Creole Language Library (John Benjamins in Amsterdam and Philadelphia), the Kreolische Bibliothek (Helmut Buske Verlag, Hamburg), the Westminster Creolistics Series (University of Westminster Press, London), and publications of the Presses Universitaires Créoles (Scholcher, France). The series “Lengua y Sociedad en el Mundo Hispánico” (Madrid: Iberoamericana, Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert) has been publishing an increasing number of books on creoles and semicreoles based on Spanish and Portuguese.

8. Linguistic camps

Despite the growing body of creolist literature in German, Spanish and Portuguese, most continues to be published in English or French. This has tended to divide creolists into two camps, each of which is insufficiently aware of the work of the other. While

the broad historical outline of the discipline (described in Holm 1988–89, 13–70) is relevant to the development of theory in both, it should be noted that research and the related theoretical debates in each camp have followed their own course. The literature on the French-based creoles, written largely in French, has tended to focus more on the influence of the superstrate. The idea of continuity between French and the French-based creoles was stressed in the theory that the creoles grew out of a variety of nautical French that represented a leveling of regional dialects and served as a kind of *lingua franca* among seamen and in ports (Hull 1968). Although it was later specified that this model included input from substrate languages via relexification (Hull 1979), Chaudenson (1974) minimized such input in his theory that the creoles evolved from a variety of colloquial French (*français avancé*) that was ahead of the standard language in following natural evolutionary tendencies such as the loss of inflections. It should be noted that Chaudenson was drawn to these conclusions while working with Réunionnais, whose status as a fully creolized language rather than a regional variety that has been only partly restructured has been disputed. However, his theoretical model has been applied to the genesis of all the French-based creoles despite convincing counterevidence (Baker and Corne 1982) that the genesis of creoles such as Mauritian involved a clear structural break with French due to restructuring under the influence of other languages and universals of creolization. It should be noted that natural evolutionary tendencies of the source language have long been invoked to explain the origin of such semi-creoles as Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese (Révah 1963) and Afrikaans (Raidt 1983).

9. Semi-creolization

Determining the precise origin and development of such varieties with both creole and non-creole features poses one of the greatest challenges to creole linguistics in the new century (Holm 2000a, 2004). The study of restructured languages in general and partially restructured varieties in particular has been strengthened by the contribution of an increasing number of historical linguists such as Thomason and Kaufman (1988), who have discussed theoretical questions re-

garding pidginization and creolization within the broader context of language contact and genetic linguistics. The greater degree of restructuring that they claim can take place in language shift has suggested a new scenario for the genesis of partially restructured languages such as certain lects of Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese (Mello 1997) and nonstandard Dominican Spanish (Green 1997). Afrikaans studies have been further liberated politically by the coming of majority rule to South Africa in 1994, so that linguists who trace the language's origins to contact and partial restructuring no longer risk being ostracized. A poignant moment in the history of creolistics came during the Amsterdam meeting of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics when white and black South African linguists sat down together at a round table to discuss the origins of Afrikaans (Makhudu 1993, van der Merwe 1993, Waher 1993). The study of African American Vernacular English has undergone converse liberation, whereby it is now possible to discuss its non-creolization (Schneider 1993, Winford 1997–98).

10. A creole typology?

However, there has also been serious opposition to the idea that creolization is a gradient phenomenon. Building on Chaudenson's (1992) view of creoles as simply varieties of their superstrate languages – approximations of approximations of the earlier regional dialects spoken by European colonists – Mufwene (1994, 1996, 1997) concluded that 'creole' is not a valid term for classifying languages, and therefore one language cannot be said to be more or less 'creole' than another. McWhorter (1998) countered that creoles are indeed synchronically distinguishable from non-creole languages in that they combine all three of the following traits: they have little or no inflectional affixation; they make little or no use of tone to lexically contrast monosyllables or encode syntax; and they have semantically regular derivational affixation. This creole prototype, graded like most phenomena, is "the direct result of severely interrupted transmission of a lexifier, at too recent a date for the traits to have been undone by diachronic change" (1998, 812). This reaffirmation of such key concepts in the English-language creolistic tradition as 'pidgin', 'creole', and 'semi-creole' led to a lively en-

counter at the joint meeting of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics and the Comité International des Études Créoles in Aix-en-Provence in 1999.

11. Creolistics as a part of contact linguistics

While pidgin and creole linguistics has traditionally included the partially restructured varieties called semi-creoles (e.g. Reinecke 1937), there has been a recent movement to broaden the discipline's scope as contact linguistics (Thomason 1997) to include languages that have resulted not from pidginization and creolization (to whatever degree) but rather from other processes such as "language intertwining" (Bakker and Muysken 1994), producing languages like Michif, which mix entire structures from both their source languages, largely intact. Such studies increase our understanding of the range of possible outcomes of language contact, and this understanding may well shed new light on various aspects of the development of pidgins and creoles. For example, Siegel (1997) examined immigrant koines (e.g. overseas Hindi), indigenized varieties (such as Singapore English) and even re-nativized Hebrew to conclude that the adoption of features in leveling is affected by certain factors: frequency, regularity, salience and transparency. This suggests a solution for the long search for principles that guide the selection of substrate features into pidgins and creoles.

12. Future challenges

Perhaps the most basic challenge for creolistics in the new century is to produce exhaustive linguistic and sociohistorical descriptions of all the known pidgin and creole languages and their various dialects. These are needed so that debates over theoretical models (and their implications for general linguistics) can be based on a more adequate and more accurate body of knowledge.

Gone are their earlier days of the field, when amazing claims could be made about individual pidgins and creoles (and even whole groups of them) with little fear of contradiction: reference material was hardly available for these often unwritten, unstandardized languages with massive variation that was largely unknown to linguists. However, over the past decades a lot of field re-

cordings and native-speaker intuitions have been analysed and processed into grist for the academic mill, making data accessible to an ever-widening circle. Those earlier creolists with their cavalier claims (as well as the more sober role models) have given way to a younger generation whose knowledge of the relevant facts is often broader and deeper, so it is not really surprising that their work is taken seriously by other linguists.

Today creoles are recognized as natural languages, and their relevance to linguistic research in general is no longer questioned, nor is the particular relevance of pidgins and creoles to the perennial basic questions: What is language? How did it come to be the way it is? How does it change? How does it get a little respect?

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7. The Sociology of Language/Sprachsoziologie

1. Introduction
2. Readings in the sociology of language
3. Advances in the sociology of language
4. The sociology of language
5. The International Journal of the Sociology of Language
6. Recent work
7. Applications
8. Language and politics
9. Conclusion
10. Literature (selected)

1. Introduction

The Sociology of language, like any other concept, cannot be defined unambiguously. In other words, one should not expect a clear definition, or explanation, of what precisely sociology of language is. Like most, if not all, scientific and scholarly concepts, the sociology of language is understood by different researchers in different ways, and there is nothing unusual or wrong about this fact (cf. Janicki 1999). The concept of the sociology of language is often talked about in relation to that of sociolinguistics, with which it is sometimes identified and sometimes contrasted. Importantly, however, I take any discussion of whether some topic is definitely an example of sociology of language, sociolinguistics, pragmatics or any other (sub)field to be a fruitless endeavor. For the purposes of this presentation, I place the concept of sociology of language and that of sociolinguistics along a continuum where the common interest for the two is in the social aspects of language and where

the pre-occupation of the former is primarily with macro-linguistic phenomena of sociological interest and where the pre-occupation of the latter is with micro-sociological phenomena of linguistic interest. This way of viewing the two concepts (sociology of language and sociolinguistics) in relation to each other is very common in professional literature. The concept of the sociology of language seems to have significantly shifted its meaning since it became common (in the 1960s). When we investigate the contents of one of the early volumes in this field (Fishman 1968), we come across a variety of contributions some of which would now most probably no longer be included in a volume entitled The sociology of language. For instance, Lounsbury’s “Linguistics and Psychology”, Lennard and Bernstein’s “Interdependence of Therapist and Patient Verbal Behavior”, Leopold’s “The Decline of German Dialects” would now most likely appear in volumes on psycholinguistics, language and medicine, and dialectology, respectively. The three areas mentioned have since the 1960s developed enormously and secured for themselves separate volumes, journals, conferences, university courses, etc. This certainly does not mean that a publication on language and medicine could not now appear under the heading of sociology of language. It is clear, however, that, at the outset, the sociology of language was a more encompassing notion; in recent years some of the original areas of the sociology of language have acquired a relatively independent

status. In what follows I briefly refer to a number of studies and publications which, in my opinion, are typically perceived by both linguists and sociologists as coming under the heading of the sociology of language. These studies and publications relate language and society in many different ways and they take up a variety of aspects of the two. My presentation is arranged chronologically; I first report on some of the earliest publications in the sociology of language. I then briefly scan the studies discussed in the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, which reflects to a significant extent the work and concerns of the scholars who call themselves the sociologists of language. Finally, I mention a number of more recent concerns (e.g., language and globalization) which are reflected in various types of current publications.

2. Readings in the sociology of language

As mentioned above, in 1968 Fishman edited a book called *Readings in the Sociology of Language* (Fishman 1968), which includes some articles now considered classical contributions to the field. One example is the Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1968) contribution entitled "The Users and the Uses of Language". This article is highly heterogeneous in content. It touches on issues such as bilingualism, lingua franca, language community, register, pidgin and creole languages, standardization, synchronic and diachronic variation, language status, language attitudes, accent, linguistic intolerance and dialectal variation. In the following years all these issues were investigated thoroughly and gave rise to fairly independent avenues of research. This research is reflected in volumes such as Romaine (1989), which is concerned with bilingualism; Chambers and Trudgill (1980), which is concerned with dialectology; Ryan, Giles and Bradac (1994), which is concerned with attitudes; and Labov (1994), which is concerned with linguistic change. Interestingly, some of these areas (e.g. attitudes) have now acquired an independent status as disciplines, or, as some would claim, have shifted discipline membership. For instance, attitude studies have in the last 20 years or so been included under the heading of *The Social Psychology of Language*. Another example of a seminal paper included in the Fishman

1968 volume is Hymes' "The Ethnography of Speaking" (Hymes 1968), where the author carries out a descriptive analysis of speaking and discusses in some detail the phenomenon of speech event and the factors (e.g. sender, receiver, message form, channel, setting, etc.) and functions (e.g. expressive, directive, metalinguistic) in it. Yet another example is Brown and Gilman's "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity" (Brown and Gilman 1968). This article (which appeared earlier as Brown and Gilman 1960) has been reprinted many times. It discusses the relationship between the social and ideological systems of a community and the pronouns of address which are used in it. This paper has been an inspiration for a long list of studies in the area of address forms and politeness (e.g. Braun 1988). The 1968 Fishman volume also includes a crucial contribution by Einar Haugen (Haugen 1968) in the area of language planning, one of the flagships of the early sociology of language. Haugen gives a brief report on the unique sociolinguistic situation in Norway, where two written standards (Bokmål and Nynorsk) are used in the whole country and where the two standards have equal formal status and are treated by many people as equal in all respects. Reference to the specific language situation in Norway is given in almost any piece of work on language planning. Hence the Haugen article is often quoted in the literature as one of the first articles on the topic in internationally circulated sociolinguistic writings.

3. Advances in the sociology of language

Another major event in the history of the sociology of language was the publication of Joshua Fishman's *Advances in the Sociology of Language* (Fishman 1971/2). This two-volume book featured four major texts (by Ervin-Tripp, Grimshaw, Labov and Fishman himself) in Volume One, and twenty four standard size articles in Volume Two. Interestingly, in the first volume, which seems to be programmatic, there appear two contributions entitled 'sociolinguistics' (Ervin-Tripp 1971 and Grimshaw 1971). This fact alone shows how spurious is the distinction between sociolinguistics and sociology of language (cf. section 1 above). For Fishman, however, at the time of the publication of this volume, the distinction

between sociolinguistics and the sociology of language began to be clear and important. Concluding his lengthy discussion on the differences between the two Fishman states: "All in all then, *the sociology of language* is concerned with language varieties as targets, as obstacles and as facilitators, and with users and uses of language varieties as aspects of *more encompassing social patterns or processes* (original italics). The relationship between the sociology of language and sociolinguistics is thus a part-whole relationship, with the whole not only being greater than any of the parts but also greater than the sum of all of the parts taken separately. While continuing to use the adjectival and adverbial modifier sociolinguistic it is now clearer to me than it was in the past that the sociology of language has a path of its own to follow" (Fishman 1971, 9). Fishman's paper "The sociology of language: an interdisciplinary social science approach to language in society" (Fishman 1971a) in the above volume is an attempt at showing some basic relationships, issues and concepts within the sociology of language. Fishman discusses here the subdivisions of the sociology of language, reasons for why the sociology of language had only then begun to develop, the concepts of invariant and variable behavior, variability and predictability, the relationship between language, dialect and variety, major types of attitude to language, speech community, role relationships, micro and macro level analyses within the sociology of language, societal differentiation and repertoire range, societal bilingualism, etc. The Fishman (1971) book also includes Labov's famous "The study of language in its social context" (Labov 1971), a paper originally published in 1970. This paper, being largely methodological in nature, includes some basic considerations of questions such as the role of intuition in data collection, difficulties in hearing and recording, the status of the idiolect in variation studies, the relation of theory to data, etc. Volume II of the book (published as Fishman 1972) is a potpourri of contributions on small group interaction, large-scale cultural processes, bilingualism and diglossia, language maintenance and language shift, and applied sociology of language (policy, planning and action). This volume includes the well known and often quoted paper by Schegloff, "Sequencing in conversational openings" (Schegloff 1972), published originally in 1968. Some other

papers in this volume (e.g. Tabouret-Keller 1972, Lorwin 1972, Mackey 1972) could be seen as marking a point from which these authors themselves and others moved on to developing major subdisciplines in the sociology of language, for instance language maintenance and language shift studies and bilingual education studies.

4. The sociology of language

At the turn of the 1960s and 1970s, the sociology of language was a quickly developing field. It was not until 1972, however, that the first modern textbook on the topic was published. This was Fishman's introductory volume entitled *The sociology of language: an interdisciplinary social science approach to language and society* (Fishman 1972a), a reformulation, revision and expansion of his earlier *Sociolinguistics: a brief introduction* (Fishman 1970). As Hymes rightly points out in the foreword to this book, Joshua Fishman is both the author of the book and the person whose earlier work had made it necessary for the textbook to be written. This book partly repeats and partly expands on ideas discussed in Fishman (1971). These ideas include invariant linguistic behavior, variability and predictability, speech community, role-relationships, congruent and incongruent situations, repertoire range, societal bilingualism, language maintenance and language shift, language planning, etc. Fishman's textbook is a clear presentation of the fundamental ideas of what in the early 1970s appeared for many to be still a new and exciting field of the sociology of language.

Three names of the scholars whose work goes back to the beginnings of the sociology of language should now be highlighted: Dell Hymes, Charles Ferguson and John Gumperz. Hymes' numerous articles and his *Foundations in Sociolinguistics* (1974) made him one of the forefathers of the sociology of language, especially in the USA. His highly influential early work was an inspiration for a vast number of scholars to research subjects such as bilingual education, folk linguistics, communicative competence, speech acts and speech events. Hymes' readers *Language in culture and society* (Hymes 1964) and *Directions in Sociolinguistics* (Gumperz and Hymes 1972) and his article "On communicative competence" (Hymes 1972) continue to be perceived as pivotal events in the history of the field.

Charles Ferguson is probably best known for his 1959 article on diglossia (Ferguson 1959). His early work was assembled in *Language structure and language use: Essays by Charles A. Ferguson* (Ferguson 1971). This volume features contributions on linguistic diversity in South Asia, language development, literacy acquisition in multilingual nations, the role of Arabic in Ethiopia, etc. The Stanford University Press series in which the Ferguson book was published includes other volumes which are typically perceived as examples of early work in the sociology of language. One of them is John Gumperz' *Language in social groups: Essays by John Gumperz* (Gumperz 1971). This book features contributions on topics such as the speech community, language problems in North India, formal and informal standards in Hindi, speech variation and the study of Indian civilisation, religion and social communication in India, Hindi-Punjabi code-switching in India, and communication in multilingual societies. This volume is a reflection of Gumperz' professional interests in the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s.

5. The International Journal of the Sociology of Language

In 1974, the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (IJSL), published by Mouton, was launched. The general editor of the journal was and remains Prof. Joshua Fishman. At the time of writing, 144 issues of the journal have appeared. This journal is arguably the best witness to what has been happening in the sociology of language for the last thirty years. It has featured hundreds of articles on a vast variety of topics. Some of them are treated once and never taken up again; others recur in a variety of contexts. The list of the early issues of the journal includes the following titles: *The sociology of language in Israel* (Fishman 1974), *The American Southwest* (Spolsky 1974), *Language attitudes* (Cooper 1974), *Sociolinguistics in Southeast Asia* (Rubin 1975), *Socio-historical factors in the creation of the creoles* (Dillard (1976), *Language and education in the Third World* (Berry 1976), *Sociolinguistic research in Sweden and Finland* (Nordberg 1976). Fishman's first issue as well as Nordberg's volume may be seen as the beginning of a large list of further issues in which the sociology

of language pertaining to individual countries has been treated. Although in 1978 there appeared an issue on Belgium (Verdoordt 1978), reports on sociolinguistic research in individual countries did not start appearing frequently until 1985 when volumes on Yugoslavia and France came out (Magner 1985 and Tabouret-Keller 1985, respectively). Some subsequent examples in this subseries of IJSL are *Sociolinguistics in Japan* (Haarmann and Peng (1986), *Sociolinguistics in India* (Mehrotra 1989), *Sociolinguistics in Poland* (Janicki 1989), *Sociolinguistics in the People's Republic of China* (Yuan and Marshall 1990), *Sociolinguistics in Brazil* (Gomes de Matos and Bortoni 1991), *Sociolinguistics in Norway* (Jahr 1995), and, most recently, *Sociolinguistics in Bulgaria* (Videnov and Angelov 1999). IJSL has also featured a slightly different series, namely one where the focus is on a language rather than on a country. Examples of this series are *The sociolinguistics of Slovene* (Greenberg (1997) and *Estonian Sociolinguistics* (Hennoste (1999)). This change of focus does not preclude the editors of this series from including contributions on languages other than those indicated in the issue title. For instance, the *Hungarian Sociolinguistics* issue (Kontra and Pleh 1995) includes an article on Romani, the language of the Gypsies in Hungary (Réger 1995). The topics discussed in the country and language specific issues are diverse. They include hypercorrection, linguistic normativism, standardization, linguistic change, language planning, language attitudes, the sociology of proper names, language contact, etc. IJSL also has featured many issues devoted to an array of topics such as language planning, language death, standardization, language maintenance, obsolescence and shift, deference and politeness, foreigner talk, language and mass media, literacy and ethnicity, language choice and language control, speech accommodation, language rights, creoles and pidgins, language and sex, language and education, and language and politics. Of these, language and sex is nowadays researched, taught and written about as a fairly independent section of the sociology of language (cf. for instance, Coates 1993, 1996, 1998). So is language and education; and so is language and politics (cf. section 8 below). IJSL carries articles of primarily empirical nature; it does not neglect, however, theoretical contributions. Some entire issues are

devoted to theoretical problems e.g. Currie (1981) and Preston (1986); in other issues there appear individual papers with a largely theoretical bias e.g. Janicki 1989. It should be mentioned at this point that another influential sociolinguistics journal – *Language in Society* (edited for many years by Dell Hymes and published by Cambridge University Press) has also carried numerous articles on the sociology of language.

6. Recent work

A closer look at the more recent research and the publications which reflect it makes us believe that the earlier subsections of the sociology of language have now grown to the extent that the rubric ‘the sociology of language’ has almost ceased to be used at the expense of a number of new disciplines emerging from it. A significant section of the discipline earlier labelled ‘sociology of language’ is now constituted by what is commonly known as ‘linguistics and other professions’, referring to, for instance, language and law, language and medicine, and language and education. In the mid 1980s, *IJSL* carried two issues on what was referred to as ‘language and work’ (Coleman 1984 and Coleman 1985). At this time, significant interest was aroused in what some would now refer to as ‘applied sociology of language’. Research in linguistics and other professions implies a philosophy slightly different from that of early sociolinguistic work, in that the latter appears to be largely descriptive, without any focussed goal outside of the description, while the former clearly goes beyond description. Its either overtly or covertly expressed goal is to change things. In this regard linguistics and other professions is in line with another offspring of the sociology of language, namely critical discourse analysis (cf. section 8 below). ‘Language and education’ is now obviously the largest field originally subsumed under the heading of the sociology of language. It includes research on bilingualism, the role of the standard language in the educational process, the function of linguistic minorities in the school system, etc. The independence of this discipline, as perceived by some scholars, has led to the publication of volumes such as *Educational linguistics* (Stubbs 1986). Whether a discipline is autonomous or not is in my view not a serious question. What is important is that new labels such as ‘educational

linguistics’ come to the fore, showing that the discipline has attracted a significant number of scholars who start perceiving their field as independent from others and as worth studying as a focussed entity. Another field with speedily growing interest and tremendous social (especially in the USA) impact in recent years is that of forensic linguistics. This treats language and the legal profession. It thus addresses one of the most important social institutions of any modern society. Research in modern forensic linguistics has become well known around the world largely due to extensive and pioneering work by Roger Shuy (cf. Shuy 1993, 1998). Shuy’s and others’ work for instance, Philips’ (1998) reported, among other places, in *Forensic Linguistics: The International Journal of Speech, Language and Law*, a journal published by Routledge and edited by Malcolm Coulthard, clearly shows how much the linguist can do to help solve problems emerging in real life social institutions.

7. Applications

Another rapidly growing former subfield of the sociology of language is language and medicine. Here, too, the stakes are high; language may decide about life and death. For instance, the sequence adopted for the presentation of the diagnosis and prognosis may have crucial effect on the patient. As Frankel (2000) claims patients suffering from serious illnesses who hear first the prognosis and then the diagnosis exhibit a significantly higher degree of recovery, compared to those who hear first the diagnosis and then the prognosis. In the latter case, where the patient hears a terrifying diagnosis first, s/he tends not to listen to a possibly encouraging prognosis which follows. The frightening diagnosis imprints on him/her a lasting effect resulting in the worsening of the illness, possibly leading to death. In the former case, the patient does listen to the encouraging prognosis, which, in effect, may lead to recovery. Research in doctor-patient interaction has recently attracted many scholars. This research clearly shows that the linguist has also much to offer to the medical profession. Doctors, like lawyers, are largely unaware of how language works and of how much the linguists could help them in their daily interaction with the patients. Many studies show that patients do not under-

stand doctors (Wynn 1999), which obviously affects the medical outcome of the doctor's office consultations. Other studies indicate how doctors and patients differ in using communicative strategies (e.g. directness vs indirectness), which, again, has a bearing on how the outcome of consultations is perceived by the suffering patient. Again, as in the case of the legal profession, the USA is at the forefront of putting linguistics into the practice of the medical profession. Although Richard Frankel is allegedly the only professor of linguistics employed in a medical clinic, the very fact that there is a linguistics professor on the permanent staff of a hospital is a big leap forward in our trying to make the linguistic profession known to the general public. In fact, the professional activities of scholars such as Roger Shuy (who has been a linguistic consultant in many legal cases in the USA) and Richard Frankel clearly indicate that applied sociology of language is definitely a field of enormous social significance. One of the pieces of evidence to the ever growing interest in linguistics and other professions is the recent (May 2000) Georgetown University Roundtable Conference devoted precisely to this topic. In addition to education, medicine and law, the conference included a section on technology. Another section (on linguistics and economy) had earlier been planned for the conference.

8. Language and politics

Yet another major current offspring of the earlier sociology of language is the field of language and politics, often referred to as 'political linguistics' (cf., for instance, Blommaert and Bulcaen 1997). This field addresses issues such as political discourse, language and political power, the role of language in political negotiations, political persuasion strategies, political correctness, etc. An academic treatment of the political aspects of language use may be best seen in what has for many years been referred to as critical discourse analysis (commonly known as CDA). The flagship journal of this academic movement is *Discourse and Society*, published by Sage. The front figures of this movement include Wodak (cf. Wodak 1989), van Dijk (cf. van Dijk 1993), Fairclough (cf. Fairclough 1992). Their work has aroused much interest and controversy. One of the most characteristic features of CDA is its

clear commitment to encouraging change, in addition to carrying out linguistic description and analysis. CDA linguists believe that the function of the linguist is twofold: the linguist is expected not only to passively (from the political point of view) describe and analyse the present state of affairs, but s/he is also expected to actively encourage the pertinent authorities to change the state of affairs, if this is perceived by the linguists as necessary. This practical action attitude emerges from CDA scholars' involvement in clearly political matters such as intolerance, racism, propaganda, the status of ethnic and religious minorities, etc. The sociology of language has from its inception been a politically marked way of doing linguistics. This fact was very clearly seen up to 1989 in the countries of the former Socialist Block, where doing research in some aspects of the sociology of language was a real or imagined political challenge. Work in the sociology of language was politicized in at least two ways. One (markedly in the former USSR) was that doing research in the sociology of language implied having to adopt Marxist philosophy (e.g. Švejc, and Nikol'sky 1986 and Švejc, 1986). The other was that publishing in the West research results on some topics was considered as potentially generating, or did in fact generate, trouble, or was, simply, made administratively impossible. The strong political nature of the sociology of language as an academic discipline is very well illustrated in Harlig's book called *When East meets West* (Harlig 1995). As is well known, and as one of the contributions to the Harlig volume clearly shows (Woolhiser 1995), in the former Soviet Union, the promotion of Russian in the Soviet republics and the suppression of the national languages was clearly motivated by exolingvistic political objectives. Hence the study of bilingualism and multilingualism in the Soviet Union was perceived by most politicians as monitoring language policy, which ipso facto was perceived as a political activity. Similarly, in the same volume, Kontra stresses that in Hungary, until the fall of the Berlin wall, social research was never encouraged and rarely tolerated (Kontra 1995). Another example of how politics and the sociology of language are currently intertwined is provided by the phenomenon of language standardization, which is significantly related to language planning and language and education. The gist of language

standardization as a socio-political problem is whether only one focussed standard (written and/or spoken) is to be allowed in schools and other public institutions, whether more than one standard should be allowed (as is the case in written Norwegian; cf. Jahr 1995), or whether any nonstandard spoken variety is to be treated as appropriate for public use. This is clearly an issue bearing on democracy and egalitarianism. Equal rights, as many scholars argue, should include also equal language rights, which means that all citizens should have the right to speak (also in public encounters) their vernacular dialect. Promoting for public use only one standard variety promotes only one selected group of people who speak that variety. This means that people who happen not to be able to speak the standard variety are denied access to all those domains of public activities where the standard variety is required. Where that access is occasionally not denied, ostracization occurs. Needless to say, arguments around the promotion of, or, alternatively, the rejection of only one standard variety may result in political friction. One further example of how in recent years the sociology of language has born on language and politics is the phenomenon of language and globalisation. While several publications treat language and globalisation in general terms (e.g., Schäffner 1999), the function of English in the process of globalisation has taken a central place. As Phillipson (1992) Crystal, (1997), Graddol (1997), Graddol and Meinhof (1999), and others show, the extremely strong position of English in the world at the turn of the millenium is both an undeniable fact and a bone of contention for many language users and English language scholars alike. The dispute centers around the question of whether English should or should not be allowed to grow in significance, or even retain the significance it has at the moment. A related question is that of how English as a global language is to be approached vis a vis the national languages in countries where the function of English seems to be growing steadily (for instance, in Norway and Denmark). The strength of English around the world is obviously a function of many factors, one of which is the economic and political clout of the United States. Thus the present status of English in the world is another good example of how language, society and politics are intertwined.

9. Conclusion

In conclusion, sociologists of language have addressed significant questions which concern the societal use of language. These scholars have approached language as a macro phenomenon involving varieties, dialects, conflicts, repertoires, situations, shifts, policies, etc., rather than as a micro one involving phonemes, morphemes, lexical items, intonational patterns, etc. One of the major assumptions underlying this choice of object of inquiry, on the part of the sociologists of language, is that language should be treated as a social phenomenon of interest not only, or mainly, to a handful of ivory tower academics but as a phenomenon the study of which should generate tangible results of immediate interest and concern to millions of speakers of a particular language or groups of languages. Questions such as bilingualism, multilingualism, language loyalty, language death, standardisation, etc., have a direct bearing on the lives of millions of people throughout the world. Sociologists of language tend to believe that describing such phenomena, offering explanations for the state of affairs in many different countries, and encouraging changes are activities having potential and real impact on the lives of very many people. The sociology of language is thus one of the ways of doing linguistics where the application of research results to real people in real life situations emerges from the philosophy underlying the discipline and is either built into the research itself or can be easily grasped when the research is completed. One of the related facts characterising the sociology of language is that the level of idealisation adopted by the sociologists of language in their research is rather low i.e., they are significantly interested in differentiation (hence the numerous studies of individual countries, regions, languages, varieties, styles, social groups, etc.), which, obviously, should not be taken to mean that generalisation is of no interest. It should be remembered, however, that the sociology of language, as opposed to other ways of doing linguistics, attends to low level detail and variation to a remarkable degree. What are the achievements of the sociology of language? One global achievement is a general awareness of the significance of language in the functioning of societies. This awareness has been reflected for some time now in the

field of education and has begun translating into real action in the areas of politics, medicine and law. The sociology of language has made people realize that language permeates almost all walks of life and can thus markedly influence its quality. The sociology of language has also made people realize that the fundamental questions of human existence, such as freedom, tolerance, and equality involve language, and that our understanding of how language as a social phenomenon works bears directly on how these big questions of human existence can be approached and studied and the human suffering relating to them possibly alleviated.

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8. Interactional Sociolinguistics/Interaktionale Soziolinguistik

1. Introduction: What is interactional sociolinguistics?
2. Theoretical underpinnings and methods
3. Key terms and concepts
4. Representative studies
5. Literature (selected)

1. Introduction: What is interactional sociolinguistics?

Interactional sociolinguistics (IS) is a type of qualitative analysis that sits at the intersection of linguistics, anthropology, and sociology. Rooted in the theoretical and methodological approaches developed by John Gumperz, work in this area typically entails case-study microanalysis of the language of real interaction in the context of social relationships. It is a tenet of IS that language can only be studied in this context, and further that the language of interaction is constitutive of social relationships. The goal of IS, then, is no less than accounting for the communication of meaning through language use. The word “use” is crucial. IS sees meaning not as inherent in words, but rather as jointly created by speakers and listeners in the act of using language to accomplish interactive goals.

2. Theoretical underpinnings and methods

According to his own account (Gumperz 1992a, 1999), Gumperz’ early research was based on field work done in India, Norway, and Central Europe during the 1950’s and 1960’s. The methodological approach and theoretical framework that became the foundation for IS was developed in the 1970’s, culminating in his 1982 book *Discourse Strategies*. In subsequent essays (e.g. Gumperz 1992b, 1996) he elaborated and explained this approach and updated his terminology in keeping with developments in the field, but the underlying tenets and concepts remain constant. A collection of essays edited by Gumperz (1982b) highlights a fundamental aspect of IS that is also found in the work of many of Gumperz’ students and colleagues: the argument that differences in linguistic phenomena partially account for, or aggravate, social inequality, discrimination, and cross-cultural stereotyping. For

example, Gumperz demonstrates that systematically different ways of using language to create and interpret meaning contribute to employment discrimination against London residents who were born and raised in Pakistan, India or the West Indies. By analyzing interaction in employment interviews, Gumperz follows Erickson’s (1975) focus on the linguistic basis of discrimination in “gatekeeping encounters”: speech events in which a member of a minority community requires the approval of a majority-community member to advance professionally or receive a societal benefit. It is the job of the interviewer to assess the interviewee’s qualifications for the position or the benefit, but the assessment is made based on linguistic performance. Thus Erickson and Shultz (1982) argue that differences in conventions for signalling listenership between Americans of European and of African descent result in European-American school counselors “talking down” to African-American students. In a similar vein, Tannen (1981, 1984) analyzes the role of what she calls conversational style in the perception and stereotyping of New York Jewish speakers as “pushy” and aggressive. Maltz and Borker (1982) and Tannen (1990, 1993) use Gumperz’ model of cross-cultural communication to elucidate male/female communication. In all these studies, close attention to miscommunication based on ways of speaking serves the purpose of explaining social phenomena. But analysis of miscommunication is also a heuristic device serving the broader goal of IS to explain how meaning is communicated in verbal interaction. Miscommunication makes visible elements of communicative practice that go unnoticed when communication proceeds without perceptible trouble.

Whereas the grammatical sentence is the unit of analysis in formal linguistics, for IS the basic unit of analysis is a smaller entity: an utterance alternately called a “breath group,” “intonation unit,” “idea unit,” or “information unit,” characterized by an identifiable intonational contour and typically bounded by falling or otherwise phrase-final intonation, a pause, and/or a discourse marker such as “but” or “and.” The focus of analysis is usually a spoken interchange (audio- or video-taped and subsequently

transcribed) involving two or more interactants. Context is key to meaning in IS. Context, however, is conceptualized not as something outside discourse that impinges on it but rather as created by discourse. In this view, speakers create context by means of linguistic cues. Furthermore, verbal interaction (or “discursive practice”) proceeds not according to rules but rather by application of systematic strategies or principles. Crucially, meaning is not the single-handed creation of one speaker but the jointly-constructed creation of both interactants; indeed, listening and speaking are inextricably intertwined (Erickson 1986).

3. Key terms and concepts

For Gumperz, all meaning is “situated interpretation.” The conception of meaning as an interpretive process is fundamental to his notion of conversational inference: the active process by which a listener develops an ongoing interpretation of a speaker’s meaning. This interpretive process is continually developing and re-evaluated as discourse progresses. Shared contextualization conventions enable a listener not only to interpret what has been said but also to predict what is likely to be said. In other words, at any moment in an interaction, a listener uses linguistic signals as guideposts to where the speaker is heading in the discourse. Moreover, the ability to make such predictions is necessary to participate successfully in a verbal exchange. This developing thread of meaning that a listener must be able to discern, follow, and predict is called thematic progression. (Gumperz 1999 credits language philosopher H. P. Grice’s [1989] concept of conversational cooperation as a precursor to his own understanding of how speakers and hearers work together to develop and interpret thematic progression.) The dual process of interpretation and prediction is also made possible by co-occurrence expectations. For example, members of a speech community know that a listing intonation presages more items to come in a list, or that a raised voice indicates anger – an emotion that will guide the listener in determining how to understand the ensuing discourse. Conversational inference is an ongoing process of interpreting meaning which resides not only in the words spoken but in every aspect of how they are spoken. It depends crucially on culturally-shared and con-

textually-sensitive presuppositions. The signposts that signal meaning, create coherence (that is, show the relationship among ideas), and guide interpretation are contextualization cues, defined by Gumperz (1999, 461) as “any verbal sign which when processed in co-occurrence with symbolic grammatical and lexical signs serves to construct the contextual ground for situated interpretation, and thereby affects how constituent messages are understood.” In this framework, aspects of language which were previously devalued – dismissed as “marginal” – become the focus of analysis; in other words, they become “core.” Key among contextualization cues, as specified by Gumperz 1992b, 231, are: 1) prosody (including intonation, stress, and shifts in pitch and loudness); 2) paralinguistic cues (including rate of speech, rhythm, pausing, hesitation, tone of voice, latching, and overlapping); 3) the code- or style-switching that was a major contribution of Gumperz’ early work (Blom and Gumperz 1972) – that is, the shifting between two languages, dialects or speech styles; and 4) choice of particular lexical forms or culturally recognizable formulaic expressions.

A central concept that both underlies the theoretical and methodological basis of IS and also illustrates its interdisciplinary nature is framing. Anthropologist Gregory Bateson [1955]1972 introduced the notion of frame to capture a fundamental aspect of meaning in interaction: No utterance or symbolic act can be understood except by reference to a “metamessage” that identifies the character of the interaction. Bateson explains that while watching monkeys playing in their cage at the zoo, he wondered how a monkey at play was able to understand a bite – an aggressive action – as a friendly move. Bateson concluded that a biting monkey sends not only a message – the bite – but also, at the same time, a metamessage “this is play.” One might say that the metamessage is like an instruction guide to how the message is to be interpreted; that is the sense in which it frames the message. A theory of framing as key to human interaction was elaborated by sociologist Erving Goffman (1974). Both Bateson and Goffman were concerned with the creation of meaning in human interaction in general, not exclusively or even primarily in language, though in his last book Goffman (1981) began to focus his analysis of framing on the parti-

cularities of talk. Insofar as speech is an essential element of human interaction, the concept of framing is as crucial to understanding meaning in language as it is to other types of meaning. Parallel to the notion of frame is Gumperz' speech activity: the goal-oriented character of an interaction, by reference to which – and only by reference to which – an utterance can be interpreted. The direct influence on Gumperz is more specifically Dell Hymes' (1974) pioneering work in the ethnography of communication, especially his notion of a speech event, the larger context in which a speech activity takes place. Finally, Gumperz (1999, 456) credits ethnomethodologist Harold Garfinkel (1967) with turning attention to the organization of everyday behavior and to the “practical reasoning” by which interactants interpret each other's moves. Given these overarching theoretical conceptions and diverse influences, Gumperz pioneered the sociolinguistic microanalysis of verbal interaction as a way of discovering and documenting how meaning is exchanged, created, and interpreted through language.

4. Representative studies

4.1. Gumperz' analysis of interethnic communication in the UK

Gumperz laid the cornerstone for his IS approach in field work conducted in Great Britain (primarily London) examining interethnic communication among speakers of different varieties of English in workplace settings, especially in gatekeeping encounters such as employment interviews or conversations between teachers and prospective students in training courses. For example, in a selection interview for applicants to a British government-funded skills training program Gumperz (1999, 466) shows that an applicant of South Asian origin fails to recognize the implicit invitation to elaborate on the answers he has already provided on his written application. In the transcription, R is the Interviewer, A the applicant, and C the course instructor who is also present at the interview. (An asterisk marks accented words.)

- 1 R: And you've put here, that you want to apply for that course because there are more jobs ... the *trade.
2 A: Yeah (low).

- 3 R: So perhaps you could explain to Mr. C *apart from *that reason, *why else you want to apply for *electrical work.
4 A: I think I like ... this job in my-, as a profession.
5 C: And *why do you think you'll *like it?
6 A: Why?
7 C: Could you explain to me why?
8 A: Why do I like it? I think it is more job *prospect.

Throughout this interchange, the interviewer and course instructor rely on culturally-shared expectations for what kind of information should be exchanged in an interview, and signal to the applicant what type of response they are looking for through selective accenting of lexical items. Thus in (1) the emphasis on “trade” is an invitation to the applicant to bolster his chances for admission by enumerating and explaining his qualifications, experience and interest as they relate specifically to electrical work. In lines 3, 5 and 7, the interviewers repeat and escalate their efforts to invite self-promotion on the part of the applicant, still relying on verbal accenting to call attention to the relevant words (“apart from that, why else”). But the South Asian applicant is not alert to the British English speakers' contextualization cues – their use of pitch and amplitude to draw attention to key words in their questions and statements. Furthermore, he does not share their expectations for interviews. In keeping with his own sociocultural norms, he regards self-promotion as inappropriate in this context, since it risks the impression of excessive assertiveness. The applicant eventually volunteers that he had completely wired his own house in a way that passed inspection, but even when this fact emerges, he de-emphasizes rather than highlighting (let alone exaggerating) the skill, knowledge and interest that this required. Gumperz' microanalysis of this tape-recorded and transcribed interaction is bolstered and deepened by his knowledge of the grammar and interactional norms of both South Asian and British speakers to demonstrate that the outcome of this gatekeeping encounter was “interactively produced.”

Another classic study demonstrates the notion of contextualization cues; their central role in affecting interactional outcomes;

and the inextricability of real-world issues such as job discrimination, on the one hand, and understanding how meaning is created in interaction on the other. In this study, Gumperz (1982a) uses the tape-recording of real interaction to investigate charges and counter-charges among servers and customers in the employee cafeteria of a British airport, which had recently hired servers of South Asian background. The cafeteria customers complained of rudeness on the part of the South Asian servers, who complained in turn that they were victims of prejudice and discrimination. By audiotaping interactions between servers and customers, Gumperz identified a small contrast in the use of paralinguistic features that accounted in part for both complaints. Customers who selected a meat course were given the option of whether or not they wanted gravy on their meat. Both British and South Asian servers made this offer by uttering a single word, "gravy." But the British servers said this word with rising intonation while the South Asian servers said it with falling intonation. These contrasting intonational patterns resulted in very different interpretations: The rising-intonation contour was heard as a question, and consequently a polite offer: "Would you like gravy?" while the falling-intonation contour was heard as a statement, and consequently redundant and rude: "This is gravy." When the audiotape was played for the cafeteria employees themselves, they saw it as a self-evident example of discrimination because they were so obviously saying "the same thing." When their supervisor and English teacher explained how the different intonation pattern resulted in different "meaning," the South Asian servers understood the reactions which had previously seemed to them incomprehensible, and the supervisors learned that for them the falling intonation was simply the normal way of asking a question in that context. Because the use of intonational contours as a way of signalling politeness is conventionalized, it is obvious to speakers of British English and invisible to South Asian speakers of a different variety of English. This example, then, illustrates both that contextualization cues such as pitch and intonation are crucial to signalling and interpreting the meaning of words spoken, and also that divergent contextualization conventions contribute to the perception and the reality of social inequality

and employment discrimination. It also illustrates the method by which key segments of an audiotaped interaction are replayed to participants in order to elicit their comments, which become another type of data to be analyzed.

4.2. Sociolinguistic subcultures in American conversation

An IS approach to communication among speakers of divergent varieties of English has been applied to the conversations of American-born conversationalists of different ethnic and regional backgrounds. Tannen (1984) examines a two-and-a-half hour conversation that took place at a Thanksgiving dinner among six friends. On the basis of microanalysis of the audiotaped and transcribed conversation, and bolstered by the subsequent comments made by participants upon listening to segments of the tape recording, Tannen describes two contrasting conversational styles. Three speakers of East European Jewish background who grew up in New York City use a high-involvement style by which a speaker's prime responsibility is to demonstrate enthusiasm, interest, and conversational involvement. Some of the linguistic features that characterize this style include faster rate of speech; shorter or imperceptible inter-turn pauses (since silence is avoided as evidence of lack of rapport); cooperative overlap and participatory listenership; expressive phonology and extreme shifts in pitch and amplitude; more use of personal topics and narratives of personal experience; abrupt topic shifts; and persistence in raising a new topic if it is not immediately picked up. The other three participants (two were raised Catholic in Southern California, a third is British) use a high-considerateness style. It was not possible, however, based on this study, to describe this style because the linguistic features of high-involvement style tended to interfere with the discursive practices of high-considerateness features. The way this happens, and the theoretical framework by which the pattern is analyzed, can be demonstrated with reference to interruption – a linguistic phenomenon that has received a great deal of attention and analysis (eg James and Clarke 1993) – which is inseparable from the related patterns of pitch, amplitude, pacing, and conversational rhythm. Bennett (1981) points out that whereas overlap – two voices speaking at once – is an ob-

servable, descriptive linguistic category, interruption is an interpretive category that implies a violation of speaking rights. Tannen (1984) describes segments of interaction in which high-considerateness speakers perceive themselves to be interrupted by high-involvement speakers, but the overlap was not intended to be floor-stealing but rather to be an encouraging show of interest and attentive listening. In other words, for high-involvement speakers, talking-along is often not interruption but rather cooperative overlap, a form of participatory listenership. But for those who believe only one voice should be heard at a time, talking-along is always interruptive. The contrast becomes clear when segments of conversation in which three high-involvement speakers participated are contrasted with segments of cross-style interaction. (In this study, as in many IS studies, the researcher is also a participant.) For example, in the following exchange (1984, 69) Deborah's fast-paced questions that come as overlaps create stumbling, confusion, and a slowing of pace on the part of a high-considerateness speaker, David. David, a painter and sign-language interpreter, has been explaining regional variation in signs, and has just demonstrated a sign for Christmas that derives from Christmas decorations. Deborah overlaps to ask a question:

- (1) David: So: and this is the one that's Bèrkeley. This is
the Bèrkeley ... sign for ... for [Christmas.
- (2) Deborah: [Do yòu figure óut
those . . those um correspondences? or do- when you
learn the signs, /does/ somebody télls you.
- (3) David: Oh you mean [watching it? like
- (4) Deborah: [Cause I can imagine knówing that sign, ...
and not ... figuring out that it had anything to do with
the decorátions.
...
- (5) David: No. Y you knów that it has to do with the decorátions.

Deborah's question in line 2 not only comes as an overlap but also abruptly changes the focus from sign language in general to David as a sign-language learner in particular. Tannen argues that David is caught off guard by a range of features that characterize this question as high-involvement: not only the overlap but also the rhythm and fast pacing and the shift of focus to David personally. (A few turns later he asks explicitly

"You talking about me, or a deaf person," to which Deborah responds with increasingly fast pace and clipped syntax, "You. You.") The result is that David's pace slows and he becomes inarticulate, whereas Deborah's pace quickens and she continues to overlap as she hastens to facilitate his reply by elaborating on her question. It would be easy for an analyst to conclude that David is a conversational victim of Deborah's verbal aggressiveness. In short, she interrupted him. But Tannen contrasts this interchange (and others like it) with segments of the same conversation in which a high-involvement listener's overlaps have the effect of encouraging rather than confusing a speaker – that is, a high-involvement style speaker. In the following example (1984, 64) Deborah's "machine-gun questions" to Peter and Steve are very similar to those she used with David, but the effect is very different. Again, the conversation begins as a general discussion of a phenomenon, the influence of television on children. Steve remarks that he believes the influence to be negative. Deborah then uses fast pacing (in this case a latch – turn-taking with no perceptible interturn pause – rather than an overlap) to shift focus abruptly to Steve's (and his brother Peter's) personal experience. The question causes no disruption in the rhythm of Steve's speech. He seamlessly finishes his

thought and then goes on to answer the question. Because Steve and Peter are brothers and the question addresses them both, they both respond. In the course of answering Deborah's first question, Peter mentions that they had a television in "the quonset huts," thereby revealing that he and his brother lived for a time in the odd-looking temporary housing that was built for returning veterans after World War II:

- (1) Steve: I think it's basically done ... damage to children.
 That what good it's done is ... outweighed by ...
 the damage.]
- (2) Deborah: [Did you two grow up with television?
- (3) Peter: Véry little. We had a TV [in the Quonset
- (4) Deborah: [Hów old were you when your
 parents got it?]
- (5) Steve: [We had a TV but we didn't wátch it all
 the tíme: We were véry young. I was fówr when my
 parents got a TV.]
- (6) Deborah: [You were fówr?

Key evidence of the logic of high-involvement style lies in line 5. First, Steve's reply (like Peter's in line 3) shows no evidence of the hesitation, false starts, and rhythmic disruption that characterized David's reaction to Deborah's machine-gun questions. Furthermore, Steve begins line 5 by answering Deborah's first question (line 2: Did you two grow up with television?) by saying "We had a TV but we didn't watch it all the time." Then he proceeds with only a slight pause to answer her second question (line 4: How old were you when your parents got it?) by saying "I was four when my parents got a TV." Each section of Steve's line 5 is syntactically and lexically tied to a separate machine-gun question. Steve begins "We had a TV" in reply to the question "Did you two ...". Then he switches to the first person "I was four ..." in reply to the question "How old were you ...?" These and many other examples illustrate that the same conversational strategy (a fast-paced question that comes as a latch or overlap and abruptly switches focus to the speaker personally) has a positive effect – creating shared rhythm and expressing enthusiastic listenership and interest – when used with a speaker who shares a high-involvement style, but a negative effect (disrupting rhythm and causing dysfluency) when used with a high-considerateness speaker. In all instances shown, overlap (with attendant pitch, rhythm and syntax) is intended as a cooperative device; in one instance it is received as such but in the other it becomes a disruptive device – an interruption. Crucially, the effect of the overlap is the creation not only of one person – the overlapper – but rather of both participants. Similarly, the interpretation of the overlap as an interruption may accurately describe the impression made on the speaker without accurately describing the intention of the listener – nor any inherent "meaning" of the linguistic behavior. Finally, Tannen notes that her analysis elucidates both the

process of conversational style as a system for signalling interactive meaning as well as the consequences of conversational style as a source of systematic miscommunication that accounts in part for the stereotyping of New York speakers in general, and New York Jewish speakers in particular, as "pushy" and "aggressive."

Another study of subculturally-identifiable discourse style in conversation that also focuses on the conversation of East European Jewish Americans is Schiffrin's (1984) analysis of "Jewish argument as sociability." Just as Tannen shows that an ostensibly non-cooperative strategy, conversational overlap, can have a cooperative intent and effect, Schiffrin demonstrates that for the speakers in her study, lower-middle-class Jewish Philadelphians, repeated disagreement and competitive argument actually display the participants' solidarity and reinforce their intimacy. Schiffrin examines a series of conversations that took place during sociolinguistic interviews she conducted with a married couple, Zelda and Henry. In the following brief excerpt (321), the topic of discussion is whether it is appropriate to prefer some relatives over others. (It is not a coincidence, though neither is it a focus of Schiffrin's analysis, that many of the disagreements come as overlaps.)

- Henry: But don't they have a different attitude toward the other?
- Zelda: [Y- You're wrong Henry.
- Henry: Think about it.
- Zelda: No. You're wrong. Y- I- look I have
 the- I have uh f:four or five cousins
 from one aunt! And I like my -
- Henry: you have-
- Zelda: = cousin, one of them better than the
 others! And]that's how-it is:]Yeh! =
- Henry: [You do- you do-] [You do?]

After several more lines of dynamic disagreement in this vein, Zelda suddenly says (overlapping Henry's prior turn), "Boy you need a shave so bad!" and Henry agrees with her criticism by saying (overlapping the end of her statement) "I know I do. I like to take a shave every four days!" Thus, Schiffrin shows, the interchange closes with a mixture of humor, intimacy (a comment on bodily matters), and solidarity created through rather than in spite of competitive disagreement (and, one might add, shared conversational rhythm and cooperative use of overlap).

4.3. Framing

In analyzing the excerpt shown above, Schiffrin describes Zelda's sudden reference to Henry needing a shave as a frame break that glosses the preceding argument as non-serious. When disagreeing about attitudes toward cousins, Henry and Zelda are non-aligned, but when they agree that Henry needs a shave, they are aligned. Thus Schiffrin draws on Goffman's (1974) notion of framing both to describe the shifting participant structures by which Henry and Zelda display alignments and also to identify the frame by which their argument is to be interpreted as non-serious (in Bateson's terms, framed by a metamessage "this is play").

In another study based on the same set of sociolinguistic interviews, Schiffrin uses and develops the concept of framing to identify a conversational move she calls "speaking for another"- that is, voicing something about someone else, in that person's presence, which only that person is in a position to know. In an interchange among Zelda, Henry, and their neighbor and friend Irene, Schiffrin shows that speakers use "speaking for another" to accomplish frame shifts by which participants are realigned with respect to each other, to the sociolinguistic interviewer, and to their gender identities. In other words, macro-level relationships are evidenced and created by micro-level linguistic strategies that align (a subtype of framing) participants in relation to each other. For example, when Irene rejects Henry's offer of a piece of candy, Zelda speaks for her in explaining, "She's on a diet." Both Henry and Zelda speak for Irene (who is significantly younger than they), but Zelda's realignments are supportive and integrative: by speaking for her, Zelda protects

Irene from Henry's potential criticism. In contrast, Henry's realignments are judgmental, challenging, and divisive: They align him with the interviewer in opposition to Irene, negatively evaluate her behavior, and prompt her to reveal potentially compromising information, although he too takes a protective stance toward her. For example, in answer to the interviewer's (Schiffrin's) question about whether she'd be more likely to discuss a problem with a friend or a family member, Irene says "I'm not that family oriented. Like they are." Overlapping the last phrase, Henry says, "She should be. She's got a nice family." With this comment, Henry realigns himself with respect to his interlocutors not only by criticizing Irene's response but also by addressing his assessment to the interviewer rather than to her. Immediately after, Zelda intervenes to align herself with Irene by speaking for her: "Well she really- wait a minute she doesn't have sisters." Henry overlaps Zelda to clarify: "She's got lovely children," and Irene overlaps "sisters" to agree with Zelda, "I'm not talkin' about my children." (She goes on to explain that a conflict arose between her husband and his brother when they were in business together.) Although the ways that Henry and Zelda speak for Irene thus differ and create differing alignments, nonetheless by speaking for Irene in the interview context, they both display and reinforce the closeness of their relationship to her and also transform the interview frame.

The linguistic creation and negotiation of framing is the basis of Tannen and Wallat's (1993) analysis of interaction in a pediatric examination/interview that took place and was videotaped at Georgetown University Hospital's Child Development Center. This study refines and expands a theory of framing in interaction and also demonstrates how an understanding of framing helps account for the participants' contrasting experience of the same interaction - including why the physician's task is extremely challenging. Tannen and Wallat distinguish between two types of framing and explicate their interrelationship in interaction. Framing, in Bateson's and Goffman's sense, is the real-time exchange of metamessages by which speakers communicate and interpret how any utterance is meant. At the same time, researchers in psychology, artificial intelligence, and linguistics use the term

“frames” and the related term “scripts” to describe the background knowledge that is implicit in – and also necessary to interpret – any utterance. Tannen and Wallat suggest the term *knowledge schemas* to refer to these structures of expectation associated with situations, objects, people; they use the term *interactive frames* to refer to the moment-to-moment signalling of what is going on and how utterances are to be interpreted. In the pediatric interview under analysis, a physician examines a child with cerebral palsy in the mother’s presence. The authors identify three distinct interactive frames that characterize the encounter, each associated with an interactive goal or activity: 1) an examination frame by which the pediatrician a) examines the child according to a standard pediatric evaluation and b) relates what she is doing in a monotonous “reporting register” for the benefit of pediatric residents who might later view the videotape; 2) a consultation frame by which she answers the mother’s questions about her child’s health, and 3) a social encounter frame by which she manages the interaction, for example by telling mother and child where to sit and monitoring the readiness of the videotape crew. What is ostensibly “the same” behavior can actually serve different frames. For example, the pediatrician generally examines the child in the examination frame, but at one point the mother asks her about a skin condition behind the child’s ear, and the doctor interrupts the sequence of the standard pediatric evaluation in order to look at the child’s ear. This act of examination is therefore part of the consultation frame. At times the physician must balance at least two frames, such as when she both examines the child (examination frame) and entertains her (social encounter frame), the latter enabling the former to proceed. For example, while examining the child’s stomach, the doctor teases her by asking, in a high-pitched teasing register, “Any peanut butter and jelly in here?” With a delighted laugh the child responds, “No.” An amusing example of a leaky frame occurs when the doctor says, in the same high-pitched teasing register, “Is your spleen palpable over there?” and the child, reacting not to the words but to how they were spoken, again giggles and laughs, “No.” By referring to the child’s spleen being palpable (the examination frame) in a teasing register (the social encounter frame), the pediatrician’s utter-

ance indicates that the latter frame “leaked” into the former. In this case, the encounter proceeded without disruption, but in other instances a mismatch in knowledge schemas triggers a shift in frames. For example, the mother repeatedly expresses concern that she fears her daughter is not getting enough oxygen because her breathing sounds noisy at night. The mother refers to the sound of her child’s breathing as “wheezing.” In response, the doctor repeatedly reassures her that the noise is not wheezing, which would be evidence of difficulty breathing, but rather a normal symptom of cerebral palsy by which muscle weakness results in “floppy” breathing. In the course of her examination, the physician asks the child to breathe deeply as she listens through a stethoscope. This causes the child’s breathing to take on the sound the mother has been asking about, so she interrupts the examination to observe, “That’s the particular noise she makes when she sleeps.” I use the verb “interrupt” deliberately here, because the doctor abruptly breaks the examination frame in order to turn to the mother and once again reassure her that the noisy breathing is nothing to worry about. (During playback, the doctor noted that in order to avoid such interruptions of her examination, when she sees patients in her private practice rather than the university clinic, she asks the adults accompanying a child to view the examination through a one-way mirror and write down any questions they have to be addressed later.)

Another study that demonstrates the power of a framing approach combined with sociolinguistic microanalysis of interaction is Ribeiro’s (1994) analysis of psychotic discourse. Comparing the intake and outtake interviews of a woman admitted to a psychiatric hospital in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, Ribeiro shows that the woman’s discourse in the intake interview, which appears completely incoherent to a lay observer, can be seen as coherent when viewed through a framing analysis. There are two frames operating in the interaction: In the interview frame, a psychiatrist is asking questions of the patient and the patient fails to answer them. In a psychotic crisis frame, the patient speaks to people who are not present and as people who are not present (and perhaps not alive) or as herself at a different age or in a different context (for example, herself as a child speaking to her

mother or grandmother). The psychotic discourse is incoherent in the interview frame, as the patient jumps from topic to topic, chants and sings, and assumes different voices and footings. But it is coherent within each psychotic frame in turn. Furthermore, the patient makes accurate use of knowledge schemas pertinent to each frame such as the injunction not to make noise in a hospital.

Each of these studies both applies and advances the theoretical concept of framing in sociolinguistic microanalysis of audio- or video-taped interaction.

4.4. Gender and Language

Among the essays by colleagues and students that Gumperz collected in the volume *Language and Social Identity*, the one that has had the most far-reaching influence is Maltz and Borker's (1982) application of Gumperz' IS framework to cross-gender communication. After surveying the findings of research describing differences in ways of speaking that typify boys and men on one hand and girls and women on the other, Maltz and Borker suggest that cross-sex communication can be understood as cross-cultural communication resulting in frequent miscommunication and eventual mutual negative stereotyping. In this view, "American men and women come from different sociolinguistic subcultures, having learned to do different things with words in a conversation, so that when they attempt to carry on conversations with one another, even if both parties are attempting to treat one another as equals, cultural miscommunication results" (200). For example, prior research found that women tend to utter more minimal responses such as "yes," "mhm," and head nods. Maltz and Borker claim that the significant difference is not in the number of minimal responses but rather in the meanings these conversational signals have for men and women. For women, minimal responses signal "I'm listening," whereas for men they signal "I agree," or at least "I follow your argument so far." As a result, a man who receives a steady stream of head nods and "mhm's" may logically conclude that the woman he is talking to is agreeing with everything he has said, whereas she is demonstrating only that she is listening. Conversely, a woman who receives only occasional nods and "mhm's" may understandably conclude that the man she is ad-

ressing is not listening, whereas he is signalling only that he does not agree with everything she has said. This simple difference in use of minimal responses (one might call them contextualization conventions) explains, in part, two common complaints: men's complaint that it is impossible to tell what women really think, and women's complaint that men never listen.

Maltz and Borker's IS approach to cross-gender communication provides the theoretical foundation for Tannen's analysis of conversations between women and men as presented in the essays collected in *Gender and Discourse* as well as her books for general audiences, *You Just Don't Understand* and *Talking from 9 to 5*. In addition to the conceptualization of cross-gender communication as cross-cultural, the notion of framing also elucidates male-female interaction. In the spirit by which IS resists the one-to-one correlation of a particular way of speaking with a single meaning, Tannen (1994b), following Goffman (1977), suggests that ways of speaking that pattern by gender are not sex-linked but rather sex-class linked. "Class" in this sense refers not to the notion of social class but rather to logical types: the class of women and the class of men, as distinguished from any individual woman or man. In other words, to say that a particular stylistic construction or convention is associated with the class of women is not to claim that any individual woman necessarily uses that convention. Tannen argues, moreover, that framing is a way of serving the intertwined interactional goals of negotiating both status and connection. She then contrasts two workplace examples of small talk: one between two men, and another among four women. In the first example, a subordinate (Dan) replies to his boss's (John's) inquiry about his computer with the colloquial complaint, "It sucks." John asks for specifics, then avers that he can fix it in "twenty five seconds." Disbelieving, Dan says, "I challenge you to do it." John responds, in a mock-tough voice that frames his utterance as non-serious, "You are a fool if you think you can challenge me, Mr. Computer!" Soon after, Dan, who knows that John has been suffering from an intestinal ailment, shifts frames and asks, "How are you feeling today, John?" In response, John reports, in some detail, the symptoms of his intestinal distress, then adds, "It made me so glad that there was no girlfriend around, nobody could take care me"

because he hates “being sick and somebody wants to take care of me.” Tannen argues that the interchange about John’s ability to fix Dan’s computer reflects negotiation of relative status: John is reinforcing his position as a superior, and reinforcing Dan’s position as a computer incompetent as well as a subordinate. When he talks about his intestinal ailments, however, John re-establishes rapport with Dan, and cements their solidarity by aligning with Dan man-to-man in opposition to women who annoyingly try to take care of sick men who only want to be left alone. All these elements of the conversation are sex-class linked: John and Dan negotiate and reinforce not only the differences in their status and their relative connection to each other but also their conformity to our culture’s expectations that men talk about computers, demonstrate competence, engage in playful challenges, need no help even when sick, and define themselves in opposition to women.

The conversation among four women also involves workers of varying rank: June, a mail clerk, enters an office in which three other women are engaged in conversation: Tina, the manager of the office and also the daughter of the company’s owner; Heather, who is next in rank under Tina; and Janice, a temporary office worker who was recording the conversation for her own sociolinguistic research. From one point of view the conversation that ensues is classically sex-class linked in that it is focused on clothing and shopping and involves ritualized compliments rather than challenges. After June says “Hi,” Tina calls admiring attention to June’s outfit: “Hey! Ah, we gotta see this getup. Come on in.” Tina compliments, “that’s cute,” and Heather echoes a compliment, “Love that beautiful blouse!” June then explains how she came to wear these clothes and where she bought the blouse. But relative status is revealed and created by this exchange as well. It is Tina’s privilege, as the highest-ranking participant, to invite June into the office and initiate the frame shift from the discussion she had been having with her co-workers to one that involves the mail clerk. The complimenting ritual simultaneously includes June in the interaction (hence creating connection) and also constitutes her subordinate role. Moreover, June and Janice, the two women who have the lowest status, speak in the lowest-key and paralinguistically most subdued manner.

4.5. Involvement strategies: Creating meaning in interaction

Tannen (1989) details a theory of involvement in discourse that is founded on the theoretical tenets and analytic methods of IS. She demonstrates that meaning is communicated and interpreted in ordinary conversation by means of linguistic strategies that have traditionally been thought quintessentially literary such as repetition, dialogue, details, figures of speech, and patterned rhythm. These strategies, which are shaped and elaborated in literary discourse, are pervasive, spontaneous, and deeply functional in everyday conversation. Tannen calls them “involvement strategies” because they draw on and simultaneously create interpersonal involvement. Details and dialogue combine to suggest culturally recognizable scenes (akin to frames) by reference to which utterances are interpreted. Dialogue combines with repetition (including the repetition of prepatterned syntactic and intonational contours) to create rhythms that involve interlocutors in rhythmic ensemble (Scollon 1982; Auer, Couper-Kuhlen, and Muller 1999) much as musicians create ensemble when they play together. Together, the scenic and musical nature of speech, and the emotions they evoke, are the dynamics by which linguistic strategies create meaning and involvement in discourse. Repetition, dialogue, and details are the strategies Tannen explicates in depth. Following Bolinger (1976), Hymes (1981), and Becker (1995), Tannen sees patterned repetitions and contrasts as no less than the means by which speakers not only learn language but also structure language to convey meaning. She illustrates the functions of repetition in the production and comprehension of language as well as in creating cohesion and maintaining interaction (for example, to get or keep the floor, show listenership, stall, persuade, gear up to speak, create humor, and so on). The multiple functions of repetition are illustrated in another segment from the Thanksgiving dinner conversation that provided the excerpt presented in 4.2. In the present example, Peter and Deborah are speaking with Chad, another participant from California. In discussing eating habits, Chad says “I go out a lot”; Deborah echoes, “I go out and eat,” and Peter responds, “You go out?” At the same time that all three align by addressing the topic of eating, they also

create and demonstrate involvement by repeating the phrase, “go out.” (The more common phrase that Deborah might have uttered in a different context is “eat out”). Peter then says, “The trouble with me is if I don’t prepare and eat well, I eat a lot.” This last phrase, “I eat a lot,” combines “a lot” from Chad’s opening statement “I go out a lot” and “eat” from Deborah’s echo, “I go out and eat.” This is just a tiny example of what Tannen illustrates at length: that through repetition discourse is woven from the thread of prior talk. Peter goes on to explain that if he takes the time to prepare himself a nice meal, he eats less than he does if he eats whatever happens to be available. (His actual utterance includes more repetition: “And so if I’m just eating like cheese and crackers, I’ll just stuff myself on cheese and crackers, but if I fix myself something nice, I don’t have to eat that much.” Deborah’s rejoinder and Peter’s response to it evidence complex repetition:

Deborah: Hmm ... Well then it works. Then it’s a good idea.

Peter: It’s a good idea in terms of eating. It’s not a good idea in terms of time.

The bulk of this segment is made up of the repeated words and phrases “then,” “it’s a good idea,” and “in terms of.” Peter highlights the contrast between eating, on the one hand, and time, on the other, by framing the contrasting terms in the repeated set-up sentences “a good idea in terms of.” Furthermore, whereas the message of his response to Deborah’s comment is disagreement (she says it’s a good idea and he is saying it’s not), this potential false note of disagreement is overridden by the meta-message of ratification and involvement in his repetition of her words. That is, Peter ratifies Deborah’s contribution by stating his disagreement in her frame – the words she just spoke. In this way, repetition functions simultaneously on the four levels of production, comprehension, cohesion, and interaction.

Addressing dialogue as an involvement strategy, Tannen suggests that the term “reported speech” is a misnomer. When speakers cast others’ words in dialogue, or (as is more often the case) cast their own thoughts as dialogue spoken by themselves or others,

they are not reporting what in fact occurred but constructing dialogue to communicate in the present. Communicating ideas by constructing dialogue creates involvement through its rhythmic, sonorous effect and by turning story into drama. Listeners then become like members of the audience at a dramatic performance who use their own past experience to interpret the meaning of events portrayed. This active participation in sensemaking contributes to the creation of involvement at the same that it relies on shared experience, or involvement, to provide meaning. Again, a single tiny example can convey what Tannen illustrates with numerous examples. In a lunch conversation, several women are discussing their experiences as mothers of children who are finally old enough to engage in play activities without an adult accompanying them:

DAISY The minute the kids get old enough to do these things themselves,

–that’s when

MARY [“You do it yourself.”

DAISY Yeah that’s when I start to say ...

“Well ... I don’t think I’ll go in the water this time.

Why don’t you kids go on the ferris wheel.

I’ll wave to you.”

Mary provides a line of dialogue, “You do it yourself,” by way of listenership: She speaks as a mother talking to a child in just the constellation Daisy has set up. Then Daisy uses dialogue to instantiate a representative situation, not a literally reported one, as she moves from going “in the water” to going “on the ferris wheel.” These specific instances of activities that children enjoy, but which mothers are just as happy to forego, illustrate the larger point that the mothers are jointly constructing in this conversation. The lines of dialogue are hypothetical, you might say, but by being presented as dialogue, they create a scene that is recognizable to all the women present. Just as constructed dialogue conveys ideas while also creating involvement, so do specific details and the images they construct. For example, in the preceding discussion of repetition, the point of Peter’s utterance was paraphrased by using the general description, “whatever happens to be available.” In the actual discourse, Peter used a specific instance, “cheese and crackers.” You might say the general description is more specifically accurate, since Peter

clearly did not intend to say that cheese and crackers are the only food he might eat when he fails to prepare “something nice.” But the specificity of “cheese and crackers” makes it easier for a listener to visualize a scene of Peter eating too much of something that is not fully nourishing. So although it is literally less accurate, it is more effective in communicating meaning by drawing on and simultaneously creating listeners’ involvement.

These representative studies are only a small number of the vast and ever-growing body of work that uses interactional sociolinguistic theory and method to deepen our understanding of how language works to exchange meaning in interaction as well as the role of language in constituting and negotiating social relationships.

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9. Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis

Diskurs und Konversationsanalyse

1. Introduction
2. Definitions: What is discourse?
3. Approaches to discourse analysis
4. Unity from diversity?
5. Literature (selected)

1. Introduction

The growth of discourse analysis is well attested not only in Linguistics and its sub-field Sociolinguistics, but also within the various disciplines known collectively as the human sciences (e.g. psychology, anthropology, sociology), the communication sciences (e.g. rhetoric, communication), and the humanities (e.g. history, literature). Assuming for a moment that we define discourse as "language above the sentence" (but see 2.0), there are three levels at which the language of discourse can be analyzed. First is discourse as a linguistic text: what qualities and properties distinguish a text from a random set of sentences? Second is how text relates to lower level units: how is discourse (as either monologue or dialogue) related to clauses, sentences, and propositions? Third is discourse as part of other systems: how is discourse embedded within, and partially constitutive of, larger domains of meaning (e.g. psychological, social, cultural, politi-

cal, ideological)? Although linguists analyze discourse at any – or all – of these levels, discourse analysts coming from the disciplines noted above tend to focus primarily on the third level.

The variety of disciplinary contributions to discourse analysis, as well as the three analytical levels, have the positive effect of extending the range of phenomena that can be understood through an understanding of discourse. Yet they also have other consequences that hinder the development of one single, united field of discourse analysis. Not only do they encourage (indeed, demand) attention to multiple sources and types of data, as well as the use of numerous means of analysis, but they preclude the availability – or appropriateness – of focus on a single set of research problems or development of only one discourse theory.

Represented in our recent handbook of discourse analysis (Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton 2001), for example, are a variety of means of collecting data. Although virtually all discourse analysts avoid use of hypothetical utterance sequences, the means of collecting instances of language use include participant observation, accessing on-line corpora (e.g. from the media, of

conversations), taping (audio or video) and transcribing samples of speech situations and speech events (e.g. phone conversations, face-to-face interactions, service encounters, interviews). Likewise, means of analysis are wide ranging, drawing not only from the linguists' standard "toolkit" (analyses of language at phonological, morphological, lexical, semantic, syntactic, pragmatic and textual levels), but also incorporating the use of statistics to compare patterns of co-occurrence (e.g. word collocations) or variation among alternative ways of saying or doing something. Also entering into analysis can be insights based upon in depth fieldwork in (or familiarity with) a specific community, as well as knowledge of social and cultural theory. Research problems addressed by various data and methods include intonation (Couper-Kuhlen 2001), word meaning (Norrick 2001, Schiffrin 2001a), syntactic form (Ward and Birner 2001), information flow (e.g. Chafe 2001), literary pragmatics (Mey 2001), discrimination and racism (van Dijk 2001, Wodak and Reisigl 2001), patient compliance with doctors' instructions (Ainsworth-Vaughn 2001), and cross-cultural/intercultural communication (Scollon and Scollon 2001). Given the breadth of data, methodology, and topic, it should not be surprising to find not an absence – but a multiplicity – of continuously evolving theories about discourse.

This article addresses the diversity within discourse analysis, first, by reviewing several definitions of discourse (2.0), and next, by describing some current approaches to discourse analysis (3.0). The conclusion suggests some general principles broad enough to allow discourse analysts to continue to address a range of problems, take advantage of numerous types of data and draw from a variety of methodologies (4.0).

2. Definitions: What is discourse?

Definitions of discourse both reflect, and help create, the broad analytic focus briefly described above. In their collection of classic papers in discourse analysis, for example, Jaworski and Coupland (1999, 1–3) list 10 definitions, including the following:

1. language above the sentence or above the clause (Stubbs 1983, 1)

2. The study of discourse in the study of any aspect of language use (Fasold 1990, 65)
3. The analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs (Brown and Yule 1983, 1)
4. With the sentence we leave the domain of language as a system of signs and enter into another universe, that of language as an instrument of communication, whose expression is discourse (Beneveniste 1971, 110)
5. Discourse is for me more than *just* language use: it is language use, whether speech or writing, seen as a type of social practice (Fairclough 1992, 28)
6. ... discourse is a means of talking and writing about and acting upon worlds, a means which both constructs and is constructed by a set of social practices within these worlds, and in so doing both reproduces and constructs afresh particular social-discursive practices, constrained or encouraged by more macro movements in the overarching social formation (Candlin 1997, ix).

The definitions above begin with the most language-based view of discourse as a level of linguistic structure (1) and move progressively to more functional views that begin to bypass the question of "level" to focus on language use (2), language as an inherent part of human affairs (3), communication (4), social practice (5), and areas of knowledge and social/institutional practices (6). This progression reflects the distinction proposed by Gee (1999, 17) between discourse and Discourse. Whereas discourse (lower case *d*) is "language-in-use or stretches of language (like conversations or stories)." Discourses (upper case *D*) are "language *plus* 'other stuff':

socially accepted associations among ways of using language, of thinking, valuing, acting, and interacting, in the 'right' places and at the 'right' times with the 'right' objects (associations that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or 'social network')

As noted by Gee (p. 38) himself, however, the broad sweep of interests subsumed by

Discourse overlaps with other equally wide ranging (but not always equivalent) terms: communities of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991), practices (Bourdieu 1977), cultures (Geertz 1973), distributed knowledge (Lave 1988). Indeed linguistic anthropologist Elinor Ochs' (1991) view of discourse as "the set of norms, preferences, and expectations relating language to context, which language users draw on and modify in producing and making sense out of language in context" focuses on language production and comprehension, but locates those capacities firmly within the domain of situated and contextualized cultural knowledge. Yet the fact that Discourse covers some of the same conceptual territory as so broad a term as "culture," for example, raises the specter of the sort of definitional ambiguity that has accompanied theoretical discussion of culture for almost 50 years (see Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952 and Duranti 1997, Chapter 2). As noted at the outset of this section, the wide range of concerns subsumed within discourse analysis both reflect, and encourage, a variety of different analytic approaches. Before summarizing some approaches to discourse analysis in the next section, however, it is important to note the multiple definitions discussed here are by no means unique to discourse analysis. In his two volume reference book on semantics, for example, Lyons (1977) begins by illustrating ten different uses of the word *mean*, and thus an equal number of possible domains of the field of semantics. In his introductory chapter on pragmatics, Levinson (1982, Chapter 1) discusses twelve definitions of the field of pragmatics, including some which could easily cover either discourse analysis or sociolinguistics. Since semantics, pragmatics and discourse all concern language, communication, meaning, and context, perhaps it is not surprising that these three subfields of linguistics are those whose definitions seem to be most fluid and variable.

3. Approaches to discourse analysis

In this section, I briefly review several different approaches to discourse analysis based largely upon their central focus: language and text (3.1), language and the speaker (3.2), language and culture/society (3.3). Each section presumes discourse to be "language" (but see Schiffrin 1994) as both

structural level and communicative resource (as in definitions (1)–(3)). Yet all also draw upon contextual constructs that are not limited to language – the very constructs that are subsumed in Gee's notion of Discourse and represented in definitions (4) through (6). Also noted in each section is the (not surprising) correlation between different foci and the different disciplines that have contributed to discourse analysis (Schiffrin 1994).

3.1. Language and text

Approaches to discourse that began in linguistics were typically motivated by perceived limitations in prior work (e.g. in earlier results, in explanations) and/or by a desire to extend already existent frameworks to new levels of analysis. In a relatively early and little known volume, Gunter (1974) addressed a range of elliptical sentences (e.g. *The man the boy*) whose grammatical ill-formedness could be understood only by viewing them in context (e.g. as an answer to *Who can see whom?*). Gunter (p. 17) went on to suggest that "all isolated sentences, including those that linguists often use as examples in argumentation, have no real existence outside some permissive context, and that study of sentences out of context is the study of oddities at which we have trained ourselves not to boggle" (see also Goffman 1981). Linguists involved in the 1970's split from Chomsky's standard syntactic theory, especially in the field that became known as generative semantics (see Lakoff's (1990) history of this movement), also appealed to the context provided by other sentences as explanations for what seemed to be ungrammatical sentences (i.e. sentences that should not be formally generated by a grammar).

Rather than view the context of other sentences as an antidote for the problems of formal syntax, it was the desire to extend linguistic theory and methodology to a new level that motivated Harris' introduction of the term "discourse analysis" in American linguistics as early as the 1950's. Discourse was conceived as the next level of organization within a hierarchical system of morphemes, clauses and sentences. Its analysis was intended to thus take its place in an overall analysis of the structure of language. Discourse analysis was viewed procedurally as a formal methodology, derived from structural methods of linguistic analysis: a

text was broken down into lower level constituents (identifiable through grammatical analysis) whose relationships with one another reflected (and was reflected by) formal arrangements. Structure was so central to Harris' view that it was the core feature of discourse: what opposes discourse to a random sequence of sentences is precisely the fact that it has a pattern by which segments of the discourse occur (and recur) relative to each other. Yet the only type of structure admissible into analysis was what could be investigated by inspection of the data, i. e. no information about context, speakers, meaning.

Although some of the core features initiated in Harris' approach are still represented in approaches such as text linguistics and corpus linguistics, and in formal analyses of discourse structure, these more recent approaches also recognize a crucial interface with non-structural factors, such as meaning, context, and culture. De Beaugrande (1990, 9), for example, contrasts the early days of text grammars, in which "a set of rules ... 'generated' texts in the technical sense of assigning structural descriptions to them" with more recent developments in which (1) texts need to be studied as part of communicative interactions, (2) texts allow networks not only of grammatical options, but also semantic and pragmatic options, (3) text types need to be studied empirically within cultural and situational contexts. Although the language system itself still determines what items, relations and meanings are assigned to any instance of language in use (de Beaugrande 1990, 13), speaker/hearers' continuously expanding set of experiences with how language is used is not only the source of that knowledge, but also a continual influence upon it. Linguistic competence and performance thus intersect. However, it is still the system itself that provides categories (cf. the more functional perspectives discussed in (3.3); see also Schiffrin 1994, Chapter 2).

Another group of recent linguistic approaches to discourse expand early ideas from Halliday and Hasan (1976) to focus on the contribution of lexical and syntactic options (e. g. what word, what clause structure?) and combinations (what words together? what clauses together?) to the organization and comprehension of texts. Stubbs (1996; 2001), for example, points out that our expectations of what will be

said/read – our knowledge of what is probable and conventional – come only from experience. Crucially, such experience includes other texts that we have already read or heard. One way to discover the intertextual foundation provided by both formal structures, and norms of language use, is to use computer-assisted analyses to locate recurring collocations of words in large corpora. Such analyses reveal how a given text meshes (or clashes) with our expectations by comparing broad trends across large numbers of texts and juxtaposing what occurs in one specific text with what typically occurs in large numbers of different kinds of texts (cf. Coulmas 1981 and Pawley 1991 on formulaic speech). Crucially, recurring clusters of words ("extended lexicosemantic units" (Stubbs 2001, 310)) contribute both to the linguistic stability of text and to the reification of cultural connotations. For example, the dramatic differences in frequency between the collocations *little girl(s)* vs. *small girls(s)* and *little boy(s)* vs. *small boy(s)* (Stubbs 2001, 312–313) can not be explained by lexical, semantic or structural factors: rather, they reflect (and construct) a complex of social and cultural constructs concerning age, gender and (in)equality.

Computer-assisted corpus analyses by Biber (1995) and his colleagues (e. g. Biber and Conrad 2001, Biber and Finegan 1994) go one step further in contributing to our understanding of both the structures of texts and the ways in which they come to communicate social/cultural meanings. Biber and Conrad (2001, 175), for example, point out that analyzing patterns of linguistic (lexical, grammatical) variation complements the analysis of registers (i. e. how texts are associated with specific configurations of situational characteristics and purposes). Corpus analyses thus address not only how registers constrain, and are partially realized by, lexical/syntactic variants, but also how the pragmatic influence of such variants increases when they run counter to a textual norm, hence providing a resource for creativity and individual expression.

We have seen, thus far, how several structural approaches to text end up relating linguistic regularities (or irregularities) to broader domains of meaning and incorporating social constructs into textual analysis. Another branch of inquiry critical to the de-

velopment of linguistic discourse analysis – Labov’s (1972a; 1972b) sociolinguistic analyses of linguistic variation and change both within, and across, language varieties – drew upon structural approaches to language in the service of social and political goals. Yet discourse did not initially enter sociolinguistics as a topic of inquiry in and of itself.

What turned Labov’s attention to discourse was theoretical interest in everyday vernaculars. In order to find out how people speak when they pay minimum attention to speech – in language assumed to be comparable to that acquired in preadolescent years (Labov 1984, 29) – Labov needed to find ways to elicit what he termed “casual” speech. Interest in the vernacular thus led to the development of interview procedures that encouraged different speech genres. One such genre was narrative of personal experience.

Personal narratives ended up providing discourse sites in which to do a great deal more than analyze the vernacular through casual speech. Detailed analyses of the syntactic, textual and functional organization of clauses within narratives helped combat attributions of linguistic inequality and verbal deprivation among African Americans; so too, did Labov’s (1972c; 1972d) study of argumentative structures and verbal play through ritual insults. But the more general recognition of narrative as an example of a bounded discourse unit, with its own internal organization, inspired linguists to ask even more detailed questions about discourse organization and about how language serves as a resource for a multiplicity of social and expressive meanings (Bamberg 1997).

Although the discourse analysis pioneered by Labov was firmly tied to social issues, the methodology remained structural. Comprising a narrative, for example, were smaller units whose identities (e.g. as orientation clauses, complicating action clauses) were based on their linguistic (syntactic, semantic) properties and on their relationships, arrangement and informational role in narrative. Likewise, although narratives were imbued with interpersonal meaning, their formal structure was nevertheless studied independently of the contexts in which they were told (Schegloff 1997; Schiffrin 1997).

Later discourse analyses by Labov went further in blending formal linguistic analy-

sis with social context and background knowledge. In developing the perspective of “Comprehensive Discourse analysis,” for example, Labov and Fanshel (1977) drew upon extensive background knowledge about participants, abstract speech actions, social contexts in order to account for how one person’s contribution follows “sensibly” from another’s. Yet even this “rich” context was combined with a complex hierarchical organization that included mapping rules “clearly derived from the linguistic analysis of phonology and grammar” (p. 350).

This brief review of formal and structural methods of discourse analysis within linguistics suggests three main features. First, analyses of discourse as “text” build upon linguistics: they incorporate theoretical assumptions about the organization of language, they draw upon methods for analyzing “lower levels” of language, and they rely upon knowledge of language structure. Second, despite the generalization just noted (and the overall lack of integration with formal linguistics of the Chomskyan tradition), the specific linguistic methods and models used in text analyses vary tremendously among themselves. Third, linguistic approaches to discourse include non-linguistic information, but they vary in terms of their attention to – and dependence on – social/cultural factors. Whereas some incorporate social constructs into their models and analyses (e.g. Biber, Labov and Fanshel; see also Martin 2001; Polanyi 2001), others maintain an analytically sharper distinction between the linguistic and the social (e.g. de Beaugrande, Labov, Stubbs; see also Dubois and Sankoff 2001).

3.2. Language and meaning

Another set of approaches to discourse (stemming from Philosophy) began with interest in how speakers communicate meaning to a hearer. Whereas some meanings are realized through the performance of “speech acts” (Austin 1962; Searle 1969), others are realized through a certain type of inference called “implicatures” (Grice 1975). The philosophers developing these approaches were interested more in the abstract description of communicative meaning than in how those meanings are actually embedded in connected talk or text. Yet the general ideas proposed about language, meaning and communication, and the specific ideas about

the procedures whereby interlocutors produce and interpret speech acts and implicatures, led other scholars to explore how hearers actually infer speakers' intentions and how those inferences are situated in everyday texts and talk.

Speech act theory was developed by Austin (1962) and connected more explicitly to linguistics by Searle (1969). Austin's seminal observation was that virtually all utterances "do" things: hence, they are acts performed through speech, i.e. speech acts. Although Austin's primary interest was in those acts that could be not only labeled, but more critically, *performed* through verbs such as *promise*, *request*, *warn*, *declare*, *state*, *conclude* and *bet*, he also made quite clear that such acts have to be studied in the total speech situation (pp. 52, 148): "the words used are to some extent to be 'explained' by the 'context' in which they are designed to be or have actually been spoken in a linguistic interchange" (p. 100).

Searle's theoretical development of Austin's framework continued to presume that speech acts operated at the level of sentence-sized utterances. Yet several parts of Searle's theory implied the need to incorporate speech acts into discourse. First, Searle proposed that "the speech act is the basic unit of communication" (Searle 1969, 12), thus placing speech acts at the very crux not only of the study of language and meaning, but also communication (an inherently dialogic enterprise). Second, Searle argued that what enables the realization of speech acts is a set of conditions (and comparable rules) that specify not only some relatively simple baseline linguistic parameters (e.g. reference, tense), but also situational (e.g. background circumstances, assumed knowledge) and psychological (e.g. beliefs, intentions) parameters. Searle's (1979) taxonomy further outlined conditions/rules for several speech acts that specified textual conditions/rules (e.g. the act *conclude* presupposes a prior text).

The two connections between Searle's speech act theory and discourse noted thus far were important, but not central, to speech act theory. But a third connection had more profound implications. Both Austin and Searle recognized that it is not only utterances with performative verbs that count as speech acts: rather, a great variety of utterances can count as a particular act. The loosening of a purely lin-

guistic requirement for an utterance to count as a speech act meant a greater reliance on context. And context, in turn, allowed a variety of conditions/rules – background knowledge, social situation, and prior text – to play a crucial role in the production and recognition of a speaker's communicative intention. Since the conditions and rules so central to the realization and recognition of speech act could be satisfied either within the particular utterance intended as a speech act, or through broadly construed features of text and/or context, the analysis of speech acts was gradually transformed from an exercise in formulating the abstract conditions by which we produce and interpret single utterances to discovery of the actual procedures (including the use of implicatures, see below) through which we formulate and embed utterances within interactively developed sequences in texts or talk.

Like speech act theory, a perspective known as Gricean pragmatics has influenced discourse analysis through an interest in how speakers communicate meaning to a hearer. Rather than propose that what is central to communication is a set of labeled acts whose realization is variously dependent on language, however, Grice (1975) proposed a set of principles about communication and cooperation through which speakers convey their intentions and hearers recognize speakers' intentions. The principles (known collectively as "The Cooperative Principle") are broken down into four specific maxims (quantity, quality, relation, manner) that derive from the fact that talking is "a special case or variety of purposive, indeed rational, behavior" (Grice 1975, 47). A speaker can orient him/herself to a maxim in three ways: follow it in a straightforward way, violate it because of a clash with another maxim, flout it for some other reason. A hearer can then use the maxims to calculate a special kind of inference (an implicature) about what the speaker means to communicate.

The Cooperative Principle was formulated in a loose enough way to allow it to operate upon a variety of different levels of meaning. For example, the use of a single word can have an implicature associated with it: the quantifier *some* implicates (through a straightforward application of the quantity maxim) that the universal quantifier *all* is not appropriate. Thus, if one

says *Sue ate some cookies*, we may rightfully infer that *Sue ate all the cookies* is not true. Implicatures can also arise from utterances. For example, a speaker can use a wide range of utterances (e.g. *Can you pass the salt?*, *Is there any salt?*, *This food is bland*, *Are we on a low sodium diet tonight?*) to implicate the underlying speech act: a request that the hearer “pass the salt.” Even a text can lead to an implicature: a letter from a university professor about a student who has applied for an academic position, but mentions only qualities such as handwriting, punctuality, and neatness, for example, would implicate that the student is not well qualified for the position (Grice 1975, 52).

The range of linguistic levels at which implicatures can be generated is important: it shows the pervasiveness of the communication of inferrable meanings in our everyday discourse. But the word → text range also makes another point. Some implicatures are widely available: the implicature of *some*, for example, is independent of text or context. However, as I have implicated above through my own use of *some* (rather than *all*) at the beginning of the previous sentence (i.e. *some implicatures*), not all implicatures are context-free: implicatures can also be so tightly associated with particular contexts that they are likely to arise only with interlocutors’ knowledge of participant identities, goals, norms, and situations. Given particular participant identities and norms of behavior, for example, a request to “pass the salt” can arise not only from the utterances noted above, but also from a very minimum vocalization (*hmm*, while eating) or behavior (a glance around the table). Despite the strikingly different impact of context on implicatures, one defining feature of implicatures is constant: they can be cancelled. Just as I can cancel the implicature of *some* (if I say *Sue ate some cookies*, in fact *she ate them all!*), so too, a *hmm* at the dinner table may have little to do with salt. Likewise, if we suddenly find out that the professor’s recommendation letter was for a position in which handwriting, punctuality, and neatness were important, then the implicature that the applicant was not qualified would not arise.

The two philosophical frameworks just reviewed present a sharp contrast with the linguistic approaches reviewed in (3.1). Rather than begin with language, and continue to incorporate linguistic theory and

methodology into discourse analysis, the philosophical approaches begin with ideas about what people know and how their knowledge allows language production and interpretation. Yet both speech act theory and Gricean pragmatics have had profound impacts on discourse analysis, as well as on linguistics itself. One impact has to do with the notion of discourse as a purely linguistic construct, e.g. a level of language above the sentence. We saw that even linguists whose primary expertise and interest is language itself appeal to a variety of other factors (e.g. experience, social meaning) to account for regularities of structure. What the philosophical frameworks reviewed add to this is a concern with structures of knowledge, including both the relatively stable systems of speech act rules and the largely heuristic maxims of the Cooperative Principle, that contribute to the meanings that interlocutors can communicate and recognize. The next set of approaches to be reviewed turn attention in a different direction: we move away from abstract formulation of hypotheses about meaning and communication to detailed observations about the negotiation of meanings between interacting interlocutors in continuously evolving contexts.

3.3. Language, society and culture

Approaches to discourse stemming from anthropology and sociology focus largely on language in relation to other systems of meaning and organization. Although they vary in theoretical emphasis and methodological detail, they all share three features. First, they rely upon categories that are empirically derived: it is analysis of what participants in an interaction “do” that provides the units of analysis. Second, they view language as inherently situated in the situations and practices in and through which it is manifested; likewise, both linguistic and sociocultural knowledge are open to continuous reformulation. Third, they challenge the more formalist assumption that language operates as a discrete, autonomous system.

The approach developed by Dell Hymes (1972a; 1972b; 1974), known as the ethnography of communication, begins with the assumption that how we organize and conduct our lives through language is part of our more general ways of being and doing. This assumption affects the scope of

linguistic competence: in addition to knowing the abstract rules of a language system per se, we know what counts as appropriate use of language for “us” (as members of a specific community) across a wide variety of situations.

The shift from *linguistic* to *communicative* competence also shifts the focus of linguistics from a relatively abstract focus on linguistic (and mental) universals to a more concrete focus on communicative (social and cultural) diversity. The potential range of diversity based on socio/cultural relativity is wide: specific language functions may have markedly different structural realizations; both structural and functional types may be differently distributed across identities, settings, and situations. Likewise, even units of linguistic analysis may be socially and culturally relative: thus rather than be uniformly preconceived by the analyst, they, too, need to be discovered by close observation and analysis of social and cultural practices. The social, cultural and linguistic are thus inextricably intertwined: rather than add social and cultural meaning/knowledge to linguistic meaning/knowledge (cf. 3.1), linguistic knowledge is deeply embedded within the particular frameworks by which we make sense out of experience, just as our experience itself is often constituted by language.

Research by John Gumperz, a linguistic anthropologist, and Erving Goffman, a sociologist, has meshed into what has become known as interactional sociolinguistics (see Tannen, this volume). Gumperz’ approach (e.g. 1982) is concerned with the emergence of different types and levels of meaning in face-to-face interaction. In addition to speech acts and propositional meaning (3.2) is a wide range of social meanings (at both interpersonal and structural levels). Interactional sociolinguistics focuses on how meanings emerge, are managed, and are negotiated through a variety of devices, processes and strategies that pervade interaction. Included among the devices are contextualization cues: features of language (or other expressive modalities) often thought of as “marginal” to the communication of referential meaning (e.g. prosody, paralanguage, facial expression). Such cues frame the meaning of what is said by providing information (a meta-message) (Tannen 1984) about the speaker’s contextual presuppositions, i.e. the speaker is defining the con-

text(s) in which utterances are produced and interpreted. By indexing contexts that are salient for the speaker – contexts ranging from situations and settings, to relationship and affect – contextualization cues work along with semantic meanings to provide a contextually rich interpretation of the meaning of utterances.

The sociological framework associated with Erving Goffman built upon the theories of several early sociological theorists (e.g. Emile Durkheim, Georg Simmel) concerned with the material and symbolic organization of society, as well as those of social psychologists (e.g. George Herbert Mead) on the development of self and identity. Goffman (1957; 1967; 1971; 1974; 1981), extended these earlier theories to pursue his interest in a domain of social life – face-to-face interaction in everyday life – whose organization had gone largely unnoticed. The unique focus of Goffman’s scholarship was to locate the relation between self (our sense of who we are) and society at a microlevel of analysis, that is, within the everyday situations, encounters, interactions, and activities in which we routinely engage. Goffman’s work revealed how our use of certain mannerisms, styles and behaviors (both verbal and nonverbal), as well as the organization of social establishments and institutions provide crucial resources through which we express who we are, who we think our interactants are, and maintain the social interactions through which we continuously manage and adjust self, other and self/other relationships.

Although the work of Gumperz and Goffman stem from different initial foci – the former on language and culture, the latter, on self and society – there are important connections between their work that provide a foundation for interactional approaches to discourse. Goffman’s work focused attention on the interactional order underlying social occasions, situations, and encounters. Knowledge of this organization can lead to analysis of the socially constituted moves (cf. speech acts (3.2)) that help create a sense of reality in a particular interaction and a set of expectations about what will come next. These expectations are comparable to Gumperz’ contextual presuppositions, and are thus critical to the way situated inferences are drawn from contextualization cues. Thus, richly textured analyses of interactions (Goffman) contribute

to our understanding of how we use contextualization cues (Gumpertz) to draw situated inferences about what others say, mean, and do.

Still another strand of research, developed in sociology by Harvey Sacks (see the collection of his early 1970's lectures, 1992) and Emanuel Schegloff (1972), is known as conversation analysis (CA). Like the ethnography of communication, CA is concerned with how knowledge is manifested in everyday practices. It also joins both ethnographic and interactional approaches in its concern with the creation and maintenance of social organization and order, how language both creates and is created by social contexts, and its belief that no detail of conversation (or interaction) can be neglected *a priori* as unimportant. But CA also provides its own assumptions, methodology, terminology and way of theorizing (see Schiffrin, 1994) that have been partially adapted by those interested in linguistic pragmatics (e.g. Levinson 1982, Chapter 6).

Analyses of discourse that view language through the interrelated lenses of society and culture illustrate some of the key beliefs of a functional perspective on language. As outlined by Hymes (1974), for example, a functional approach places analysis of language use prior to analysis of code. This prioritization imbues both method and theory: ethnographic, interactional and conversation analytic methods of analysis reveal patterns of language use; the organization of usage then impacts upon linguistic theory by disclosing features of language and the organization of relations among them.

The intertwining of language with still other levels of social and cultural meaning is the domain of two perspectives that are broadly interdisciplinary: critical discourse analysis (CDA) and mediated discourse analysis (MDA). Rather than provide a specific approach to discourse, CDA offers a perspective that may be applied alongside any or all of the approaches discussed. The primary analytical focus of CDA is the way social power, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted in texts ranging from news reports, political addresses and institutional mandates to everyday conversations. Discourse is viewed not only as a text, then, but also as a historically and ideologically constructed form of action that helps to constitute society and culture

(van Dijk 2001; Fairclough and Wodak 1997).

Like CDA, MDA recognizes that social problems are inextricably linked to texts. But one of the main differences is that the central site of analysis for MDA is the notion of "action" itself: MDA begins with the social action and turns to the analysis of language only when language can be understood to be a significant part of the actions under analysis (Scollon, in press). Thus the central methodological problem to be solved is not how to analyze a text, but how to analyze a social action. By focusing attention on the dialectical tension between systems of representation (e.g. texts, images) and action, the outcome of an MDA analysis can contribute to our understanding of language, and, reveal how the broad discourses of our social life are mutually constitutive with the moment-by-moment social actions of social actors in a wide variety of social activities.

The social and cultural frameworks just reviewed do not abandon the interests of the linguistic interest in text and philosophical interest in meaning. But by embedding texts and speakers' meaning in society and culture, they highlight the social and cultural practices through which texts and meanings are constructed and interpreted. And depending upon the degree to which such practices are highlighted, language can come to seem less and less autonomous from the other systems of knowledge and action within which meanings arise. Thus discourse itself can come to include the broader systems of meaning (cf. Discourse) within which language per se resides.

4. Unity from diversity?

Previous sections have reviewed definitions of discourse and the various starting points of different approaches to discourse – approaches that are embedded in larger frameworks of assumptions about language, and its relationship to speakers, communication, society and culture. Given this diversity, it is not surprising to find that it is difficult to identify a single discourse theory: one set of principles linking form, meaning and use across sentences, predicting coherent vs. non-coherent sequences, delineating the factors that contextualize forms and their communicative meanings. Rather, the numerous definitions of discourse, methodologies for studying discourse, and research agendas

pertaining to discourse suggest that trying to formulate a single theory would be inappropriate to the broad range of interests now flourishing in discourse analysis.

The preclusion of a single theory, however, does not mean that we cannot find some general principles shared by different approaches to discourse analysis (Schiffrin 1994, Chapter 12). First, despite a general agreement that discourse can be placed in a size-based hierarchy of units (that are at least partially linguistic units), both discourse and its analysis differ sharply from lower level units (and their analysis) such as sounds and forms. Whereas definitions of phonology and syntax are both relatively straightforward – and many analyses are confined with the domain of “language” *per se* – this is almost never the case for discourse. Similarly, although we may conceive of a grammar (within which both sounds and sentences are organized) as an internal mental construction, discourse is neither internal nor the property of one person. Discourse is inherently dialogic and interactive: its meanings and forms emerge through collaboration and negotiation between interlocutors.

Second, attempts to study what Hockett (1958) called the design features of language should include consideration of the communicative design of language and the features critical to communication (cf. Goffman 1981). Whereas sounds and forms may very well be organized as a metric through which to present information, discourse is designed not only for referential goals, but also to allow interlocutors to accomplish a variety of social, expressive, and interactional goals. Included among these goals are the presentation of self and other, the management and exchange of turns at talk, the mitigation and aggravation of intention, and the accomplishment of social actions. An outcome of this functional heterogeneity of discourse is the need to recognize the possible relevance of multiple units of analysis (e. g. clauses, sentences, propositions, intonation units, actions, adjacency pairs) that can be variously combined with one another (e. g. a turn at talk may comprise part of a sentence or several sentences) and arranged in patterns that can be managed by more than one person (e. g. interlocutors embed units within another in complex hierarchies, loop back to reopen a previously closed unit, surge ahead to anticipate a new unit).

Third is the conviction that theory and data are inseparable and mutually enriching. Although theoretical insights are needed to move the analysis of discourse beyond instance-specific insights, analysis must be grounded in actual instances of language use in order to provide both realistic constraints on, and empirical bases for, theory-building. Likewise, our notion of theory has to adapt to the challenge of incorporating empirically grounded theories of language use, social context, social practice, and so on, into its very basic “principles” and “parameters”.

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10. The Social Psychology of Language/Sozialpsychologie der Sprache

1. Introduction
2. Birth of a discipline and its formative years
3. Coming of age
4. Branching out
5. Conclusion
6. Literature (selected)

1. Introduction

The social psychology of language (SPL) is a unique subdiscipline in the language and communication sciences. This perspective characterizes language behaviors as determined, in large part, by the ways in which speakers and listeners construe themselves, and by how they jointly negotiate their understandings of the (sometimes changing) situations they believe they are in (Clark/

Wilkes-Gibbs 1986). More precisely, it examines how individuals are actively concerned with creating their own (as well as others') sociopsychological reality – and the use of language as a means of fashioning and controlling this.

Originally using theories that were generally affect-based with a focus on the speaker, researchers analyzed the use of communication techniques to manage and strengthen interpersonal relationships. Recently, models tend to be more cognitive than functional in approach and, instead of focusing upon precise linguistic details, they address a broader range of perceived and actual language behaviors as well as the interdependencies of speakers and hearers (through the analysis of moves and counter moves that

characterize social interaction). Approaches now increasingly emphasize the importance of social identities and recognize the competing salience of group membership and personal identity for social actors.

From its empirical beginnings, arguably, in the 1960s (although concerns for language issues in social psychology go way back earlier that century, see Farr 1980), the field has now expanded into a fully-fledged specialty. Indeed, it is recognized as such in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (Giles 1985), alongside such fields of study as the sociology of language and sociolinguistics. In its early days, the focus was on description, particularly with regard to how social markers of situation and social identities are reflected in language use (see, for example, Scherer/Giles 1979, and Smith 1983 for a taxonomy of the nature of studies conducted till then). More recently, there has been a shift not only to explanation and prediction, but in how language (in more processual ways) can shape and redefine sociopsychological constructs in the first place. A period of “re-constructionism” (see, for example, Potter/Wetherell 1987) may well have mediated as well as spurred this shift, although it was one that was already latent anyway (Giles/Hewstone 1982).

Consideration of any number of aspects illustrates how the field has grown in breadth and stature over the last twenty years (in particular). In this chapter, we will examine the background and development of the intersection of language and social psychology, together with a discussion of the current and emergent trends within it. As the reader will appreciate, this is, necessarily, a concise (and maybe biased) overview of the discipline with just a few topics highlighted. We do not wish to imply that these are the only significant areas of interest, nor necessarily the most salient. Yet by these means, we trust they may stimulate some readers to delve further into the enormity of issues and theories that, currently, come under its aegis.

2. Birth of a discipline and its formative years

Research in the field originated when a number of social psychologists began exploring topics across a wide range of issues at the intersect of language and social behavior. Independent of one another, they produced various distinctive approaches to ex-

plaining sociolinguistic and communicative phenomena. As a prime example, Brown/Gilman’s (1960) seminal work on the relationships between language and social status showed that a person’s choice of pronouns and forms of address are dependent on the perceived rank of the interactant. In that same era, and while forging socially significant inroads into our understanding of the roles of attitudes and motivation in second language learning (see subsequently, Gardner/Lambert 1972), Lambert devised the “matched guise technique” in an effort to explore the attitudes people possess about those who speak in particular ways. His initial study, investigating how French- and English-Canadians evaluated speakers of various forms of French and English, was so empirically influential that it prompted a theoretical critique by Tajfel (1959) the year before Lambert and colleagues’ (1960) study actually appeared in print!

No less significant, and having its empirical origins, at least in part, in the study of the British class system, came the first real SPL text. In 1972, as a means of integrating research interests at the time, Robinson’s *Language and Social Behavior* introduced some distinctive elements into the study of language, including his elaborated taxonomy of their social functions. Interestingly, and apart from a few books which covered selected topics (e.g., St. Clair/Giles 1980, Giles/Coupland, 1991), it was to be over 20 years before we saw the advent of other comprehensive texts (Clark 1996, Holtgraves 2002).

The identification of a more cohesive perspective triggered, especially in Europe, a sudden array of edited books (e.g., Fraser/Scherer 1982, Markova 1978) and journal issues from sociopsychological perspectives. Ultimately, this led to the inauguration of the 1st. International Conference on Language and Social Psychology at Bristol, England, in 1979, and the publication of the *Journal of Language and Social Psychology (JLSP)* in 1982. The response to such activity was eminently successful. After three further conferences at Bristol, the convention series continues to flourish, with others having been held in the USA, Australia, Canada, and, most recently, Wales (2000). This enterprise has spawned about 20 edited books and journal special issues (e.g., Gallois/Pittam 1995 on “natural language texts,” and see Robinson 1998, 299, for a complete listing of these products), and yet more have

emerged from other psychological forums (e.g., Giles 1996). A community spirit (which welcomed, and realized, the participation of sociolinguists in keynote and other prominent roles), together with the need to ensure that this event as well as the attending momentum were not lost, were responsible for establishing an International Association for the Study of Language and Social Psychology (Ottawa 1997), with W. Peter Robinson as its inaugural President. Furthermore, the current Executive Committee includes a number of sociolinguists, a valued development that reflects well the Association's respect for embracing scholars from this discipline to forge further links between us.

Interest in the field also prompted the first edition of the *Handbook of Language and Social Psychology* (Giles/Robinson 1990) that was transformed into a paperback edition three years later. And ten years further on, the accumulated research activity has been so great, diverse, and theoretically-innovative that it has necessitated the publication of a second, and even larger, edition, *The New Handbook ...* (Robinson/Giles 2001). Obviously, interested readers are directed toward this book as a major resource for understanding the ever-proliferating activities of social psychologists from a wide range of traditions.

3. Coming of age

The initial research focus on the relationships between language and social status and bilingualism (Lambert 1967) established lines of research that dominated the field and continues to inspire work today. In the former case, and although work continues examining status relations as indicated by Palmer/Lach/Lynch's (1995) work on airliner cockpit conversations, research and theory has focused more on issues of social power (as we shall see later). Following on from the latter case, a fair proportion of SPL research and theory is concerned with understanding individual levels of proficiency in a second language (Gardner 1985). And, in feedback, how these sociolinguistic outcomes fuel learners' sense of social identity, self-worth, and so forth. Lambert, and succeeding generations of his Canadian students, have made the study of bilingualism a cornerstone of the subdiscipline (Reynolds 1991). Interestingly, this perspective, too,

has been an integral element of a distinctive Canadian social psychology (Gardner/Kalin 1981).

Over the decades, many influential centers of research activity, often with their own theoretical and ideological slants, have emerged in addition to those already highlighted. Schools of thought in Norway (Rommetveit 1974, Rommetveit/Blakar 1979), Germany (e.g., Graumann/Herrmann 1988, Herrmann 1983), The Netherlands (e.g., Semin 1995, 1998), and Australasia (e.g., Gallois/Callan 1997, Reid/Ng 1999) have, alongside those in the United States at Stanford (e.g., Clark 1996) and in New York (e.g., Higgins 1992, Higgins/Rholes 1978, Fussell/Krauss 1992), made tremendous strides in linking sociopsychological forces with those of memory and psycholinguistics (see also, Hilton 1990, Schwarz 1996). Indeed, in securing publication of their work in stellar psychological journals (e.g., Glucksberg/Keysar 1990, Krauss/Chen/Chawla 1996, Maass/Salvi/Arcuri/Semin 1989, Wigboldus/Semin/Spears 2000), these social cognitivists have shown how fundamental sociopsychological constructs, such as explanations and stereotypes, find their social meanings through language use.

In Britain, more recently, the so-called school of "discursive psychology" at Loughborough and Oxford has had a tremendous influence in elucidating how language is used for social action (e.g., Edwards 1997, Edwards/Potter 1992, Harré/Stearns 1995), and the ways the mind and emotion are socially constructed through discourse (see also Antaki 1994, Verkuyten 1994 with respect to accounting). Also at Loughborough, the school of rhetorical psychology (Billig 1987) has explored how attitudes function, not simply as evaluative positions, but as stances in developing arguments (Verkuyten 1998). Indeed, Loughborough has had a provocative impact on the nature of social psychology being conducted in the United Kingdom.

While the 1970s and 80s were dominated, methodologically, by experiments and surveys, the 90s have paved the way to finding qualitative analyses a regular diet in, say, the JLSP (e.g., Williams/Coupland/Folwell/Sparks 1997, Schwebel 1997), particularly as they relate to issues of identity (e.g., Smith 1991, Tracy/Carjuzaa 1993) and racism (e.g., Buttny 1999; Louw-Potgeier 1991, Nairn/McCreanor 1991; Verkuyten/de Jong/ Mass-

on 1994), much of the latter outside North America. Many other social psychologists of language have moved away from studying language, paralanguage, and nonverbal-visual communication as *separate* systems – to examining how they are coordinated (e.g., Bavelas/Chovil 2000, Beattie 1983, Beattie/Shovelton 1999, Crown 1991). Moving out of the early “methodological tunnel” (as Robinson 1998 called it) has been an enriching experience that has engendered some interesting debate (e.g., Potter/Wetherell 1995).

These “schools” (let alone identifiable subsets of them) vary in the extent to which they build upon, or refer to, each other’s contributions. In some instances, given the apparent epistemological divides, it is understandable (albeit disappointing) that little cross-referencing is apparent while, in other perhaps more related schools, such lapses are less excusable. Indeed, the very diversity of approaches now propounded not only makes any integrative statement of them an enormous intellectual challenge, but the emergence of any grand overarching theoretical model for SPL exceedingly unlikely. That said, influential theories of nonverbal behavior, such as expectancy violations (Burgoon 1995) and nonverbal exchange (Patterson 1983) have continued to be developed – and still guide much important research.

4. Branching Out

The foregoing attests to the fervent activity that has become a hallmark of SPL. However, and with only a few exceptions (e.g., Vaughan/Hogg 1995), mainstream texts of social psychology have not offered chapters on language and communication (Kroger/Wood 1992). Nonetheless, the influential *Handbook of Social Psychology* has consistently accorded due attention to such matters (see, for example, Clark 1985, Krauss/Chiu 1998, Krauss/Fussell 1996), and these are important sources to digest.

Historically, it should also be noted that although we have harkened after the distinctive nature of SPL, its boundaries are not, fortunately, hard and fast (Rommetveit 1993). Cross-fertilization between scholars affiliated to social psychology and communication programs makes it sometimes difficult to disentangle which entity is which; a process that has caused “political” concern in some academic institutions. Al-

though less evident, the interfacing and attempted rapprochements between social psychologists and sociolinguists (e.g., Coupland/Coupland/Giles 1991, Milroy/Preston 1999) on the one hand, and social psychologists and conversational analysts (Roger/Bull 1988) on the other, make these disciplinary boundaries excitingly permeable (see also, Forrester 1999). In this vein, it should not go unnoticed that the first volume in the Blackwell (sociolinguistics) Series on “language and society” was a sociopsychological treatise (Giles/St. Clair 1979).

More recently, SPL has afforded significant empirical attention to examining constituent processes of a major sociolinguistic theory of facework (e.g., Holtgraves 2002, ch. 3, Dillard/Wilson/Tusing/Kinney 1997, Okamoto/Robinson 1997, Wood/Kroger 1991), namely, politeness theory (Brown/Levinson 1987). The language of self-presentation (e.g., Schutz/Baumeister 1999) and the impact of social influence goals (Tusing/Dillard 2000, Wilson/Kunkel 2000) on language behaviors have, in tandem, been studied, with the caveat that goals and discourse can be really quite interconnected (Tracy/Coupland 1990). In their turn, sociolinguists (e.g., Coupland 1995, Meyerhoff 1998, 2001, Trudgill 1986) have also invoked tenets of communication accommodation theory to good interpretive effect. This major sociopsychological theory (Giles/Coupland/Coupland 1991) still attracts widespread empirical investigation across very different language boundaries (e.g., Lawson-Sako/Sachdev 1996, Tong/Hong/Lee/Chiu 1999), and its sociolinguistic parameters continue to be developed and refined (Jones/Gallois/Callan/Barker 1999).

As exemplified in processes of accommodation, much theorizing in SPL has concerned itself with understanding how we adjust our language features and styles to each other. Among others, this is manifest in theories of perspective-taking (Krauss/Fussell 1991, Schober/Clark 1989), interpersonal adaptation (Burgoon/Stern/Dillman 1995), and language expectancy theories (Burgoon/Miller 1985), each of which pinpoints different, yet critical, cognitive, affective, and motivational mechanisms. Another common concern of SPL is a focus on the power of language (Ng 1995, Ng/Bradac 1993). In other words, the ways that individuals influence and manipulate each other through the use (usually premeditated) of carefully

selected words and phrases to achieve their own agenda. Growing attention to the so-called linguistic category model (e.g., Semin/Fiedler 1991, Wigboldus/Semin/Spaars 2000) which defines the ways in which, for example, individuals use abstract and generalized language forms when talking about positive acts of their ingroup and negative acts of a relevant outgroup (but concrete and specific language when talking about the converse) is an incisive framework for understanding such processes. The proliferation of theory on deceptive language (e.g., Burgoon 1994), lies (e.g., Ekman 1985, Robinson 1996), and equivocation (e.g., Bavelas/Black/Chovil/Mullett 1990, Hamilton 1998) are compelling others.

Power is inherent to social life and the general principle that conversational behavior is sensitive to power hierarchies has considerable significance. To increase our understanding of this, some scholars have focused on the power *behind* language: situations where a person's status is relevant to the use of language in the creation of social influence and negotiation (Gibbons/Bradac/Busch 1992). For example, people in authority such as lawyers (Conley/O'Barr 1998) and physicians (Street 1992) wield enormous power over people's lives and property as do other authority figures (Molloy/Giles 2002). Relatedly, construing language in intergroup terms (be it via gender, ethnicity, occupation, etc.) has grown exponentially in recent years (Clément 1996, Giles/Coupland 1991, Pittam 1994), and particularly as it relates to the process of social stereotyping (e.g., Henwood/Giles/Coupland/Coupland 1993, Maass/Arcuri 1996). In parallel with important research on the language (and dialectics) of personal relationships that now takes due cognizance of institutional forces (e.g., Baxter/Montgomery 1996), this intergroup work has become increasingly sensitive to the intricacies of perception of the sociostructural climates in which groups are in contact (e.g., Bourhis/Moiese/Perreault/Senecal 1997, Harwood/Giles/Bourhis 1994). One of the intergroup situations that has been avidly pursued recently is that of language and intergenerational contexts (for overview, see Williams/Nussbaum 2000) and there are clear signs that scholars are becoming more attuned to the need to conceptualize language, communication, and social relations in lifespan terms (Giles 1999).

We cannot talk of intergroup, or even relational, language without acknowledging the "heat" associated with identities that are all-too-often conflictual. Alongside the above has been a growing interest in associations between language and affect, be it in terms of emotive talk (Planalp 1999, 2002) or the ways in which interlocutors manage their feelings and emotional expressions (see Gallois 1993, 1995, Anderson/Leaper 1998). This has also led to an acute quest for understanding the diversity of forms of harmful speech (Leets/Giles 1999), ways in which language can contribute to forms of abuse (Coates 1997, Henley/Miller/Beazley 1995), and how talk about it is managed in discourse (e.g., Anderson 1999).

5. Conclusion

As the foregoing outlines, SPL has had, to date, a vibrant career. Besides developing a plethora of new theoretical frameworks for miscommunication, patronizing language, and confronting "new" language forms such as gossip and story-telling (see chapters in Robinson/Giles 2001), SPL has begun to embrace applied issues, especially as they relate to health (Fitzpatrick/Edgar/Friemuth 1993), professional caring (Hummert/Ryan 1996), social injustice (Taylor 2002), televised politics (e.g., Bull/Elliott/Palmer/Walker 1996), and bilingual education (e.g., Wright/Taylor/Macarthur 2000), to name but a few. As well as showing signs of timely theoretical interest in the influence of media representations (e.g., Harwood 2000, Weatherall 1996), cultural value systems (Ng/Loong/He/Liu/Weatherall 2000), and new communication technologies (Walther 1996), old stalwart areas such as language attitudes (e.g., Ryan/Giles/Bradac 1994, Cargile/Giles 1997) and the study of interruptions and simultaneous speech (e.g., Crown/Cummins 1998, Hawkins 1991, Reid/Ng 2000) continue to enjoy innovations.

Moreover, it is refreshing to see sociopsychological analyses allied to, and grounded in, specific and historic sociopolitical events and the accounts of same (e.g., Beattie/Doherty 1995, Verkuyten 1994). Assuming we will not bifurcate into different ideological camps of neo-positivism and social constructionism – a danger not gone unheeded on many occasions at conventions and in print (Robinson 1998) – all these exciting developments will continue to flourish and, in eman-

cupatory fashion, infuse each other. Indeed, the current appeal to multiple perspectives of knowing is a healthy sign (Wilson/Paulson/Putnam 2001). We are looking forward to the day when we have an SPL text that draws equally on the work of discursive psychologists as well as the findings of experimental social psychologists of language. Given that we are making significant advances in formulating the ways in which sociopsychological constructs are not merely social cognitive entities, but are also crucially shaped by language (for example, in the making, sustaining and dissolving of relationships through (performative) talk, see Duck 1994) suggests to us that language and communication will be resurrected to mainstream status as manifest in standard social psychology texts in the not-too-distant future.

In recent years, social psychologists have joined arms with sociolinguists to theoretically-good effect with regard to such areas as problematic talk (Coupland/Giles/Wiemann 1991) and ageing (e.g., Coupland 1997), and they continue to contribute to major sociolinguistic outlets (e.g., Lawson/Sachdev 2000). If our prognosis about the impact of SPL on social psychology is anywhere near correct, then we predict that the former will be even more robust in the first decade of the new millennium. The fact that this *Handbook* embraces a contribution such as this chapter – and that social psychologists are hired in Applied Linguistic institutions (see Sachdev/Wright 1996) – underscores the goodwill which abounds that can only lead to more interdisciplinary work that will ultimately benefit both SPL and sociolinguistics.

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11. Anthropological Linguistics and the Ethnography of Speaking Anthropologische Linguistik und Ethnographie des Sprechens

1. Scope and goals
2. Basic concepts and issues
3. Rules and expectations
4. Methodological approaches
5. Descriptive and analytic procedures
6. Research studies and applications
7. Literature (selected)

1. Scope and goals

Anthropological linguistics as an identifiable sub-branch of anthropology dates back over a century to research which focused on the linguistic codes of primarily colonized/conquered populations of both hemispheres, treating their languages as components of their cultures to be described as well as media through which other components of culture could be accessed and interpreted. This tradition of scholarship was most notably established in relation to Native American languages by John Wesley Powell (1880), Franz Boas (1911), and others working with the Bureau of American Ethnography, but it has earlier roots in collection and analysis of language samples by explorers, soldiers, and missionaries. While early data collection typically involved transcription of static linguistic structures and texts, accompanying reports often included observations which are relevant to the understanding of more dynamic patterns and processes of communication.

The distinction between anthropological linguistics and linguistic anthropology is often blurred, but the former has generally focused on study of linguistic systems as they relate to their social and cultural contexts of use, while the latter has generally been more concerned with analysis of language forms and use in the service of enlightening such topics of general anthropological interest as human origins, social evolution, culture contact and spread, and social issues affecting health, education, and welfare of the world's peoples (topics listed by Ben Blount in his preface to the first issue of the *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 1991; see Duranti 1997; Foley 1997). No clear distinction in scope and goals can be made, however: both fields are "concerned with the study of language as a cultural resource and with speaking as a cultural practice" (Duranti 1997, xv). Both fields also

typically share methodological grounding in ethnography, emphasizing study of language in naturally occurring situations by means of observation/participation (now often augmented by audio and video recording) and aiming at interpretation of communicative activities and constructs from the perspective of the 'native' participants.

Dell Hymes' (1962) proposal of an 'ethnography of speaking' called for radically reorienting the focus of research at the intersection of anthropology and linguistics. His proposal included emphasizing the primacy of function over form, the identification of speech events as basic units of analysis, and accounting for speaker/hearer knowledge not only of the language code, but also what to say to whom, and how to say it appropriately in any given situation (i.e., 'communicative competence'). The ethnography of speaking shares with anthropological linguistics a major concern with how language use not only reflects, but to a significant extent accomplishes, social order; in most respects the ethnography of speaking may be considered part of anthropological linguistics.

A primary aim of anthropological linguistics is to guide the collection and analysis of data about the ways in which social meaning is conveyed, constructed, and negotiated. Its goals are at least in the first instance descriptive, guided by the conviction that information about diverse 'ways of speaking' in different human societies is a legitimate contribution to knowledge in its own right. Nevertheless, the potential significance of findings goes far beyond a mere cataloging of facts about communicative behavior. Ultimately, followers of this approach consider its perspective essential for the formulation of a truly adequate universal theory of language and linguistic competence.

2. Basic concepts and issues

The principal concerns in anthropological linguistics include the relationship of language form and use to patterns and functions of communication, to world view and social organization, and to linguistic and social universals and inequalities.

The concern for pattern has long been basic in anthropology, with interpretations

of underlying meaning of culture dependent on the discovery and description of normative structure or design. In linguistics, a major focus has been on patterning within the linguistic code (phonology and grammar), and in sociolinguistics on patterning of linguistic forms in relation to regularities in social features and contexts of use. Hymes identifies an analogous concern for pattern as a key motivating factor in his seminal work: "My own purpose with the ethnography of speaking was [...] to show that there was patterned regularity where it had been taken to be absent, in the activity of speaking itself" (2000, 314).

Regularity in observed behavior among members of a group (performance) is recognized as an external manifestation of a deeper cognitive level of knowledge (competence). The task of ethnographers in this framework is seen as the discovery and explication of the shared knowledge-base for contextually appropriate behavior in a community or group: in other words, what the individual needs to know to be a functional member of the community. Concern for pattern within both anthropology and linguistics involves recognition that much of communicative behavior is rule-governed: i.e., it follows regular patterns and constraints which can be formulated descriptively as 'rules' (cf. Dittmar 1983; Sapir 1994). Ethnographers are also concerned with how these patterns interrelate in a systematic way with – and derive meaning from – patterning in other aspects of culture.

Rules operate at different levels of communication – societal, group, and individual, and patterning of selection and form occurs in relation to functions, categories of talk, and attitudes about languages and their speakers. At a societal level, language selection often relates to political goals, functioning to create or reinforce boundaries which unify members of one speech community or exclude outsiders from intragroup communication. Establishing the official use of Hebrew functioned to unify at this level in building the state of Israel, for instance, while the refusal of early Spanish settlers in Mexico to teach the Castilian language to the indigenous population was exclusionary. Members of a community may also reinforce their boundaries by discouraging prospective second language learners, by holding and conveying the attitude that their language is too difficult, or inappropriate, for others to use.

Communication also patterns according to particular roles and groups within a society, such as sex, age, social status, occupation, educational level, rural or urban residence, geographic region, and other features of social organization. Different languages and language varieties often serve a social identification function by providing linguistic indicators which can be used to reinforce social stratification, or maintain differential power relationships between different groups. The functions which language differences in a society are assigned may also include the maintenance and manipulation of individual social relationships and networks, and various means of effecting social control. The use of language to create and maintain power is part of the concern of anthropological linguistics with inequities and inequalities.

The social functions or practices of language provide the primary dimension for characterizing and organizing communicative processes and products in a society; without understanding why a language is being used as it is, and the consequences of such use, it is impossible to understand its meaning in the context of social interaction. To claim primacy of function over form in analysis is not to deny or neglect the formal structures of communication; rather it is to require integration of function and form in analysis and description. Sentences and even longer strings of discourse are not to be dealt with as autonomous units, but as they are situated in communicative settings and patterns, and as they function in society.

The intrinsic relation of language and culture is widely recognized, and the ways in which the patterning of communicative behavior and that of other cultural systems interrelate is of interest both to the development of general theories of communication, and to the description and analysis of communication within specific speech communities. While there is some continuing controversy within anthropological linguistics regarding the extent to which language shapes and controls the thinking of its speakers or merely reflects their world view, there is no doubt that there is a correlation between the form and content of a language and the beliefs, values, and needs present in the culture of its speakers (e.g., see Whorf 1940; Hill/Mannheim 1992; Gumperz/Levinson 1996). Ultimately, all aspects of culture are relevant to communication, but

those that have the most direct bearing on communicative forms and processes are the social and institutional structure, the shared values and attitudes held about language and ways of speaking, the network of conceptual categories which result from shared experiences, and the ways knowledge and skills (including language) are transmitted from one generation to the next and to new members of the group.

The requisite knowledge of speakers which must be accounted for in an ethnographic approach therefore includes not only rules for communication (both linguistic and sociolinguistic) and shared rules for interaction, but also the cultural rules and knowledge that are the basis for the context and content of communicative events and interaction processes. Communicative competence extends to both knowledge and expectation of who may or may not speak in certain settings, when to speak and when to remain silent, to whom one may speak, how one may talk to persons of different statuses and rules, what nonverbal behaviors are appropriate in various contexts, what the routines for turn-taking are in conversation, how to ask for and give information, how to request, how to offer or decline assistance or cooperation, how to exercise power, how to enforce discipline, and the like – in short, everything involving the use of language and other communicative modalities in particular social settings. Understanding what speakers' frames are (see Gumperz 1977; Tannen 1993), what processes they are using to relate these expectations to the production and interpretation of language, how they create meaningful events and interpret them hermeneutically through language, and how schemata and interaction processes relate to their shared cultural experiences, is a major goal in analysis.

Since the focus of ethnographic investigation is typically on functions of language within a *speech community*, and on the way communication is patterned and organized within that unit, clearly its definition is also of central interest. Depending on the questions and issues to be addressed and the level of abstraction that is desired, social units for investigation may be selected at different levels; virtually any community in a complex society might be considered part of another larger one, or subdivided into smaller groups. Speech communities may be defined by such criteria as shared political bound-

aries, features of shared language use, shared contexts of interaction, shared attitudes and values regarding language forms, shared sociocultural understandings and presuppositions, or even shared physical characteristics (e.g. a particular skin color may be considered a requirement for membership in some speech communities, a hearing impairment for others). The essential criterion for 'community' is that some significant dimension of experience be shared, and for 'speech community' that the shared dimension be related to ways in which members of the group use, value, or interpret language. While research in anthropological linguistics has often focused on the patterning of language practice within a single school, a neighborhood, a factory, or other limited segment of a population, an integrated ethnographic approach would require relating such subgroups to the social and cultural whole.

There is no necessary expectation that a speech community will be linguistically homogeneous, nor that it will be a static entity which necessarily encompasses the same membership over time or situations (although degree of fluidity will depend on the nature of bounding features and attitudes concerning their permeability). As a collectivity, a speech community will include a *communicative repertoire*, or range of language varieties and registers (and even different languages) that will pattern in relation to the salient social and cultural dimensions of communication. It is very unlikely in a complex community that any single individual would be able to produce the full range of its available linguistic means.

Any one speaker also has a variety of codes, styles, and registers from which to choose, and is not infrequently a member of more than one speech community – often to different degrees. Gradient membership “depends on social-actional regularity based on allegiances (orientations toward norms) or on strength of presuppositions sharable in interactional realtime about certain schematized states of affairs” (Silverstein 1996, 128). For individuals who are members of multiple speech communities, which one or ones they orient themselves to at any given moment – which set of social and communicative rules they use – is part of the strategy of communication. To understand this phenomenon, one must recognize that each member of a community has a repertoire of social

identities and that each identity in a given context is associated with a number of appropriate verbal and nonverbal forms of expression. Accounting for the nature of communicative competence thus “requires going beyond a concern with Language (capital L) or a language. It requires a focus on the ways in which communities, and persons, make use of a repertoire of languages (a focus pioneered by Charles Ferguson). It requires a focus on the ways in which people do use language [...]” (Hymes 1993, 13).

In addition to the general social and cultural considerations discussed above, a comprehensive ethnographic study of language must address factors within a speech community which affect the patterning of communicative forms and functions, or the rules for language use. These factors may range from historical background (including settlement history and notable events affecting language issues or ethnic relations) to material artifacts (including the presence or absence of such media as telephones, radios, books, newspapers, computers, and television sets). The diversity of factors which may influence patterning underscores the need to ground research on subgroups or limited situations in more general knowledge about the community as a whole.

3. Rules and expectations

A central task in describing and analyzing ways of speaking is discovering and formulating rules for appropriate language use in specific contexts. The term *rule* is used in the literature with multiple meanings which correspond to subcategories of descriptive and prescriptive statements.

Descriptive rules are statements of recurring regularity in actual/real performance, or ‘typical’ behaviors within a particular speech community and in a specified context. ‘Rule’ is often used in this sense in both ethnography and linguistics. The term is also used to mean prescriptive statements about behavior, or metacognitive statements of how people ‘should’ act. These are tied to the shared values of the speech community, and typically reflect an ‘ideal’ cultural perception. They are often discoverable in reactions to the violation of the ideal by others, and in statements that contrary behavior is ‘impolite’ or ‘odd’ in some respect.

Expectations constitute a standard shared by members of a speech community. They

are likely to be related to both descriptive and prescriptive rules, but neither statistical frequency nor positive/negative valuation is a necessary criterion. This meaning of ‘expectations’ is closest to the definition of rules used by Cushman and Whiting as “sets of common expectations about the appropriate responses to particular symbols in particular contexts” (1972, 225). Expectations are formulated primarily as descriptive statements, but they must often be inferred from observed behavior.

Expectations, as well as descriptive and prescriptive rules, are relevant to the definition of a speech community in terms of the degree to which it shares not only patterns of language use, but also attitudes about that use and the cultural knowledge/schemata and ‘grammar of expectations’ involved in the perception and interpretation of meaning. These elements are also needed in explaining regularities in the choice of communicative form that is produced from among potential linguistic options. Accounting for the factors which determine these choices is at the heart of the ethnographic study of language.

In communicative interactions, some expectations are so strong (some patterns so regular, so predictable) that a very low information load may be carried by a relatively long utterance or interchange, although the social meaning involved can be significant. This is particularly true in greeting and leave-taking routines, or other verbal rituals, where deviations would be strongly marked behavior.

4. Methodological approaches

The basic approaches taken in the ethnographic study of language do not involve a list of facts to be learned so much as questions to be asked, and means for finding out answers. ‘Doing ethnography’ involves first and foremost field work, including observing, asking questions, participating in group activities, and testing the validity of one’s own perceptions against the intuitions of others. It is crucial that the ethnographic description of communication within groups other than one’s own, especially, not be approached in terms of preconceived categories and processes, but with an openness to discover the ways that members of those groups perceive and structure their communicative experiences. Research design

must allow for modes of thought and behavior which may not have been anticipated by the investigator. The unique happening and the recurrent pattern must be seen both from the perspective of their participants and from the vantage point afforded by cross-cultural knowledge and comparison. Even in the study of their own speech communities, ethnographers profit from a comparative orientation, for one of the best means by which to gain understanding of one's own ways of speaking is to compare and contrast these ways with others. This process can reveal that many of the communicative practices assumed to be 'natural' or 'logical' are in fact as culturally embedded and conventional as the language code itself.

Other characteristics of most ethnographic approaches are that data are normally collected in naturalistic settings rather than with clinical or experimental controls, that the study is in-depth and involves a significant period of time, and that analyses are primarily qualitative in nature. Although depth and time commitments are sometimes violated, these factors are important to the establishment of reliability in the absence of experimental control. Various modes of qualitative analyses contribute most to claims of validity in interpretation, although the subsequent incorporation of quantitative data collection and analyses may be very useful in establishing the reliability and the typicality of findings.

No single mode of data collection is required in ethnographic approaches to communication, although participant observation – actually fulfilling a legitimate participant role – is considered basic. Ancillary modes include library research for background information, archaeological and sociological surveys, artistic and folkloric analyses, and a full range of linguistic and sociolinguistic research. Indeed, an essential element for an ethnographic perspective is that multiple databases will be incorporated in description and analysis, with the idealistic goal of holistic explication.

The ultimate criterion for descriptive adequacy in an ethnographic account is whether someone not acquainted with the speech community might understand from the description how to communicate appropriately in a particular situation; beyond that, ethnographers wish to know WHY the described behaviors are more appropriate

than alternative possibilities, and what consequences would follow from failure to follow observed norms.

5. Descriptive and analytic procedures

The communicative units (i.e., communicative activities with recognizable boundaries) that are frequently used in ethnographic studies (following Hymes 1972) are situation, event, and act.

The *speech situation* is the context within which communication occurs: e.g. a religious service, a trial, a puberty rite, a cocktail party, a story-telling time, or a class in school. A single situation maintains a consistent general configuration of activities, and the same overall ecology within which the communication is taking place, although there may be great diversity in the kinds of interaction which occur there.

The *speech event* is the basic unit for descriptive purposes. A single event is defined by a unified set of components throughout, beginning with the same general purpose of communication, the same general topic, and the same participants, generally using the same language variety, maintaining the same tone or key, and using the same rules for interaction, in the same setting. An event usually terminates whenever there is a change in the major components; if there is no change in major participants and setting, the boundary between events may be marked by such things as a period of silence or change of body position. There are thus more or less well defined boundaries between each event, and different behavioral norms (often including different varieties of language) appropriate for each type.

The *speech act* is generally coterminous with a single interactional function, such as a referential statement, a request, or a command, and may be either verbal or nonverbal. For example, not only may a request take several verbal forms ("I'd like a cup of coffee", "Do you have any coffee?" or "May I please have a cup of coffee?"), but it may be expressed by raised eyebrows and a questioning look or by a longing sigh. In the context of a speech event, even silence may be an intentional and conventional 'speech' act used to question, promise, deny, warn, insult, request, or command (see Tannen/Saville-Troike 1985).

Sample analyses using this descriptive framework are included in Saville-Troike (2003). While the classification and organization of data in various formats or displays is never the end of analysis, it can be a valuable procedure in bringing to light conditions or constraints which might otherwise have escaped notice, and in revealing patterns of interrelationships and features which may have resisted more direct efforts at discovery. One limitation in the analyses from much research conducted thus far within this paradigm is their often static nature. This is not a necessary shortcoming, however; ethnographic description should yield not only abstract communicative frames, but account for the dynamic interaction processes which occur within those frames – the construction and negotiation of meaning. Major methodological contributions to this end include concepts of contextualization cues and conversational inferencing (Gumperz 1977) and the integration of an ethnographic approach with procedures which have been developed for conversational analysis (e.g. Duranti 1997).

6. Research studies and applications

The intent in this section is not to summarize findings of research which has been done in anthropological linguistics and the ethnography of speaking, but to indicate what topics or issues have been addressed, and why. Many anthropological linguists continue the tradition of Boas and others who focused on the linguistic codes of non-Western European populations, including studies of the indigenous languages of Africa, the Pacific Islands, and the Americas. While some are narrowly linguistic in scope, a significant proportion situate descriptions of language form within ethnographic studies of communities, relate language phenomena to social structure and other cultural practices, and/or provide in-depth analysis of ways of speaking in diverse settings and events. Yankah's (1995) account of royal oratory in the Akan speech community of Ghana, for instance, relates both verbal and nonverbal forms and strategies in royal communication to cultural concepts of face and politeness, gender and other issues in the emergence of female orators, and constructs of social structure and power. Yankah himself is a member of Akan royalty, providing a model of ethnographic observation/participation

and sociolinguistic insights from a truly 'insider' perspective.

Duranti provides another excellent example of situated linguistic analysis in an approach he calls 'ethnopragmatics', or 'study of language use which relies on ethnography to illuminate the ways in which speech is both constituted by and constitutive of social interaction' (1994, 11). He focuses especially on the function of the ergative case marking in Samoan *fono* oratory in 'the dynamic construction of power and responsibility' for asserting blame, taking credit, and otherwise manipulating sociopolitical standings. Yet another study from the Pacific Islands which illustrates thorough integration of ethnographic and linguistic components is Goldman (1993), in which the selection of intransitive versus causative Huli verb constructions is analyzed in relation to cultural concepts of accident versus liability in general, and as they are used in legal testimony about a specific fatal event.

Some of the most important scholarship on indigenous languages of the Americas has been applied to the integration of ethnography and linguistic analyses of verbal art, also following the Boasian tradition. Particularly noteworthy contributions include Hymes' (1981) development of 'ethnopoetics' and Clements' (1995) wide-ranging survey of issues and methods in the field. Other important work from the Americas includes the Scollons' (1979) analysis of linguistic convergence at Fort Chipewyan, Alberta; Philips' (1983) description of the Warm Springs Indian Reservation in Oregon; and Sherzer's (1983) extensive study of ways of speaking among the Kuna population of San Blas, Panama. One major outcome of this line of research has been a fuller understanding of how the social organization of a community is reflected in language use, and conversely, of what role language use has in constituting society.

The wedding of the ethnography of speaking with research on folklore has yielded a productive model in that field which is performance-centered and analyzes folkloric events as they involve setting, performer, audience, and the other components of communication (see Paredes/Bauman 1972 and Bauman 1977). The potential significance of such analysis for sociolinguistic study in general is noted by Hymes, who says in part: "In its analysis of performance,

folklore recognizes the differentiation of knowledge and competence within a community with regard to speaking; it recognizes the structure that obtains beyond the individual in the norms of interaction of communicative events; and it recognizes the emergent properties of such interactions, both normally and as specific to particular performances [...]” (1972, 48f).

Overlapping with regional foci in anthropological linguistics are long-standing interests in pidgin and creole languages, relating to topics of general anthropological interest such as social evolution and the origin of language, as well as to contact phenomena of linguistic acculturation, shift, and spread.

Especially in recent years, increasing attention has been given to research on use of European languages in urban/suburban settings. Three books on Spanish-English speech communities in the United States provide good exemplars of methods which characterize an ethnographic approach: Torres (1997) and Zentella (1997) on Puerto Ricans in the New York area, and Valdés (1996) on immigrants from Mexico in a border community near El Paso. All three studies involve intensive long-term investigation, collection of data in participant observation of naturally occurring situations and events, consideration of socioeconomic and political contexts for interpretation of language use, inclusion of rich detail that enables readers to hear the ‘voices’ being represented, and relation of findings to social problems and to needs for social change. Torres and Zentella additionally collect extensive linguistic data from their subjects in exploring issues of language contact and change. Questions addressed by Torres include what attitudes are held, how narratives relate to community ideologies, and how both are realized in patterns and content of language use; Zentella queries the nature of acquisition processes for multilingual communicative competence and the variable distribution of proficiencies across domains and time. A general research question in Valdés’ research is how English language and literacy skills of children develop outside the school setting, and in this book she explores ‘secondary’ issues which provide insights into the immigrant experience. She first reviews the school ‘failure’ of children immigrating from Mexico and then documents their conditions prior to immigration and the process of ‘coming across’. She in-

structively explains her role as a researcher in the community and discusses ways in which the families’ values and expectations differ significantly from those in her own background, in spite of shared language and national origin.

Other important holistic models are provided by such work as that of Blom and Gumperz (1972), who account for the interrelationship of social constraints, cultural values, and language rules in Norway; Albert’s (1972) analysis of situation-specific ‘rules for speaking’ in Burundi in relation to cultural values, social structure, and personal strategies; Barth’s ([1964] 1972) study of social processes and language boundaries in Pakistan; and Abrahams’ (1976) study of African-American speaking behavior. Most other holistic research has focused on a single subculture within a society, such as those defined by age (e.g., adolescents (Eckert/McConnell-Ginet 1995)), by religion (Bauman 1974; Schiffrin 1984), or by race or ethnicity (e.g., Blacks in a neighborhood in Washington, D.C. (Hannerz 1969) or a bar in Philadelphia (Bell 1983)).

While most ethnographic research on language has focused on ways of SPEAKING, significant study has also been conducted of written symbols and other channels of communication. Adams and Winter (1997), for instance, explore the social nature and functions of gang graffiti, and a growing body of scholarship explores the social practices and contexts of literacy in diverse cultural settings (e.g., Street 1993; King 1994; Baynham 1995; Besnier 1995). There is also developing research on communication via the medium of e-mail, including the formation of ‘virtual’ electronic speech communities, the transcendence of national borders, and futile attempts to regulate speech.

Ethnographic approaches have profoundly influenced research on child language acquisition, with emphasis being placed on their acquisition of communicative competence as part of both the means and product of enculturation. Language learning is viewed in the inclusive sense of the acquisition of the rules and skills which enable a member of a speech community to demonstrate and interpret appropriate communicative behavior in a wide range of social contexts. Children are essentially seen as participant-observers of communication, like small ethnographers, learning and induc-

tively developing the rules through processes of observation and interaction. Good examples are provided by Zentella (1997) and Valdés (1996), mentioned above in this section, and in the comprehensive analysis by Heath (1983) of patterns in language use by preschool children and their parents in three Carolina communities in the United States. Valdés and Heath are of particular social importance for their descriptions of the ways in which children's rules for speaking relate differentially to eventual success in school; Heath makes specific suggestions to teachers for the application of knowledge about ethnography to the improvement of children's educational opportunities. Other major projects, in terms of both scope and significance, include Watson-Gegeo and Boggs' (1977) study in Hawaii, Schieffelin's (1990) study of Kaluli children in New Guinea, and Ochs' (1982) research in Western Samoa. Emphasis in all of these works has been on the sociocultural contexts of language acquisition, and the relationship of language development and socialization. Findings document extensive cross-cultural differences in the ways considered appropriate for adults to relate to children, and in the specific sociocultural structure and content which is conveyed. In general, research appears to support the hypothesis that social forces influence the development of ways of speaking; these in turn influence what is social and psychological reality for a child at various stages and in whatever roles that may be open to him or her in the community.

Most research on the rules of child language has focused on narrower topics or single events, such as rules for conducting disputes and negotiations, or for various kinds of verbal play. Insults yield particularly valuable cultural information, because a comment on a cultural value is always one of their defining features (Mitchell-Kernan/Kernan 1975; see also Labov 1972). Research in multilingual contexts has also emphasized the cultural differences which have been found, such as different strategies for dispute resolution for Vietnamese versus American children (Adger 1984), and the greater use of mediation and compromise by Chinese children in an American nursery school (Saville-Troike 1986).

Many descriptions and analyses of individual speech events among adults in diverse communities have appeared, including articles published in the journals *Anthropo-*

logical Linguistics, *Linguistic Anthropology*, and *Language in Society*. Most focus on ritual events rather than on everyday encounters, in part because they are most likely to recur in regularized form, and in part because their meaning is most clearly dependent on shared beliefs and values of the speech community; they cannot be interpreted apart from social and cultural context (cf. Malinowski 1935). Rituals are characterized by strict constraints on language use, and any breach may carry severe penalties. Rules often specify who is allowed to speak, the exact ordering of sequences, and the precise message form and content, as in much Christian, Jewish, Muslim, and Buddhist liturgy, and include selection of paralinguistic as well as linguistic form, such as intoned speech, chanting, and distinctive patterns of rhythm and pitch. Equally strong are constraints against any speech in some rituals, such as the silence required in Igbo condoling, naming, and sacrificial events (Nwoye 1985).

It is precisely because rules of ritual events are so embedded in culture that they are quite dissimilar in different societies; Bloch (1976) asserts that non-ritual communication has much more in common cross-culturally, while ritual communication reflects 'strange other ways of thinking'. An important cross-cultural generalization can be made, however: when a speech event is formalized, as in ritual, there are fewer options open to its participants. Thus Bloch (1974) and others claim that in societies where there is more emphasis on ritual events, more direct social control is exerted than in societies where there is less emphasis on ritual. This point is relevant to the study of speech communities in their political domains, as well as in religion and other ceremonial areas. The functions of ritual rhetorical genres on Sumba Island, Indonesia, for instance, include creating and displaying authority as well as ratifying the power of others (Keane 1997; Kuipers 1998), and rhetorical strategies in Quechua sermons create influence for the priest and maintain social control of the congregation (Howard-Malverde 1998). The heavy patterning of ritual discourse also extends into other domains where speaker goals include construction and maintenance of system and order, including 'teacher talk' in a classroom where there is potential for ambiguity and disorder (Gomes/Martin 1996).

Differences between ritual and everyday language use have been described for a number of languages, including Chamula (Gossen 1972), Hopi (Voegelin 1974), Seneca (Chafe 1981), and Yurok (Buckley 1984). Chafe summarizes the differences, and also draws a parallel between written and ritual language, as opposed to everyday speech, with written/ritual usage being more conservative, planned or polished, integrated in structure, detached, and authoritative in its assertions than everyday speech.

Some of the most socially important research has been conducted on events in legal and medical settings, as well as educational ones mentioned above. It has generally focused on the power relationships that exist in them, and on issues of justice or equity in the delivery of social services. O'Barr (1982), for instance, reports how different verbal strategies influence jury decisions about credibility, Wodak-Engel (1984) describes how social class differences in rules for speaking lead to discrimination against working class defendants, and Conley and O'Barr (1990) and Gibbons (1994) include documentation of how differences in narrative organization and other usage patterns create problems in courtroom communication which disadvantage particular social groups. The power dimension is in large part a factor of the social role-relationship that participants bring with them to an encounter, but as is demonstrated in the case of medical encounters (Treichler/Frankel/Kramarae et al 1984; Ainsworth-Vaughn 1998), it is also a dynamic product of interaction. When doctor and patient bring different cultural presuppositions and ways of speaking to the situation, potentially life-threatening miscommunication can result.

Strategies of power relationships are also the focus of Erickson and Schultz's (1982) study of *The counselor as gatekeeper*. Their analysis is important both in positing universals in communication ('tell each other the context' and 'interdependence of action') and in describing the miscommunication which can result from different communicative behaviors, even when participants share linguistic rules of phonology, grammar, and vocabulary use. The social implications are especially significant because gatekeeping encounters between students and school officials often determine access to career paths, and thus to future power. Gatekeeping is directly related to the

process of segregating students for socialization and thus limiting transmission of knowledge in some areas to a chosen few. Segregated socialization may also involve exclusive learning of the language of transmission so that others cannot understand the content, as described by Philips (1982) with respect to the training of lawyers. Anthropological linguistics' concern with language and power has also extended to analysis of communication between male-female, teacher-student, governor-governed, and other dyads having unequal distribution of control. From this perspective, "the creation of social realities through the deployment of language structures in discourse is the process through which broader socio-historical power relations are sustained and transformed through time" (Philips 2000, 196).

A strong call for the application of ethnographic research on language to education and other social issues was voiced by Hymes in his Introduction to *Functions of Language in the Classroom* (Cazden/John/Hymes 1972), and repeated in many subsequent publications (e.g. Hymes 1996). For Hymes, research and application involve a two-way sharing of knowledge – the investigator contributing scientific modes of inquiry, and participants providing the requisite knowledge and perspective of the particular community contexts. The issue is one of ethics as much as one of science. "If linguistics and ethnography are to contribute to a democratic way of life, their knowledge and perspective must be gained and used in democratic ways. [...] Both inquiry and application are processes that involve mutuality and sharing of knowledge; neither can succeed as a one-way application" (1972:xiv-xv). It is a very positive development that a growing amount of socially relevant research within this paradigm can be mentioned here. Still, a note of warning, and a continuing call for critical reflexivity, is in order. It is necessary to recognize that sensitivities exist in certain quarters, and that the question of the use to which ethnographic research is to be put has been raised as an ethical issue in the profession. There are many potential applications of data on patterns of communication, ranging from improving education and the delivery of social services to contributing to the effectiveness of advertising or propaganda and political control (or of resisting it). While knowledge may be neutral, the uses to which

it is put often are not. Ethnographers of language thus bear a heavy responsibility to guard against the misuse of their research, and the exploitation of the communities in which they work.

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12. Functional Sociolinguistics/Funktionale Soziolinguistik

1. Orientation
2. Uses of language (register & genre)
3. Users of language (semantic variation)
4. Future directions
5. Literature (selected)

1. Orientation

Functional linguistics is concerned with explaining language in relation to how it is used – an explanation which ultimately depends on the development of a model of language in tandem with a model of social context so that one informs the other in relation to this enterprise. It is probably most appropriate to use the term *functional sociolinguistics* for research in which a functional model of language is strongly implicated in the design of a model of the social. For this entry we will concentrate on one model of this kind, systemic functional linguistics (hereafter SFL) as developed around the thinking of M A K Halliday over the past 50 years.

This functional model has been used to study social variation according to both the uses and users of language (Halliday et al. 1964). In section 2 below we focus on uses of language, as explored through the development of register and genre theory. In section 3, we focus on users from the perspective of semantic variation and coding orientation. The strength of SFL in relation to both these bodies of work derives from its orientation

to meaning in discourse, for which it has developed an extensive range of analytical tools – for handling intonation (e.g. Halliday 1967, & check for Greaves & Halliday ref?), grammar (e.g. Halliday 1994, Matthiessen 1995) and discourse semantics (e.g. Halliday & Hasan 1976, Martin 1992, Halliday & Matthiessen 1999). Recently the model has been heavily involved in multimodal discourse analysis, further expanding its resources (e.g. Kress & van Leeuwen 1996, O'Toole 1994 on images, van Leeuwen 1999 on sound and music, Martinec 1998 on action; Martin and Rose, 2003).

2. Uses of language (register & genre)

SFL interest in uses of language stems from J R Firth's concern with context of situation as a level of analysis and his reservations about describing language itself in terms that generalise across contexts of use (Firth 1957). Mitchell's classic Firthian account of the language of the Moroccan marketplace (1957) laid the ground for later work by various scholars. The most influential models were those of Halliday et al. (1964), Gregory (1967) and Ure & Ellis (1977). A range of terminology is outlined in Table 1, including subsequent accounts by Halliday and Fawcett.

Of these models Halliday's 1978 framework has been the most widely deployed.

Tab. 12.1: Some alternative SFL models of context

Halliday et al 1964	Gregory 1967	Ure & Ellis 1977	Halliday 1978	Fawcett 1980
field	field	field	field	subject matter
mode	mode	mode	mode	channel
style	personal tenor	formality	tenor	relationship purpose
	functional tenor	role		pragmatic purpose

The term tenor is taken over from Gregory in place of style and three variables are preferred to four (cf. Gregory 1995, Gregory & Carroll 1978). Halliday characterises field, tenor and mode as follows:

FIELD– the social action: ‘what is actually taking place’

refers to what is happening, to the nature of the social action that is taking place: what is it that the participants are engaged in, in which the language figures as some essential component;

TENOR– the role structure: ‘who is taking part’ refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of role relationship obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved;

MODE– the symbolic organisation: ‘what role language is playing’

refers to what part language is playing, what is it that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in the situation: the symbolic organisation of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel (is it spoken or written or some combination of the two?) and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository, didactic, and the like. [Halliday & Hasan 1985a: 12]

Although developed independently of work on the internal organisation of language, the main attraction of the field, tenor and mode model has been the way in which it meshes with the functional organisation of resources for construing meaning in language. These functional regions are referred to by Halliday as metafunctions, comprising ideational, interpersonal and textual resources. Ideational resources naturalise our linguistic perception of processes and the participants that engage in them (Halliday & Matthiessen 1999); interpersonal resources negotiate our social relations (Eggins & Slade 1997); and textual resources package information in ways that make it coherent and relevant (Martin 1992). Research across languages (Caffarel et al. in press) and modalities (e. g. Kress & van Leeuwen 1996) has strongly confirmed the generality of metafunctions as a resource for mapping meaning. A gloss on the functionality of organisation of this kind is outlined in Table 12.2.

By the late 60s it had become obvious that this intrinsic functionality could be mapped onto contextual variables, with ideational meaning implicating field, interpersonal meaning tenor and textual meaning mode (Halliday 1974). These proportions are outlined in Fig. 12.1, with the smaller circle representing language, and the larger circle representing social context as realised through language – and both levels organised by metafunction. In SFL models of this kind, the intrinsic functional organisation of language thus motivates the organisation of social context, which in turn explains the shape of language in relation to the generalised social functions it serves (Martin 1991).

Inspired by Halliday’s 1978 conception of language as a social semiotic, researchers have investigated field, mode and tenor variables in relation to their realisation in language. Some of the best developed work on field is on the discourse of science (Halli-

Tab. 12.2: Generalised regions of meaning and their function

METAFUNCTION	‘reality construed’	‘perspective’
IDEATIONAL (logical, experiential)	naturalised reality	(observer)
INTERPERSONAL	social reality	(intruder)
TEXTUAL	semiotic reality	(relevance)

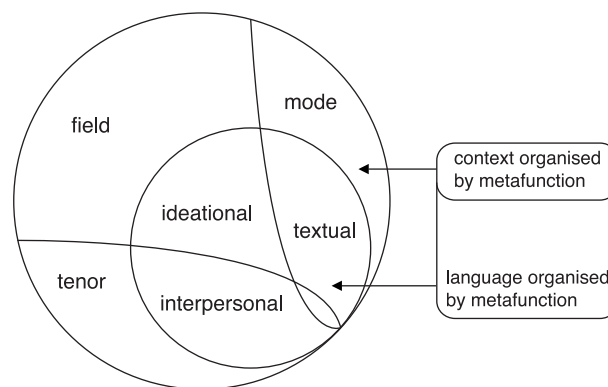


Fig. 12.1: Association of metafunctions with context

day & Martin 1993, Martin & Veel 1998), and has explored some of Martin's (1992) suggestions about mapping field as a set of activity sequences oriented to some global institution's purpose alongside focussing on the taxonomies of participants engaged in these activities. A number of other fields in the workplace and school are explored from this perspective in Christie & Martin (1997). For mode, differences between spoken and written language have been a central focus (Halliday 1985). In this work Halliday's notion of grammatical metaphor as a resource for texturing information flow has been critical (Halliday & Matthiessen 1999, Martin 1993). For tenor, Poynton's (1985) perspectives on power, solidarity and affect have inspired important work on intersubjective relations in casual conversation (Egins & Slade 1997). More recently affect has been elaborated as a resource for exploring solidarity (e.g. Martin 2000 on appraisal). A useful introduction to the research methodology deployed in these and related studies is provided in Unsworth (2000); Ghadessy (1993, 1999) provide useful collections of papers, including important theory focussed articles by Halliday, Hasan, Martin and Matthiessen.

The main elaboration of the model outlined in Fig. 1 has to do with the interpretation of genre in Australian research undertaken by Martin and his colleagues (e.g. Martin 1985, 1992, Ventola 1987, Christie & Martin 1997) – work best known through its application in genre-based literacy programs (Christie 1999, Cope & Kalantzis 1993, Hasan & Williams 1996). As reviewed in Martin (1999) this work attended to the

fourth contextual variable in Table 12.1. (functional tenor, role, pragmatic purpose), which was difficult to associate with any one metafunction and so has tended to be elided from models mapping intrinsic functionality onto context. Martin's suggestion was to add a level of genre to the model, realised through recurrent configurations of field, mode and tenor selections – realised in turn through ideational, textual and interpersonal meanings. This extended model is outlined in Fig. 12.2, which uses register as the name of the level of context comprising field, tenor and mode.

Lemke's (e.g. 1995) work on metaredundancy usefully captures the nature of the realisation relationship between levels – with register accounting for patterns of linguistic patterns, and genre dealing with patterns of register patterns (of linguistic patterns). Theoretically speaking then, genre in a model of this kind is a high level configuration of meanings responsible for describing the ways in which a culture goes about combining field, mode and tenor and phasing them together in discourse. As a working definition, for literacy programs in schools, genres were characterised as staged goal-oriented social processes – (i) staged because it usually takes us more than one phase of meaning to work through a genre, (ii) goal-oriented because unfolding phases are designed to accomplish something and we feel a sense of frustration or incompleteness if we're stopped and (iii) social because we undertake genres interactively with others.

Ventola (1987) applies this model to service encounters in Australia. Egins & Slade

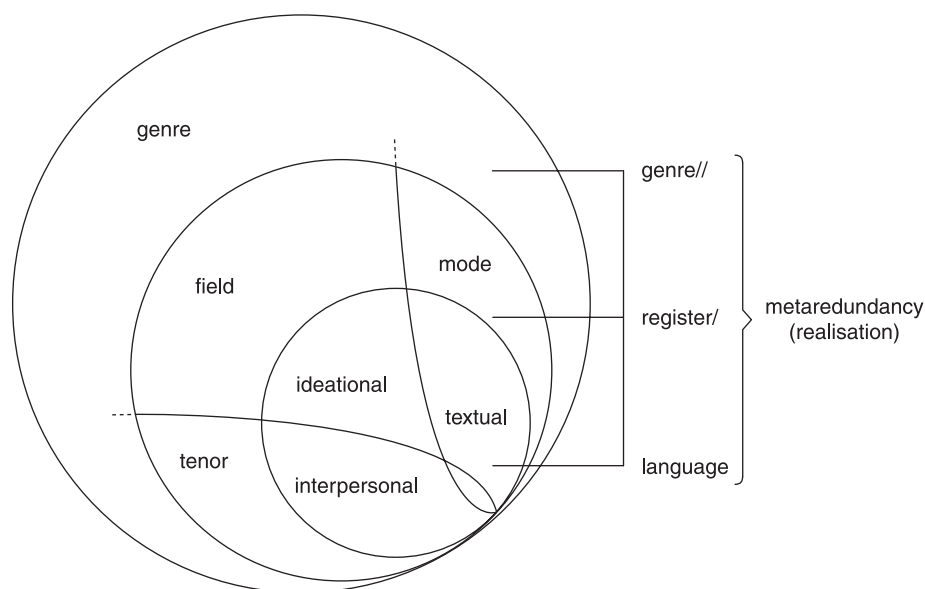


Abb. 12.2: Language in relation to register and genre

(1997) deal with gossip and narrative in casual conversation. Christie & Martin (1999) include applications of the model to classroom interaction, to school science, history and English, and to science industry, administration and the media. For alternative perspectives on genre in relation to field, tenor and mode as outlined in Fig. 1, see Hasan (1995, 1996, 1999), Leckie-Tarry (1995); for work on genre in related paradigms, see Hyland (2002).

3. Users of language (semantic variation)

Variation between users of language has largely been addressed in terms of relations between the social positioning of users and their linguistic interactions in relation to discourses in powerful institutional sites. Over the last four decades SFL has engaged in dialogue with theories of social transmission, reproduction and change, particularly Bernstein's coding orientation theory. Additionally, recent work has explored linguistic problems brought into focus by his model of the pedagogic device (Bernstein 1990, 1996) and his recent description of knowledge structures and their disciplinary distributions (1996, 1999, 2001).

The theoretical principles on which a metadialogue of this kind can be carried out are outlined in Hasan (1999). She distinguishes endotropic theories, those which 'are centred onto their own object of study, isolating it from everything else', from exotropic theories.

By contrast, an exotropic theory is not confined within the bounds of its object of study. Rather, it is cosmoramic, typically embedding its central problematic in a context where the processes of its maintenance and exchange originate in its interaction with other universes of experience. ... the gaze of the exotropic theory is relational: its problematic is at the centre of different kinds of processes, and there thus exists a greater chance for reciprocal engagement amongst them (Hasan, 1999:13)

The gaze of SFL is designed to be relational in this sense, since it is a theory of language as social semiotic, and in work on semantic variation the particular problematic is relations between social structure, its structuring effects on the habitual ways of meaning of users and 'official' discourses. Bernstein comments:

What we are asking here is how the distribution of power and the principles of control are transformed, at the level of the subject, into different, invidiously related, organising principles, in such a way as both to position subjects and to create the

possibility of changes in such positioning. The broad answer given this thesis is that class relations generate, distribute, reproduce, and legitimate distinctive forms of communication, which transmit dominant and dominated codes, and that subjects are differentially positioned by these codes in the process of acquiring them.

The linguistic problem has been to find ways of describing language use in everyday contexts which would enable linguists to test Bernstein's claims. His own initial predictions of the distinguishing linguistic features of different coding orientations proved not to be valid (for discussion, see especially Bernstein 1990: chapter 3) and they were withdrawn. This principled move led, perhaps inevitably, to widespread dismissal of the coding orientation hypothesis rather than re-exploration of the specific linguistic problems. However, the challenge was taken up by Hasan in work at Macquarie University in the early 1980s (for discussion of Hasan's move, see Bernstein, 1990:5; 1996). Hasan's research extended a proposal by Halliday (1973) to describe meanings available to speakers in contexts by writing semantic networks up to a reasonable degree of delicacy. (There was, of course, no suggestion that meanings could be *exhaustively* described.) Such networks are maps of relations between semantic features of systems from which a speaker can utilize in constructing meaning in contexts.

The research environment into which Halliday made this proposal was Bernstein's early work on maternal control situations such as 'threat' and 'punishment'. From a linguistic perspective the problem was to model the options which could be used by mothers to control young children's behaviour, and their linguistic realizations. The model had to describe two aspects of the meaning potential: the range of semantic options exhaustively up to a specified degree of delicacy; and the linguistic systems through which constraints on the choice of features could be realized. To illustrate through a small fragment of the descriptive framework, Halliday proposed a system comprising either [**threat**] or [**warning**], with each feature expanded through further subsystems. For [**threat**] the dependent system comprised either [**physical punishment**] or [**mental punishment**] or [**restraint on behaviour**]. The linguistic encoding of these features was stated precisely in terms of lexicogrammatical realizations: for [**physical**

punishment] the realization statement was [clause; action; voluntary (*do* type); effective (two-participant): Goal = *you*; future tense; positive; verb from Roget #972 (or 972 and 276).

Halliday claimed for this network only that the options and relations between them were specific to the situation-type. Thus:

The behaviour options are specific to the given social context, which determines their meaning; for example, 'threat' in a mother-child control context has a different significance from 'threat' in another social context, such as the operation of a gang. This may affect its realization in language (1973:79).

Hasan's extension involved two significant theoretical moves: to describe semantic networks metafunctionally, and to increase the range of situation-types able to be explored. The metafunctional development enabled an extensive range of meanings to be described, which in turn meant that variation in coding orientation could be explored in terms of *relations between* quite large sets of semantic features. For example, people talking with their children in everyday contexts ask questions. But do they habitually ask the same kinds of questions? Does the distribution of question-types asked by children relate to the distribution of types asked by their parents? Does selection of modality features covary with question-type? Do parents usually address the point of questions raised by children? Do they do so typically in short utterances, or through longer ones?

If the response are longer, what logical relations between units such as clause are typically selected by speakers? Do selections of these features relate to social positioning of speakers? To explore these relations statistically Hasan and her colleagues used principal components analyses of variation. For discussion of the statistical technique and an example of its use in research on gender differences in talk between mothers and 3.5 year-old children, see Cloran (1989).

Extension of the descriptive range of semantic networks involved three key claims:

- i. relationships between claims are always in practice a matter of relative similarity/difference. Networks are written to be sufficiently context-dependent to describe the range of semantic options within the specific situation-types in a corpus;
- ii. extensions of the description are likely to presuppose the systems in these networks;

- iii. more specific situation-type descriptions might be developed as a partial abstraction from these networks (Hasan, 1989:62).

To illustrate, Figure 3 presents a fragment of the network for describing demands for information used in empirical work by Hasan (1989), Hasan and Cloran (1990) and Williams (1999, 2001). The entry condition to each of the metafunctionally organised systems is the unit *message*, glossed by Hasan as ‘the smallest semantic unit that is capable of realizing an element in the structure of texts’ (Hasan 1995a). Messages are typically realized by *clause* in lexicogrammar. As with the earlier Halliday proposal, a lexicogrammatical realization statement is given for each semantic feature posited. For example, realization of the feature [demand information] in Figure 12.3. is given as [major clause: indicative: interrogative: nonpolar: wh/ conflated with Adjunct and Circumstance of cause why ΔFΔSΔP]

The outcomes of research using this descriptive framework indicate systematic variation in the coding orientation of speakers in contrasted social positions in the Sydney metropolitan area, broadly as predicted by Bernstein’s coding orientation theory. Hasan and her colleagues recorded 100 hours of casual conversation between mothers and their 3.5 year-old children in contrasted social locations and compared it with teachers’ talk with Kindergarten children in the first few month of formal schooling. Participants’ social locations were described in terms of *the relative autonomy of an agent to exercise power in the workplace* rather than the more commonly used criteria of socio-economic status, education levels or gross family income. These factors may, of course, well be related to social class differences but they were regarded as too indirect an indicator of social positioning for exploration of the potential for semantic variation.

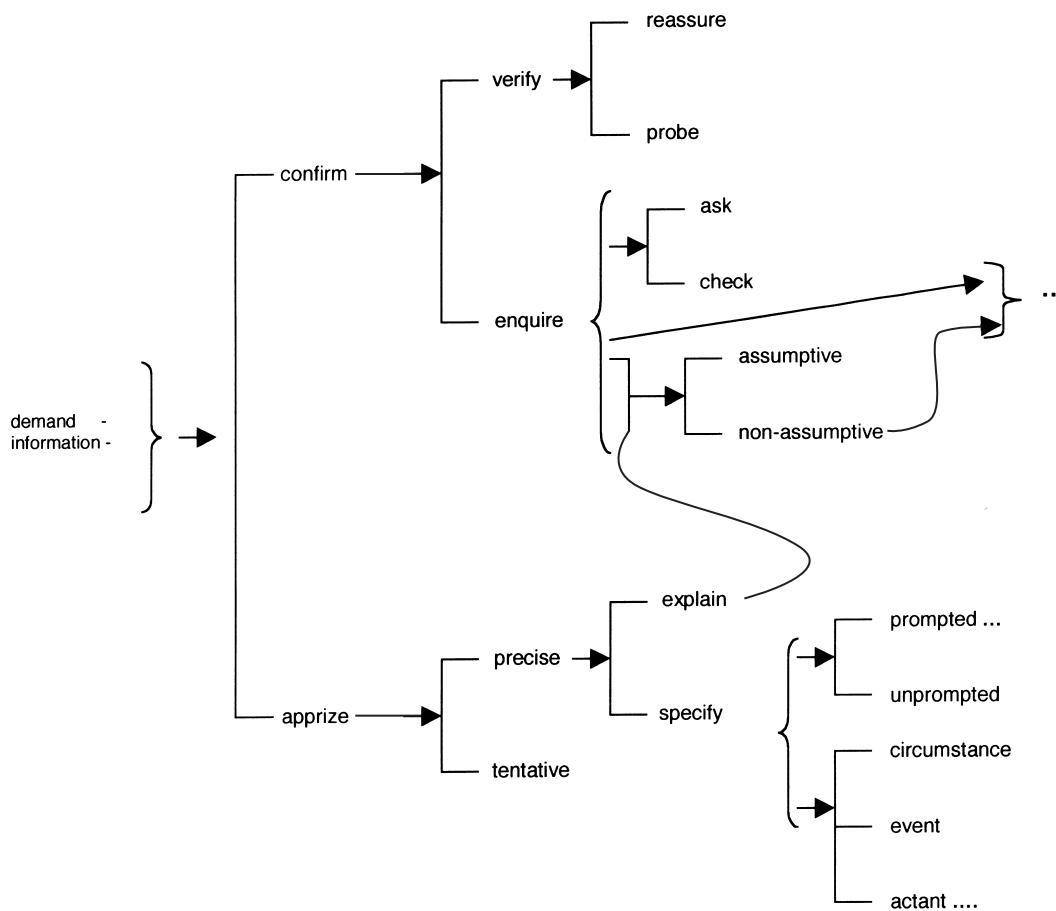


Fig. 12.3: An excerpt from Hasan’s network of choices in making demands for information (Hasan 1989)

Professional autonomy is regarded as a relative rather than a fixed feature of an occupation. The feature gives a cline of relationship between labour categories rather than sets of discrete levels of occupations. For example, a district manager in a government bureaucracy may have considerable autonomy from one perspective, as in making local budget decisions, but from another perspective, as in determining policy on staffing levels, the same worker has virtually no autonomy. Nevertheless it can be reasonably hypothesised that a social security clerk would *generally* have more workplace autonomy in making and transmitting decisions affecting other workers than a building labourer, but considerably less than a district manager in a government bureaucracy. (For reports of the results with respect to questions and answers, modes of reasoning and control strategies, and differential meaning relations between the higher autonomy, lower autonomy and Kindergarten school groups see for example Hasan, 1989, 1991, 1992, 2001; Hasan and Cloran, 1990).

In related research but using a different corpus, Williams explored meanings typically exchanged between mothers and four-year-old children in joint book-reading. He compared these with exchanges between teachers and children in the first month of formal schooling. Results from this research paralleled findings by Hasan and her colleagues, except that the higher autonomy group practices appeared to be an intensified form of school practice. Williams interpreted this difference as an effect of curricula which have promoted joint book-reading as a pedagogic strategy both in schools and in families preparing children for school entry. (For discussion, see Williams 1995, 199a, 2001.) For transcripts of the conversations analysed in this research in both family and school contexts, see Williams 1996).

Networks have also recently been used to describe linguistic levels beyond *message* by Cloran (1994; 1999a; 1999b), who proposes *rhetorical unit* as a semantic unit intermediate between text and message, and by Butt to describe semantic cycles in text. At the contextual level, they have been used by Hasan to explore the structure of *field* (Hasan, 1999) in work which extends her long-term exploration of the interface between context and text as a semantic unit (Hasan, 1978; 1995b; 1996) and which provides a some-

what different account of generic structure from that utilized in research outlined in Section 2. For a very useful overview of relations between SFL theory and descriptive techniques see Butt (1996).

4. Future directions

Looking ahead, there are a number of key areas in which functional sociolinguistic research can be expected to prosper. We will touch on just four of these here.

i. tools – The issue here is the sheer human cost of manual text analysis while we wait for interactive workbenches to be developed that automate and semi-automate the rich analyses SFL affords. In the past, research into uses of languages has tended to deploy a wide range of analyses across relatively few texts, whereas research into users of languages has typically focussed on fewer variables across groups of speakers (see however Hasan, 1989, 1991, 1992; Hasan and Cloran, 1990; Horvath 1985; Nesbitt & Plum 1998; Plum & Cowling 1987; Williams, 1995; 1999; 2001). The quicker analysis can be semi/automated, the sooner this qualitative/quantitative complementarity can be overcome and negotiate more productively with research traditions such as that represented by Biber's multidimensional analysis (Biber & Finnegan 1994). Very significant developments have recently been achieved in the Meaning-Making Laboratory Project at Macquarie University under Christian Matthiessen's direction. (See especially resources at: <http://minerva.ling.mq.edu.au/>)

ii. sites – To date, funding has tended to dictate that studies of uses and users of language will be of relevance to issues in language education, though significant advances have also been made in semantic variation theory through grants attracted during the mid 1980s. In future we can expect more funding to become available for research in administrative, medical and forensic contexts (e.g. Iedema 2000, Jordens et al. 2001, Gibbons 2003) – especially in those areas where economic rationalists can foresee an immediate pay-off in relation to short term investment. In functional sociolinguists new sites have a tendency to impact directly on theory and description (Martin 1998), especially where interventions in practice are undertaken. This makes the politics of research into uses and users of

language an important theoretical concern. Within education itself, there have also been significant developments other than in the use of genre theory, for example in young children learning to use functional grammatical concepts as abstract resources in the Vygotskian sense in school literacy work (for example Williams, 1999b; 2000; in press). These have a potential to enable learners to use SFL beyond the initial task of understanding the expected structure of texts in key sites, particularly for reflective purposes (Hasan and Williams, 1996).

iii. modalities – As noted above, resources for analysing discourse were expanded in the 90s to include tools for modalities of meaning alongside language, including image, sound & music, action and most recently building design. This has opened up the field of multimodal discourse analysis, with its focus on the way in which meaning is negotiated among modalities in multimodal text (Baldry 2000, Cope & Kalantzis 1999, van Leeuwen & Jewitt 2001, Kress & van Leeuwen 2001, Kress et al. 2001) – a project which lends itself to the exploration of the emerging modes of electronic communication via CD-ROM and the web.

iv. genesis – Work on language variation, whether focussed on uses or users of language, has always been concerned with change. Because of its focus on semantic variation, functional sociolinguistics is in a strong position to study change across various depths of time – as a text unfolds (logogenesis), as an individual develops (ontogenesis) and as a culture evolves (phylogenesis). The challenge here will be to deepen our understanding of how it is that the micro-encounters of everyday life instantiate our culture in ways that accommodate both stability and adaptation. Significant transdisciplinary conferences involving primatology, archaeology, neuroscience and psychiatry have recently been organised by SF linguists, from which major theoretical developments can be expected (Williams and Lukin, in press).

Crucial to the theoretical and empirical developments outlined above has been Halliday's description of English grammar (1994), which has enabled the concept of realization to be better understood in the exploration of language in use. It is the most visible example of his rearticulation of de Saussure's distinction between *langue* and *parole* as in fact two sides of the one phenomenon, in one case language seen from 'a distance' as systems

of meaning-making resources and, in the other, language seen 'up close' as instantiations of those systems as language in use. This position has assisted researchers to produce systematic descriptions of language while, at the same time, building context and associated aspects of variation into the account as a descriptive level.

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13. The Geography of Language/Geographie der Sprache

1. The geography of language
2. Historical antecedents
3. Ethnolinguistic geography and geolinguistics
4. The cartographic representation of linguistic data
5. The geography of language functions
6. Geolinguistic atlases and regional development
7. Language boundary studies
8. Cultural transition zones
9. Geographic information systems and computer-aided mapping
10. Contextual analysis
11. The language of geolinguistics
12. The institutional context of geolinguistics
13. Literature (selected)

1. The geography of language

Geography is the science of distributed phenomena in space and over time. Language has figured prominently in the work of several early Geographers, but it was only in the 1970s that a systematic analysis of language in its geographic context was developed as a self-conscious sub-discipline termed *Geolinguistics*. By now it has established itself as a distinct and evolving branch of Human Geography which reflects the increasing concern of its parent discipline with social problems, and with devising more appropriate methodologies for the analysis of contemporary issues. This review of the scope and impact of Geolinguistics extends earlier reviews and uses a similar format to ease comparison (Williams, 1988, 1996a).

Geolinguistics has been defined as the systematic analysis of language in its physical and human context. It seeks to illumine the socio-spatial context of language use and language choice; to measure language distribution and variety; to identify the demographic characteristics of language groups in contact; to chart the dynamism of language growth and decline and to account for the social and environmental factors which create such dynamism (Williams, 1988, p. 2). The aims of the American Society of Geolinguistics capture this range well when they argue that their Society seeks 'to assess the relative practical importance, usefulness and availability' of different languages from the economic, psychological, political and cultural standpoints of specific speech milieu;

to understand variations in their basic grammatical, phonological and lexical structures, and to measure and map 'their genetic, historical and geographical affiliations and relations'.

The terminology of Geolinguistics reflects the syncretic nature of Geography, which is derived from Natural Science, Humanities and Social Science origins. Van der Merwe (1993, p. 23) has itemised the important geographical concepts which are employed i.e. 'location, space, place, perception, interaction, competition, centrality, regionalism, segmentation, segregation, social ecology, ethnicity, minority groups, cultural enclaves, institutional structures, and urbanisation being the most prominent.' To this we may add culture region, speech community, ecology of language, cultural transition zone, zone of language collapse, bilingual belt, heartland-hinterland relations, core, domain, periphery, urban multilingualism, language frontier and border.

This variety may be reduced to three main approaches.

Language Distribution: 'The identification of segregation patterns, zones of contact and core areas within a spatial framework of language diversity'

Language Change: 'The identification of areas of growth and decline amidst the dynamic structure of a language in time and space.'

Language Environment: 'The identification of the physical, social, historical, political and economic fabric within which the distribution of and changes in language take place' (Van der Merwe, 1993, p. 23).

2. Historical antecedents

The historical sources for Geolinguistics are many and varied. The earliest identifiable interest lay in the work of early twentieth century European cultural geographers such as Vidal de la Blache, H. J. Fleure, Jules Gillieron, Edmond Edmont and their successors such as Aldo Dami, Estyn Evans and E. G. Bowen. They were concerned with expressing the personality and character of unique regions in Europe by focusing on cultural markers such as language and religion. They treated human aspirations and artefacts as a contingent, but nevertheless integral, part of

the environment. Individual behaviour was always interpreted as part of a social mass, a fact which reflected a range of possibilities open to human invention and adaptation within the continuing relationship with nature and the built environment. These ideas, as W. T. R. Pryce (1982, pp. 131–49) has shown, represented a fundamental shift away from a human geography dominated by physical influences and tinged with an environmental and cultural determinism.

The obvious product of this pioneering generation was the Language Atlas and Language Map, so necessary to burgeoning European states in the age of nationalism. The monumental work of Aldo Dami (Peeters and Williams, 1993), Bogdan Zaborski (1970), and Soviet Geographers in their 'Narodav Mira' (1964) has been maintained in the plethora of national and regional language atlases surveyed in Zelinsky and Williams (1988). The conventional cartographic representation of language is represented well by the publication of 'The Atlas of the World's Languages' by Routledge in 1994. Despite invoking considerable criticism for its over-ambitious attempt to map the world's language distribution based on insufficient evidence, it is likely that much of the future work in the Geography of Language will continue this tradition of essential data gathering and fairly conventional graphic representation, although increasingly as we shall demonstrate below in section 7:8 it includes greater use of GIS and Computer Aided Mapping.

A second source of inspiration came from the work of dialectologists and compilers of linguistic atlases. Dialect geography *per se* derives from this tradition. Despite initial methodological problems relating to the training of fieldworkers, the construction of reliable questionnaires, the selection of informants and the consequent verification of the accuracy of dialect mapping, considerable progress has been made in this field. Trudgill (1983, p. 6) has made a strong case for distinguishing between different ends of a language in society continuum; conceiving 'sociolinguistics and geolinguistics more as methodologies for doing linguistics through the study of language variation' and locating dialectology more 'toward the linguistic end of the language in society spectrum.' Chambers and Trudgill (1981) have argued persuasively that dialectology should form a unified sub-discipline comprising dialect

geography, urban dialectology and human geography. Its unity is provided by the theoretical underpinnings of variation theory, the set of premises and hypotheses, which arise as a consequence of accepting the variable as a structural unit in the grammatical model. The mapping of dialect variation and other phenomena is, as we shall see below, a major feature of this geographic tradition.

A third source was the work of modernisation theorists in the fifties and sixties, such as Deutsch (1966) and Lerner (1964). In their attempt to develop a communication approach to socio-political change, great emphasis was placed upon language, both as a symbol of independence and integration, and as a carrier of new ideas, particularly of nationalism's potency as a mobilising ideology. Modernisation theory insisted on well executed empirical studies where indices of power, communicative competence, literacy rates, educational achievements, health care and the like were used to measure the achievements of 'development' in so-called Third World societies. This led to a wide range of cross-cultural comparative studies, which emphasised data quality and reliability and promoted the systematic study of language in its institutional and socio-political context. Geographers were engaged to measure and map such communication items as the role of telephone links in encouraging East African Federation, the spatial fit between linguistic, ethnic and political boundaries in newly independent states, the ethno-linguistic composition of traditional rural areas and rates of language switching in the 'melting pot' society of African urbanisation.

When modernisation theory was applied to comparative research in developed societies it spawned detailed historical treatments of the role of language and ethnicity in nation-formation and state-building, the most notable of which are the works of Rokkan (1970), Rokkan and Urwin (1982), Weinstein (1983). Political scientists and sociologists had also incorporated a territorial dimension to their systematic analysis of multilingual societies. Thus Jonathan Pool (1969, 1976, 1978) has devoted considerable attention to the question of selecting a national language in newly independent, former colonial states, and to concerns over language planning, particularly in the former USSR. Similarly Ken McRae (1964,

1974, 1975, 1983, 1986) has systematically explored the cultural co-existence of national languages in Canada, Switzerland, Finland and Belgium. Such studies adopt a territorial approach to language management and conflict and have been very influential in demonstrating the principles by which language rights may be accorded within multilingual states, principles which have become accepted tenets of the literature on language planning (Nelde, Labrie and Williams, 1992). Personality and territoriality principles of language planning are now a major focus of research in applied linguistics in as varied a context as Estonia, the Republic of South Africa and Wales.

Jean Laponce has offered a more specific treatment of the relationship between language and territory in a series of ambitious and excellent studies (1984a; 1984b; 1987a; 1987b). His account of the operation of multilingual societies and of the role of language, territory, hierarchy, ethno-linguistic separatism and identity have been an inspiration to many to test his hypotheses and to develop his ideas further in various geographical contexts. Despite these admirable efforts it is rare for non-geographers to accord space, place and territory a significant role in language contact studies.

Most research is predicated on the assumption that space is merely a container for social action, a passive context for linguistic and other behaviour. This relative neglect of a spatial perspective is understandable when one considers that most scholars conceive of geography in simplistic, two-dimensional terms. If they adopt geographical assumptions at all in their work, it is in the hope of demonstrating the direct influence of variables such as distance, isolation, topography or the built environment upon their analysis of the social structure in general and of language in particular. This conception of space in nineteenth century social physics terms is limiting in the extreme. One exception has been the recent work in political science and political sociology which focuses on the territorial restructuring of the state and the political economy of regionalism as detailed below. In contrast to much of the social sciences generally, geolinguistics offers a more positive, dynamic and practical appreciation of the role of space, territory, environment and scale in a more holistic socio-linguistic practice.

3. Ethnolinguistic geography and geolinguistics

The most comprehensive and systematic explication of Geolinguistics may be found in Roland J.-L. Breton's (1991) work *Geolinguistics: Language Dynamics and Ethnolinguistic Geography*, an expanded version of his *Geographie des langues* (1976a) translated by Harold F. Schiffman. Breton defines the transdisciplinary nature of Geolinguistics as being comprised of six dimensions. The *Spatial dimension* is composed of three elements; the distribution of languages, the management and planning of linguistically-related space; and graphic representational techniques which are divided into *Cartography and Graphic Semiology*. The *Social dimension* he distinguishes from Sociolinguistics by virtue of geography's concern with the macro-social level rather than with individualist components or micro-social patterns and behaviour, although we should note that Sociolinguistics is itself subscribing more and more to the notion of macrosociolinguistics (Fishman, 1997). The significant role of demography and ethnic relations in this dimension conduce, he claims, to an *ethnolinguistic approach* which focuses on 'correlations and/or discontinuities between language and ethnicity' (p. xvi). The *Economic dimension* considers language as a cultural resource and seeks to measure its value through a series of 'vectors of language use' such as the media, language 'industries' (i.e. education, publishing texts, dictionaries etc) which argue for the consideration of *ecolinguistics* dealing with 'a complex set of goods and services and their production' (p. xvii). The cumulative weight of such resources and their associated infrastructure determine the possibilities of language reproduction or language death. The *Temporal dimension* offers a *diachronic* perspective looking both to the past and the future in order to specify the correct evolutionary and relational position of languages in contact. The *Political dimension* is crucial for it determines the institutional context wherein languages are influenced by the agencies and policies of the state. These can exercise 'normative, standardising and/or repressive functions' (p. xvii). Most importantly there is the sixth *Linguistic dimension*. This offers a developmental approach which concentrates upon 'language genesis, linguistic differentiation through time, con-

solidation, standardisation, and codification' (p. xvii). When these are related to contextual variables, to the other dimensions noted above and to processes such as language spread and contraction, the dynamism of language behaviour at the macro-scale is revealed.

Breton's definition encompasses the syncretic and holistic nature of geographic perspectives. The difficulty is in operationalising such definitions in any real world case study. Data quality and methodological problems are notorious in this field, but Breton argues that to be truly effective Geolinguistics must be committed to its own research aims and methods which he suggests should be comprised of the following four elements. 1) Research which involves quantifiable data (whether drawn from census, social survey, field work etc.), which can be subjected to analysis such as factorial ecology, so as to verify general theoretical models. 2) 'The elaboration of theoretical and/or graphic *models* expressing language dynamics' (p. xviii). 3) The dissemination of published results to an informed and involved public. 4) 'The elaboration of language-planning *programs* designed to preserve and encourage the development of languages ... threatened with extinction, domination, or subjugation by other groups, or facing dispersion, deportation, or forced assimilation in whatever manner this may occur' (p. xviii).

Clearly not all scientists would agree with the elements of advocacy involved in the latter aim, but a characteristic feature of most geolinguistic research is that practitioners are often deeply involved in specific language contact situations, whether as activists, consultants or educators. Scholarship and polemical arguments go hand in hand here which also helps explain the relative prominence given to threatened languages in the field. Monitoring declining languages is the geolinguistic equivalent of environmental degradation and species-habitat destruction, so familiar in other branches of Geography and Environmental Science (Williams, 1991).

4. The cartographic representation of linguistic data

The construction and use of maps and diagrams is Geography's pivotal contribution to Sociolinguistics. Maps shape an imagined

reality, which takes on a life of its own, and often become the basis for understanding and action. In many ways maps suggest themselves as natural adjuncts to help us orientate ourselves or to relate a series of phenomena within a bounded space. But maps are also, of course, a very specialised form of encoded signs and messages. This transposition of word and image is significant, for maps and diagrams, too, are a form of language. Ambrose and Williams (1991, p. 300) outline the six functions of maps in geolinguistics as follows: – 1) to set the bounds of the study, 2) to observe, collect and record information in an ordered manner, 3) to store, retrieve and update information consistently, 4) to analyse by cartographic means, 5) to present results and 6) to interpret results for policy implications.

The relative paucity of maps in general linguistics may be attributable to the fact that the choice of potential cartographic methods is so wide that few conventions for language mapping have yet been established. The traditional repertoire consists of three types of symbols which we will discuss by reference to Ambrose and Williams's (1991, p. 303–4) and Ormerling's (1993) methodological essays. *Point Symbols* include dot map and proportional circles, while quantified point symbols refer to bar graphs and divided proportional circle methods. Proportional symbol maps show variations in numbers and the relationship between values at different locations. Ormerling (1993, p. 34) has argued that as such maps seek to represent the areal extent of specific distributed phenomena, the choice of boundaries and the separation between symbols is critical. The density of observations, the availability of data and the regularity of such distributions influence this choice. *Line Symbols* include boundary lines, bunches of isoglosses in linguistic transition zones, quantified line symbols, that is, isolines indicating a continuous language surface and lines indicating language dynamics on a diffusion map. Boundary lines on linguistic maps often give a false sense of security to the interpreter, for as Ormerling (1993, p. 37) has cautioned, there is a 'seemingly infallible character to ... boundary lines (such as) isoglosses i.e. boundaries between similar language characteristics, such as sounds, structures or conjugation which have been drawn between point symbols that sometimes are far apart from each other. The fact

that they will be printed often adds to their prestige and apparent accuracy. Good examples are Orton and Wright's (1974) *Word Geography and the Deutscher Wortatlas*.

Davis, Houck and Upton (1997) remind us that more recent technical improvements have lessened this naïve tendency. Dialect mapping, as represented by the computational advances adopted by Haimersl's (1997) phonetic dialect atlas of Dolomitic Ladinian or Kelle's (1997) *Southwest German Dialect Atlas*, together with Vigil and Bills (1997) database for mapping Spanish in New Mexico, is far healthier now than it was several decades ago. Alan Thomas's (1997) *Issues and Methods in Dialectology* is a good state of the art collection of papers. (For more details on dialectology see chapter 4.)

The search for definitive boundary criteria, for example, between dialect areas where many isoglosses would coincide, was expedited by the German geographer Otto Maull's "Grenzgürtel-methode" introduced in 1915. Oremling (1993, p. 38) describes how Maull sought to delineate the boundary between Albania and Macedonia by mapping a range of relevant criteria, such as vegetation, climate, language and religion. By constructing both ecological and cultural boundaries, Maull derived his frontier line where the maximum cluster of boundary lines coincided. Despite the fact that this does not seem to be a particularly accurate method to the contemporary cartographer, Oremling stresses that it is 'no less reliable than for instance modern correlation methods such as factor analysis.' (p. 38). The intellectual problem in both conventional and contemporary methods of demarcation is the selection and relative weighting of constituent variables, so that one is always grappling with the objective representation of essentially subjective factors.

Area Symbols consist of generalised large-scale chorochromatic and quantified choropleth maps. Such maps measure relative quantitative data or intensities for pre-defined areas, usually civil authority districts. By allocating shading, which corresponds with the intensity of the mapped phenomena, a relative pattern of strength is produced. Such maps require that the linguistic phenomena be evenly distributed, which they rarely are. They also imply a spurious homogeneity of mapped phenomena between the bounded units e.g. parishes or administrative regions. However, despite their

infelicities they are among the more common language maps available. Oremling (1993, p. 39) advises that they should always be used in tandem with maps conveying absolute quantities, such as proportional symbol maps, so as not to distort the message to be derived from factual information. An excellent example of innovative cartography which develops these conventions may be found in the work of Zupancic (1996, 1998) which also provides sophisticated means of representing complex patterns of ethnic identity on the Slovene-Austrian borderlands.

If boundaries and symbols are deceptive, so too are scales. Ambrose and Williams (1991, p. 305) argue that the question of scale furnishes part of the explanation for such patchy progress in the drawing of analytical language maps. In most conventional forms of map making, it is conventional to group together information into areal units – a problem in that linguistic processes operate, for the most part, at the level of the individual speaker. It is a source of ceaseless frustration to map makers that official language data sources provide information in aggregate form (for quite understandable reasons, it must be admitted) using units ranging from randomly aggregated grid-squares to postal districts, but quite incompatible with the needs of analytical cartography. This incompatibility of scale is another of the contributory factors, which could be seen as casting cartographers in the role of secondary observers of linguistic processes, rather than as agents of their understanding.

Maps, of course, are more than a cluster of symbols and attractive, accurate shadings. The way in which maps are constructed greatly influences their utility, for interpreting a map can be a highly skilled, if at times, frustrating experience. It all depends upon what message the cartographer wishes to impart. Critical to interpretation are legends and marginal information. Oremling (1993, p. 45) has argued that one can discern three phases in the map reading process: external identification, internal identification and map reading proper. External identification relates to the geographical framework and map theme normally captured in the map title. Internal identification involves the decoding of the legend, and this should involve a single stage transfer of data from the map to the reader. The more direct the transfer

the more effective is the legend. Marginal information involves the name of the publisher, author, catalogue number, date and place of publication, for ease of reference and cataloguing. Unlike books, maps are often hard to track down and are deeply embedded in other works, which do not reveal that they have any cartographic content. Several years ago I campaigned for an international standard code of geolinguistic representation, the cartographic version of an ISBN, a call repeated in Ambrose and Williams, 1993, p. 9).

Legends are a critical and undervalued aspect of language contact maps, for they serve as refractors on reality linking the symbolic (iconic) and linguistic aspects of representation. In his fascinating survey of the whole field of mapping Dennis Wood (1993, p. 122) has this to say about legends. 'In the legend, semantic connections are made between classes of graphic images or image attributes and linguistic representation of the phenomena to which they refer. In this capacity, the legend acts as interpreter between the unique semiological system of the individual map and the culturally universal system of language ... in translating graphic expression to linguistic expression we make the map literate and its meanings subject to literary representation and manipulation. It seems our compulsion and need so to do.'

The cartographic process brings together skills from the Arts, Social Science and Science traditions. It involves both highly accurate representation and mythology to sustain its credibility. It is an act of faith to believe that reality is as the map says it should be. But even the linguistic signifiers on maps are not fixed, they are relative and contextual. 'Within the map image, elements of visible language serve as counterparts to iconic signs, overlapping their content and spatial domains echoing their iconic properties. In the map image, entire words and arrangements of words are given iconic license, generating a field of linguistic signs best likened to concrete poetry. Letters expand in size, increase in weight, or assume *majuscule* form to denote higher degrees of importance ... Textual syntax is largely abandoned as words are stretched and contorted and word groups rearranged to fit the space of their iconic equivalents. Clearly this code invokes more than the disposition of phonetic archetypes.' (Wood, 1993, p. 123).

That so few maps are used in the broader field of Sociolinguistics relates to most practitioners' concern with the internal variation within language forms and behaviour, rather than with external, interactive and contextual interests. It must also be admitted that both constructing and interpreting maps are specialist activities, which reflect a particular interest and set of educational experiences. Many more researchers are likely to acknowledge the temporal rather than the spatial dimension to their studies and in so doing they help marginalise geographic methods and analysis. This is particularly lamentable within Sociolinguistics and Contact Linguistics, for contact implies interaction, and interaction must be contextualised in both time and space to be made meaningful. Also it is understandable, if incorrect, to assume that the mapping of perceived reality is the end of the geographer's contribution. Language mapping possesses an analytical potential, but so often restricts itself to a descriptive role. This derives from two sets of reasons. The first stems from the broad relationship between geography and linguistics and the second is inherent in the mapping process itself (Ambrose and Williams, 1991, p. 301). The root problem is that there has been very little genuine interaction between linguists and geographers until comparatively recently. Both disciplines belong to very different academic traditions and in most University cultures there is little common ground in the training and subsequent collaboration of students and academics. Thus unlike Sociology or Social Psychology which have firmly established institutional networks, journals and associations which interact with Linguistics, Geography is distanced and is more akin to Economics in its relationship with Linguistics. The latter is perceived as having only a marginal interest, which is not essential to the development of Geography as a discipline. This is understandable, if regrettable, because Geography covers such a wide spectrum of subject matter in both the Human and Physical Sciences.

The second reason is that before they can choose an appropriate cartographic style of representation, Linguists need to be aware of the menu from which they can draw. A lack of language mapping conventions inhibits all but the most resourceful individuals from experimenting in multi-dimensional representation. 'Individuals, such as

Breton, working in a genuine spirit of experiment and against the background of cartographic styles which are often culturally or nationally distinctive, are obliged to employ mapping techniques without clear standards of comparability. The International Phonetic Alphabet is not yet matched in the field of cartography' (Ambrose and Williams, 1991, p. 302). When maps are used to construct multivariate patterns, to demonstrate through sequential observations the dynamism inherent in particular processes they become important tools of analysis.

5. The geography of language functions

The doyen of contemporary sociolinguistics who advocates a geolinguistic perspective, is William Mackey of the University of Laval. His pioneering work over the past thirty years has been pivotal in the development both of Geolinguistics and Sociolinguistics. Place-specific observation, identification, interpretation and prediction characterise his approach to the relationship between land and language (1988). He argues that the main problems of geolinguistic description are the identification of the unit of observation, the location of the units, their territorial segmentation, their functions and evolution. Each of these concepts has been demonstrated empirically in his work (1973; 1986; 1991). Once descriptive information is available Mackey suggests that answers be sought to some of the following fundamental geolinguistic questions: – "What determines the distribution of languages on the face of the globe? Why do certain language areas expand and others contract? Why do languages disappear from vast areas they once covered? What is required for the estimation of the life expectancy of a language? Does the rise of one language suppose a proportionate fall in the use of other language? What attracts people to the use of one language rather than another? Why are some languages more stable than others are? Are the status and power of attraction of a language simply reflections of the status and power of the nations for whom it is the national language? Or is language status independent of national status? How does language status develop? What are its components? What are the causes of language extinction?" (Mackey, 1988, p. 32).

The answers have to do with language distribution, attraction, power and status, expansion, extinction and replacement, each of which is explicated in his work (1973; 1980; 1988; 1991). In addition he has developed a number of hypotheses which relate languages in contact to their territorial context, ideas which have been elaborated upon and tested by his colleagues at Laval and elsewhere (Laforge and McConnell, 1990).

As has already been noted, cartographic coverage of language functions and usage is quite spotty and uneven. Zelinsky and Williams (1988, p. 356) commented that the territorial gaps and thin spots are obvious enough, but what was more interesting or frustrating were the topical lacunae. They argue that what we know about the geography of language via maps, words or statistics is confined almost entirely to what is spoken at home or to the census enumerator. Treatment of speech in the workplace, church/mosque, school and on the street would be extremely useful, if demanding in terms of fieldwork. Equally fascinating, almost no one has tried to map functional literacy. Especially worthwhile would be studies and maps of literacy and usage in non-official tongues, including circulation patterns for 'ethnic' newspapers and magazines and listening/viewing areas and market penetration for foreign language radio and television programmes. In 1988, Zelinsky and Williams asked us to "imagine how rich the stimuli for scholars and government officials if we could consult detailed atlases of actual linguistic behaviour in such places as London, Toronto, New York City and San Francisco, with special reference to non-indigenous speech. In these and other geolinguistic endeavours, the findings obviously could be applied in socially constructive fashion by those legislators and planners who formulate public policy as well as by the scholar" (p. 356). As a response to this call, Van der Merve (1993) has mapped the geography of language shift in Cape Town and Williams and Van der Merve (1996) have set forth a research agenda for Urban Geolinguistics which focuses on the linking of official census and specific social survey data, the vicissitudes of urban ecology, and the adoption of Geographic Information System methodologies, of which more later. Knowledge and consciousness of linguistically defined bounded spaces pervade most inhabitants' perception of ethno-linguistic

urban neighbourhoods in the world's great multilingual cities. We have adequate census-based identifications of ethno-linguistic neighbourhoods, but relatively little by way of detailed micro-level analysis of urban territoriality for language groups in such places as London, Paris, Rome, Brussels, Frankfurt, Budapest or Moscow. Mapping the subjective world of constituent language groups in relation to conflict over urban space and facilities, such as education, sports centres and the like would be a fascinating cartographic and behavioural exercise. A related aspect of urban multilingualism would be to map the linguistic behaviour of non-official language groups in a wide range of social domains, including the workplace, places of worship and entertainment. However, because such data is often sensitive we should not be surprised that there is a paucity of mapped information. The very definition of what constitutes a language in such settings may prove to be a barrier to the collection of more data, as the debate surrounding the authenticity or otherwise of Black English, various other Creoles, or a whole host of variant codes of standard languages and dialects attests (Zelinsky and Williams, 1988, p. 339).

6. Geolinguistic atlases and regional development

There has been a distinguished tradition of mapping ethnic and linguistic distributions as a key to understanding the development of many regions, both within and beyond the European context. The earliest pioneers were Central European cartographers as represented in the publications of *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, as illustrated by the work of Paul Langhans (1896, 1899, 1919), or Ignaz Hatsek (1882, 1885). Ethnolinguistic cartography served in, and was sponsored by agencies of nation-building and regional identification here as elsewhere. Its most critical deployment of course, was in the development of geopolitical strategies during the Age of Empires where British, French, Austrian and German cartographers literally charted the political machinations of Foreign Secretaries and their Colonial Offices. At a later period such techniques for representation and misrepresentation, together with the integrity of many scholars, analysts and cartographers, were used and abused in the

service of National Socialism. The debate as to the amount of complicity involved and the general impact of this period on the development of geography as a discipline is still producing fresh insights, as may be judged from Kost's (1988) voluminous study, or the special issues of *Political Geography Quarterly* devoted to German geopolitics edited by Paterson, (1987) and Sander (1989). In more dispassionate mode, Magosci (1993) has produced a superb Atlas of East Central Europe, which has sumptuous plates on ethnolinguistic distributions at various periods from the early mediaeval times to the recent past. This is probably the most authoritative reference work available by which one may interpret ethnic and linguistic change in Central Europe.

In addition to the many historical atlases noted above, there is a contemporary concern with global development and with understanding the implications of inhabiting multilingual contexts for economic growth, political stability, security studies and ethnic/racial discord. Nowhere is this concern better evidenced and served than by geolinguistic analysis in South Asia. Two excellent illustrations will suffice. Roland Breton's (1997) magnificent study *Atlas of the Languages and Ethnic Communities of South Asia* is geolinguistics at its best. The Atlas is comprised of 60 plates, numerous statistical tables, a comprehensive classification system and an excellent bibliography. The subject of the beautifully-drawn maps range from the macro-level presentation of language distribution for South Asia, down through successive levels in the spatial hierarchy to innovative micro-level representations of either individual languages, such as the six main Tibeto-Himalayan languages, or to thematic issues such as the geolinguistic character of the media and film industry or the sociolinguistic composition of primate cities. The second example is the work of M. Ishtiaq (1999) *Language Shifts Among the Scheduled Tribes in India*. By employing statistically robust measurements of linguistic exposure of tribal language groups, the author demonstrates, both cartographically and logically, the assimilation of tribal peoples to the majoritarian culture. The study is replete with fascinating observations, backed up by sound data analysis, but it is also concerned with the policy implications of the analysis, a call which echoes the general arguments advanced by many geographers concerned

with ethnic relations and development (see Dwyer and Drakakis-Smith, 1996).

7. Language boundary studies

Borders, boundaries and frontiers are integral to the Geographer's trade. In language border areas research has focused on simultaneous inter-lingual contact operating at a number of different scales ranging from the inter-state level, through intermediate trade, social and cultural organisations to the level of the individual. Innovative work in mapping the varying behaviours associated with each level has been undertaken for Norden by Lundén (1973, 1988), for Brittany and Wales by Ambrose (1979; 1988), whilst useful overviews of language boundary changes are available for Alsace by Kofman (1989), for Finland by Lauren (1987), for Belgium by Murphy (1988) and Deprez (1987). Two pressing research needs are more work on perceived language boundaries and the ambiguous character of a boundary in an increasingly plurilingual, but open, Europe and to a lesser extent South East Asia. Initial, fascinating enquiries have concentrated on the linguistic, migratory and ethnopolitical adjustments of the Slovene border areas and we now have an excellent range of detailed case studies by Klemencic and Klemencic (1997) on the north Adriatic border region 1521–1918; Bufon (1993; 1994; 1996) on the Slovene-Italian border population movements and socio-linguistic adjustments; Bufon (1997) on the ethnolinguistic structure of the Upper Adriatic, 1910–1991; Zupancic (1997) on issues of region, language and identity in Carinthia; together with Gosar and Klemencic (1994) on similar issues along the Slovene-Croatian border. Geography researchers based at the University of Ljubljana and the Slovene Scientific Research Centre at Koper are undertaking vital work on the readjustment process of former State Socialist societies seeking to be incorporated within the European Union. Slovenia is a fascinating example of a rapidly modernising society attempting to maintain its national language within a dynamic globalising world. It also straddles three of Europe's major culture regions, the Romance, Germanic and Slavic realms, where all of its neighbours possess powerful languages of wider communication, in addition to which, of course, it has to come to grips with the demands of global English.

A second need would be to measure the effect which globalisation and the transnational transmission of culture by electronic means has upon language borders. We know that 'the collapse of space and time' has major ramifications in most aspects of communication (Brunn and Leinbach, 1991) but we have yet to see a plethora of systematic studies on the effects of the communication revolution upon language border areas, despite the voluminous literature on globalisation and the implications of communication systems for the global age (Albrow, 1996). This is surely a worthy and relevant field of enquiry for the European Union members, let alone those in Central and Eastern Europe, who are already conscious of the permeability of their borders to outside, deleterious influences. A new geography of language and communication has been fashioned, based upon networks and real time interaction, with enormous consequences for power relations, entertainment and sport together with commercial transactions.

8. Cultural transition zones

Cultural transition zones describe the interface occupied by two or more ethnic/national groups. As such they are the most expressive of geographic models for Contact Linguistics in the European context. As we have seen early Historical Atlases represented frontier zones, such as Alsace-Lorraine or the Friulian-Slovene region in vivid colour, as periodic flashpoints of conflict within the process of dynastic consolidation and state-formation. Establishing linguistic boundaries for the political purposes of claiming a significant part of a neighbour's territory is a common expedient of statecraft and a major source of inter-group conflict. The detailed historical research stemming from the Centre for International Conflict, Lund University is perhaps the best illustration of this phenomenon. Under the scholarly guidance of Professor Sven Tägil, the centre has produced excellent studies of regional conflict, ethnic mobilization and cross-boundary co-operation, which includes a great deal of systematic evidence of language affiliation, social exclusion and ethnic denial (Tägil, 1984; 1999).

However, the contemporary concern with cultural transition zones has more to do with respecting the minority linguistic rights

of settled communities either side of the international or regional boundary. Cartwright (1991) has specified the various stages involved in the development of cultural conflict in transition zones, and his model has a general applicability in a variety of European contexts, such as the Flemish-Walloon divide or Euskadi, together with his native Canada. As two competing, state-sponsored cultural realms expand, they incorporate adjacent territory and absorb peripheral populations, which are often supplemented by in-migrants from the dominant core area, together with the operation of institutional agencies such as the military, the judiciary and religious organisations. The gradual incorporation of the frontier by a rival *ecumene* necessitates cultural assimilation and the protection of new, superimposed boundaries. Over time, this leaves a relic, irredentist population who may pursue campaigns for linguistic rights within bilingual zones. The vast majority of the constituent members of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages contain such situations, as do the Canadian francophone population outside Quebec and northern New Brunswick (Cartwright, 1998). In consequence the major challenge of the transition zone will be how to organise internal processes which will maximise the utility of all languages within the zones. Such zones can act as bridges in the New World Order and thus symbolise a spirit of partnership and integration, wherein the free flow of goods and people may be encouraged. Bi- or tri-lingual inhabitants of such zones are set fair to act as critical elements in the integrative process. However, because such zones are also strategically significant and have a history of periodic violence it is imperative that we fully understand the various socio-linguistic dynamics, which accompany such integrative measures. Geolinguistic analysis offers the potential for capturing much of the complexity via its sophisticated multivariate methodologies. It can also aid the analysis of problem solving through laying out several alternative scenarios and illustrating the demolinguistic and political implications of various choices. Studies of partition, whether of former Yugoslavia, Israel and Palestine (Portugali, 1991; Kliot and Waterman, 1984) or Quebec and Canada (Joy, 1992, Reid, 1992) often employ contending spatial outcomes to bolster some solutions at the expense of others.

9. Geographic information systems and computer-aided mapping

The advance of GIS in the past two decades has allowed for a more comprehensive and powerful means to visualise, simulate and display information in its true spatial context (Goodchild, 1992, p. 159). The implications of the GIS revolution are profound and are already being appreciated in fields as varied as space exploration and remote sensing, transport and traffic management, disease spread mapping and vegetation analysis. Its potential in Geolinguistics is recognised as essential and promising, even if its use is rather limited at present (Williams, 1988; 1991). However, there are very significant initiatives, which augur well for a greater development of GIS in geolinguistics. In particular collaborative research between a number of global partners oriented around the *Observatoire Linguistique, Yr Wylfan Ieithoedd*, Cardiff University, the School of Oriental and African Studies (The University of London) is set to be a major advance in the field. The aim of the Linguasphere Programme is to “map and classify all the world’s languages and dialects, using a unified and standardised system of reference, and to set up an international database for the storage, comparison and diffusion of all kinds of linguistic, demographic, ethnic and cultural information. Such information will be of vital importance for educational and linguistic planning as well as for the conservation of minority languages and the protection of the rights of those who speak them.” (Logosphere Programme, 1993, p. 1). The GIS techniques have produced multilayered maps and figures for Africa, London and parts of India, which reflect the system’s high quality. The research team is currently developing three-dimensional views of languages in contact, with a capacity to rotate the angle of vision, to represent linear sectional distributions and to perform spatial query functions, such as adjacency, distance, and the intersection of a range of specific functions. GIS will enable investigative cartography to complement the conventional two-dimensional, static views. It will also enable the simultaneous display of a number of languages, thus avoiding the normal bias of reproducing a single language or script. Interactive procedures are made possible by the development of an active graphic data-

base stored on CD-ROM. Thus in a multilingual area where both official and vernacular languages are in use, the programme will be able to display a number of such languages on a single map, three dimensional views and a choice between two or more scripts or transliteration systems on screen. By scaling in and out of the image, more or less detail will be presented and "it should be possible to integrate the visual database with selected sound recordings of the languages concerned. This interactive approach will not only constitute an advance in the theory and practice of the cartographic representation of language, but will also provide a possible solution to the long-standing need for a universal system of reference, data-recording and data-access on the languages, cultures and peoples of the world, outside the distorting framework of nation-states. The details of linguistic and geographic data will be related in a database, which will in turn be linked, to a cartographic computer-aided design system (CAD). The database will record language names in their own indigenous scripts, together with language codings and transliterations, and will store geographic co-ordinates of individual language areas independently from their final presentation in conventional mapping form" (The Logosphere Programme, 1993, p. 13).

A number of implications derive from this and similar trends within GIS. First the technical ability to handle and represent large and complex databases will continue to develop. Secondly, the range of language contact situations included within such systems will also widen. Thirdly, the attraction of GIS to non-geographers will soon become apparent as both the quality and relatively low-cost of its productions will filter into academia and the market place. Fourthly, this development represents a real opportunity for genuine trans-disciplinary cooperation at the cutting edge of geolinguistics. Fifthly, accurate comprehensive, multilayered descriptions and analyses of particular contexts should inform public policy, in fields such as education, public administration, the legal system etc.

However, there are also potential pitfalls. Accurate mapping of populations can lead to a greater control of, for example, discriminated groups by malignant powers. In some multiethnic contexts it may be important for the ruling elite not only to know *who* their enemy is, but also to know precisely

where they are located. Technology is a two-edged sword, as we know to our cost. It depends upon how it is applied. Secondly, advanced data-handling technology presupposes good quality raw data, and increasingly government agencies in Europe, at least, seem reluctant to expend resources on surveying their multilingual populations. Thus the need for accurate data must be constantly repeated. It would be ironic in the extreme, if at the very time we had developed sophisticated techniques, we relied increasingly upon poor quality data. Thirdly, there are costs and penalties involved in the widespread diffusion of any innovative system. Current marketing strategies in other aspects of computer-based technologies suggest that the actual costs of software and continuous output may reduce significantly as demand increases. However, control over particular aspects of the process may revert to one or two suppliers in hegemonic positions, as in currently true of Playstation and Nintendo in the computer games field. Fourthly, it may be politically advantageous for some language groups not to have their total numbers, distribution patterns, rate of language shift or exogenous marriage tendencies to be fully and accurately recorded in accessible map and machine-readable form. Clinical representation of their situation may in fact expose more than is tolerable, and henceforth they may not be so adept at playing the beleaguered minority game of moral and economic dialogue with dominant 'partners' in multilingual polities. It all depends upon the nature of accommodation within their society, as to how their revealed geolinguistic health will effect their position.

Discussing GIS more generally, Michael Goodchild (1992) argued that cartographic presentation still imposed a view of the world that was constant in scale and Euclidean in its organisation of space. He anticipates that the development of hierarchical spatial structures such as the quadtree, which are based upon new methods of viewing spatial distributions, will enable GIS to escape from the confines of dealing with fixed scales (p. 157). Thus the development of fractals and scaling phenomena offer profound implications for the whole of a discipline which normally assumes spatial uniformity. "The most important contribution of GIS to spatial analysis has been to draw attention to aspects of spatial analysis that

are incidental and that confuse interpretation, such as data accuracy, the influence of reporting zones, and scale. All are potentially more avoidable in a GIS environment than in the traditional, manual environment of spatial analysis. Frame-independent spatial analysis, would yield additional progress" (p. 158).

Ultimately, as with any scientific/technological development, computer-aided cartography is only as good as the quality and integrity of its designers, interpreters and users. In principle, GIS applications, such as the Linguasphere Programme are geography's greatest contribution to date to sociolinguistic interpretation as we look forward eagerly to its rapid advance over the next decade or so.

10. Contextual analysis

One of the aims of contemporary geolinguistics is to give a holistic account of particular language contact situations. Two exemplary studies which employ all the conventional skills of sensitive geographers are Hindley's (1990) 'The Death of the Irish Language' and Withers's (1984) 'Gaelic in Scotland' (and his follow-up study of 1988 'Gaelic Scotland'). Both authors provide very detailed historical overviews of their respective languages in the period up to the present century, concentrating on features such as institutional agencies of Anglicisation, the role of religion in language shift, the effect of compulsory education on a rural peasantry, the ramifications of industrialisation, modernisation and mobilisation. Depending upon one's point of view these could either be taken as examples of language death (as Hindley intends) or as language revitalisation from a very poor base (as in the Gaelic case).

Data sources are meticulously combed to provide the basis for reconstructing the geographical vicissitudes of the declining Celtic languages, which are mapped at regular intervals up to the 1981 Census. There then follows an in-depth analysis of particular regions and places, such as Gaeltachtaí of Leinster in the case of Hindley (pp. 131–136) where agencies of language revival are examined and the prospects for the future health of Irish are assessed at a number of localities and domains. Both studies offer systematic interpretations of the causes, pattern and processes of language decline and stand as

excellent examples of the methodological thoroughness of good geolinguistic work. The fact that they are often used as companions to other disciplines such as History, Cultural Studies, Anthropology and the like suggests that there is plenty of scope for similar detailed case studies.

Selected governments have also been very active in the application of GIS to contextual analysis, none more so than the Basque and Catalan authorities. Following a real measure of autonomy after Franco's death, both governments have invested heavily in sociolinguistic data collection and analysis so as to underpin their active language planning and policy. The Basque government has a very sophisticated social survey capacity with state of the art geolinguistic analysis which it employs to good effect both in pursuing its public policies and in encouraging the linguistic micro-planning undertaken by the private, commercial sectors.

11. The language of geolinguistics

The study of language is crucial to the study of social organisation, including academic disciplines themselves. Our key concepts and paradigms within Geography are currently under scrutiny. The shift to logical positivism and spatial analysis after the mid-fifties gave modernity an unquestioned primacy in Geography (Abler et al 1992, p. 398). The current debate between positivism and postmodernism has thrown into sharp relief the way in which Geographers use language, among other means of expression, such as maps and statistical reasoning. As Pickles and Watts (1992, p. 320) argue.

'Geographers have begun to realise more clearly how their concepts, theoretical frameworks, methodologies, categories, language arise out of a particular historical and spatial conjuncture – modernity. Behind this recognition is also acceptance of the need to rethink many of the approaches they use to deal with the world.' In particular the pluralism inherent in contemporary Geography has called into question the certainty of older traditions and the search for grand theory. The sharp edge of this debate is the use of language itself, with Geography importing significant debates from within Linguistics and Social Science on the nature of the subject/object relationship, the realist-relativist debate, holism versus individualism

lism and the nature of a prelinguistic reality. Pickles and Watts (1992, p. 319) phrase it thus: 'Knowledge is socially produced in the context of a plurality of language games ... language itself becomes problematical. Representational notions of maps and words are discarded as foundationalist and essentialist, presupposing forms of objective reality beyond (yet accessible to) our conceptual categories. Such a rejection of representationalism raises questions about the tools of the geographer: the map and the written description.'

Gellner (1992, p. 24) is critical of this broad tendency and avers that the switch from positivism to hermeneutics has produced postmodernism as an ephemeral specimen of relativism. He argues that "in the current intellectual atmosphere, one senses a feeling that the world is not the totality of things, but of meanings. Everything is meaning, and meaning is everything, and hermeneutics is its prophet" (p. 24). Those who reject fieldwork, empiricism and quantification, the traditional hallmarks of positivistic Geography, have employed 'The Language of Deep Subjectivity'. "The Hermeneutic Way to Cultural Equality – all clusters of meaning are equal – also squarely places you amongst the political angels" is his stinging epitaph to relativist academics!

Within geolinguistics, so few of the world's language situations are adequately represented, and there is so much left to be accomplished, that relativism is of marginal interest. However, key concepts, such as space, place and landscape are now subject to revision and the role of language has a far more central place in discursive geographic accounts of time and space (Pred, 1981; Olsson, 1980; Withers, 1986) and of globalisation.

12. The institutional context of geolinguistics

Until relatively recently the only institutional outlet for Geolinguistic work was the American Society of Geolinguistics founded in 1965. Its aims and range of activities reflected Mario Pei's concern to 'channel sociolinguistic information to the informed layman'. Its annual journal *Geolinguistics* is a catholic expression of its concern with 'disseminating up-to-date knowledge concerning the present day languages of the world' (1984, p. ii). Its scholarly activities

and conference publications testify to the growth within North America of a geolinguistic community. Little of its work is directly related to geography as a separate discipline, for its focus is on the richness of the variety reflected in the world's languages, rather than any spatial analytical perspective *per se*. Nevertheless it is an important fillip to inter-disciplinary research.

A more focused research centre is the International Centre for Research on Language Planning (formerly the International Centre for Research on Bilingualism) at Laval University. This is a major powerhouse for geolinguistic studies, with a wide range of excellent academic and support staff, access to comprehensive data bases, an international network of co-researchers and correspondents, a regular bulletin, close cooperation with researchers and cartographic staff at Laval's Department of Geography and a voluminous contribution to the academic literature as represented by Laforge and McConnell (1990).

In Europe the Centre for Ethnic and Geolinguistic Research at Staffordshire University, produced the thrice-annual *Discussion Papers in Geolinguistics* between 1979 and 1994, and hosted seminars on Geography, Language Contact and Society (see Williams, 1988; 1991). Also the Centre Aldo Dami, the European Centre for Ethnolinguistic Cartography, founded in Brussels in 1985, acted for a short period as a focus for an energetic group of academics and government officials concerned with undertaking research on the geography of ethnic and linguistic groups in Europe. It prepared maps for the European Community under the auspices of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (Dublin), investigated a number of cartographic techniques and deliberated on European/African geolinguistic comparisons (Peeters and Williams, 1993). More recently the initiation of virtual reality research centres such as the *Observatoire Linguistique* and the *Centre International des Industries de la Langue et du Développement* (CILDA) of the Université Paris X, and the polycentric Linguasphere Programme suggest that there will be an exciting, expanding future for this new sub-field of scholarly enquiry.

The adoption of internet-based communication is especially significant, for many of the newer research centres are actively encouraging collaborative research with col-

leagues in Central and Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa who have their own priorities and geolinguistic skills to offer the international community.

In conclusion, one can suggest that interaction in the past between Geography and Sociolinguistics has been limited to the personal initiatives of practitioners, often inspired by the particular plight of their own national language. More recently a systematic attempt to develop a sub-field of Geolinguistics has produced a plethora of case studies and innovative methodologies. Theoretically modest, but methodologically advanced practices currently characterise this research area, and in all probability its significance will grow as the scholarly community and public policy decision-makers appreciate the technical capacity and flexibility of GIS cartography and data analysis.

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II. Basic Sociolinguistic Concepts Soziolinguistische Grundbegriffe

14. Sprachgemeinschaft – Kommunikationsgemeinschaft Speech Community – Communication Community

1. Problemstellung
2. Gemeinschaft mit gemeinsamer Sprache
3. Sozialgeographische Gemeinschaft
4. Einstellungsgemeinschaft
5. Interaktionsgemeinschaft/
Kommunikationsgemeinschaft
6. Netzwerk sozialer Beziehungen
7. Sprachgemeinschaft als
psychologisch-subjektive
Eigeninterpretation
8. Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft
9. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Problemstellung

Die Definition dessen, was wir unter *Sprachgemeinschaft* fassen wollen, hängt von historischen, kulturellen, politischen Entwicklungen ab, nicht nur von sprachlichen. Die Gewichtung der jeweils konstitutiven Definitionskriterien von Sprachgemeinschaften richtet sich nach dem Erkenntnisinteresse des Sprachforschers. Auf einer relativ hohen Abstraktionsebene sind dabei die Merkmalsgruppen angesiedelt, die ein signifikantes Merkmal wie Religionszugehörigkeit, Alter, Ethnizität und im Falle der Sprachwissenschaft insbesondere eine Sprache oder Sprachvarietät gemeinsam haben. Auf einer niedrigeren Abstraktionsebene reflektieren face-to-face Gruppen die sprachliche Realität. Wie problematisch es ist, den Terminus *Sprachgemeinschaft* über die gemeinsame Sprache zu definieren, wird dann offensichtlich, wenn man versucht zu zeigen, was der „Gebrauch der gleichen Sprache“ in realen sprachökologischen Situationen impliziert (vgl. unter 2.). Ob zwei Sprachsysteme als ein und dieselbe oder als zwei verschiedene Sprachen angesehen werden, hängt auch von den applizierten Kriterien ab.

Interessant ist es zu sehen, wie Apriori-Annahmen konstitutiv für die Definition von Sprachgemeinschaften werden und wie im Laufe der wissenschaftshistorischen Entwicklung das Interesse am sprachlichen Ver-

halten realer menschlicher Gruppierungen zunahm, d. h. wie sich das Forschungsinteresse von linguistischen zu soziolinguistischen Schwerpunkten verlagerte. Wir bewegen uns wissenschaftshistorisch von der Konstruktion eines homogenen, quasi gesetzmäßigen Sprachsystems durch die Linguisten hin zur Annahme einer kontinuierlichen Konstruktion des Sprachsystems durch den Sprecher selbst (Enninger/Wandt 1983, 32). Saville-Troikes Bemerkung (1982, 19) mag uns dabei als Ausgangspunkt für unsere Übersicht über Sprachgemeinschaftskonzepte dienen. „Depending on the degree of abstraction desired, social units may be selected at different levels; virtually any community in a complex society might be considered part of a larger one, or subdivided into smaller groups.“ Als zugrundeliegende Ausgangseinheiten für die Definition und Erfassung von Sprachgemeinschaften lassen sich Sprache(n), soziale Gruppen, soziale Netzwerke und Individuen festmachen, die gleichzeitig ein quasi hierarchisches Abbild der Abstraktionsebenen (und Gruppengrößen) darstellen.

2. Gemeinschaft mit gemeinsamer Sprache

In einer Linguistik, die von der Homogenitätsannahme ausgeht, deren Untersuchungsgegenstand also die Erforschung und Beschreibung eines oder mehrerer homogener grammatischer Systeme und deren Vergleichung ist, wobei je nach Interessenlage entweder die Strukturanalyse einer Sprache oder Verwandtschaftsgrade von Sprachen oder Vergleiche von Sprachentwicklungen oder historische Rekonstruktionen im Mittelpunkt stehen, wird jedes Sprachsystem als monolithisches ‚sprachliches und kulturelles Ganzes‘ (Kroeber 1939, passim) behandelt. Stilistische und grammatische Variation wird nicht aus der Untersuchung ausge-

geschlossen, aber ihre Funktion im Sprachgebrauch wird ignoriert. Der linguistische Untersuchungsgegenstand ist in diesem Falle die Untersuchung einer Varietät aus einer Reihe von Varietäten, die das sprachliche Verhalten einer Gruppe charakterisiert. Die Definition der zu beschreibenden Grundeinheit Sprachgemeinschaft ist deshalb relativ problemlos. Für L. Bloomfield ([1933] 1962, 29), der von einem monolithischen Sprachsystem ausgeht, ist Sprachgemeinschaft „eine Gruppe von Menschen, die das gleiche System von Sprachsignalen (speech signals) verwendet“. Ähnlich stark von der Idee der sprachlichen Einheit ausgehend sind die Konzeptionen der linguistischen Grundgesamtheit Sprachgemeinschaft bei Lyons (1970, 326), der „speech community“ sieht als alle Leute, die eine bestimmte Sprache oder einen bestimmten Dialekt gebrauchen, und bei Chomsky (1965), für den eine „completely homogeneous speech community“ die Grundgesamtheit seiner sprachlichen Analyse bildet, wobei die Intuition eines einzelnen *native speakers* ausreicht, diese homogene Sprachgemeinschaft zu beschreiben. Dies geht auf de Saussures Annahme zurück, dass ‚langue‘, das (soziale) Sprachsystem, homogen sei, ‚parole‘, die Rede, hingegen heterogen. ‚Langue‘ kann, und dies ist soziolinguistisch interessant, ohne Sprachgemeinschaft untersucht werden, um aber die ‚parole‘ zu untersuchen, also die mündlichen Äußerungen von Individuen, muss auf die Ebene der Sprachgemeinschaft zurückgegriffen werden (vgl. Chambers 1995, 25f). Labov (1972, 185f) nennt dies das de Saussure’sche Paradox.

Strukturelle Abstraktionen, die die Einheitlichkeit der Sprache postulieren, sind dann angemessen, wenn der Linguist das Ziel hat, Sprachtypologien oder sprachliche Universalien oder die Sprachgeschichte einer Sprache oder deren historische Rekonstruktion zu beschreiben. Einer deskriptiv-soziolinguistischen empirischen Prüfung jedoch halten weder Lyons, noch Bloomfields, noch Chomskys Konzeption stand. Im soziolinguistischen Sinne sagen die Definitionen via gemeinsame Sprache recht wenig über die sozialen Aggregate aus. Hymes (1966) beschuldigt denn auch Bloomfield und Chomsky (und implizit auch Lyons), sie hätten das Konzept ‚Sprachgemeinschaft‘ (*speech community*) auf die Sprache reduziert, indem sie beide gleichgesetzt hätten. Dies soll jedoch nicht heißen, dass es sozio-

linguistisch keinen Sinn macht, auf einer hohen Abstraktionsebene eine Sprachgemeinschaft zu charakterisieren, deren konstitutives Kriterium die gemeinsame Sprache ist, oder wie Kloss (1977, 225) dies formuliert: die „Gesamtheit der Personen, denen als Muttersprache ein bestimmtes sprachliches Diasystem in seinen verschiedenen dialektalen, soziolektalen usw. Varianten gemeinsam ist“. Dies hängt vom Untersuchungsinteresse des Soziolinguisten ab. Wenn z. B. Ammon (2001, 35) von den „Grenzen des deutschen Sprachgebietes“ spricht, so steht dahinter eine Definition, die eine räumliche und eine sprachliche Komponente hat. Als Makro-Konzept ist dies durchaus geeignet, wenn man sprachsoziologische, sprachpolitische, sprachplanerische Fragestellungen untersuchen und analysieren will. (Im Englischen macht man hier z. T. den Unterschied zwischen ‚speech community‘ und ‚language community‘, wobei letzteres eine Einheit bezeichnet, bei der das sprachliche ‚Superset‘ gemeinsam ist.)

Exkurs 1: Die deutsche Sprachgemeinschaft
Gemeinsam ist dieser Sprachgemeinschaft die deutsche Sprache mit ihren Subsystemen, ihren Existenzformen oder das deutsche sprachliche Diasystem mit seinen dialektalen und soziolektalen Varianten. „Der Schwerpunkt der Betrachtung liegt auf dem jeweiligen Standarddeutsch. Ausgangspunkt der Beobachtungen ist dabei, dass das Standarddeutsch dieser verschiedenen Länder durchaus merkbare Unterschiede aufweist“ (Ammon 1995, 1). Die Kodifizierung, d. h. die schriftliche Niederlegung in Wörterbüchern, Grammatiken etc., ist den Standardvarietäten eigen. Im Zweifelsfall schauen die Angehörigen der deutschen Sprachgemeinschaft in diesem Sprachkodex nach, um die ‚richtige‘ Form zu finden. „Außerdem ist eine Standardvarietät in aller Regel in ihrer Sprachgemeinschaft amtlich institutionalisiert. Sie wird insbesondere an Schulen unterrichtet oder in Behörden verwendet, wobei auch immer bis zu einem gewissen Grad darauf geachtet wird, dass sie korrekt gebraucht wird.“ (Ammon 1995, 3). Dennoch ist es notwendig, sich zu verdeutlichen, welche Subsysteme oder Sprachsysteme zur deutschen Sprache gehören. Ammon benutzt zwei Kriterien im Zusammenspiel zwischen Sprachvarietäten: die ‚Überdachung‘ und den Grad der ‚linguistischen Ähnlichkeit‘. Dabei ist Überdachung einer Varietät eine asymmetrische Relation, wobei grundsätzlich eine Standardvarietät eine Nicht-Standardvarietät überdacht. Die ‚linguistische Ähnlichkeit‘ ist eine symmetrische Relation, die „Ähnlichkeitsgrade einer Sprachvarietät (...) mit anderen Sprachvarietäten kann man sich geometrisch vorstellen als Strecken auf einem (...) ausgehenden Strahl, der

die Ähnlichkeitsdimensionen repräsentiert.“ (Ammon 1995, 4). Die Ähnlichkeit zwischen Varietäten ist groß, wenn beide in hohem Maße linguistisch übereinstimmen, und klein, wenn die Varietäten geringe Übereinstimmungen aufweisen. „Dabei kann man den Übereinstimmungsgrad linguistisch entweder durch einen Systemvergleich festzustellen versuchen oder durch Textvergleiche. Im ersteren Fall vergleicht man, inwieweit das Phonemsystem, gegebenenfalls auch das Schreibsystem, die Lexik, die Grammatik und eventuell auch die Pragmatik übereinstimmen bzw. divergieren“ (Ammon 1995, 4f). Das Kriterium der linguistischen Ähnlichkeit plaziert das deutsche Standarddeutsch, das österreichische Standarddeutsch und das schweizerische Standarddeutsch durch ‚große Ähnlichkeit‘ in eine Gruppe, so dass man sagen kann, dass die deutsche Sprachgemeinschaft auf der Makro-Ebene aus den Regionen besteht, die das Superstrat Standarddeutsch mit den Ausprägungen deutsches Standarddeutsch, österreichisches Standarddeutsch und schweizerisches Standarddeutsch gemeinsam hat und die regionalen und sozialen Varietäten überdacht. Ebenso können wir auf der nächst niedrigeren Abstraktionsebene sagen, dass das deutsche Standarddeutsch die deutschen Dialekte und Soziolekte überdacht, das österreichische Standarddeutsch die österreichischen Dialekte und Soziolekte, das schweizerische Standarddeutsch die relevanten schweizerdeutschen Varietäten. Dabei ist die „Überdachungsrelation ausgesprochen soziologisch. Sie bezieht sich sogar unmittelbar auf die Sprecher, und nur vermittelt über sie auf die gesprochene Standardsprache. Der Geltungsbereich ist in der Regel ziemlich klar abgegrenzt, zumeist durch politische Grenzen“ (Ammon 1995, 4). Andere nationale Standards, wie Standardniederländisch, Standardjiddisch etc., weisen (laut Ammon 1995, 5f) mittlere Ähnlichkeit mit dem Standarddeutschen auf.

Will der Linguist jedoch die Sprache(n) innerhalb sozialer Gruppen untersuchen, dann benötigt er präzise analytische Werkzeuge, um die Auswirkungen der sozialen oder psychologischen Situation auf den Sprachgebrauch analysieren zu können. Da die Umgebung des Menschen aus sozialen Kategorien besteht, die den Menschen als ein soziales Wesen definiert, müssen wir versuchen, dieses soziale Wesen über seine Sprache zu erfassen (Halliday 1973, 13ff). Jedoch besteht, wie Gumperz (1971, 101) feststellt, keine Notwendigkeit, die für die Erfassung des Sprachgebrauchs notwendigen Einheiten über gleiche Sprache zu definieren: „There are no a priori grounds which force us to define speech communities so that all members speak the same language.“ Bourdieu (1972, 24) spricht in bezug auf die

Definition von Sprachgemeinschaft via die gemeinsame Sprache sogar von der „illusion du communisme linguistique qui hante la théorie linguistique.“

3. Sozialgeographische Gemeinschaft

Deutsche Dialektologen wie Wegener, Wrede oder Frings haben schon früher Kroebers oben erwähntes „linguistic and cultural whole“ nicht als homogen betrachtet, sondern als Ganzes, das innersprachliche Variation zeigt, die mit Hilfe von außersprachlichen Kriterien erklärt werden konnte. Sprachliche Merkmale wurden so z.B. als Einheiten sozial-kommunikativer Art gesehen. Die Grundlage für Sprachbeschreibungen bildete vor allem für Frings die Bestimmung von Siedlungsräumen, sprich Sprachgemeinschaften, aufgrund von historischen und kulturellen Merkmalen mit Hilfe von Techniken aus Geographie, Sozialgeschichte, Ethnologie – also aus den „Umwelt“-Wissenschaften. Als Konsequenz seines Ansatzes gab Frings dann den Begriff ‚Sprachraum‘ auf und führte ‚Kulturraum‘ ein (Bach 1950, 63ff). Für ihn war Sprachgeographie gleich Kulturgeographie.

Der Terminus Sprachgemeinschaft bezeichnete zu Zeiten der klassischen europäischen Dialektologie (vgl. Art.92) noch ein idealisiertes Konzept, das keine rein sprachliche Einheit beinhaltete, sondern mehr eine sozialgeographische. Es beruhte auf folgenden „idealisierten“ Annahmen mit den Aspekten soziale Gruppe, Kommunikation und sprachlich homogene Population (Halliday 1978, 189): eine Sprachgemeinschaft ist eine (sozialgeographische) Gruppe von Menschen, deren Mitglieder (1) miteinander kommunizieren, (2) konsistent sprechen und (3) alle gleich sprechen. Sprach- bzw. Dialektvariation findet dann nicht innerhalb von Sprachgemeinschaften, sondern zwischen Sprachgemeinschaften statt. Obwohl idealisiert, funktionierte dieses Sprachgemeinschaftsmodell für ländliche Gegenden, in denen die ersten bedeutenden Dialektarbeiten entstanden, recht gut, da es in kleinen ländlichen Gemeinden genau genug die sprachliche Realität widerspiegelte. Der Hinweis ist dennoch hier angebracht, dass sogar in diesen relativ einheitlichen, wenig gesellschaftliche Stratifikation zeigenden Dorfgemeinschaften die Menschen nicht gleich sprechen (vgl. Klerus, Landbesitzer, Landarbeiter etc.). Der lokale Dialekt wur-

de definiert als die Varietät, die sich von der des Nachbardorfes maximal unterschied, d. h. die größte sprachliche Distanz aufwies.

Ausgehend von der Annahme, dass es innerhalb von Sprachgemeinschaften Korrelationen zwischen observierbarem Sprachverhalten und den objektiven und gesellschaftlichen Lebensbedingungen gibt, formuliert Mattheier (1980, 18–19) folgende Definition der sozialen Gruppe als Träger sprachlichen Handelns: „Soziale Gruppe wird (...) dadurch definiert, dass in ihr Individuen zusammengefaßt sind, die unter vergleichbaren objektiven gesellschaftlichen Lebensbedingungen eine potentielle Kommunikationsgemeinschaft miteinander bilden, und diese gegebenen objektiven Bedingungen wie auch andere objektiven Gegebenheiten in ähnlicher Weise interpretieren. Von diesen Gruppen von Individuen wird dann angenommen, daß sie auch ähnliche Sozial- bzw. Sprachhandlungssysteme entwickeln.“ Hieraus entwickelt Mattheier (1980, 60) eine dialektsoziologische Definition von ‚Sprachgemeinschaften‘, die in Korrelation zu den entsprechenden gesellschaftlichen Gruppen gesehen werden und wo je nach Interesse des Forschers „unterschiedliche Systemebenen oder auch Systemausschnitte“ analysiert werden: „Als ‚Sprachgemeinschaft‘ sollen hier vorläufig Gruppen von Sprechern bezeichnet werden, die nach eigener Anschauung eine Gemeinschaft aufgrund der zunächst zeitweilig verwendeten Sprache bilden.“ Ausgangspunkt Mattheiers sind ‚soziale Gruppe‘ und ‚Sprache‘, wobei die objektiv gemeinsame Sprache als Definitionskriterium relativiert wird. Was die Abstraktionsebene angeht, so haben wir die Makro-Ebene verlassen und begeben uns auf den Weg zu face-to-face Gruppen, wo Sprachraum auch Kulturraum ist.

Exkurs 2: Die pfälzische Sprach- und Kulturgemeinschaft

Wir wollen versuchen den in Deutschland gelegenen pfälzischen Sprach- und Kulturraum dialektsoziologisch zu definieren. Es gibt dabei mehrere Definitionen von ‚Pfälzisch‘ als Sprach- und Kulturraum. Linguistisch liegt diese ‚Sprachgemeinschaft‘ eingeschlossen zwischen den vier Isoglossen ‚Is-Eis‘ (Süden, Abgrenzung vom Lothringischen und Alemannischen), ‚dat-das‘ (Nordwesten, Abgrenzung vom Moselfränkischen), ‚fest-fesch‘ (Norden/Nordosten, Abgrenzung vom Hessischen), ‚Abbel-Apfel‘ (Südosten, Abgrenzung vom Südfränkischen), historio-soziologisch besteht sie aus den Kulturräumen der ehemals baye-

rischen Rheinpfalz und der rechtsrheinischen Kurpfalz (einschließlich Mannheim und Heidelberg). Auch die Saarpfalz (einschließlich Homburg und Neunkirchen), die bis 1919 zur Pfalz gehörte, lässt sich historisch und nach heutigem – sprachlich-politischem – Selbstverständnis zum pfälzischen Sprach- und Kulturraum rechnen (cf. Post 1990, 15f). In dieser weiter gefassten Definition des Pfälzischen, zu dem Teile der Pfalz, wenn man darunter das Gebiet der alten bayerischen Pfalz oder den ehemaligen Regierungsbezirk Pfalz versteht, nicht gehören, wohl aber Orte wie Saarbrücken oder Michelstadt, die kaum von sich sagen würden, dass sie pfälzisch reden. Es gibt darüber hinaus einen engeren Begriff des Pfälzischen, dem keine sprachlichen, sondern einfach politische Gründe zugrunde liegen: Es ist das Gebiet der bayerischen Rheinpfalz zum Zeitpunkt der Gründung des Pfälzischen Wörterbuchs 1913. Diese Definition schließt allerdings die Kurpfalz, rechtsrheinisch gelegen, aus. Konstitutiv ist jedoch das Selbstverständnis der Menschen, sich selbst in einen spezifisch pfälzischen Kultur- und Sprachraum zu plazieren: „Pfälzisch wird in den Gebieten gesprochen, in denen sich die Leute als Pfälzer verstehen und als Pfälzer bezeichnen“ (Post 1990, 17). Dies deckt sich mit Mattheiers obiger Definition. Hier wird bereits der Übergang von einer sozialgeographischen, dialektsoziologischen zu einer auf Spracheinstellungen beruhenden Definition von Sprachgemeinschaft deutlich.

4. Einstellungsgemeinschaft

In der urbanen Dialektologie, d. h. in komplexen, schnellen Wandlungen unterliegenden städtischen Kontexten, reicht das klassische Sprachgemeinschaftsmodell der Dialektologie nicht mehr aus. Die Idealisierungen spiegeln die Realität nicht mehr hinreichend genau wider. Labov fand heraus, dass die Mitglieder einer urbanen Sprachgemeinschaft viel eher durch die gleichen sprachlichen Einstellungen (vgl. Art. 49; 130) und Vorurteile geeint werden, die in bemerkenswerter Weise konsistent sind, als durch gemeinsamen Sprachgebrauch, der sich als extrem variabel erwies: „In der Tat scheint es einleuchtend zu sein“, so Labov (1972, 293), „Sprachgemeinschaft als eine Gruppe von Sprechern zu definieren, die eine Anzahl sozialer Einstellungen in bezug auf Sprache teilt“. So spricht z. B. der New Yorker nicht nur nicht wie alle anderen New Yorker, er spricht auch nicht immer gleich; er ist jedoch recht konsistent in seinem Urteil über andere – im Gegensatz zu seinem eigenen inkonsistenten sprachlichen Verhalten. So hat der New Yorker (sprich Großstädter) eine genaue Vorstellung von

bestimmten sprachlichen Normen, von denen er weiß, dass er selbst davon abweicht. Es besteht also eine Differenz zwischen (1) dem, was er sagt, (2) dem, was er selbst glaubt, was er sagt und (3) dem, was er glaubt, was er sagen sollte. In unserem Zusammenhang ist das Hauptergebnis der Arbeiten von Labov, dass urbane Sprachgemeinschaften heterogen sind, schnellem sprachlichen Wandel unterworfen sind, dass Variation nicht nur zwischen Individuen vorkommt, sondern auch beim Individuum selbst und last but not least, dass für bestimmte soziolinguistische Kontexte auf Einstellungen basierende Definitionen zuverlässiger sind als andere.

Labov behandelt New York City als eine einzige Sprachgemeinschaft. Auf die Abstraktionsebene bezogen heißt dies, dass es ein Makro-Konzept ist und Sprecher aller sozialen Schichten umfasst. Das einigende Kriterium ist das der „common evaluation of linguistic attitudes“ (Milroy 1980, 13), die Labov mit Hilfe von wenigen phonologischen Variablen misst: „The correlate of regular stratification of a sociolinguistic variable in behavior is uniform agreement in subjective reactions towards the variable“ (Labov 1972, 293).

Labovs Theorie der sprachlichen Differenzierung und des Sprachwandels bezieht sich auf Sprachgemeinschaften, in denen alle sozialen Gruppierungen (Schichten; vgl. Art.46) eine soziolinguistische Variable in gleicher Weise unidirektional verwenden, wobei lediglich das Ausmaß der Verwendung variiert. Labov legt dabei zugrunde, dass der Lokus der Grammatik die Gemeinschaft oder Gruppe (vgl. Art.53) ist und dass die Sprache jeder sozialen Gruppe weniger Variation zeigt als die des Individuums (cf. Romaine 1982, 18–19). Labov geht es um einen statusorientierten Ansatz (Romaine 1982, 2), der von der sozialen (Makro-)Gruppe ausgeht und bei der alle Gruppierungen sich in die gleiche Richtung entwickeln. Da die unteren Schichten von der Norm weiter entfernt sind als die Mittel- und Oberschichtgruppen, zeigen sie auch mehr sprachliche Variation als die anderen. Hymes (1972) und Halliday (1972) geben ebenfalls einstellungsbegründete Definitionen der Grundgesamtheit Sprachgemeinschaft. Beide betonen, dass das Gefühl, zu einer Gemeinschaft zu gehören, eher konstitutiv ist als eine linguistische Definition.

Exkurs 3: New York City als Einstellungsgemeinschaft

New York City als Sprachgemeinschaft fokussiert eine Gruppe von mehr als zehn Millionen Einwohnern. Es ist offensichtlich, dass Labovs Konzept einer ‚speech community‘ ein Makro-Konzept sein muss, wo Sprecher aus „all social classes are seen as united by their common evaluation of linguistic norms“ (Milroy 1980, 13). Diese Vorstellung von sozialer Klasse ist unzweifelhaft ein Konzept auf einer hohen Abstraktionsebene, da face-to-face oder anderer interaktiver Kontakt nicht konstitutiv für die Sprachgemeinschaft sind. Allgemeine (soziologische) Parameter wie Einkommen, Beruf, Ausbildung etc. bilden die Grundlage der sozialen Gruppenbildung. Die Segmentierung in ‚upper, middle and lower classes‘ spiegelt eine abstrakte soziale Realität wider: „Group linguistic scores were calculated for speakers divided according to age, sex, and social class; in general Labov considered his informants in groups of this kind and did not present much data on individuals.“ (Milroy 1980, 11.) Das Makro-Konzept ‚Sprachgemeinschaft‘ New York City scheint zusammengehalten durch die gemeinsame Evaluation derselben Variablen, die die Sprecher voneinander unterscheidet (Labov 1976, 125). Ein Beispiel ist die r-Variable. Im Zentrum des Interesses von Labov, der mit quantitativen Daten arbeitet, steht die Korrelation von sozial bedingter Sprachvariation mit der Beschreibung und Erklärung von Sprachwandel. Indem er das Sprachverhalten von verschiedenen Altersgruppen in New York City analysierte, konnte Labov die Richtung des Sprachwandels simulieren. Er zeigte, dass innerhalb des Makro-Konzepts ‚Sprachgemeinschaft‘ New York City die r-lose Aussprache (non-rhotic) vorwiegend bei älteren Leuten vorkam, dass die volle r-Aussprache (rhotic) bei jüngeren Leuten vorherrschte. Labov fand heraus, dass das Prestige der vollen r-Aussprache sich von oben (‚upper‘) nach unten (‚lower‘) verbreitete. In der Mittelklasse finden wir eine ‚hyperkorrekte‘, rhotische Aussprache des /r/, laut Labov symbolisiert dies die Bereitschaft der Mittelklasse sozial aufsteigen zu wollen.

5. Interaktionsgemeinschaft/ Kommunikationsgemeinschaft

In eine kommunikativ-interaktionistische Richtung geht Gumperz' (frühe) Definition von Sprachgemeinschaft, der im Sinne einer funktionalen Analyse der Sprachvarietäten von einer spezifischen Sprachgemeinschaft als sozialer Gruppe ausgeht, nicht von einer sprachlich definierten Einheit, und auch die Koexistenz mehrerer Varietäten zulässt: „Wir definieren sie als soziale Gruppe, entweder monolingual oder multilingual, die durch die Frequenz der sozialen Interaktionsmus-

ter zusammengehalten wird und sich von den umliegenden Gebieten durch Schwachstellen abhebt. Sprachgemeinschaften können aus kleinen Gruppen, die face-to-face Kontakt haben, bestehen oder ganze Regionen umfassen, was von der Abstraktionsebene, die man erreichen will, abhängt“ (Gumperz 1962, 101). Gumperz stellt weiterhin fest, dass vom funktionalen Gesichtspunkt aus kein Unterschied zwischen Bilingualismus und Bidialektismus besteht. Eine spätere Definition von Sprachgemeinschaft von Gumperz (1968) betont als sozial definiertes Universum der sprachlichen Analyse, dass neben dem Kriterium der Interaktion auch das der Ähnlichkeit bzw. Verschiedenheit der Varietäten eine Rolle spielt: Eine Sprachgemeinschaft ist „jedes menschliche Aggregat, das durch regelmäßige und häufige Interaktion mit Hilfe eines geteilten Vorrats an sprachlichen Zeichen charakterisiert ist und sich von ähnlichen Aggregaten durch signifikante Unterschiede im Sprachgebrauch abgrenzt“ (Gumperz 1968, 114). Dieses Konzept hat die Vorteile, dass (a) nicht eine Sprache per Sprachgemeinschaft gilt, dass (b) durch die Betonung von Interaktion und Kommunikation als konstitutive Kriterien Sprachgemeinschaften als Resultat von Bilingualismus nicht automatisch überlappen und dass (c) der Komplexität der urbanen Gesellschaft Rechnung getragen wird. Wenn wir uns eine Großstadt als Sprachgemeinschaft vorstellen, wo die Einwohner einen Teil ihrer Zeit darauf verwenden, miteinander zu reden, wo die sprachlichen Varietäten sicherlich einen Teil der Konstitution der Stadt ausmachen, da man ständig auf Institutionen, auf Daten und Lokalitäten, auf Mobilitätsmuster, auf Arten der Sozialbeziehung, die typisch sind für das Stadtleben, bezug nimmt, dann sehen wir, dass *Sprachgemeinschaft* ein sehr allgemeiner Terminus ist. Um den Terminus im Sinne von Gumperz mit Leben zu füllen, müssen wir für einzelne Mitglieder die Zugehörigkeit zu den Aggregaten bestimmen, die für sie besondere Bedeutung haben, d. h. wir müssen die sozialen Interaktionsebenen konstituieren und die Aggregate analysieren, an denen Leute teilhaben. Entsprechend seiner (Neu-)Konzeption von ‚Sprachgemeinschaft‘ setzt Gumperz dem Konzept des einheitlichen sprachlichen Kodes sein Konzept des „verbal/linguistic repertoire“ gegenüber, indem er sich gewissermaßen von der Ebene der ‚langue‘ auf die Ebene der

‚parole‘ begibt: „Die Totalität der dialektalen und darübergerlegten (superposed) Varietäten, die regelmäßig in einer Gemeinschaft gebraucht werden, machen das sprachliche Repertoire dieser Gemeinschaft aus. Während die Grenze einer Sprache (...) mit der einer sozialen Gruppe zusammenfallen kann oder auch nicht, sind sprachliche Repertoires immer spezifisch für besondere Populationen“ (Gumperz 1968, 230).

Exkurs 4: Die altamischen Repertoiregemeinschaften in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania
Diese Repertoiregemeinschaften bieten ein Beispiel für die Gumperzsche Definition von ‚speech community‘. Hier finden wir in einer ländlichen Gegend eine komplexe, aber dennoch klar strukturierte Situation. In Lancaster County koexistieren verschiedene religiöse Gruppen anabaptistischer Provenienz mit der ‚mainstream culture‘. Die Siedlungsgebiete dieser Gruppen bilden keine geschlossene Dorfgemeinschaft, sondern sind Teil einer offenen, ländlichen Nachbarschaft, die hauptsächlich von der Landwirtschaft lebt. Diese sozio-religiösen Gruppen konstituieren eine Sprachgemeinschaft im Gumperzschen Sinne, da sie sowohl sprachliche Gemeinsamkeiten als auch gemeinsame Interaktionsmuster haben und an gemeinsamen sozialen/personalen Netzwerken teilhaben. Etwas vereinfachend gesagt, kann man sagen, dass in Lancaster County drei verschiedene anabaptistische Gruppierungen sind, die mit der superioren amerikanischen Kultur in verschiedenem Maße interagieren. Zum einen sind dies die Altamischen, zum zweiten die konservativeren Mennoniten, zum dritten die liberaleren Mennoniten und die Tunker. Die Altamischen, eine konservative Widerspiegelung der frühen christlichen Bruderschaften, erlauben in bezug auf die ‚mainstream society‘ lediglich transaktionale, also uniplexe Interaktion. Fundamental ist dabei der ‚Kirchendistrikt‘ (church district), eine Gruppe, die personale, soziale und religiöse Kongruenz beinhaltet, das auf dem anabaptistischen Gemeinschaftskonzept beruht. Der Zusammenfall von personaler, sozialer und religiöser Gemeinschaft wird visuell durch den Zusammenfall von Gottesdienstplatz, Arbeitsplatz und Wohnbereich symbolisiert. Das sprachliche Repertoire ist recht homogen. Der Gebrauch von Pennsylvania German und Hochdeutsch (Bibeldeutsch) signalisiert die innere Identität der Gruppe. Alle Mitglieder des Kirchendistrikts kennen einander persönlich und kommunizieren intensiv. Ein Kirchendistrikt besteht aus maximal 30–35 Familien, so dass sie sich alle in einem Farmhaus zum Gottesdienst treffen können. Die Altamischen haben keine Kirchen. Die altamischen Kirchendistrikte in Lancaster County unterhalten untereinander Beziehungen der ‚fellowship‘. Diese Interaktionsgemeinschaft teilt die gemeinsamen Grundlagen, das Neue Testament, das Dordrechter Glaubensbekenntnis

und die (ungeschriebene) Kirchenordnung. Das Prinzip der gegenseitigen Hilfe und die Besuchsgewohnheiten resultieren in einer hohen Interaktionsintensität, aber nicht jedermann in einem Kirchendistrikt kennt jede Person eines anderen Kirchendistrikts persönlich. Die territoriale Definition der ‚fellowship‘ Interaktionsgemeinschaft ist weiter als die des Kirchendistrikts, das sprachliche Repertoire identisch. In Gumperz' interaktionaler Definition bilden die anabaptistischen Gruppen in Lancaster County, auf einer höheren Abstraktionsebene eine *speech community*, da sie die Basiskriterien „regular and frequent interaction“ und „shared body of verbal signs“ teilen und von der Umgebung, den „Englischen“ durch ein unterschiedliches sprachliches Repertoire und unterschiedliche Sprachgebrauchsmuster getrennt sind.

Exkurs 5: Die Navajo-Reservation in Rock Point, Arizona

Dies ist ebenfalls ein Beispiel für Gumperz' Definition einer Interaktions- und Repertoiregemeinschaft. Spolsky (1980) charakterisiert die Navajo-Reservation in Rock Point als eine Sprachgemeinschaft, die Navajo spricht und Englisch schreibt. Um diese Situation zu beschreiben, benutzt Spolsky den Terminus ‚Biglossie‘, in offensichtlicher Analogie zu Fergusons ‚Diglossie‘ (vgl. Art.15). Eine biglossische Sprachgemeinschaft benutzt eine Sprache zum Reden, eine andere zum Schreiben. Englisch wird natürlich auch in der mündlichen Kommunikation benutzt, wenn bilinguale Navajos mit Nicht-Navajos sprechen. Schriftlich wird Englisch auch zwischen den Navajos auf der Reservation benutzt. Die Stammeszeitung der Navajos ist in Englisch verfasst. Es besteht zwar ein Navajo-Schriftsystem, das sich aber nie richtig durchgesetzt hat. Gelegentlich findet man einfache Hinweisschilder in Navajo. Der Gebrauch von geschriebenem Englisch in Protokollen, Registern und Dokumenten ist reichlich belegt: Sprecher der navajo-sprachigen Radiostation arbeiten auf der Basis von englischen Skripten, Navajo-Politiker halten Reden auf der Basis von englischen Texten. Gruppen wie der Stammesrat oder die lokalen Erziehungsbehörden benutzen Navajo als mündliches Medium. Das sprachliche Repertoire und die Sprachverwendungsregeln und Interaktionsmuster charakterisieren diese ‚*speech community*‘.

Der Wert des Konzepts ‚sprachliches Repertoire‘ liegt darin, dass es uns erlaubt, unter dem einheitlichen Bezugsrahmen Beziehungen zwischen der Sozialstruktur und dem Sprachgebrauch einer Sprachgemeinschaft herzustellen. An eben dieser Stelle setzt die Kritik von Kloss an der Terminologie von Gumperz an. Kloss kritisiert, dass Gumperz das von ihm entdeckte und mit Sprachgemeinschaften in Sinne von Kloss (1977, 225) („Gesamtheit der Personen, denen als Mut-

tersprache ein bestimmtes sprachliches Diasystem in seinen verschiedenen dialektalen, soziolektalen usw. Varianten gemeinsam ist“) verwandte sprachsoziologische Phänomen – („most groups of any permanence, be they small bands bounded by face-to-face contact, modern nations divisible into smaller subregions, or even occupational associations or neighborhood groups [...], provided they show linguistic peculiarities that warrant special study [Gumperz 1968, 114]“) – mit dem Terminus von Bloomfield *speech community* belegt und so zu terminologischen Verwirrung beiträgt. Kloss betont die Notwendigkeit eines Terminus für die „Gesamtheit der Menschen gleicher Muttersprachen“, die eine Grundgegebenheit darstellt (vgl. 2.) und schlägt deshalb für Gumperz' ‚*speech community*‘ den Terminus *repertoire community* (*Repertoiregemeinschaft*) vor (Kloss 1977, 228). Sprachgemeinschaft würde dann gleiche Muttersprache beinhalten, Repertoiregemeinschaft gleiches oder ähnliches Repertoire. Statt *Repertoiregemeinschaft* findet sich in der deutschsprachigen einschlägigen Literatur der Terminus *Sprechgemeinschaft* für eine Gruppe, die sowohl ein gemeinsames Varietätenrepertoire als auch gemeinsame Regeln für den sozial angemessenen Gebrauch dieser Regeln hat. ‚*Sprechgemeinschaft*‘ ist ein Konzept, das in der Ethnographie der Kommunikation „die Gesamtheit aller Kommunikationsgewohnheiten einer Gemeinschaft“ umfasst, „zu deren Realisierung die Sprache als ein Instrument unter und im Verein mit anderen herangezogen wird“ (Coulmas 1979, 10). Es lässt sich festhalten, dass durch die begriffliche Reinterpretation des Terminus *Sprachgemeinschaft* die Trennschärfe und Reichweite wiederhergestellt wurde (Kloss 1977, 226), obgleich die neuen Termini nicht allgemein akzeptiert sind.

6. Netzwerk sozialer Beziehungen

Bernsteins Hypothesen über soziale Beziehungen, die als Variablen zwischen Sprachsystem und Sprachgebrauch intervenieren, förderten Versuche, die konzeptuellen Werkzeuge zu verfeinern, mit deren Hilfe man näher an die soziale Realität herankommen will. Um Alltagskommunikation und Interaktionskonventionen von Mitgliedern sozialer Gruppen und Untergruppen analysieren zu können, wurde das ‚soziale Netzwerk‘ (vgl. Art.55) als sprachökologisches Sub-

stratum von Sprachgemeinschaft als Ausgangseinheit für die sprachliche Analyse in die Soziolinguistik eingeführt, „to explain individual behavior of various kinds which cannot be accounted for in terms of corporate group membership“ (Milroy 1980, 135). Hinzu kommt, dass das Netzwerk der Beziehungen, in das ein Individuum eingebettet ist und die korporative soziale Gruppe, der man dieses Individuum zurechnen kann, Phänomene auf verschiedenen Abstraktionsebenen sind (Milroy 1980, 133). Gumperz, der die interaktionale Definition von Sprachgemeinschaft betont, ist sich bereits 1968 der Bedeutung geteilten sozialen Wissens bewusst: „Regardless of the linguistic differences among them, the speech varieties employed within a speech community form a system because they are related to a shared set of social norms“ (Gumperz 1968, 220). Das Wissen über diesen weiten Bereich sozialer Normen beruht auf der Interaktion mit einer spezifisch konstituierten Gruppe von Leuten an einem spezifischen Ort. Um dieser Tatsache Rechnung zu tragen, führt Gumperz in sein Mikrokonzept ‚Sprachgemeinschaft‘ (auf niedriger Abstraktionsebene) das ‚soziale Netzwerk‘ ein, mit dessen Hilfe er das sprachliche Verhalten in einer solchen Gemeinschaft erforschen will, und dies unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der angemessenen Interpretation der Normen und Werte durch den Sprachwissenschaftler. Die Sprachgemeinschaft besteht demnach aus einer Reihe von Basiseinheiten, den Netzwerken, an denen ein Mitglied in verschiedenem Ausmaß und in mehr als einer Funktion teilnehmen kann. Ein Hauptgrund für die Einführung des sozialen Netzwerkes in den analytischen Rahmen der Sprachgemeinschaftsstudien liegt darin, dass das traditionelle Makro-Konzept der Erforschung sich langsam verändernder, ziemlich statischer Gemeinschaften (Stämme, Dorfgemeinschaften) sich nicht gut zur Analyse sich schnell verändernder städtischer Aggregate eignet (cf. Boissevain/Mitchell 1973, VII). Das Konzept des sozialen Netzwerkes stellt den Versuch dar, die Variable Mensch als soziales Wesen, das andere beeinflusst und von anderen beeinflusst wird, zu konzeptualisieren.

Während Gumperz lediglich eine binäre Distinktion zwischen offenen und geschlossenen sozialen Netzwerken einführt, weitet Milroy (1980, *passim*) diese binäre Distinktion aus in eine kontinuierliche von mehr

oder weniger offen vs. mehr oder weniger geschlossen mit den Parametern ‚Dichte‘, ‚Kluster‘ und ‚Multiplexität‘. Ein Netzwerk ist dichter, je mehr von denjenigen Personen, mit denen Ego verbunden ist, mit anderen Personen verbunden sind. Dichte Netzwerke fungieren dabei als Normenbewahrungsmechanismen (cf. Milroy 1980, 49f und unter Exkurs 6). „... strong network ties within a community have the effect of reinforcing the norms of that community, including speech norms. This only makes common sense. If almost everyone you associate with talks and acts the same way, you are under powerful motivation to talk and act that way, too“ (Fasold 1990, 236). Kluster sind Segmente von Netzwerken mit hoher Dichte; die Sozialbeziehungen innerhalb von Klustern sind dichter als außerhalb. Multiplexität ist ein Maß für die Interaktionscharakteristik eines Netzwerkes: ob Personen in einer einzigen Funktion (uniplex) oder in mehreren Funktionen (multiplex) miteinander verbunden sind, z. B. wenn ein Mann eine Firma besitzt, die seinen Schwager beschäftigt und wenn beide im gleichen Chor singen, dann ist die Verbindung dreifach multiplex (Fasold 1990, 236). „The basic postulate of the of the network approach is that people are viewed as interacting with others, some of whom in their turn interact with each other and yet others, and that the whole network of relations so formed is in a state of flux.“ (Boissevain/Mitchell 1973, VIII).

Exkurs 6: Sprachgemeinschaft und soziale Netzwerke im urbanen Belfast

In ihrer Studie zum Spracherhalt und Sprachwandel in Belfast untersuchten James und Lesley Milroy drei dichte und relativ kohärente Arbeitergemeinschaften in Belfast, wo der Gebrauch der lokalen Umgangssprache weit verbreitet ist. Die drei ausgewählten Gebiete sind Clonard (katholisch), Hammer (protestantisch) und Ballymacarett (protestantisch). Das Konzept der sozialen Netzwerke wurde hier zum ersten Mal in einer soziolinguistischen Studie angewandt. Mit ihrer Netzwerkstudie konnten feinere Ergebnisse erreicht werden, als wenn eine abstraktere Definition von Sprachgemeinschaft, etwa als Repertoirgemeinschaft oder Einstellungsgemeinschaft, zugrunde gelegt worden wäre. Hauptergebnis dieser sozialen Netzwerkstudie ist der Einfluss von Status und Solidarität. Der Gebrauch der Standardsprache wird mit hohem sozialen Status assoziiert, der Gebrauch der Umgangssprache indiziert Solidarität mit den örtlichen Leuten, mit ihren Normen und Regeln. Die Umgangssprache

wird typischerweise in dichten, multiplexen Netzwerken gesprochen, in ländlichen Gegenden und in den alten urbanen Arbeitervierteln, wo die Gruppensolidarität den Gebrauch der lokalen Form der Umgangssprache fördert, ja erfordert (cf. Mestrie et al. 2000, 123ff). Dichte und multiplexe Netzwerke fungieren als konservative, spracherhaltende Kräfte, ein Bruch der traditionellen Netzwerkstruktur kann einen Sprachwandel in Gang setzen. Ein weiteres Ergebnis dieser Netzwerkstudie war ein klares Muster des unterschiedlichen ‚gender grading‘, besonders in Ballymacarrett. Bei dichten sozialen Netzwerken sind die Geschlechterrollen klar festgelegt, „the sexes tend to polarize in these communities, with a sharp distinction being recognized between men’s and women’s activities“ (L. Milroy 1980, 80).

Exkurs 7: Die multilinguale Situation am – ruralen – Vaupés River (nordwestlicher Amazonas) Dies illustriert ein recht homogenes Kulturgebiet (cf. Sørensen 1976). Hier finden wir eine komplexe sprachliche Situation, die die Schwierigkeiten aufzeigt, die verschiedenen Sprachgemeinschaften oder Kommunikationsnetzwerke auf den verschiedenen Abstraktionsebenen zu benennen. Mehr als 25 gegenseitig nicht verständliche Sprachen koexistieren in dieser Region, wo in den letzten achtzig bis neunzig Jahren eine Situation des stabilen Bilingualismus herrscht. Fast jede Person spricht drei, vier oder mehr Sprachen fließend. Es gibt eine gemeinsame Lingua franca, Tukano, die wiederum fünf distinkte Dialekte hat. Die Hauptgründe für diese Komplexität besteht auf dem Beharren auf der Exogamie und der bestehenden Identifikation von Sprache und Stammeszugehörigkeit. Da es in dieser Gemeinschaft obligatorisch ist, jemanden außerhalb des eigenen Stammes zu heiraten, ist die Sprache der Frau nicht die des Mannes ist. Das Prinzip der Exogamie wird symbolisch signalisiert durch die andere Sprache, die die angehende Ehefrau spricht, oder so Jean Jackson (1974, 61f): „If we all were Tukano speakers, where would we get our women?“ Es ist so möglich, dass Kinder zuerst die Sprache der Mutter erwerben. Wegen des patrilinearen Verwandtschaftssystems jedoch identifizieren sie sich mit der Sprache des Vaters. Hinzu kommt, dass die Kinder noch andere Sprachen/Dialekte ihrer Umgebung erlernen. Ethnische Barrieren gehen so durch die Familie. In einer solchen multilingualen Situation markiert die Wahl einer Sprache per se die sozialen Beziehungen (was den Gumperz’schen Erkenntnissen entspricht): Sprachenwahl per se signalisiert die Identität eines Sprechers, denn jeder Sprecher wählt zuerst seine ‚Vatersprache‘, um seine Stammeszugehörigkeit zu definieren. Die politische und zeremoniale Einheit dieses Gebiets ist das ‚Longhouse‘. Eine Frau benutzt stets die Sprache des ‚Longhouse‘, d. h. die Sprache ihres Mannes, wenn sie mit ihren Kindern oder ihrem Mann spricht. Aber die Frau ist normalerweise nicht die einzige Frau ihres Stammes im

Longhouse, außerdem gibt es Frauen anderer Stämme dort. Ein Kind kann also im Laufe eines Tages eine Reihe verschiedener Sprachen hören. Durch Besucher von anderen Stämmen erlernt das Kind die lingua franca, Tukano. Jede Person in der Gegend des Vaupés Flusses hat ihr eigenes sprachliches Repertoire. Diese Repertoire ist von Longhouse zu Longhouse verschieden, was von der Anzahl der Frauen von verschiedenen Stämmen im Longhouse abhängt. Die Beziehung der ‚Sprachgemeinschaft‘ Longhouse zu anderen Einheiten kann am besten mit ‚personalen/sozialen Netzwerken‘ beschrieben werden: Das Longhouse-Netzwerk ist eine face-to-face Gruppe, ein Netzwerk mit extrem hoher Dichte, einer eng definierten Territorialität, mit multiplexen Beziehungen untereinander: d. h. sehr häufige Interaktion in mehr als einer Funktion, ein etwa gleiches oder ähnliches sprachliches Repertoire, wo die Sprache des Mannes gleich ist und in etwa die gleichen Stammsprachen der Frauen gesprochen werden (Repertoiregemeinschaft). Das Stammes-Netzwerk ist ebenfalls eine face-to-face Gruppe mit hoher Dichte der Sozialbeziehungen, mit einer weiter gefassten territorialen Definition und weniger multiplexen Beziehungen; die Sprache des Vaters ist konstitutiv, die Sprachen der Frauen variieren (‚language community‘). Das Gebiets-Netzwerk ist keine face-to-face Gruppe mehr, hat eine geringe Dichte der Sozialbeziehungen, eine weite territoriale Definition, uniplexe Beziehungen: gelegentliche und selektive Interaktion in einer Funktion und ein sehr verschiedenes sprachliches Repertoire, wo oft nur die Lingua franca, Tukano, gemeinsam ist (‚lingua franca community‘); die Abstraktionsebene ist höher in dieser multilingualen Sprachgemeinschaft, wo ein gemeinsames Set an sozialen Rollen den Sprachgebrauch steuert.

Das analytische Werkzeug ‚Netzwerk‘ sagt per se nichts Explizites über die Art der Interaktionen aus. Die Linguisten, die den Netzwerkansatz im Feld anwenden, bilden ständig Hypothesen über die Beschaffenheit der Netzwerke und versuchen, empirisch, bestehende Sprachgebrauchsmuster zu belegen. Wichtig für die Abgrenzung solcher Netzwerke sind neben Interaktionsmustern, Besuchsmustern, Verwandtschaftsverhältnissen, das, was Gumperz „self-recruitment“ der Gruppen nennt. So tendieren die geschlossenen Netzwerke (oder das, was Saviile-Troike [1982, 20] „hard-shelled communities“ nennt) dazu, in bezug auf Sprachgebrauchsmuster einheitlicher zu sein, da unter anderem die Territorialität geteilt wird, als offene Netzwerke (oder „soft-shelled communities“), wo die Teilhaber lockerer verbunden sind und die Territorialitätsgrenzen weniger eingehalten werden. Der

analytische Nutzen des Werkzeugs ‚Netzwerk‘ resultiert aus den Möglichkeiten, die es besitzt, Variation in der Sozialstruktur mit Variation im Sprachgebrauch zu verbinden, d.h., dass umweltbedingte Variation auf einer niedrigen Abstraktionsebene mit Sprachvariation verbunden wird.

7. Sprachgemeinschaft als psychologisch-subjektive Eigeninterpretation

Alle bisherigen Definitionen erwecken vielleicht den Eindruck, als wäre ein Sprecher im Normalfall nur Angehöriger einer einzigen Sprachgemeinschaft. Bolinger (1975, 333) weist auf die psychologische Komplexität und den subjektiven Charakter des Konzepts ‚Sprachgemeinschaft‘ hin, wenn er feststellt: „Für die Art und Weisen, in der sich Menschen zusammengruppieren zum Zwecke der Selbstidentifikation, der Sicherheit, des Vorteils, des Amüsemments, des Glaubens oder irgendeines anderen Zieles, das gemeinsam ist, gibt es keine Begrenzung; konsequenterweise gibt es keine Begrenzung bezüglich Anzahl und Verschiedenartigkeit von Sprachgemeinschaften, die wir in der Gesellschaft finden.“ Jede Population kann, Bolingers Definition nach, eine große Zahl von Sprachgemeinschaften enthalten, die bezüglich Mitgliedschaft und Sprachvarietäten überlappen. Dieser psychologischen Realität von Sprachgemeinschaft, die von der Interpretation des Mitglieds abhängt, trägt Le Pages (1968) Auffassung Rechnung, dass die Gruppen als Sprachgemeinschaften mit besonderen Sprachcharakteristika existieren, wobei der Sprecher selbst, nicht der Soziologe oder Linguist, die Zuordnung vornimmt. Je nachdem wie der Sprecher sich in seinem „multidimensionalen Raum“ (Hudson 1980, 27) plaziert, nimmt er an verschiedenen Sprachgemeinschaften teil, deren Dimension bzw. Größenordnung durch die in seiner Umwelt definierbaren Gruppen bestimmt ist: Jeder individuelle Sprecher kreiert die Systeme seines eigenen sprachlichen Verhaltens, so dass diese denjenigen der Gruppe ähneln, mit denen er sich von Zeit zu Zeit identifizieren möchte, mit der Maßgabe, dass er (a) die Gruppen identifizieren kann, (b) sowohl die Gelegenheit und Fähigkeit hat, deren Verhaltenssysteme zu beobachten und zu analysieren, (c) seine Motivation hinreichend

stark ist, ihn zu veranlassen, sein Verhalten zu wählen und dementsprechend zu verändern, (d) er noch dazu fähig ist, sein Verhalten anzupassen. Le Page interpretiert menschliche Rede als Identitätsakt des Individuums. Aus diesem Grund ist das Individuum auch legitimer Ausgangspunkt für soziolinguistische Untersuchungen. Er konnte zeigen, dass die Analyse individuellen Sprachverhaltens nicht, wie Labov (1966, 6f) meinte, mit Chaos gleichzusetzen ist (cf. Romaine 1982, 7). Sein multidimensionaler Ansatz, gewonnen aus Studien mit multilingualen Gemeinschaften, macht es notwendig, eine ganze Anzahl von Einflussquellen auf den Sprachgebrauch eines Individuums zu berücksichtigen. Er betont dabei, dass individuelle Sprecher diejenigen der verschiedenen zur Verfügung stehenden sprachlichen Ressourcen ausspielen, die der Identifikation mit bestimmten Gruppen dienen (Romaine 1982, 7). Ein Ansatz, der die soziale Gruppe als Ausgangspunkt nimmt, würde dies z. T. verdecken.

Exkurs 8: Gewürzhändler in Bombay

Das Beispiel eines Gewürzhändlers in Bombay (McKay/Hornberger 1996, 50; Pandit 1972, 79) illustriert die Komplexität des Terminus *Sprachgemeinschaft*, basierend auf der Komplexität des sprachlichen Repertoires. Ein Gujarati Gewürzhändler spricht Kathiawadi (seinen Dialekt von Gujarati) mit seiner Familie, Marathi, die lokale Umgangssprache, auf dem Gemüsemarkt, Kacchi und Konkani mit Geschäftspartnern, Hindi oder Hindustani mit dem Milchmann und am Bahnhof und in formalen Situationen auch Englisch. Natürlich hat der Gewürzhändler nicht notwendigerweise eine native Beherrschung aller dieser Varietäten, aber er beherrscht die Sprachen so, dass er sie funktional für seine Zwecke einsetzen kann. Die Wahl der Varietät hat soziale Bedeutung. Pandit benutzt den Begriff ‚sociolinguistic area‘, um solch eine komplexe multilinguale Situation zu beschreiben. Repertoiregemeinschaft würde die sprachliche Realität nicht genau genug abbilden, eher schon das Konzept der sozialen Netzwerke, noch besser aber der Ansatz von Sprachgemeinschaft als psychologisch-subjektive Eigeninterpretation.

In den letzten Jahren hat sich besonders im Rahmen der Arbeiten zu Sprache und Geschlecht eine Definition von Sprachgemeinschaft/ Kommunikationsgemeinschaft herausgebildet, die sich *community of practice* nennt und die sich von Gumperz' Definition als Gruppe von Sprechern, die die Regeln und Normen des alltäglichen Sprachgebrauchs teilt und die aufgrund der Kriterien Ort und/oder Population definiert sind, un-

terscheidet (vgl. Eckert/McConnell-Ginet 1998, 489f). Dieser Ansatz, der vieles mit Bolingers und Le Pages Ansatz gemeinsam hat, betont explizit die entscheidende Rolle von Praxis („practice“) bei der Abgrenzung von Sprachgemeinschaften und generell die Beziehung zwischen Sprache, Gesellschaft und Bewusstsein. Wichtiges Kriterium wird das soziale Engagement des Einzelnen: „A community of practice is an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short practices – emerge in the course of their joint activity around that endeavor (...) Indeed, it is the practices of the community and members’ differentiated participation in them that structures the community socially.“ (Eckert/Mc Connel-Ginet 1998, 490). *Communities of practice* können groß oder klein sein, temporär oder konstant, dicht oder diffus, mit wechselnder oder fest umrissener Mitgliedschaft. Individuen haben an mehreren dieser Netzwerke teil, die individuelle Identität basiert auf der Teilhabe an mehreren solcher *communities of practice*. Soweit die – selektive – Diskussion der verschiedenen Auffassungen von ‚Sprachgemeinschaft‘, die jeweils verschiedene Arten von Realität bzw. Abstraktionsgrad darstellen und die zum Teil widersprüchlich bzw. überlappend sind. Alle versetzen uns jedoch in die Lage, Gruppen zu isolieren, die etwas gemeinsam haben: eine Sprache, einen Dialekt, ein gemeinsames sprachliches Repertoire, gemeinsame Verwendungsregeln, gemeinsame Spracheinstellungen etc.

8. Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft

Die Charakteristika von ‚gemeinschaftstypischen‘ und ‚gesellschaftstypischen‘ Gruppenstrukturen können folgendermaßen beschrieben werden (cf. Loomis/Beegle 1951, 13f): In der Bauernfamilie, die Gemeinschaftsstruktur hat, ist das Ausmaß des Interesses eines Interaktanten an den Personen seiner Umwelt diffus, nicht klar abgegrenzt; bei einer Militäreinheit, die Gesellschaftsstruktur hat, ist das Interesse spezifisch bestimmt. Gemeinschafts-Interaktionsmuster zeichnen sich dadurch aus, dass die soziale Ordnung, die auf Konsens beruht und von dem Bestreben nach Harmonie gekennzeichnet ist, die gemeinschaftlichen Wissensbestände mit Hilfe von gemeinsamen religiösen, kulturellen

und sozialen Wertetafeln entwickelt. Gesellschafts-Interaktionsmuster basieren auf der Rationalität des Menschen, auf Konvention und Vertrag, werden durch politische Gesetzgebung geschützt und finden ihre Rechtfertigung in der öffentlichen Meinung. In Gemeinschaften (cf. hierzu Gouldner/Gouldner 1964, 304ff) werden die Sozialbeziehungen durch die Primärbeziehung der Solidarität typisiert: Aktivitäten, Rechte und Pflichten (gleich soziales Rollenrepertoire) sind weit gefasst und nicht genau abgegrenzt, d.h. sie werden implizit verstanden. In Gesellschaften sind die Sozialbeziehungen durch die Sekundärbeziehungen der Macht typisiert: Aktivitäten, Rechte und Pflichten sind spezifischer Art, genau definiert und abgegrenzt, d.h. sie werden explizit genannt. In Gemeinschaften ist der Intimitätsgrad hoch, gekennzeichnet durch Spontaneität, Informalität, wobei die Gefühle nicht zu sehr kontrolliert werden müssen. In Gesellschaften ist der Intimitätsgrad niedrig, Formalität und Distanz kennzeichnen die Interaktionsmuster. In Gemeinschafts-Gruppen wird eine Person holistisch bewertet: Lob, Tadel, Beurteilung erfolgen aufgrund der individuellen Persönlichkeit (partikularistisch). In Gesellschafts-Gruppen erfolgt die spezifische Wertung einer Person aufgrund von Kriterien eines ‚objektiven‘ Standards (universalistisch). In Gemeinschaften ist der Affektivitätsgrad hoch: Billigung und Missbilligung erfolgen aufgrund von Gefühlen; in Gesellschaften hingegen ist der Affektivitätsgrad niedrig, basierend auf leidenschaftsloser Beurteilung. Gemeinschafts-Sprachgemeinschaften (auf niedriger Abstraktionsebene) zeichnen sich dadurch aus, dass aufgrund des gemeinsamen Handlungsraums und der frequenten Interaktion der Mitglieder untereinander ein gemeinsames Erfahrungspotential in Form von Wissensbeständen etabliert wird. Der gemeinsame Handlungsraum schafft die Voraussetzungen zur Schaffung eines Solidargefühls der Mitglieder. Gesellschafts-Sprachgemeinschaften (auf relativ hoher Abstraktionsebene) sind Aggregate, in denen es nur potentiell zu direktem Sprechen der Mitglieder untereinander kommt. Sie sind oft politisch konstituiert und oft überlagert von Begriffen wie Nation, Staat, Volk, etc.

Die Wahl des Terminus *Sprachgemeinschaft* für die Gruppen, die eigentlich Gesellschafts-Struktur haben, kann mit Kloss (1977, 226f) als unglücklich bezeichnet werden, und zwar insofern, als die soziologischen

Implikationen des Konzepts ‚Sprachgemeinschaft‘, wonach sich eine Gemeinschaft durch ein eng verzweigtes Interaktionsnetzwerk mit gemeinsamen Werten und Normen und einer hohen Interaktionsdichte auszeichnet, den älteren begrifflichen Festlegungen diametral entgegenstehen. Merkmalsgruppen hohen Abstraktionsgrades (z.B. alle kompetenten Sprecher der deutschen Sprache, sei es in Form einer dialektalen, sozialen und anderen Varietät) fallen darunter. So wäre es vielleicht angebrachter für die Gruppen hohen Abstraktionsgrades den Terminus *Sprachgesellschaft* einzuführen, ungeachtet der Tatsache, dass der Terminus bereits historisch besetzt ist. Andererseits böte sich für die Gruppen niedrigen Abstraktionsgrades der Terminus *Sprechgemeinschaft* an, wobei der Tatsache Rechnung getragen wäre, dass es sich hier um kleine soziale Isolate handelt, in denen das miteinander Sprechen, der face-to-face Kontakt einen wesentlichen Bestandteil des sozialen Handelns ausmacht. Die Umschreibung *Sprachgesellschaft* impliziert, dass es sich um eine große Merkmalsgruppe handelt, in der es nicht zum direkten Sprechen der Mitglieder untereinander kommt, denen aber ein bestimmtes sprachliches Diasystem in seinen verschiedenen dialektalen, soziolektalen Varianten gemeinsam ist. Sprechgemeinschaften (oder Sprachgemeinschaften auf niedriger Abstraktionsebene) erfordern ein methodologisch anders ausgerichtetes Vorgehen als große Sprachgesellschaften (oder Sprachgemeinschaften auf hoher Abstraktionsebene). Nicht nur die soziolinguistischen Phänomene selbst verlangen einen spezifischen Zugriff, sondern auch die Größe und Struktur der zu erforschenden Gruppe. So ist es wenig sinnvoll, Phänomene des Sprachwandels und der Spracherhaltung in großen Merkmalsgruppen mit der Methode der teilnehmenden Beobachtung und der qualitativ interpretierenden Soziolinguistik zu analysieren. Andererseits ist es wenig fruchtbar, quantitativ korrelierende Beschreibungsmethoden in kleinen face-to-face Gruppen einzusetzen.

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15. Diglossie – Polyglossie/Diglossia – Polyglossia

1. Allgemeines
2. Zur Vorgeschichte des Diglossiebegriffes
3. Die Entwicklung des Konzepts in den USA
4. Einige Revisionen des Konzepts in Europa
5. Neuere Entwicklungen
6. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Allgemeines

Der Terminus *Diglossie* ist noch immer umstritten, dennoch wird er ständig, wenn auch oft mit unterschiedlichen Definitionen, verwendet. Dieser Widerspruch resultiert aus der Verschiedenheit der betrachteten Situationen, aber auch aus theoretischen und mitunter axiomatischen Widersprüchen zwischen unterschiedlichen Konzeptionen der

Soziolinguistik. Deshalb sollen im Folgenden historische und systematische Betrachtung verbunden werden; das Hauptgewicht wird auf den *grundlegenden* Unterschieden in den Konzeptionen liegen. Es wird gewöhnlich nicht besonders zwischen Di- und Polyglossie unterschieden, da Polyglossie hier nur als eine komplexere Situation mit mehr Variablen verstanden wird, deren Probleme sich jedoch grundsätzlich nicht von denen der Diglossie unterscheiden (vgl. Platt 1977, 361 ff).

Das Interesse der Linguistik war seit dem 19. Jh. nahezu ausschließlich auf die Einzelsprache konzentriert, Sprachkontakt und Mehrsprachigkeit wurden oft als bedenklich angesehen (vgl. Epstein [1915], 210). Dass

vermutlich die Mehrheit der Menschheit (partiell) mehrsprachig ist, drang – als Störfaktor – kaum in das Bewusstsein der Forscher. Erst mit Weinreich (1953) gerät der individuelle Sprachkontakt in das Zentrum des Interesses, und danach wächst die Zahl der Arbeiten über Formen der Mehrsprachigkeit rasch. Allmählich wird auch der gesellschaftliche Aspekt stärker in Betracht gezogen, manche Autoren unterscheiden zwischen individuellem Bi- oder Multilingualismus, der einzelne Sprecher aufgrund biographischer Zufälligkeiten betrifft, und sozialem, der größere Sprechergruppen umfasst (z.B. Vildomec 1963, 233). Es wird deutlich, dass es sinnvoll ist, individuelle und gesellschaftliche Aspekte zu trennen, da in einer mehrsprachigen Gesamtgesellschaft nicht notwendig jedes Mitglied alle Sprachen beherrscht (das Gegenteil ist die Regel) und außerdem die Verwendung der einzelnen Sprachen nicht beliebig, sondern längs bestimmter Verwendungskonventionen erfolgt.

2. Zur Vorgeschichte des Diglossiebegriffes

Diglossie ist die griechische Entsprechung des lateinischen *Bilingualismus*. Soweit bekannt, wird der Terminus 1885 durch Emmanuil Roidis zum ersten Mal verwendet, um die sprachliche Situation Griechenlands mit seinen beiden in unterschiedlichen gesellschaftlichen und kommunikativen Funktionen gebrauchten Sprachformen Katharevousa und Demotiki zu bezeichnen (vgl. Hering 1987, 125ff). Weitere Verbreitung erhält er durch seine Übernahme durch den griechischen Emigranten J. Psichari wenig später in Frankreich, der bereits auf das konfliktuelle Moment der Diglossie hinweist (Jardel 1982, 12). Dort erfolgt auch eine erste Begriffsübertragung auf die Sprachsituation in Nordafrika (W. Marçais 1930, 411; vgl. Prudent 1981, 15ff).

Unabhängig davon sind Traditionen zu verstehen ohne diese Terminologie, denen aber ähnliche Analysen der sozialen Bedingungen des Sprechens und der möglichen Konfliktualität einer solchen Situation zugrundeliegen. Hier wären einige nationale und soziale Emanzipationsbewegungen zu nennen; vor allem in der Zweiten Internationale ist die Artikulation von sozialer und sprachlicher Zugehörigkeit ein ständiger Streitpunkt. Dabei werden die Funktionen

der implizierten Sprachen mitunter ausführlich beschrieben (Bauer [1907] 1924). Dies setzt sich fort im Zuge der emanzipatorischen Sprachenpolitik in der Sowjetunion der zwanziger Jahre (Girke/Jachnow 1974, 19ff).

3. Die Entwicklung des Konzepts in den USA

Der Siegeszug des Terminus beginnt mit seiner Wiederaufnahme durch Ch. A. Ferguson (1959, 325ff.), der sich auf die französische Tradition stützt und als Beispiele die Lage in Arabien, Griechenland, der deutschsprachigen Schweiz und Haiti heranzieht. Ferguson unterscheidet zwischen einer hohen (H) und einer niedrigen Varietät (L) einer einzigen Sprache (oder zweier genetisch eng verwandter Sprachen), die unterschiedliche Funktionen in der jeweiligen Gesellschaft erfüllen: „Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation“ (Ferguson 1959, 336). Laut Ferguson sehen die Sprecher diese Situation als unproblematisch an, bis (a) der Grad der Alfabetisierung der Gesellschaft zunimmt, (b) die interne Kommunikation anwächst, (c) der Wunsch nach einer vollgültigen nationalen Standardsprache als Zeichen der eigenen Souveränität aufkommt (Ferguson 1959, 338). Damit setzt Ferguson die Akzente anders als seine Vorläufer: Er insistiert auf der *genetischen* Verwandtschaft der Varietäten in Kontakt und begrenzt dadurch die Verwendungsmöglichkeiten des Terminus. Man muss sich auch fragen, ob die Diglossie notwendig als ein Phänomen der langen Dauer angesehen werden muss. Die jeweiligen Zahlen der Sprecher von H und L werden nicht berücksichtigt, und die Bezeichnungen H und L stießen auf Kritik, da sie Werturteile suggerieren können. Schließlich erwähnt Ferguson mit keinem Wort das konfliktuelle Potential, das eine solche Situation in sich birgt. Möglicherweise beruht

ein Teil der Kritik auf einem Missverständnis: Vielleicht ist Fergusons Konzeption in der Tat stärker *historisch* als *typologisch* und lässt sich nur auf eine recht begrenzte Anzahl von Fällen anwenden.

Fergusons Definition wird bald von anderen nordamerikanischen Forschern als zu eng empfunden. J. Gumperz (1964; 1966) weitet den Diglossiebegriff auf solche Gesellschaften aus, die verschiedene Dialekte, Register oder andere funktional differenzierte Varietäten verwenden, ohne dass diese Gesellschaften sich als zweisprachig im engeren Sinne ansehen. J. A. Fishman schlägt zusätzliche Erweiterungen vor: Er gibt die Bedingung der genetischen Verwandtschaft auf und betrachtet *jede* Gesellschaft, in der zwei Sprachen oder Varietäten mit unterschiedlichen Funktionen verwendet werden, als diglossisch. Er versucht, zwischen *Bilingualismus* als der Domäne der Psycholinguisten und *Diglossie* als der der Soziolinguisten zu trennen und beide Erscheinungen in einem Schema zu verbinden und mit Beispielen zu belegen (Koexistenz beider Größen, Fehlen der einen, Fehlen beider, Fishman 1967, 29ff). Fishman geht davon aus, dass sich praktisch in jeder einigermaßen komplexen Gesellschaft Diglossieerscheinungen finden. Er versucht auch, Gründe für die Erhaltung oder für die Aufgabe diglossischer Erscheinungen in gewissen Gesellschaften oder Gesellschaftsteilen zu isolieren (Fishman 1966; Fishman/Cooper/Ma 1968). Er isoliert Variable, welche für den Gebrauch der jeweiligen sprachlichen Varietät relevant sind, wie Gruppenzugehörigkeit, Gesprächssituation und -partner, Thema (Fishman 1965, 68ff). Ähnliche, stärker von der Seite der Institutionen kommende Schemata entwirft Stewart (1962, 15ff). Die weitgefächerte Verwendung des Diglossiebegriffes in der nordamerikanischen Soziolinguistik ermöglicht die Darstellung komplexer Konfigurationen der Kommunikation. Sie bleiben allerdings rein deskriptiv und können in sich ändernden Situationen nur wenig an Erklärungszusammenhängen liefern. Sie berücksichtigen das Problem der Dominanz kaum und können auch zwischen individuellen und gesellschaftlichen Erscheinungen kaum eine Brücke bilden. Nicht zuletzt spielt in diesen Konzeptionen die *Geschichte* keine große Rolle.

Auf der einen Seite versucht man, den beobachteten Unzulänglichkeiten durch weitere definitorische Schritte beizukom-

men. So schlug H. Kloss vor, zwischen Binnen- und Außendiglossie zu unterscheiden, je nachdem, ob die Sprachen genetisch verwandt sind oder nicht (engl. 'in-diglossia' und 'out-diglossia', Kloss 1966, 138). Außerdem verweist Kloss darauf, dass bei Ferguson neben der Funktionsteilung die intime Beziehung zwischen beiden Varietäten eines der wichtigsten Charakteristika der Diglossie sei. Schließlich stellt er ein Schema der möglichen Vorkommensweisen von 'Diglossie und Bilingualismus' zusammen; wenn zwei Sprachen oder Varietäten mit unterschiedlichen Funktionen in einer Gesellschaft vorkommen, dann muss nicht jeder einzelne Sprecher beide beherrschen. Aber je nach den Kompetenzprofilen werden sehr unterschiedliche Entwicklungen zu erwarten sein (Kloss 1976, 315ff). Kloss unterscheidet folgende Möglichkeiten: Alle oder nahezu alle Sprecher beherrschen beide Varietäten, oder alle sprechen L, aber nur ein Teil auch H, wobei er jeweils zwischen Binnen- und Außendiglossie unterscheidet. Kloss nennt dagegen nicht die Möglichkeit, dass alle H beherrschen, aber nur ein Teil L (ein Fall, der im zeitgenössischen Europa nicht selten ist). Schließlich wird man vor allem für koloniale und postkoloniale Gesellschaften noch an ein Modell denken müssen, in dem ein oberes Stratum der Gesellschaft nur H beherrscht, ein unteres nur L (wobei L natürlich in Gestalt mehrerer Sprachen oder Varietäten auftreten kann), zwischen die sich zweisprachige Schichten schieben, welche sozusagen das „Gelenk“ der Gesamtgesellschaft darstellen. H. Haarmann (1983, 32) greift später dieselben Fragen auf und weitet sie auf Situationen aus, in denen mehrere Sprachen in einer Gesellschaft vorkommen. Daneben ist es noch zu zahlreichen anderen definitorischen Präzisierungen und Ausweitungen gekommen, die hier nicht im einzelnen referiert werden müssen. Terminologische Klärungen können indes grundlegende inhaltliche Gegensätze nicht aufheben, noch das unterschiedliche Verhältnis von Forschern zu ihrem Gegenstand vereinheitlichen. Gerade das Thema der gesellschaftlichen Sprachdifferenzierung ist stark von persönlichen, sicher oft unbewussten Optionen beeinflusst, welche in die Betrachtung der Situation einfließen (Devereux 1967). Konzeptionelle Widersprüche können daher kaum durch definitorische Lösungen aufgehoben werden: Verschieden vorgehende Betrachtungsmodelle können

nur als Replik oder Antithesis dargestellt werden.

Die so dargestellten Situationen haben unterschiedliche Bewertungen im Rahmen der Soziolinguistik gefunden: Während Ferguson und Fishman sie als nicht-negative Erscheinungen beschreiben, schlägt etwa E. Haugen (1962, 63) den Terminus *Schizoglossia* vor und sieht darin eine „linguistic malady“. Er verbindet das Auftreten der Diglossie mit dem Wunsch nach einer einzigen schriftsprachlichen Norm innerhalb eines politischen Gebildes, d.h. mit (europäischen) staatssprachlichen Konzeptionen. Andere Forscher verweisen stärker auf den Zusammenhang zwischen sozialen Bewegungen und den sprachlichen Folgen und sehen damit diglossische Situationen als Indikatoren gesellschaftlicher Situationen an (Wexler 1971, 321ff). Vielfach wird Diglossie als ein gesellschaftlicher Zustand angesehen, der bekämpft werden muss. Auf diese Weise verbindet sich die Einschätzung der Diglossie-Situation, vor allem in den USA, mit den Auseinandersetzungen in den sechziger Jahren um Defizit- und Differenzhypothese. Leider wird der dialektische Charakter der dargestellten Situationen und ihre Veränderlichkeit aus dieser Debatte kaum übernommen (Ferguson hat wohl insgesamt den Aspekt der Stabilität überschätzt; auch in sogenannten archaischen Gesellschaften ändern sich ständig Details der Sprachverwendungsregeln).

4. Einige Revisionen des Konzepts in Europa

Wohl vor allem aufgrund der unterschiedlichen sprachlichen Ausgangslage kam es im Europa zu einigen Revisionen des Konzepts, deren wichtigste hier knapp skizziert werden sollen. – Zu einigen Positionen der katalanischen Soziolinguistik: Das Diglossiekonzept fand vor allem in den europäischen Gesellschaften frühzeitig Beachtung, auf die es möglicherweise selbst zutrifft. In den katalanischen Ländern wurde das Konzept des *sprachlichen Konflikts* (Aracil 1965) formuliert, ein Begriff, der zwar schon zuvor in Gebrauch war, jedoch noch keine Definition erfahren hatte (Terracini 1957; Vallverdú 1980, 56ff; Mattheier 1987). Die katalanischen Soziolinguisten verstehen darunter ein umfassendes Phänomen, das in seinem Verlauf das Auftreten diglossischer Situationen zeitigen könne. Zwei deutlich voneinan-

der verschiedene Sprachen stehen sich gemäß dieser Konzeption gegenüber, von denen die eine dominant, die andere dominiert ist; die Formen der Dominanz und des Konfliktes können sehr unterschiedlich sein und von offener Repression zu einer vor allem ideologischen Auseinandersetzung gehen (Congrés de Cultura catalana 1978, I, 13). Dieser Ansatz legt großen Nachdruck auf soziale und institutionelle Aspekte: Die sprachliche Situation wird weithin zu einer Funktion der sozialen, wobei eben sprachliche und soziale Trennlinien zusammenfallen. Obwohl die Theoriebildung stark von der Betrachtung der Entwicklung in den katalanischen Ländern beeinflusst ist, integriert das Konfliktschema die Diglossie in die historischen Abläufe; die Bedingungen für ihr Entstehen und ihr Verschwinden (bzw. ihren Ersatz durch andere) rücken in das Gesichtsfeld. Sicher begrenzt sie sich selbst weitgehend auf „typisch“ europäische Situationen, Migrationsprobleme werden etwa (zu) wenig diskutiert, in die Typologie fließen zahlreiche Elemente konkreter Geschichte ein, ein gewisser Mechanismus ist nicht zu leugnen, dennoch hat sie erheblichen Einfluss vor allem in solchen Gebieten gehabt, in denen sich die Diglossie als konfliktuell darstellt. – Nach dieser Konzeption sind alle Veränderungen in der kollektiven sprachlichen Praxis als Bewegungen in zwei mögliche Richtungen deutbar, nämlich zum einen in die einer *Substitution*, der allmählichen völligen Durchsetzung der herrschenden Sprache, zum anderen in die einer *Normalisierung* (die Bezeichnung verweist deutlich auf die Zeit der Entstehung des Konzeptes, am Ende der Franco-Diktatur), der zunehmenden Behauptung der ehemals beherrschten Sprache, möglicherweise bis zur völligen Verdrängung der einst herrschenden (Aracil 1965, 6; Ninyoles 1972, 63). Da die herrschende Sprache gewöhnlich auch die Sprache der sozial und politisch herrschenden Gruppen ist (wenigstens die ihres symbolischen Gebrauchs), kommt die Normalisierung nach diesem Konzept notwendigerweise einem Wechsel oder wenigstens einer substantiellen Modifizierung der Machtverteilung in der betroffenen Gesellschaft gleich. Sie ist doppelt zu verstehen, einmal als *Normativierung*, d.h. die Erarbeitung sprachlicher Referenzformen (andere soziolinguistische Richtungen sprechen meist von *Kodifizierung* – vgl. Art. 30; 240), zum anderen als *gesellschaftliche Durchset-*

zung der betreffenden Sprache auf allen gesellschaftlichen und funktionalen Ebenen der Kommunikation (Vallverdú 1977, 147). Die Substitution ist entsprechend als Akkulturation der gesamten Bevölkerung an das herrschende (sprachliche) Modell zu verstehen. Damit lässt sich etwa die europäische Sprachengeschichte als eine Folge solcher sukzessiver Schübe in beide Richtungen erklären. Neben den unmittelbaren Machtverhältnissen spielen symbolische und ideologische Größen eine Rolle. So stehen der wirkliche (gewöhnlich legale) *Status* einer Sprache (und ihrer Sprecher) und das *Prestige*, der fiktive Status, der ihren Wert in einer Gesellschaft bezeichnet, in einem oft unklaren Verhältnis zueinander. In nicht konfliktuellen Situationen sind die Unterschiede zwischen beiden gering, in anderen dagegen können sie beträchtlich sein (wobei das jeweilige Prestige bei den Sprechern und bei anderen Gruppen ganz unterschiedlich sein kann). Eine Angleichung des Status an das Prestige, wie nach dem Ende der Franco-Diktatur in Spanien, ist immer auch als ein Versuch zu werten, einen bestehenden Konflikt zu entschärfen. Umgekehrt kann der Übergang von Sprechern zur dominanten Sprache als kompensatorisches Verhalten gewertet werden, das als Indiz einer sprachlichen Entfremdung (Lafont 1967, 107ff; 1993, 157ff) oder von Selbsthass (Ninyoles 1969, 96ff; Kremnitz 1990, 65ff) verstanden werden kann. Eine wichtige Konsequenz davon kann die zunehmende Abwertung der dominierten Sprache durch ihre eigenen Sprecher sein; sie glauben, man könne sie für bestimmte, mit hohem Prestige bedachte, Kommunikationsformen nicht verwenden. Eine solche Haltung kann dazu führen, dass eine Sprache nur noch für residuelle Formen der Kommunikation verwendet wird und keine Erweiterung bzw. Erneuerung ihrer Gebrauchsmöglichkeiten mehr stattfindet; auf die Dauer kann das zur Aufgabe der Sprache durch ihre Sprecher führen (Lafont 1976, 125ff). Es ist verschiedentlich darauf hingewiesen worden, dass staatliche Politik oft auf die Entstehung eines solchen Bewusstseins bei Minderheiten hinarbeitet (z. B. Kloss 1967, 46).

Zu Beginn wird auf die konfliktuellen Komponenten jeder Diglossiesituation verwiesen und die Diglossie als *Indikator* des Konflikts angesehen (etwa Vallverdú 1973, 57). Später wird diese Auffassung vielfach diskutiert, viele Forscher stellen den Zusam-

menhang in Frage, vor allem unter Verweis auf Gesellschaften, in denen kein Konflikt zu erkennen sei (wie etwa die Schweiz). Indes ist auch dort der Gebrauch der jeweiligen sprachlichen Formen sehr wohl sozial reglementiert (in der Schweiz werden die Konventionen derzeit weitgehend anerkannt), ihre Durchbrechung kann nicht als „unschuldig“ angesehen werden und zieht in Grenzfällen Sanktionen nach sich. Sobald jedoch der Konsens in Frage gestellt wird, kann ein – auch jetzt vorhandenes – konfliktuelles Potential aktiv werden, sobald etwa Unterschiede in der Sprachverwendung mit sozialen Unterschieden Hand in Hand gehen. In diesem Sinne scheint mir das konfliktuelle Potential der Diglossie immer vorhanden. Als Fortschritt dieses Konzeptes im Vergleich zu den früheren nordamerikanischen Konzepten kann man die Dynamisierung und Historisierung der Diglossie und ihre Einbettung in eine Gesamtheit historischer Abläufe ansehen. Sobald sich die sozialen Bedingungen ändern, geraten auch die kommunikativen Verhältnisse in Bewegung, und damit verschiebt sich das Verhältnis zwischen den betroffenen Sprachen. Die funktionelle Seite und die individuellen Aspekte eines solchen Verhältnisses, die Folgen der Diglossie für das Individuum, bleiben jedoch weitgehend außer Betracht. Auch die Begrenzung auf Sprachen (unter Ausschluss von Varietäten) muss man als Rückschritt ansehen – gerade die jüngste Zeit zeigt, dass auch nahe verwandte Varietäten als Symbole von Konflikten und Kommunikationsbrüchen genützt werden können.

Einige Ergänzungen liefert die okzitanische Soziolinguistik, besonders die Schule von Montpellier; sie hat sich schon früh mit ähnlichen Fragestellungen befasst (vgl. Lafont 1952, 41ff). Zentral für ihre Vorstellungen ist der Begriff der *diglossischen Funktionsweisen* (*fonctionnements diglossiques*, Lafont 1979, 509), der die scheinbare Einheit der Diglossie in die unendliche Zahl der einzelnen Kommunikationsakte aufspaltet. Auf der Ebene der Beobachtung trifft man auf ähnliche Erscheinungen wie die nordamerikanischen Soziolinguisten, allerdings ist die Bewertung eine andere, denn sie geht von einer grundsätzlich konfliktuellen Situation aus (Gardy/Lafont 1981, 75ff). Das Konzept Fishmans (vgl. 3.) wird einer Revision unterzogen, denn der Bilinguismus des Individuums wird unterteilt in eine (mögliche) bilinguale Kompetenz, von der ein

(funktionaler) diglossischer Gebrauch gemacht wird – die Diglossie wird somit auf die Ebene der Performanz gerückt (Kremnitz 1982, 27f). Dieser Annahme liegt die Auffassung zugrunde, dass die (oft widersprüchlichen bzw. überdeterminierten) Sprachgebrauchsnormen einer Gesellschaft zwar in jeder konkreten Situation präsent sind, dass jedoch das jeweils unterschiedliche Gewicht der spezifischen Variablen (beteiligte Personen, Kommunikationsformen und -fähigkeiten, Ideologien, Themen, usw.) zu im Einzelnen unterschiedlichen Strategien jedes Sprechers führt. Aus diesen individuellen Verhaltensweisen lassen sich kollektive Interferenzerscheinungen erklären, bewusste ebenso wie unbewusste. Gewöhnlich wird der Konflikt von den Betroffenen geleugnet und lässt sich nur auf indirekte Weise feststellen, da die dominierte Sprache von den Sprechern zugleich ab- und mythisch überbewertet wird. – Die dargestellten Konzepte haben auch in andere Bereiche teilweise Eingang gefunden, vielfach unter Modifikationen (vgl. Tabouret-Keller 1982, 17ff). Andere Autoren beschreiben als diglossisch bezeichnete Situationen, ohne den Terminus zu verwenden, mitunter mit expliziter Ablehnung. Allerdings nehmen diese Tendenzen allmählich ab.

5. Neuere Entwicklungen

Die Unterschiede zwischen der Definition Fergusons und denen zahlreicher europäischer Forscher dürften sich zum Teil aus der Verschiedenheit der betrachteten Objekte erklären. Kommunikationssituationen (und mehr noch Formen von Sprachpolitik) hängen von den Gesellschaften ab, in denen sie sich finden. Vergleichsweise wenig mobile Gesellschaften mit deutlichen sozialen Stratifikationen, die allenfalls teilweise dem vor allem im 19. Jh. ausgebildeten Modell des (zunächst vor allem europäischen) Nationalstaates entsprechen, legen andere sprachliche Verhaltensweisen nahe als egalitärere und mobilere Gesellschaften, die dieses Modell allmählich wieder zu überwinden scheinen, und zwar in einer anderen, auch weitere Kommunikationszusammenhänge berücksichtigenden Richtung. Nun scheinen die Gesellschaften, die zumindest mental zu der Erarbeitung von Fergusons Konzeption Pate gestanden haben, eher der ersten Gruppe anzugehören (wenn sie sich auch in den vergangenen vierzig Jahren sehr verändert

haben). Die europäischen Konzeptionen nehmen vor allem sehr mobile und konfliktträchtige Situationen als Grundlage ihrer Überlegungen. Andererseits ist das nationalstaatliche Modell bei weitem noch nicht überall überwunden, wenn es auch heute von zwei Seiten her in Frage gestellt wird. Dabei stehen an vielen Stellen Tendenzen zur Herstellung immer weiträumigerer Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten (= Förderung großer Verkehrssprachen) und solche zur Akzentuierung der Abgrenzung von anderen Gruppen (Demarkation) und zur Bewahrung bzw. Wiederverwendung von Kleinsprachen an vielen Stellen im Konflikt (im Extremfall kann das zur relativen Isolierung der betreffenden Gruppen führen). Ein weiterer bemerkenswerter Aspekt ist die zunehmende Polyzentrie (und damit partielle Fragmentierung), vor allem bei großen Verkehrssprachen (Clyne 1992). Wenn auch im Augenblick die Resultate deutlich in Richtung Kommunikationsausweitung zu gehen scheint, ist der Ausgang dieser Auseinandersetzungen nicht voraussehbar und kann im Einzelnen sehr unterschiedlich verlaufen.

Auch in der Forschung haben sich die nordamerikanischen Konzeptionen in den letzten fünfzehn Jahren weitgehend durchgesetzt, wobei die meisten Forscher sich in der Nähe von Fishman bewegen. Anders verhält es sich vor allem in kolonialen bzw. postkolonialen Gesellschaften, wo die Frage der kommunikativen und symbolischen Macht oft noch eine wichtige Rolle spielt. Die Forschungen der letzten beiden Jahrzehnte haben vor allem viel zusätzliches Material erbracht und im Einzelnen sehr unterschiedliche Situationen in den verschiedensten Teilen der Erde beschrieben. Die konzeptionellen Neuerungen bestehen in der Hauptsache in immer komplexeren Typologien, die zwar einen oft erheblichen Wert für die konkrete Beschreibung besitzen (vgl. Fasold 1984), indes wenig zur Vertiefung des Verständnisses der in den jeweils betroffenen Gesellschaften ablaufenden grundlegenden Prozesse beitragen (vgl. zu einer neueren Diskussion Dittmar 1997, 139ff). Es könnte jedoch durchaus sein, dass bei erneuter Zuspitzung sprachlicher Konflikte die für gesellschaftliche Folgen sensibleren peripheren europäischen Ansätze wieder stärker beachtet werden, wobei sie ohne Zweifel in vieler Hinsicht von den Erkenntnissen der nordamerikanischen beeinflussten Soziolinguistik profitieren können.

Allemaal wird man von der zunehmenden Komplexität und der immer rascheren Veränderbarkeit von Situationen ausgehen müssen.

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16. Kommunikative Kompetenz – Sprachliche Kompetenz Communicative Competence – Linguistic Competence

1. Verschiedene Aspekte der sprachlichen Kompetenz und der kommunikativen Kompetenz
2. Entwicklung bei den unterschiedlichen Disziplinen
3. Problematik bzw. Grenze der kommunikativen Kompetenz
4. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Verschiedene Aspekte der sprachlichen Kompetenz und der kommunikativen Kompetenz

1.1. de Saussure, Chomsky und Hymes

Der Übergang von de Saussures „langue-parole“ über Chomskys „sprachliche Kompetenz (linguistic competence)“ und „Performanz (performance)“ bis zu Hymes' „kommunikativer Kompetenz“ bedeutet nicht nur eine Änderung der Terminologie, sondern vielmehr eine Erneuerung der Theorie, mit der man die Sprache an sich betrachtet. Chomsky (1965, 4), der de Saussures

„langue“ „as merely a systematic inventory of items“ ablehnt, stellt die Menschen als Besitzer der Sprache in den Mittelpunkt der linguistischen Diskussion. Er beschreibt das Ziel der Sprachtheorie: „A grammar of a language purports to be a description of the ideal speaker-hearer's intrinsic competence“ (Chomsky 1965, 4). Chomsky unterscheidet sprachliche Kompetenz von Performanz, wobei er Kompetenz auf das grammatische Wissen beschränkt und es zum Untersuchungsobjekt macht. Die Grammatikalität eines Satzes wird aufgrund der Intuition der idealen Sprecher beurteilt. Dagegen wird alles, was nicht grammatikalisch ist, als Performanz betrachtet und außer acht gelassen. Chomsky geht dabei von einem Idealbild aus: „Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly“ (Chomsky 1965, 3). Hymes, der sich als Anthropologe mit dem Sprachproblem in der Schulerziehung beschäftigte, erhob gegen

Chomskys Theorie den Einwand, dass sie die sprachlichen Probleme der realen Welt nicht berücksichtige und daher irrelevant bleibe. Er schreibt: „To cope with the realities of children as communicating being requires a theory within which sociocultural factors have an explicit and constitutive role.“ (Hymes 1972, 271) Hymes versuchte eine sozial konstitutive Sprachtheorie zu entwickeln, die sich später als „Ethnography of Communication“ etablierte (vgl. Art. 137). Diese Sprachtheorie betrachtet Hymes als „a part of the general study of communicative conduct and social action“ (Hymes 1974, 202) und schlägt für die ihr entsprechende viel umfangreichere Kompetenz den Terminus „kommunikative Kompetenz“ vor. Die Einführung der kommunikativen Kompetenz gab des Weiteren den Anstoß zur Verfeinerung der soziolinguistischen Theoriebildung.

1.2. Sprachliche Kompetenz und kommunikative Kompetenz

Die Charakteristika von Chomskys Konzept sind folgende: (a) unausgeglichene Dichotomie zwischen Kompetenz und Performanz, (b) Beschränkung der Kompetenz auf grammatisches Wissen, (c) Beurteilung der Grammatikalität durch Intuition, (d) ideale Sprecher-Hörer in einer homogenen Sprachgemeinschaft. Zu (a) behauptet Hymes: „There are rules of use without which the rules of grammar would be useless“ (Hymes 1972, 278). Daher soll eine Theorie der Kompetenz gerade in ein Modell der Performanz, also der realen Verwendung der Sprache eingefügt werden. Von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus betrachtet besitzt der Sprecher bezüglich (b) nicht nur grammatische, sondern vielseitige Kompetenzen, die für den sozialen Umgang unerlässlich sind, z. B. soziolinguistische Kompetenzen, wie die angemessene Selektion der Varietäten, Stile usw. Bezüglich (c) ist Hymes der Auffassung, dass auch die Intuition sozial abhängig ist. Der Maßstab „richtig“ vs. „falsch“ wird durch die Angemessenheit der Äußerung in der jeweiligen gesellschaftlichen Situation ersetzt. Bei der Beurteilung der Angemessenheit verwendet man nicht nur seine eigene Intuition, sondern auch die Beobachtung der anderen. Darüber hinaus sind der zu beobachtende Gegenstand nicht mehr einzelne „Sätze“, sondern „Äußerungen“ bzw. „Diskurse“, die bei der gegebenen Interaktion entstehen. Was (d) angeht, so werden die

idealen Sprecher-Hörer in einer homogenen Sprachgemeinschaft durch Individuen ersetzt, die in der wirklichen soziokulturellen Gesellschaft leben. Hymes setzt also Realität und Heterogenität als Grundlage der Analyse voraus. Bei der Überwindung der Idealisierung spielten die damaligen ethnographischen Forschungen eine wichtige Rolle. Hymes kritisierte gleichzeitig den Ethnozentrismus der westlichen Kulturen und den absoluten Status des Akademismus. Ihre Stellung wird nun relativiert. Zum Forschungsobjekt werden Kompetenzen der Individuen sowohl in den stärkeren als auch in den schwächeren Sprachgemeinschaften. Die Beziehungen der individuellen Kompetenz zur Sprachgemeinschaft, nämlich Identität, Wert, Norm, Attitüde und deren Konflikte, kommen in Reichweite der kommunikativen Kompetenz. Laut Hymes (1987, 224) lässt sich kommunikative Kompetenz auf vier verschiedene Arten erfassen, nämlich nach (1) Systematik, (2) Realisierbarkeit, (3) Angemessenheit und (4) tatsächlichem Geschehen.

1.3. Entfaltung des Konzeptes der kommunikativen Kompetenz

Im Allgemeinen wird kommunikative Kompetenz definiert als „what a speaker needs to know to communicate appropriately within a particular speech community“ (Saville-Troike 1996, 362), also die Kenntnisse, mit denen das Mitglied einer Gruppe sich dem sozialen Kontext entsprechend angemessen äußern kann. Die Gesamtheit dieser Kenntnisse ist größer als das inhärente grammatische Wissen nach der Theoriebildung Chomskys. Es handelt sich dabei nicht nur um die Kenntnisse der sprachlichen Varietäten, sondern auch um jene der soziokulturellen Regelungen. Die Heterogenität der Kompetenz wird vor allem von den Vertretern der Ethnographie der Kommunikation (Hymes, Saville-Troike) und der Varietätentheorie (Labov) untersucht. Dabei werden die Unterschiede und Konflikte zwischen den Kompetenzen verschiedener Gemeinschaftsmitglieder in Betracht gezogen. Die Heterogenität ist auch Gegenstand der Spracherziehung bzw. Sprachpolitik der multikulturellen Gesellschaft. Darüber hinaus wird sie auch von der Kritischen Diskursanalyse aus gesellschaftskritischer Perspektive behandelt. Die Kenntnisse des angemessenen Sprachgebrauchs in einer gegebenen Situation innerhalb einer Sprachgemeinschaft beziehen sich

einerseits auf „Konvention“, „Norm“ und „Wertschätzung“ der Gemeinschaft, andererseits auf „Fähigkeit“ zum Sprachgebrauch, „Erwartung“ und „Identität“ des Gemeinschaftsmitglieds. Da diese Kenntnisse innerhalb des sozialen Milieus erworben werden, geht es bei der Spracherwerbsforschung um „skills“, „proficiency“ und „strategies“. Dieser Aspekt wird im Folgenden etwas präziser dargestellt. Während die oben genannten Positionen die Kompetenz eher als statisch betrachten, vertreten andere Forscher den Standpunkt, dass Kommunikation eher als Aktion oder als Prozess der Interaktion zu verstehen ist (Halliday 1973; Gumperz 1981; 1984; Young 1999).

2. Entwicklung bei den unterschiedlichen Disziplinen

2.1. Spracherwerbsforschung

Da sowohl Chomsky als auch Hymes den Spracherwerb als Fokus für ihre theoretische Perspektive verwendet haben, stand „kommunikative Kompetenz“ im Bereich der Spracherwerbsforschung schon Anfang der 70-er Jahre im Mittelpunkt der Untersuchungen (Campbell/Wales 1970; Ervin-Tripp 1972). Zuerst wurden auf der Grundlage der Sprachbarrierentheorie von Basil Bernstein (vgl. Art. 127) schichtenspezifische Unterschiede beim Spracherwerb erhoben (Catzden 1972; van der Geest et al. 1973). Im Gegensatz dazu gibt es Ansätze, die zeigen, dass die Verwendung der sprachlichen Varietäten bei Kindern und ihre Entwicklung auch innerhalb einer gleichen Gemeinschaft unterschiedlich ist (Heath 1983; Romaine 1984). Der Erwerb der Sprache und jener der kommunikativen Kompetenz wurden dann in Bezug auf die Sozialisation der Kinder in ihrer jeweiligen Gesellschaft betrachtet (Schieffelin 1979; Ervin-Tripp et al. 1990; Schieffelin/Ochs 1996). Ochs (1998, 407) beschreibt den Zusammenhang dieses Erwerbs wie folgt: „the acquisition of language and the acquisition of social and cultural competence are not developmentally independent processes, nor is one process a developmental prerequisite of the other. Rather, the two processes are intertwined from the moment a human being enters society“.

Ausgehend von der Sozialisation entstanden Untersuchungen über den Erwerb der Höflichkeit (vgl. Art. 72). Die Höflichkeit

wird dabei als ein Teil der kommunikativen Kompetenz betrachtet. Lakoff (1973) zählt die Maxime „be polite“ zu den Regeln der pragmatischen Kompetenz, und für L. Milroy (1987) gehören die Kenntnisse und Fähigkeiten, wie man die Bedeutung von Respekt, Seriosität, Humor, Höflichkeit und Intimität kommuniziert, zur kommunikativen Kompetenz. Zu diesem Thema gibt es sowohl theoretische Arbeiten als auch empirische Forschungen (Snow et al. 1990; Blum-Kulka 1990; Kasper 1990; 1996; House 1996; Nakamura 1996). In diesem Zusammenhang spricht Edelsky (1977, 225) bezüglich des Stereotypen-Erwerbs der Männer- und Frauenrolle von der metasprachlichen Kompetenz. „Communicative Competence, however, involves both production and interpretation, including interpretations of social intent and judgements about appropriateness. People not only talk; they interpret language (including its absence) in the light of their expectation that the social structure will be enacted linguistically“. Wenn man mit der kommunikativen Kompetenz die Angemessenheit der Äußerung beurteilen kann, liegt es nahe, anzunehmen, dass man mit dieser Kompetenz genauso die Angemessenheit der gegebenen sozialen Situation beurteilen kann, die die Notwendigkeit des Stereotyps bzw. der Höflichkeit bestimmt und sogar rechtfertigt. Von dieser Hypothese der kommunikativen Kompetenz könnte eine kritische Untersuchung der Höflichkeit ihren Ausgang nehmen. – Vom entwicklungspsychologischen Standpunkt aus gibt es viele weitere Forschungsbereiche: psycholinguistisch orientierte Untersuchungen (Klann-Delius 1999), Kleinkinder fokussierende Studien (Carpenter/Nagell/Tomasello 1998) oder Forschungsansätze zur nonverbalen kommunikativen Kompetenz (Freedmann et al. 1986) usw. Vom linguistischen Blickwinkel wird auch ein modularer Ansatz erarbeitet: Dieser geht von den linguistischen Komponenten der kommunikativen Kompetenz aus und versucht dadurch, den Erwerb der kommunikativen Kompetenz zu erklären (Foster 1990).

2.2. Fremdsprachenforschung

Kommunikative Kompetenz wurde Anfang der 70-er Jahre auch in der Fremdsprachenforschung thematisiert (vgl. Art. 239). Die anfänglichen Arbeiten waren noch strukturalistisch orientiert und haben daher keine

entscheidende Änderung ausgelöst (Paulston 1974; Rivers 1973). Im Anschluss an Savignon wurde jedoch kommunikative Kompetenz als ein pädagogisches Konzept in den Vereinigten Staaten anerkannt (Savignon 1997). In England hat Widdowson (1978; 1979) diese Bezeichnung für seinen kommunikativen Ansatz verwendet. Sein Forschungsschwerpunkt liegt im „discourse based approach“. In der deutschen Fremdsprachendidaktik hat Piepho (1974) Habermas' Gedanken zur kommunikativen Kompetenz für die Verwendung im Fremdsprachenunterricht adaptiert und dabei die Idee von der herrschaftsfreien Gesellschaft und Emanzipation betont. Die Arbeit von Canale/Swain (1980) zur kommunikativen Kompetenz hat seit den 80-er Jahren in der Fremdsprachenforschung Beachtung gefunden. Nach Canale/Swain (1980) besteht die kommunikative Kompetenz aus (1) grammatischer Kompetenz, (2) soziolinguistischer Kompetenz, (3) Diskurskompetenz und (4) strategischer Kompetenz.

Auf dieser Grundlage wurde über „Testing“ (Bruder/Esareyeds 1985; Bachman/Palmer 1996 u.a.), über das „Proficiency-Program“ (Harley et al. 1990; Rivera 1984; Savignon 1997), den bilingualen Spracherwerb (Cummins/Swain 1986) oder über den Zusammenhang zwischen Kontext und kommunikativer Kompetenz (Berns 1990) diskutiert. 1990 hat Bachman den Ausdruck „Communicative language ability“ vorgeschlagen, der aus „language competence“, „strategic competence“ und „psychophysiological mechanisms“ besteht. Bachman (1990, 107f) verfeinert diese Kompetenzen wie folgt: „Language competence includes organizational competence, which consists of grammatical and textual competence, and pragmatic competence, which consists of illocutionary and sociolinguistic competence. Strategic competence is seen as the capacity that relates language competence, or knowledge of language, to the language user's knowledge structures and the features of the context in which communication takes place. Strategic competence performs assessment, planning, and execution functions in determining the most effective means of achieving a communicative goal“. Neben Bachman hat auch Kramersch das Proficiency-Program kritisiert und dabei die Forschungsrichtung der interaktionalen Kompetenz begründet (Kramersch 1986; vgl. auch Young/He 1998).

2.3. Soziologie

Ende der 60-er Jahre entwarf Habermas, als er seine kritische Theorie der Gesellschaft ausarbeitete, unter Berücksichtigung von Chomskys Sprachtheorie, Austins Sprechakttheorie und Wittgensteins Sprachspiel eine Theorie der kommunikativen Kompetenz. Analog zu Chomskys „idealem Sprecher“ nimmt Habermas (1971, 138f.) dabei eine ideale Sprechsituation an, die „nicht nur uneingeschränkte, sondern auch herrschaftsfreie Diskussion allein aufgrund ihrer Situationsmerkmale, d.h. ihrer Struktur, sichert“ und „durch strukturelle Merkmale einer Situation möglicher Rede“ zu charakterisieren ist, „nämlich durch die symmetrische Verteilung der Chancen, Dialogrollen wahrzunehmen und Sprechakte auszuführen“. Habermas' Theorie hat damals nicht nur auf den Fremdsprachenunterricht, sondern auch auf die Linguistik Einfluss ausgeübt, indem sie die Relevanz der Pragmatik, die damals eher unberücksichtigt blieb, hervorhob. Festzuhalten ist die begriffliche Differenz bei der Verwendung der Terminologie; Habermas' kommunikative Kompetenz ist eine Stufe konkreter als Chomskys linguistische Kompetenz und eine Stufe abstrakter als Hymes' kommunikative Kompetenz. Für letztere schlägt Habermas die Bezeichnung „pragmatische Kompetenz“ vor. Habermas spricht später in den 90-er Jahren nicht mehr von der kommunikativen Kompetenz; man darf jedoch nicht vergessen, dass seine kritische Gesellschaftstheorie eben unter diesem Gesichtspunkt von neueren Soziolinguisten aufgegriffen wurde und immer noch diskutiert wird (Hemming 1996; Wodak 1996).

2.4. Pädagogik

Der Terminus „kommunikative Kompetenz“ wurde 1967 von Baacke in die pädagogische Diskussion eingebracht. Während bei Habermas die Sprache eine zentrale Bedeutung erhält, ist Kommunikation für Baacke, der sich auf Luhmanns Systemtheorie stützt, „nicht nur ein sprachlicher Akt“ (Lauffer/Volkmer 1995, 13). Denn es „seien Situationen denkbar, wo die Überführung in sprachlich mitgeteiltes Wahrnehmen nicht notwendig sei, da die Wahrnehmung allein die notwendige Orientierung leiste. Bei emotionalen Fällen (z. B. Liebe, Haß, Streit) reiche Sprache nicht aus“ (Röll 1995, 148). Aus der Auseinandersetzung mit Habermas' Kommunikationstheorie und angesichts der Globalisierung media-

ler Kommunikation und der zunehmenden interpersonalen und internationalen Kommunikation ergibt sich die „interkulturelle kommunikative Kompetenz“ als neue Forschungsrichtung. Nach Luchtenberg (1999, 202) erweitert diese den seit langem etablierten Begriff der kommunikativen Kompetenz „auf Kommunikationssituationen, in denen die Gesprächspartner aufgrund ihrer Sozialisation in einem anderen Land oder einer ethnischen Community einen unterschiedlichen kulturellen Hintergrund haben, der in den meisten Fällen auch mit unterschiedlichen Erstsprachen verbunden ist“. Die Bezeichnungen „interkulturelle Kompetenz“ und „interkulturelle Kommunikationsfähigkeit“ werden auch in der Fremdsprachenforschung verwendet (Knapp-Potthoff 1997; House 1996). Trotz der begrifflichen Erweiterung der „interkulturellen Kompetenz“ betont Juliane House (1996, 4) die Relevanz der sprachlichen Ebene der Pragmatik und des Diskurses. – Zur interkulturellen Kompetenz gehört auch die Medienkompetenz. Darunter ist die Kompetenz zu verstehen, mit allen Medien adäquat umgehen zu können, also „mit Mail-Boxen, CD-Rom, mit der Verquickung von Computer und Video, mit Lokalfunk und interaktiven Medien“ (Hamm 1995; Fuchs 1995).

3. Problematik bzw. Grenze der kommunikativen Kompetenz

3.1. Sprache als Teil der Kommunikation

Während der Forschungshorizont der kommunikativen Kompetenz erweitert wurde, entstanden im Laufe der 80-er Jahre auch Ansätze, die Hymes' Konzept von unterschiedlichen Gesichtspunkten aus kritisch betrachten und des Weiteren zu überwinden versuchen. Es handelt sich dabei um eine Diskussion der Frage, welche Rolle die Sprache bei der Konzeptualisierung der kommunikativen Kompetenz spielt. Die Sprache hatte bei Chomsky eine absolute Stellung genossen, bei Hymes hingegen wurde sie nur als Teil der Kommunikation angesehen. Dadurch wurde die Wechselbeziehung zwischen der Sprache und den soziokulturellen Elementen der Kommunikation zum Fokus der Forschung. Somit entstand eine Relativierung der Stellung der Sprache, die in der Kommunikation keine bevorzugte Rolle mehr einnahm. Ein Beispiel dafür sind die Ansätze der Soziosemiotik (Kress/van Leeuwen 1996) oder die Forschungen zur kom-

munikativen Kompetenz bei gestörter Sprachentwicklung (Pagliano 1997). Analog zur Relativierung der Sprache kommt eine weitere Entwicklung zustande. Während bei Hymes die sprachliche Kompetenz ein Teil der kommunikativen Kompetenz war, ist bei Neustupný kommunikative Kompetenz ein Teil der interaktionalen Kompetenz. Interaktion als Oberbegriff der Kommunikation bewirkte vor allem in Japan eine radikale Umwandlung des Rahmens der Spracherziehung, insbesondere bei der Lernprogression und bei den Kriterien zur Leistungsbewertung (Neustupný 1995).

3.2. Multikulturalismus und Kulturrelativität als soziale Gleichberechtigung

Hymes veranlasst auch den allgemeinen Übergang vom ethnozentrischen Akademismus zum Relativismus der vielfältigen Sprachkulturen. Er versetzt die von Chomsky angenommene homogene Sprachgemeinschaft in die soziokulturelle reale Umgebung. In dieser Umgebung wird die homogene Sprachgemeinschaft als eine dominante verstanden, jedoch nur als eine von vielen. Dadurch verleiht Hymes auch „niedrigen“ Sprachvarietäten und „kleineren“ Sprachgemeinschaften eine gleichberechtigte Stellung. Seine Position muss auf dem Hintergrund seiner Erwartungen an die Sprachwissenschaft gesehen werden: „I believe, if linguistics is to realize its potential for the well-being of mankind, it must go even further, and consider speech communities as comprising not only rules, but also sometimes oppression, sometimes freedom, in the relation between personal abilities and their occasions of use“ (Hymes 1974, 205).

Diese kritische Perspektive wird, teilweise auch in Anlehnung an Habermas, von den europäischen Vertretern der Kritischen Diskursanalyse weitergeführt und bei der Analyse ungleicher Machtverhältnisse im Diskurs angewendet. Die englischen Vertreter der Kritischen Diskursanalyse üben dagegen vor allem im Bereich der Spracherziehung Kritik an dem Hymes'schen Relativismus und an der „Angemessenheit“ und schlagen die „critical language awareness“ vor (Fairclough 1992). Sie meinen, dass die Idee des Relativismus den Trugschluss zulässt, in einer idealen Welt zu leben, in der alle Sprachen, Sprachgemeinschaften und alle Sprecher-Hörer gleichberechtigt und bloß verschieden wären. Diese ideale Welt

entspreche jedoch nicht der sozialen Realität. Auch in der „Angemessenheit“ steckt eine Ideologie der Rechtfertigung der dominanten Sprachgemeinschaft, die beispielsweise im Machtverhältnis zwischen Standardvarietät und Dialekt zum Ausdruck kommt (vgl. Art. 29; 30).

3.3. Kompetenz als individuelle Gegebenheit

Obwohl die Kompetenz aus verschiedenen Aspekten einerseits differenziert, andererseits entfaltet wurde, behandelte man sie als individuelle Gegebenheit. Bei dieser Sichtweise fehlt die Idee der kooperativen Konstitution der Bedeutung und die der wechselseitigen Aushandlung durch die Kommunikationspartner. Diese Problematik wurde zum zentralen Thema in der Theoriebildung zur interaktionalen Kompetenz (Young 1999; Young/He 1998).

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17. Language Norms/Sprachnorm

1. Norm-related concepts
2. Components of norms
3. Validity of norms
4. Crystallisation and intensity of norms
5. Framework for analysing language norms
6. Literature (selected)

1. Norm-related concepts

The term “norm” (from Latin *norma*), which originally meant a carpenter’s square (*The Oxford English Dictionary* 1961), generally stands for a measure or criterion for something which gives guidelines for people’s acts and forbearances (cf. art. 48). Out of technical or social necessities, common values come into existence, which are shared and diffused among the community members. When they are internalised and on the whole observed by the members, they are described as “norms”, some of which might be officially or unofficially codified in order to clarify the contents and meet the needs of inquiry and promulgation. Official status with a normative force is not necessarily conferred upon codes a priori but can be entrusted to those which are reliable enough to be adopted. Norms in the wider sense epitomize customs, conventions, rules, values, folkways, mores, and laws, which makes the term “norm” polysemous.

These kinds of norm-related concepts are classified in the framework of a “property-space” by Barten (1955, 50ff). In his model these concepts are subsumed under the term “norms”, which are classified in terms of three dimensions: (1) how they originated (tradition vs. organized enactment), (2) how they are enforced (informal vs. formal sanctions), and (3) the strength of group feeling (stronger or milder) (Table 17.1). Norms which originate from tradition and have informal enforcement belong to customs which stand for mores and folkways as a generic term. Laws are composed of the concepts “customary law” and “enacted law”. A convention, which is not referred to by Barten, can be defined as “a regularity in behavior” (Lewis 1969, 51). Having no normative force, conventions are supposed to correspond to customs in Table 17.1. Barten points out that there can be combinations which are not touched upon in Table 17.1: (a) those of formal enactment and informal

enforcement, and (b) those of formal enactment and no enforcement. The first cases are omitted because, as Barten (1955, 52) states, they arise from an evolutionary assumption that it is not until society develops formal enforcement machinery for its traditional norms that institutions responsible for the enactment and the change of norms are established. In analysing language norms, this type is however not negligible, because there can be cases in which some variants are officially registered in some kind of code. These forms are informally dropped in favour of regionally preferred variants. The second kind comes under the cases of codified norms which are outdated and in need of proper revision.

Traditional norms, which are not codified, are called “primary rules” by Hart (1961, 89). They consist of rules derived from natural laws and of rules conditioned by traditions, which creates some problems. If doubts arise as to which rules are valid, there is no official procedure to clear this up. Encountering social changes, these rules cannot cope effectively with new situations, because traditional rules change only slowly. Lacking formal enforcement, primary rules are not equal to the task of controlling violations effectively. These shortcomings are remedied by the “secondary rules”, codified norms which are equipped with rules of recognition, rules of change and rules of adjudication which remedy respectively uncertainty, the static character and inefficiency of primary rules (Hart 1961, 92ff). Hart regards laws as the union of primary and secondary rules that have influence on each other. In a similar manner, language norms are codified by observing actual language uses: Codified norms which do not do justice to actual language uses lose effect.

These dimensions are studied in various academic disciplines, depending upon their types in the framework. Jurisprudence is about customary and enacted laws that must be followed and how to sanction violations. Behavioural patterns of people which constitute group feelings or attitudes are investigated through empirical studies by social psychologists. Studies which focus mainly on the learning process through reciprocal expectations are pursued by sociologists.

Tab. 17.1: A property-space divided to a typology of norms (Barten 1955, 51)

		Informal Enforcement		Formal Enforcement	
		GROUP FEELING		GROUP FEELING	
		Strong	Mild	Strong	Mild
HOW ORIGINATE	Tradition	Customs		Laws	
		MORES		FOLKWAYS	CUSTOMARY LAW
	Enactment	XX		XX	ENACTED LAW

An influential analysis of the concept of norms in sociology was made by Parsons (1951, 40) who explained norms in terms of the “complimentarity of expectations”, which means “what are expectations to ego are sanctions to alter and vice versa”. Parsons discusses the interrelationship between role expectations by the actors and sanctions by the others. This elucidation by Parsons did not explain the fact that not only does an individual A expect what an individual B expects of A, but also B expects what A expects of B’s expectations. This is called “co-expectations” by others (Luhmann 1985, 298). Luhmann takes into consideration the “expectation of expectations” by integrating the two levels of whether one’s own expectation of the others is fulfilled and of the meaning of one’s own behaviour in light of the expectations by the others.

For Luhmann (1985, 33) norms are “counterfactually stabilised behavioural expectations”, which means that norms are unconditionally valid, independent of whether or not they are fulfilled. Hence, norms are institutionalised when they are valid. Norms are then to be contrasted not so much with facts as with cognition. Accordingly, Luhmann differentiates “normative expectations” from “cognitive expectations”. When cognitive expectations are infringed, the expectations will align with the new situations. In the case of normative expectations, the “ego” (self) expects the “alter ego” (others) to act according to his own expectation’s; if the others infringe his expectations, sanctions will be taken by him. This is the normative force which characterises the normative expectation. When some cognitive expectations converge to form a constant pattern, this pattern might acquire a normative force, changing expectations from cognitive to normative ones.

These aforementioned studies are enlightening in analysing language norms, because various concepts from other fields are shared. The system of a language per se is a conglomeration of various norms. And a language is made up of phonological, grammatical, and semantic systems, which are influenced by pragmatic factors. Each system has its own norms which are furthermore classified into two kinds by Bartsch (1982, 72f): “norms of product”, relating to phonemic, graphemic, morphemic, syntactic, gestural, and intonational properties of expressions and “norms of use of the communicative means”, corresponding to semantic, pragmatic, and stylistic norms. There are, moreover, norms relating to standard varieties and to regional and social dialects, which can be classified according to enforcement. Norms are often associated with standard varieties, (cf. art. 30) because sanctions, whether formal or informal, are more clear-cut with standard varieties. The norms of a standard variety are usually promulgated through education at school, where deviations from codified norms are controlled by teachers. On the other hand, if one does not observe norms of nonstandard varieties, one may be regarded as an outsider, against whom sanctions will not necessarily be taken.

2. Components of norms

According to von Wright (1963, 70) norms consist of six components: “the character, the content, the condition of application, the authority, the subject(s), and the occasion”. The character, the content, and the condition of application constitute the “norm-kernel”. The character is classified into two types: the ‘ought’character (O) and ‘may’character (P), which correspond respectively to “obligation

norms” and “permissive norms.” The content is that “which ought to or may or must not be or be done”, i.e. the meanings of *df* expressions (do-forbear! H. T.) in deontic logic. Von Wright differentiates norms as being either positive or negative based on an act or forbearance. The condition of application is the condition that must be satisfied if there is an opportunity for performing an act following the content of a given norm.

Applying von Wright’s framework to the explanation of language norms, obligation norms are the ones which are codified as a rule in authentic dictionaries and have validity without constraint. The alternatives to the obligation norms, which can also be used with some constraints, are identified as permissive norms. Permissive norms are particularly relevant in explaining linguistic variables, e.g. Siebs (1969) explain German “pure standard pronunciation” (*reine Hochlautung*) as an obligation norm and “moderate standard pronunciation” (*gemäßigte Hochlautung*) as a permissive norm. In language norms there are usually positive O and P norms; however, this does not logically exclude the possibility that the deviation from them is forbidden. In case of product norms, the norm content can be codified explicitly and tolerates no deviations, i.e. $Od(T)$ implies $Of(\sim T)$. In the case of language, this condition corresponds roughly to situations in which the application of the norm is demanded, and its forbearance hinders successful communication. The norm-kernel, composed of these three concepts, is the key to codifying language norms.

Von Wright points out three other components of norms other than the norm-kernel: the authority, the subject and the occasion. The authority is “the agent who gives or issues the prescription” (von Wright 1963, 70), i.e. gives the norm its normative force. The norm authority can be impersonal or personal. Laws, for instance, come into effect through impersonal authorities, e.g. by a resolution in parliament, or through personal authority, e.g. by an absolute monarch. With regard to languages, the norm-authority can be personal or impersonal, depending on conditions in nations, regions or institutions. The normative force is addressed to the subjects who are “commanded or permitted or forbidden by the authority to do and/or forbear certain things” (von Wright 1963, 77). This act or forbearance is

realized on certain occasions, i.e. diaphasic and diatopic conditions. In addition to the norm authorities and subjects, there are norm promoters, norm enforcers, norm beneficiaries, norm maleficiaries or norm victims (Bartsch 1987, 176; Gloy 1975). They are involved in the realization, diffusion and cessation of norms. Language norms are provided in order to indicate guidelines for linguistic forms and to reduce the complexity of the inexhaustible ways of expressing something on a certain occasion. Following norms is generally advantageous for norm subjects; however, not all subjects are able to acquire the normative forms that are held in high prestige by a particular speech community. An insufficient command of language norms can be detrimental to career advancement. Such people then become norm victims. One of the reasons can be found in the shortcomings of the educational system. Others are due to linguistic factors, such as the distance between the vernacular variety of the norm subjects and the language norms, or to social factors, e.g., the norm subjects attitudes toward the norms.

Deviation from the language norms can be punished by sanctions. Violating the norms destabilizes the others’ expectations and can be a source of conflict. Thus, sanctions function as a means to make divergent linguistic forms in a speech community conform. Violating norms, is not necessarily an unintentional act based on unfamiliarity or ignorance. An individual might be expressing new meanings through intentional norm violations, as highlighted by Grice’s maxims of conversation (1975). In this case the hearer is aware that the violation is intentional and that the person is creating new meanings through the violation.

Violators of language norms are not always unequivocally sanctioned. Sometimes they are excluded as outsiders, making it difficult to get employment or to get good marks in school. Despite this, sanctions do not always induce subjects to obey norms. If some deviations from the standard norms have acquired positive meaning or hold covert prestige in the speech community, then these deviations are not considered to be authentic violations and will bring no sanctions. Being only covertly prestigious, the deviant forms are not generally applicable to communication in official situations. The degree of convergence to the norms in official situations, i.e. the strength

of their normative force, corresponds to the intensity of the norms. The degree of convergence becomes weaker when diverse norms are accepted; thus, sanctions are inconsistently imposed upon the violators of a norm. Orthographic norms, for example, are generally strong, because they are standardized specifically in codes. This is often necessary in the printing business and in education. In the case of pronunciation, the norms can be put into practice within a certain margin of error, inevitably based on individual conditions of phonetic articulation. The strength of norms can thus be identified by observing the degree of convergence to the norms. Pronunciation norms are important in the field of mass communications especially for newscasters who are to convey information verbally to the general public without any simultaneous feedback. Thus, the intelligibility of the speaker's pronunciation is vital. In everyday conversation, deviations from the orthoepic norms, transferences from regional varieties, are occasionally tolerated or sometimes favoured, but only as long as intelligibility is not affected.

3. Validity of norms

Von Wright (1963, 195f) distinguishes two meanings of the term "validity" of a norm. First, it can be said that a norm is valid if it exists. Thus, the terms "validity" and "existence" of a norm are used synonymously. The question "Is this norm still valid?" can also be understood as "Does this norm still exist?" (von Wright 1963, 195). However, it is also possible that even if the norm fell into disuse, the norm formulation remains. Second, the validity of a norm therefore means the legality of the act of issuing this norm. In order to avoid the polysemy of the term, von Wright defines "validity" as "legality" in the normative sense but not in the factual sense of existence or being in force, which is referred to as the "efficacy" of norms. Validity comes through the demand that individuals abide by the norm, "a judgment about what ought to be", while efficacy comes about when the norm is obeyed, "a judgment as to what is" (Kelsen 1948, 15). Kelsen contends that a norm is valid if it is generally efficacious. When a norm loses its efficacy, it also loses its validity. This phenomenon is called the "normativity of the facts" (*Normativität des Faktischen*) (Jellinek 1922, 337ff).

In analysing the concept of validity, Radbruch (1970, 174ff) differentiates between "the sociological-historical theory of descriptive validity" (*eine soziologisch-historische, deskriptive Geltungslehre*) and "the juristic or philosophical theory of normative validity" (*eine juristische oder philosophische, normative Geltungslehre*). In the case of normative validity, the justification of the validity of a rule or a law can be attributed to other higher rules or laws, the validity of which originates in other higher rules or laws. The validity of the highest norm at the end of the hierarchy (or the chain of subordination (von Wright, 1963, 198)) can no longer be warranted by any higher norm. This is called the ultimate rule by Hart (1961, 102). The theory of normative validity is, hence, not equal to the task of dealing with cases of norm collisions which occur because of the concurrent validity of different norms. These kinds of problems will be adequately grappled with by applying the theory of descriptive validity which is based on the discussion above on "recognition theory" (*Anerkennungstheorie*). According to this theory, it could be supposed that the norm embodies the interests of individuals, which makes the norm recognized by the subjects and, therefore, valid (Radbruch 1970, 178). The "highest norm of communication" (Bartsch 1982, 73) is based on recognition theory, as that the first priority is granted to the goal of communication, i.e. the utterance of a speaker is acceptable when it is recognizable to the hearer. The highest norm has been followed when there is comprehension in an exchange, and infringement of lower linguistic norms is tolerated.

4. Crystallisation and intensity of norms

Empirical studies of norms have been carried out in social psychology. Jackson (1960) presents a model for the analysis and measurement of norms. Norms have one behavioural and one evaluative dimension. An important characteristic in the behavioural dimension is "the specification of the amount or degree of behavior that is expected of a person", and for the dimension of evaluation, norms involve "shared tendencies to approve or disapprove a particular dimension of behavior" (Jackson 1960, 138). Based on these dimensions, Jackson con-

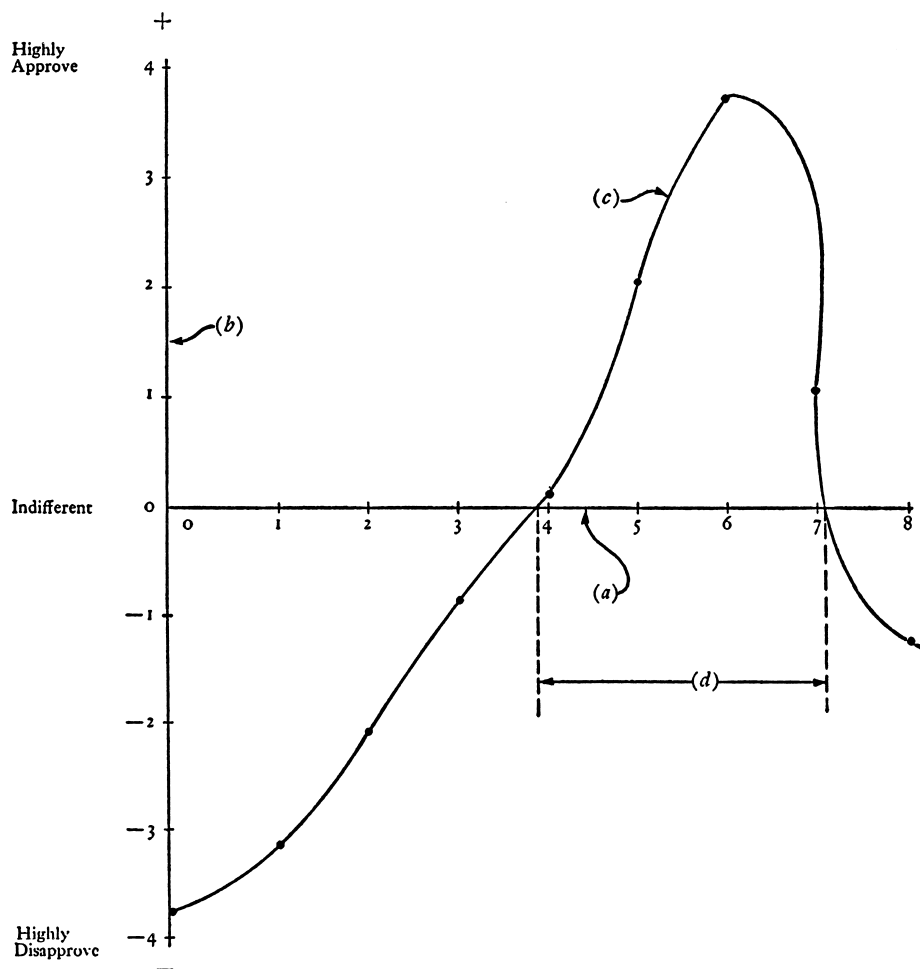


Fig. 17.1: Schematic diagram showing the Return Potential Model for representing norms: (a) a behavior dimension; (b) an evaluation dimension; (c) a return potential curve, showing the distribution of approval-disapproval among the members of a group over the whole range of behavior; (d) the range of tolerable or approved behavior (Jackson 1960, 139)

structured a “return potential model”. In this model the approval or disapproval of the evaluative dimension is indicated by a curve, which reflects the degree of approval or disapproval by the group members of a person’s behaviour. This curve is called “a return potential curve” (Fig. 1).

This model presents the characteristics of norms as the following: the “range of tolerable behavior”, the “intensity of a norm”, the “potential return ratio”, the “point of maximum return”, and the “crystallization of a norm” (Jackson 1960, 140ff). The range of tolerable behaviour is the part of a return potential curve that is approved by the group members. The intensity of a norm is reflected by the height of the curve

at each point on the behaviour dimension. The range of tolerable behaviour has an effect upon the learning atmosphere of a group. This is shown by the “potential return ratio” which is obtained by dividing the mean intensity of positive potential return by the mean intensity of negative potential return over the entire behavioural dimension. The maximum point on the curve approved is called the “point of maximum return.” This implies an ideal behaviour, and group members who achieve this are thus called “norm-setters.” In a group there can be many types of return potential curve because of individual differences. If the curves are similar to each other in the group, the degree of crystallization is high. The crystallization

ratio is the sum of the total variance of the return potential for all points on the behavioural dimension. Accordingly, the lack of a norm can be seen either in the combination of low crystallization with high intensity or high crystallization with low intensity.

5. Framework for analysing language norms

Language norms are concerned with all varieties of norms, from various dialects to standard varieties that are valid in a speech community depending on the context. These norms are primary rules and are generally obeyed in a speech community. All of them have their norm-kernels. Some of them might be codified in order to establish a standard variety that fulfils the necessity of communicating effectively in official situations and in educational settings throughout a country or region. These mechanisms for establishing a standard variety are illustrated by the “social dynamic field of a standard variety” (*soziales Kräftefeld einer Standardvarietät*) as discussed by Ammon (1995, 80ff). Figure 2 shows the interaction of important components relating to a standard variety which is embodied through interaction of primary and secondary rules. According to this, an officially valid norm will be disseminated by “norm authorities” (*Normautoritäten*) who are obliged to correct deviations from the official norm. Representative authorities are teachers at

schools who initiate pupils into the language norm. This norm must be codified in a “linguistic code” (*Sprachkodex*) such as in a dictionary of orthography, pronunciation and so on. Ammon makes a sharp distinction between linguistic codes of a standard variety and those of a nonstandard variety. Codes of nonstandard varieties, e.g. dialect dictionaries, are merely descriptive and are usually published out of academic interest. The codified norms which must be obeyed by the members of a speech community, especially in writing, are those of a standard variety. Exemplary forms deserving to be part of a standard norm are to be identified by observing the linguistic forms used by “model speakers” and “model writers” (*Modellsprecher/-schreiber*). In codifying standard norms, “norm codifiers” (*Normkodifizierer*) give careful consideration to pronunciation and grammatical forms used by model speakers and by model writers. These models are people who use language professionally, such as journalists, scholars and writers. The codes are then examined by “language experts” (*Sprachexperten*), e.g. linguists, whose technical opinions can exert so much influence that the code is revised based on their opinions. In addition to these four components of standard varieties, Ammon incorporated the comprehensive component referred to as the “majority population” (*Bevölkerungsmehrheit*) in the framework. Its influence upon the formulation and enactment of norms is political and acts upon

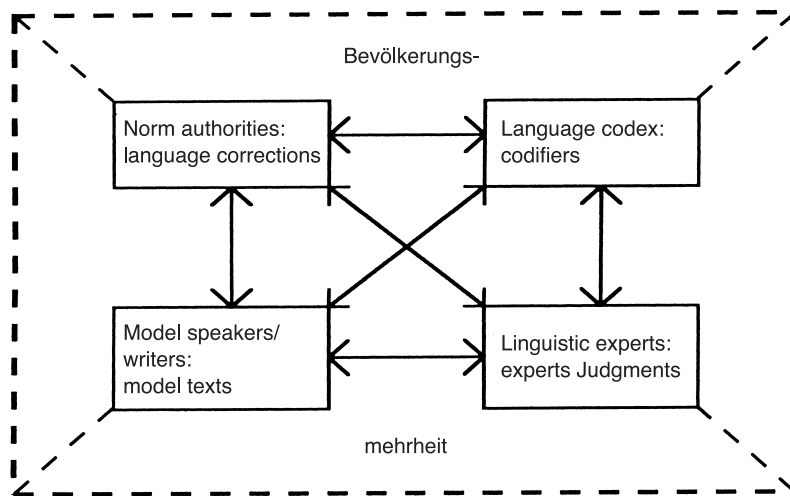


Fig. 17.2: “Social Dynamic Field of a Standard Variety” (Ammon 1995, 80)

Tab. 17.2: Primary rules and secondary rules

	Primary Rules	Secondary Rules
Forms of Norms	uncodified	codified
Actors	majority population	norm-authority, model-speaker/-writer, language expert, norm-codifier

standardising norms indirectly. The attitudes of the majority population, however, are not negligible, because their general acceptance among the population is a prerequisite for promulgating the norms. At this point it remains to be studied whether or not the majority means literally a quantitatively greater part of a population. For Bartsch (1987, 94) the majority means the “educated class”; this obviously corresponds to the “model speakers” and “model writers” on Ammon’s framework. Hart (1961, 88) points out that rules (=norms! H.T.) function when obeyed by the majority of society, i.e., the officials, lawyers, or private people who use them in their social life. It is plausible to suppose that the majority should include the norm subjects who are expected to obey the norms as well as the model speakers/writers who are the leaders of groups that have good command of the norms. The majority population is certainly expected to obey the norms but does not necessarily have good command of them: they only need to orient themselves towards the norms.

Language forms with high crystallisation and high intensity are those which function as de facto standard variants, “standard of use” (*Gebrauchsstandard*) (Ammon 1995, 88) or “norms of use” (Bartsch 1987, 171). Codifying them confirms them as the status quo. This procedure makes a customary standard into a “real norm” (*Realnorm*) which stands in contrast to an “ideal norm” (*Idealnorm*) (Ammon 1995, 88). Language forms with low crystallisation and high intensity can be regarded as standard. Other standard forms compete, as in the case of pluricentric languages, or the variants can be regarded as jargon or dialect. If the crystallisation of a variant is high despite having low intensity, it is supposed that normativity is irrelevant or that there are no norms. When both crystallisation and intensity of certain variants are low, a norm does not exist. Only in the case of high crystallisation and high intensity does codification retain a descriptive character, because secondary rules are substantiated in accordance with the primary rules. Except for this case, codification is prescriptive, i.e. primary rules are expected to conform to the secondary rules. A codified norm is, thus, a synchronic part of a norm-kernel which is exposed to the continuous interaction of natural change and artificial control.

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Tab. 17.3: Codification in relation to crystallisation and intensity

	High Intensity	Low Intensity	
High Crystallisation	Normativity	shared norms if codified, descriptive effect	nonexistence of norms or irrelevant norms if codified, prescriptive effect
	Language Forms	<i>standard varieties</i> etc.	
Low Crystallisation	Normativity	conflicting norm systems or nonexistence of norms if codified, prescriptive effect	nonexistence of norms or obsolete norms if codified, prescriptive effect
	Language Forms	<i>jargons, dialects, pluricentric languages</i> etc.	<i>idiolects</i> etc.

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18. Funktionale Typen und Statustypen von Sprachsystemen Functional Types and Status Types of Linguistic Systems

1. Status, Funktion, Typ
2. Linguistischer Status
3. Soziolinguistische Dimensionen von Status und Funktion von Sprachen und Varietäten
4. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Status, Funktion, Typ

Soziolinguistische Einteilungen von Sprachsystemen nach Status und Funktion berücksichtigen deren gesellschaftliche Beziehungen und unterscheiden sich insofern grundsätzlich von Einteilungen nach rein linguistischen Gesichtspunkten. Die soziolinguistischen Begriffe 'Status' und 'Funktion' stehen dabei in Opposition zum rein linguistischen Begriff 'Struktur'. Für die Sprachplanung ist es auf Anregung von Heinz Kloss (1969) seit längerem gängig, in diesem Sinn 'Status' und 'Korpus' einander gegenüberzustellen (*Status-versus Korpusplanung*). Dabei wird der Terminus *Status* für den Oberbegriff 'Status oder Funktion' verwendet. Beispiele für die Charakterisierung von Sprachsystemen nach Status oder Funktion sind etwa: 'Weltsprache', 'Regionalsprache', 'Minderheitssprache', 'Amtssprache', 'Nationalsprache', 'Unterrichtssprache' usw.; Beispiele für Einteilungen von Sprachsystemen nach der Struktur

sind 'flektierende Sprache', 'agglutinierende Sprache', 'SVO-Sprache' (Subjekt-Verb-Objekt), 'SOV-Sprache' (Subjekt-Objekt-Verb) usw. Man könnte auch von *soziolinguistischen* gegenüber (*rein*) *linguistischen* Typen von Sprachsystemen sprechen. – Der Ausdruck *Sprachsystem* ist im vorliegenden Zusammenhang ein Notbehelf, der nicht etwa den Systemcharakter der in Frage stehenden Gegenstände im strukturell-linguistischen Sinn akzentuieren soll; er dient vor allem der Vermeidung des Ausdrucks *Sprache*, da es um Status und Funktion sowohl von ganzen Sprachen als auch Sprachvarietäten (Subsystemen) geht (vgl. Art. 19). Als alternativer, hinsichtlich Sprache und Varietät unspezifischer Ausdruck wäre auch *Idiom* in Betracht gekommen, bei Gefahr des Missverständnisses im Sinne von 'idiomatische Wendung'. – Die Termini *Status* und *Funktion* werden in soziolinguistischen Texten mit variierender Bedeutung gebraucht. Tendenziell betont *Status* jedoch statische Aspekte, *Funktion* dagegen dynamische. Im Deutschen wird synonym mit *Status* oft *Stellung* verwendet, synonym mit *Funktion* dagegen *Gebrauch* oder *Verwendung* (eines Sprachsystems). William Mackey (1989, 4) hat den Status eines Sprachsystems als sein

„Potential“ erläutert, als das, was man damit tun kann; die Funktion eines Sprachsystems dagegen als das, was tatsächlich damit getan wird. So habe z. B. das Gälische in Irland zwar den Status einer nationalen Amtssprache, aber nur in geringem Maße auch die entsprechende Funktion, die in höherem Maße dem Englischen zukommt. Um diesen Unterschied zwischen Status und Funktion zu betonen, werden bisweilen Epitheta verwendet, wie *de jure* bzw. *de facto* (*Status de jure, Funktion de facto*). - Wenn es hier um Typen von Sprachsystemen geht, so soll damit der Unterschied zu beliebigen Klassifikationen betont werden. Die nachfolgenden Ausführungen lassen ahnen, dass sich Sprachsysteme nach Status und Funktion unbegrenzt vielfältig klassifizieren lassen. Typologien haben demgegenüber ausgewiesene theoretische und praktische Relevanz; sie sind Bestandteil erklärender Theorien oder praktisch wichtiger Problemformulierungen.

2. Linguistischer Status

Hiermit ist nicht etwa eine linguistische Einteilung von der Art gemeint, wie sie in Abschnitt 1. ausdrücklich den Begriffen 'Status' und 'Funktion' gegenübergestellt wurde. Es handelt sich nur um solche im engeren Sinn linguistische Spezifizierungen, die bei den Differenzierungen der folgenden Abschnitte vorausgesetzt werden oder die wesentliche Merkmale soziolinguistischer Typen von Sprachsystemen sind, zusätzlich zu soziologischen Merkmalen. Dazu gehört zunächst einmal die Unterscheidung zwischen 'ganzer Sprache' und 'Varietät einer Sprache'. Eine ganze Sprache wird dabei aufgefasst als eine Menge von Varietäten, besonders von Dialekten und einer oder mehreren Standardvarietäten. Die linguistischen oder soziolinguistischen Beziehungen zwischen den Varietäten nennt man auch die *Architektur* der Sprache. - Ein Aspekt des linguistischen Status einer Sprache ist der Grad ihrer dialektalen Diversifizierung: die Zahl ihrer Dialekte, die Schärfe oder Gradualität der Abgrenzung der Dialekte voneinander, deren linguistische Ähnlichkeit oder Distanz voneinander, ferner die Zahl der Standardvarietäten einer Sprache und deren linguistische Distanz voneinander und von den Dialekten. Solche Gesichtspunkte sind z. B. wichtig für die Charakterisierung einer Diglossie bzw. deren 'hoher' und 'niedriger' Varietät (Ferguson 1959; vgl. Art. 15). - Ein

anderer Aspekt des linguistischen Status einer Sprache ist deren Distanz von den - linguistisch gesehen - benachbarten Sprachen, wobei hier auf die schwierige Frage der Distanzmessung nur en passant hingewiesen werden kann, die besonders problematisch ist in Bezug auf Mengen von Varietäten, um die es sich bei ganzen Sprachen handelt. Die Zahl der Standardvarietäten ist vor allem bedeutsam im Hinblick auf 'plurizentrische Sprachen' und 'nationale Varietäten von Sprachen' (vgl. Art. 33; 149). Sprachen, die von allen anderen Sprachen eine große linguistische Distanz aufweisen, hat Heinz Kloss (1978, 23-30) *Abstandssprachen* genannt (vgl. Art. 26). - Ein weiterer Aspekt des linguistischen Status von Sprachen oder von Varietäten ist ihre Verschriftung (vgl. Art. 242). Besonders wichtig sind dabei die Schriftsysteme: ideografisch, syllabisch oder alphabetisch. Ideografische Schriften erlauben die sprachen-übergreifende schriftliche Kommunikation auch bei beträchtlicher linguistischer Distanz des mündlichen Ausdrucks. Im Falle von Standardvarietäten handelt es sich bei der Verschriftung um Orthografien, mit denen sich je nach Schriftsystem recht unterschiedliche Probleme verbinden können. - Zum linguistischen Status gehören im Grunde auch Aspekte der Lexik (Wortschatz), wie deren fachliche und wissenschaftliche Differenzierung und Modernität. Sie werden unten in Abschnitt 3.4. unter dem Begriff 'Ausbau' nochmals thematisiert.

3. Soziolinguistische Dimensionen von Status und Funktion von Sprachen und Varietäten

3.1. Vitalität

Die Unterscheidung zwischen „lebenden“ und „toten“ Sprachen hat eine lange Tradition und spielte vor allem eine Rolle bei der Umstellung von den klassischen auf die modernen Fremdsprachen in den Schulcurricula der europäischen Länder im 19. Jahrhundert. Die Rede vom „Leben“ und „Tod“ oder vom „Lebenszyklus“ einer Sprache wird in der Regel leicht als metaphorisch durchschaut und ist insofern unproblematisch. Sie kann jedoch auch zu dem Missverständnis führen, Sprachen oder Sprachvarietäten seien Organismen, und eine biologische Sicht fördern. Die verbreitete Rede vom heutigen „Sprachsterben“ aufgrund von Globalisierung und Modernisie-

zung ist nicht selten biologistisch gefärbt. Das explizite Verständnis von Sprache als von Menschen geschaffenes Werkzeug, Kommunikations- und Kognitionsmittel und als Norm menschlichen Handelns eignet sich als Korrektiv. Dass eine Sprache „lebendig ist“ (= Vitalität hat), lässt sich übersetzen in die Ausdrucksweise, dass sie „Muttersprachler hat“. Allerdings ist der Ausdruck *Muttersprache* mehrdeutig (vgl. Art. 35). Dass eine Sprache L_a Muttersprache einer Person A ist, kann bedeuten, dass $A L_a$ (1) als erste Sprache gelernt hat (Genese), (2) zum Erhebungszeitpunkt besser als jede andere Sprache beherrscht (Kompetenz), (3) zur Zeit am meisten verwendet (Funktion), (4) sich dazu als Muttersprache bekennt (Selbstidentifikation) oder (5) von anderen als Muttersprache zugeordnet wird (Fremdentifikation) (Skutnabb-Kangas/Phillipson 1989, 453). Keines der Kriterien (1–5) verbürgt für sich genommen, dass eine Sprache im gängigen Verständnis „lebt“. Am wenigsten gilt dies für die bloße Identifikation (4 und 5), wenn keines der Kriterien (1–3) erfüllt ist, wie es für viele Einwohner Irlands in Bezug auf das Gälische (Irische) berichtet wird. Aber auch eine Sprache, die zwar von Menschen als erste gelernt wurde (1), aber zum Erhebungszeitpunkt von niemand mehr sicher beherrscht oder gebraucht wird (2 und 3), gilt nicht mehr als lebend, sondern zumindest als hochgradig vom „Aussterben“ bedroht. Umgekehrt verbürgen die hohe Kompetenz bei manchen Sprechern (2) oder die bedeutsame Funktion (3) nicht die Lebendigkeit einer Sprache, wenn niemand sie von Kindheit an lernt. Es könnte sich in diesem Fall um eine „klassische Sprache“ (vormals lebend; Art. 37), eine Plansprache wie Esperanto oder eine in Wiederbelebung begriffene Sprache (Art. 245) handeln. Mit Termini wie *Muttersprache*, *klassische Sprache*, *Plansprache* oder *wiederbelebte Sprache* sind wichtige funktionale und Statustypen von Sprachen benannt, für deren Präzisierung ‘Vitalität’ als Kriterium unverzichtbar ist. Entsprechendes gilt für die Antonyme, nämlich *Fremdsprache* oder *Zweitsprache* (Art. 36), *Volkssprache* (ein freilich undeutliches Antonym zu *klassische Sprache*), *natürliche Sprache* bzw. *tote Sprache* (letzteres als Antonym zu *wiederbelebte Sprache*). Nach Maßgabe der Existenz von Muttersprachlern wird auch unterschieden zwischen ‘Pidginsprache’ (keine Muttersprachler) und ‘Kreolsprache’ (Art. 34; 135). – Im Hinblick auf eine differenziertere,

quantifizierende Typologie gibt es verschiedene Ansätze zur Messung von ‘Vitalität’ (z. B. McConnell 1991; McConnell/Genron 1993).

3.2. Sprecherzahl

Um die Sprecherzahl einer Sprache oder Varietät festzustellen, bedarf es vorab der Klärung, welche Personen als *Sprecher* gelten. Der Ausdruck *Sprecher einer Sprache* ist mindestens so vieldeutig wie der Ausdruck *Muttersprachler einer Sprache*. Die Extension des Begriffs ‘Sprecher einer Sprache’ ist insofern umfassender, als auch die Zweit- und Fremdsprachler dazugehören, und insofern enger, als das bloße Bekenntnis, Sprecher zu sein, nicht als hinreichend gilt – vielmehr ist es bei der Erhebung von Sprecherzahlen durch Befragung eine mögliche Fehlerquelle. Sprecherzahlen sind bedeutsam für die Unterscheidung von ‘großen’ und ‘kleinen Sprachen’ (*Groß-/Kleinsprachen*; vgl. z. B. Haarmann 2001). Statt von *Sprecherzahlen* spricht man auch von *numerischer Stärke* von Sprachen. Damit wird meist zunächst einmal Bezug genommen auf die Muttersprachler, jedoch können auch Zweit- und Fremdsprachler einbezogen werden. Entsprechend wird oft differenziert zwischen Sprachen mit vielen Mutter-, aber wenigen Fremdsprachlern und Sprachen mit weniger Mutter-, aber vielen Fremdsprachlern; an erster Stelle weltweit stehen in dieser Hinsicht Chinesisch bzw. Englisch. Auch wenn man eine Sprache als *bloße Verkehrssprache* oder *bloße Lingua franca* bezeichnet, kann gemeint sein, dass sie keine Muttersprachler hat (Art. 39). Für Statustypen wie ‘Minderheitssprache’ und ‘Mehrheitssprache’ ist die Sprecherzahl (numerische Stärke) ebenfalls notwendiges Kriterium, und zwar in der Regel die Zahl der Muttersprachler; allerdings kann ein entsprechender Rechtsstatus (vgl. 3.7.) hinzukommen (*anerkannte Minderheitssprache*). Diese Begriffe beziehen sich auf einen bestimmten Rahmen, z. B. einen bestimmten Staat, innerhalb dessen die betreffenden Sprecher eine Minderheit bzw. Mehrheit (absolute oder relative Mehrheit) bilden; in einem anderen Rahmen kann das Verhältnis der Sprecherzahl umgekehrt sein. So ist z. B. Ungarisch in Rumänien eine Minderheitssprache, aber in Ungarn die Mehrheitssprache. Sprachenrechte und Funktionen von Sprachen in öffentlichen Domänen sind oftmals in hohem Maße abhängig von der relativen Sprecherzahl in einem bestimmten politischen Rahmen, vor allem innerhalb eines

Staates. Nach der Sprecherzahl bestimmt sich auch das Kommunikationspotential einer Sprache und damit in gewissem Sinne ihr Gebrauchswert.

3.3. Geographische Verteilung

Titel wie „Languages and Their Territories“ (Laponce 1987) verraten die Bedeutsamkeit der geographischen Verteilung im vorliegenden Zusammenhang, da sie sich bei genauerer Betrachtung hauptsächlich mit Status und Funktion von Sprachen befassen. Laponce (1987, 56) macht deutlich, dass es einen Unterschied auch für Status und Funktion von Sprachen macht, ob sie sich über tausende von Kilometern erstrecken wie in Nordamerika oder auf kleinste Räume beschränkt sind wie in Papua-Neuguinea. Sprachtypen wie *Ortssprachen*, *Regionalsprachen* oder *Weltsprachen* implizieren solche Unterschiede in der geographischen Verteilung, ohne dass es gefestigte, allgemein anerkannte Definitionen für sie gibt. Mit einer *Weltsprache* ist in der Regel gemeint, dass sie auf mehrere oder sogar alle Kontinente verteilt ist, mit einer *Ortssprache*, dass sie sich auf einige wenige oder sogar nur eine einzige Ortschaft beschränkt. Es gibt auch *Sprachen ohne Territorien* (z. B. Romani) oder solche mit *zusammenhängenden* gegenüber solchen mit *unzusammenhängenden Territorien* (z. B. Schwedisch bzw. Friesisch – wenn man letzteres als eine einzige Sprache auffasst: West-, Sater-, Insel- und Nordfriesisch). – Entscheidend ist dabei jeweils die Art des Bezugs auf das Territorium. Meist ist der Wohnort der Muttersprachler gemeint, also dessen geographische Verteilung, eventuell auch der Wohnort der Fremdsprachler. So ist z. B. Tschechisch nach der Verteilung des Wohnorts der Fremdsprachler eine Nachbarsprache, da es praktisch nur in der Nachbarschaft des „Mutterlandes“ gelernt wird, Französisch dagegen eine Weltsprache. Von besonderer Bedeutung ist die Verbindung einer Sprache mit dem Territorium von Staaten durch die Stellung als staatliche Amtssprache. Auch in dieser Hinsicht ist Französisch so etwas wie eine Weltsprache, da es in Staaten oder Staatsteilen verschiedener Kontinente amtlichen Status hat (Europa, Afrika, Nordamerika, Ozeanien); in noch höherem Maße gilt dies für Englisch. Dagegen ist Deutsch in dieser Hinsicht Regionalsprache, da es nur in europäischen Staaten, insgesamt in 7, amtlichen Status hat.

3.4. Ausbau

Diese Dimension, die terminologisch und begrifflich von Heinz Kloss ([1952] 1978) eingeführt wurde, dient vorrangig zur Erklärung für die Entstehung einer eigenständigen Sprache ohne „Abstand“, d. h. ohne große linguistische Distanz von allen anderen Sprachen (Art. 26; auch 19). So wird z. B. der Status des Letzeburgischen oder des Slowakischen als eigenständige Sprache durch Ausbau erklärt, denn Abstand liegt aufgrund der recht geringen linguistischen Distanz von Deutsch bzw. Tschechisch nicht vor. Obwohl Kloss (1978, 37–55) Ausbau als eine schrittweise Entwicklung versteht, für deren Stand er verschiedene Maße vorschlägt (vgl. Ammon 1989, 78–82), betont er als Kriterium für erreichten Ausbau die Existenz von „Sachprosa“ (Kloss 1978, 38f). Im Bemühen weiterer Differenzierung der Ausbaugrade nach der Art der Sachprosa unterscheidet er Themen (auf die eigene Gruppe bezogene, kulturkundliche Fächer, Naturwissenschaften und Technologie) und Bildungsstufen („Entfaltungsstufen“: Volksschul-, Oberschul-, Hochschul- und Forscherniveau). Der höchste Ausbaugrad ist erreicht, wenn Forscherprosa in Naturwissenschaften und Technologie vorliegt, was nur auf ganz wenige Sprachen zutrifft (Kloss 1978, 47). Bei all dem betont Kloss, dass Ausbau zwei Seiten hat, nämlich die der „Anwendungsbereiche“ (Domänen und Textsorten) und die der Ausdrucksmittel („Stilmittel“) (Kloss 1978, 37). Man sieht unschwer die Parallele zu der ebenfalls von Kloss eingeführten Unterscheidung zwischen „Status“ (=Anwendungsbereiche) und „Korpus“ (=Ausdrucksmittel) für die Sprachplanung. – Ein Manko in Kloss' Analyse ist die nicht immer klare Unterscheidung zwischen einzelner Sprachvarietät und ganzer Sprache (Menge von Varietäten). Macht man diesen Unterschied, so wird deutlich, dass in einer Ausbausprache nur einzelne Varietäten wirklich ausgebaut werden, um die sich dann die nicht-ausgebauten Varietäten als Dialekte oder Soziolekte scharen. Eine solche Ausbausprache (ausgebaute Varietät) konstituiert nur dann eine eigenständige Sprache als deren Kern, wenn sie eine gewisse Mindestdistanz von allen anderen Ausbausprachen hat; andernfalls bildet sie nur eine, wie man sagen könnte, „Zentralvarietät“, meist eine nationale Varietät, einer plurizentrischen Sprache (Art. 33; 149). Hierdurch ist

dieses funktionale Kriterium verschränkt mit dem linguistischen Status (Abschnitt 2.). So ist z.B. die Ausbauvarietät des Letzeburgischen ausreichend verschieden von irgendeiner der Ausbauvarietäten der deutschen Sprache; die Ausbauvarietät des österreichischen Deutsch ist dagegen der des deutschen oder des schweizerischen Deutsch zu ähnlich: Letzeburgisch ist daher eine eigenständige Sprache, österreichisches Deutsch dagegen nur eine nationale Varietät der deutschen Sprache. – Die Dimensionen Ausbau und Standardisierung (vgl. 3.5.) sind weder identisch noch disjunkt. Einerseits sind hochgradig ausgebaute Varietäten immer auch standardisiert (Standardvarietäten). Andererseits lassen sich Standardvarietäten nach Ausbaugraden unterscheiden, z.B. danach, ob Forscherprosa in Naturwissenschaften und Technologie vorliegt oder nicht. Der Ausdruck *Modernisierung* wird teilweise synonym mit *Ausbau* gebraucht, teilweise aber auch eingeschränkt auf die Ausdrucksmittel (Korpusausbau) (vgl. Art. 243).

3.5. Standardisierung

Eine Vorstufe der Standardisierung ist die Verschriftung eines Sprachsystems, die nicht umsonst als „Reduktion“ verstanden wird, nämlich der Vielzahl von Aussprachevarianten auf eine kleinere Zahl geschriebener Varianten (vgl. Art. 242). Allerdings zielt Standardisierung darüber hinaus ab auf die Reduktion der Schreibvarianten, oftmals sogar bis hin zu einer einzigen (Art. 240). Standardisierung kann geschehen durch Auswahl einer schon vorhandenen Varietät aus einer Menge von Varietäten und deren Aufwertung zur Standardvarietät oder durch Konstruktion einer neuen Standardvarietät als Kompromissform aus vorhandenen Varietäten. Die Standardvarietät wird dann zum Maßstab richtigen Sprechens und Schreibens. Sie wird nach Maßgabe der Korrektheitsurteile *autonom*, und die anderen Varietäten werden ihr gegenüber *heteronom* (vgl. zu dieser Terminologie Chambers/Trudgill 1980, 10–14); in anderer Terminologie bildet die Standardvarietät ein *Dach* über den Nonstandardvarietäten derselben Sprache, die von ihr *überdacht* werden (Kloss 1978, 67–70). Dieser Bewertungsunterschied ist vor allem für den öffentlichen, förmlichen Sprachgebrauch bedeutsam, für den der Gebrauch der Standardvarietät zur Norm wird (vgl. Art. 17). Die Kompetenz in der Standardvarietät und ihre Anerkennung als solche Norm werden in den Schulen vermittelt und gefestigt. – Volle

Standardisierung ist kaum möglich ohne *Kodifizierung*: die Festlegung der Standardvarietät in Wörterbüchern und Grammatiken. Nicht jede linguistische Beschreibung ist eine Kodifizierung der Art, wie sie für Standardvarietäten typisch ist. Ein *Sprachkodex* als Ergebnis von Kodifizierung ist – im Gegensatz zu sonstigen linguistischen Beschreibungen – insofern normativ, als er berechtigter Weise als Nachschlagewerk dient. Sprecher und Schreiber können sich im Konfliktfall auf den Sprachkodex berufen, ebenso die „Sprachnormautoritäten“, die durch Korrektur für „richtiges“ Sprachverhalten sorgen (z.B. Lehrer, Redakteure) (vgl. Ammon 2003). Als Vorstufe von Standardisierung dient die Orientierung an Modellsprechern und -schreibern, deren Sprachgebrauch als vorbildlich gilt und insofern eine rudimentäre Standardvarietät konstituiert. Nach dem Grad der Kodifizierung lässt sich der Grad der Standardisierung einer Sprache bzw. ihrer Standardvarietät messen: Der niedrigste Grad liegt vor bei Existenz nur von Modellsprechern (ohne Verschriftlichung), ein höherer bei Existenz auch von Modellschreibern und ein noch höherer bei vorhandenem Sprachkodex, der sich weiter differenzieren lässt in die Existenz eines bloßen Rechtsschreibkodexes, eines zusätzlichen Aussprachekodexes usw. bis zur umfassenden Kodifizierung von Wortschatz, Grammatik und schließlich Stilistik und Pragmatik (Ammon 1989, 86–89). – Es ist möglich, dass für die Erklärung der Entstehung eigenständiger Sprachen der Begriff ‘Standardisierung’ einen stringenteren Ansatz bietet als der Begriff ‘Ausbau’. Angewandt auf unser Beispiel in Abschnitt 3.4., wäre dann Letzeburgisch aufgrund von Standardisierung (statt aufgrund von Ausbau) eine eigenständige Sprache, trotz verhältnismäßig geringer linguistischer Distanz von der deutschen Sprache bzw. ihren Standardvarietäten. Entsprechend wäre es vermutlich angemessener, die nationalen Varietäten einer plurizentrischen Sprache als Standardvarietäten statt als Ausbauvarietäten aufzufassen (vgl. Ammon 1995, 1–100). – In Bezug auf Standardisierung lassen sich bedeutsame Typen von Varietäten wie ‘Standardvarietäten’ und ‘Nonstandardvarietäten’ unterscheiden (Art. 30), mit den (Nonstandard)Dialekten als wichtigster Gruppe der letzteren; ferner ‘Standardsprachen’, die mindestens eine Standardvarietät enthalten (neben Nonstandardvarietäten), und ‘Nonstandard-’ oder ‘Vernakularsprachen’, die keine

Standardvarietät enthalten. Diese Unterscheidung setzt allerdings die bislang nicht allgemein übliche terminologische Differenzierung in *Standardvarietäten* und *Standardsprachen* voraus statt der Verwendung des Ausdrucks *Standardsprache* auch im Sinne von 'Standardvarietät'.

3.6. Gruppenbezug

Unterschichtsprache, die *Sprache der Bauern*, der *Frauen*, der *Boheme*, der *Nobilität*, der *Fischer*, *Winzer* usw. sind Charakterisierungen von Sprachen, oder viel häufiger von Varietäten, durch Bezugnahme auf ihre Sprecher. Durch den Bezug auf Sprechergruppen werden meist auch Soziolekte spezifiziert (vgl. Art. 21). Die Namen von Sprachen (*Englisch* – Engländer, *Französisch* – Franzosen usw.) implizieren gleichfalls häufig eine bestimmte Gruppe, die spezieller ist als die ganze Sprachgemeinschaft (die natürlich selbst eine Gruppe bildet). Dagegen bezieht sich *die Sprache der Japaner*, der *Isländer*, der *Deutschen* usw. auf eine bestimmte Nationalität, für die – je nach Sicht des Zusammenhangs zwischen Sprache und Nationalität – die betreffende Sprache als charakteristisch oder womöglich sogar konstitutiv verstanden wird (vgl. Art. 32; 45). Offenkundig sind die „Gruppen“, auf die bei solchen Typisierungen Bezug genommen wird, recht unterschiedlich: Sie reichen von losen Gruppierungen nach gleichen sozialen Merkmalen (z.B. Zugehörigkeit zu einem bestimmten Geschlecht, zur Nobilität usw.) über Großgruppen, deren Mitglieder nur indirekt zusammenwirken oder durch eine gesetzliche Regelung, möglicherweise aber auch durch ein starkes Gemeinschaftsgefühl verbunden sind (Nationalitäten, Unterschichtangehörige mit proletarischem Bewusstsein), bis zu unmittelbar, face-to-face interagierenden Gruppen, deren Mitglieder sich persönlich kennen, und diversen Übergangsformen zu offenen Netzwerken (vgl. Art. 53; 55; 143). Mit dem Grundwort *-sprache* wird dabei auf linguistisch recht unterschiedliche Phänomene Bezug genommen: auf eigenständige Sprachen (*die Sprache der Isländer*), auf Varietäten mit so spezifischen Varianten, dass sie für Sprecher anderer Varietäten derselben Sprache weitgehend unverständlich sind (die Schwiegermutterssprachen australischer Ureinwohner; McGregor 1989), auf Varietäten mit deutlich ausgeprägten Varianten, die aber in der betreffenden Sprache allgemein verständlich sind (die

Frauensprache im Japanischen; vgl. Ide 1982) oder nur auf pragmatische Besonderheiten situationsspezifischen Gebrauchs bis hin zu Häufigkeitsunterschieden ohne kategorisch spezifische Varianten (manche Fälle von *Frauensprache*; vgl. Art. 153). Der Gruppenbezug kann im Namen des betreffenden Sprach- oder Varietätstyps enthalten sein (*Unterschichtsprache*, *Schwiegermutterssprache*); er kann ferner ein Definitionsmerkmal des betreffenden Sprach- oder Varietätstyps sein, ohne in dessen Namen zu erscheinen (*Wissenschaftssprache* – Wissenschaftler, *Sprache des Metzgerhandwerks* – Metzger), oder der Gruppenbezug ist einfach praktisch oder wissenschaftlich besonders bedeutsam für den betreffenden Sprach- oder Varietätstyp (*restringierter Kode* – Unterschicht; *Regionaldialekt* – Landbevölkerung). Beim Gruppenbezug ist mit großen Unterschieden in der Eindeutigkeit der Zuordnung zu rechnen. In den meisten Fällen gibt es allenfalls eindeutige, nicht aber eindeutige Zuordnungen (z.B. alle Italiener oder Franzosen sprechen Italienisch bzw. Französisch, was bei der Einbürgerung geprüft wird, aber nicht alle Sprecher von Italienisch- oder Französisch sind Italiener bzw. Franzosen). So dürfte manche *Frauensprache* nur statistisch überwiegend dem weiblichen Geschlecht zuzuordnen sein, da auch die Sprechweise mancher Männer die betreffenden Merkmale aufweist; dagegen sind die Merkmale mancher hochspezialisierter Fach- oder Wissenschaftssprachen so gut wie vollständig auf die betreffenden Fachleute bzw. Wissenschaftler beschränkt. Soziolinguistisch wichtig sind normative Kontrolle und Bewusstsein der Sprecher. Bei vielen Regionaldialekten der europäischen Sprachen ist die Anerkennung als Einheimische der betreffenden Region nicht mehr an die Beherrschung oder Verwendung des betreffenden Dialekts gebunden. Diese weitgehende Normtoleranz hat sich entwickelt infolge der langjährigen, intensiven regionalen Mobilität; sie kann Indiz sein für im Gang befindlichen Dialektschwund. Dagegen ist die Kenntnis der Fachsprache und ihre Verwendung in einschlägigen Situationen für die Zugehörigkeit zu bestimmten Berufs- oder Wissenschaftlergruppen unabdingbar, also normativ streng geregelt. Auch der Grad der Bewusstheit gruppenspezifischer Sprach- oder Sprachgebrauchsspezifika divergiert. So sind z.B. die Besonderheiten der deutschen Sprache in Deutschland,

der „deutschländischen“ nationalen Varietät, den wenigsten Sprechern bewusst; sie könnten sie also allein deshalb auch nicht meiden, wenn sie es wollten; jedoch werden Deutsche von Österreichern oder deutschsprachigen Schweizern leicht an ihren sprachlichen Besonderheiten erkannt. Diese mangelnde Bewusstheit eigener Sprachspezifika bei gleichzeitigem Wissen der Anderen um sie kennzeichnet sprachliche Schibboleths. Ein höherer Grad von Bewusstheit um die eigenen Sprachbesonderheiten ist dagegen bei manchen Jugendgruppen anzunehmen, die sie sehr konsequent nur innerhalb der Gruppe und nie außerhalb verwenden (vgl. Art. 146).

3.7. Rechtsstatus

Mit *Rechtsstatus* („legal status“; Mackey 1989, 12f) kann die Stellung einer Sprache in der Domäne der Justiz gemeint sein, etwa ob die Gesetze in dieser Sprache kodifiziert sind, ob die Richter sie bei der Verkündung des Urteils, oder ob die Angeklagten sie verwenden dürfen oder müssen. Häufiger jedoch ist mit *Rechtsstatus* gemeint, in welcher Form und mit welcher Verbindlichkeit die Stellung einer Sprache in bestimmten Domänen rechtlich festgelegt ist. Sie kann insbesondere nur gewohnheitsrechtlich bestehen oder aber schriftlich fixiert, „kodifiziert“ sein. Für Frankreich ist z. B. ausdrücklich Französisch als nationale Amtssprache erklärt, während in Großbritannien Englisch diesen Status rein gewohnheitsrechtlich hat. Bei genauerer Betrachtung wird man allerdings feststellen, dass nur die Verfassung Großbritanniens im Gegensatz zur französischen Verfassung keine sprachliche Festlegung enthält; nachgeordnete Gesetze mögen dagegen durchaus die Verwendung von Englisch in bestimmten amtlichen Domänen gebieten. Auch der Rangplatz in der Hierarchie der Gesetze ist ein Aspekt des Rechtsstatus von Sprachen. – Ein weiterer wichtiger Aspekt ist die für die Einhaltung der rechtlichen Regelung zuständige Normautorität. Die in dieser Hinsicht umfassendsten Kompetenzen haben in der heutigen Welt noch immer die souveränen Einzelstaaten. Teilweise wird das einzelstaatliche Recht jedoch beschränkt durch übergeordnetes Recht zum Beispiel von Staatenverbänden oder der weltweiten Staatengemeinschaft. Besonders wichtig für den Rechtsstatus von Sprachen ist der Umfang des Geltungsbereiches. So kann eine Sprache z. B. Amtssprache der Vereinten Natio-

nen, also der Organisation aller Staaten der Welt sein (derzeit die sechs Amtssprachen: Englisch, Französisch, Spanisch, Chinesisch, Russisch, Arabisch) oder Amtssprache eines Staatenverbandes wie der Europäischen Union (11 Amtssprachen bis zum Jahr 2004). Der Geltungsbereich von Amtssprachen lässt sich nach der Größenordnung politischer Einheiten weiter einschränken auf das Gesamtterritorium eines Einzelstaates (*nationale Amtssprache*), auf einen Teilstaat oder eine Region eines Einzelstaates (*subnationale* bzw. *regionale Amtssprache*) oder eine einzelne Ortschaft (*kommunale Amtssprache*). Aber nicht nur staatliche politische Einheiten haben Amtssprachen, sondern auch religiöse oder wissenschaftliche Organisationen oder Vereine (*Amtssprache einer (bestimmten) Kirche, eines (bestimmten) Wissenschaftsverbandes* usw.). Staaten oder auf Staaten bezogene Einheiten wie auch anderweitig begründete Organisationen können außerdem für ihre Tätigkeiten *Arbeits-sprachen* festlegen, sogar je nach Organ oder Tätigkeitsbereich unterschiedlich, die jedoch in der Regel aus den Amtssprachen ausgewählt werden. So sind z. B. die verschiedenen Organe der Europäischen Union berechtigt, aus den 11 Amtssprachen Arbeitssprachen für ihre Belange zu bestimmen; ihre Zahl variiert von Organ zu Organ (von nur einer bis zu fünf Amtssprachen bis zum Jahr 2004). Wiederum kann diese Auswahl entweder durch ausdrückliche schriftliche Festlegung in der Satzung oder aber nur gewohnheitsrechtlich geregelt sein. Eine immer größere Bedeutung gewinnt der Rechtsstatus von Sprachen auch im kommerziellen Bereich, vor allem bei den global agierenden großen Firmen. Sie legen häufig ausdrücklich die in verschiedenen Geschäftsbereichen zulässigen Arbeitssprachen fest (*Firmensprachen, Geschäftssprachen*). Nicht selten ist Englisch einzige Geschäftssprache solcher „Global Players“ oder kommt noch die nationale Amtssprache des Staates hinzu, in dem das Mutterhaus seinen Sitz hat.

Der rechtliche Status von Sprachen kann sich auf alle im weitesten Sinn öffentlichen Domänen erstrecken, in Extremfällen repressiver Sprachenpolitik sogar auf die privaten Domänen, wo der Gebrauch bestimmter Sprachen verboten sein kann. Besonders folgenreich ist die Festlegung von Sprachen für die Schulen: als *Unterrichtssprache* oder *Schulfach*, mit Differenzierungsmöglichkeiten als *Pflicht-, Wahlpflicht-* oder *Wahl-*

fach. – Der Rechtsstatus muss nicht mit dem tatsächlichen Gebrauch kongruieren. So ist es z. B. möglich, dass eine durch die Verfassung bestimmte staatliche Amtssprache auf den Ämtern des betreffenden Staates kaum verwendet oder ein in den Schulgesetzen ausgewiesenes Wahlfach in der Schulwirklichkeit nicht gewählt wird. In anderen Fällen mag unklar sein, was aus einem durch Kodifikation verbürgten Rechtsstatus einer Sprache für deren Gebrauch folgt, z. B. bei einer deklarierten *Nationalsprache* des Staates (vgl. Art. 32).

3.8. Funktion

Synonym mit der *Funktion* eines Sprachsystems ist oft die Rede von der *Rolle*, die es spielt, seiner *Verwendung* oder dem *Gebrauch*, der von ihm gemacht wird. Funktion wird dabei nicht selten als dynamisches Komplement zum eher statischen *Status* gesehen. So wird z. B. gesagt, dass Hindi zwar den vollen Status einer nationalen Amtssprache in Indien habe, aber nicht die uneingeschränkte Funktion, während es bei Englisch umgekehrt sei. (Englisch war ursprünglich nur als vorübergehende Behelfsamtssprache gedacht, wurde dann aber später wegen seiner Unersetzlichkeit auch mit dem betreffenden Status ausgestattet; vgl. Art. 202.) – Nicht selten wird im Zusammenhang mit dem Terminus *Funktion* angespielt auf eine „funktionale Erklärung“ (vgl. Stegmüller 1969, 555–584). Sie besagt, dass der Gegenstand, dem die betreffende Funktion zugeschrieben wird, dem Erhalt des Systems dient, dessen Bestandteil er ist. Diese erhaltende Wirkung hat z. B. ein lebensnotwendiges Organ für den menschlichen Körper. Entsprechende Annahmen gibt es in der funktionalen Anthropologie oder Soziologie, wenn etwa bestimmte Bräuche als für den Erhalt einer Gesellschaft notwendig gesehen werden (z. B. Malinowski [1939] 1975). Es liegt nahe, auch Sprachsysteme und deren Gebrauch analog zu betrachten. Dabei geht es weniger um die Struktur dieser Sprachsysteme im engeren linguistischen Sinn als um ihre soziolinguistischen Eigenschaften. So erscheint es plausibel, dass Gesellschaften bestimmten Zugschnitts Sprachsysteme sowohl „hoher“ als auch „niedriger Funktionen“ brauchen, um fortzubestehen, wobei es sich um verschiedene Varietäten derselben Sprache handeln kann wie im Falle einer klassischen Diglossie (Ferguson 1959) oder um (Varietäten)

verschiedene(r) Sprachen wie bei einer erweiterten Diglossie (Fishman 1967; vgl. Art. 15). Allerdings ist es schwierig, die Notwendigkeit der Bedingung stringent nachzuweisen; dabei besteht die Gefahr zirkulärer Argumentation, wie von Kritikern funktionaler Erklärungen immer wieder hervorgehoben wurde: (vgl. Stegmüller 1969, 555–584). So lässt sich nicht zwingend widerlegen, dass ein bestimmtes Sprachsystem durch ein anderes ersetzbar wäre, das den Erhalt dieses Gesellschaftssystems gleichfalls sichern würde. Statt eines bestimmten Sprachsystems wird man dann auf eine Menge *äquivalenter* Sprachsysteme zurückgeworfen, die letztlich nicht abgrenzbar ist. Die gesuchte Erklärung löst sich damit auf in Formulierungen, die nicht viel mehr hergeben als die Aussage, dass ein für den Erhalt des Gesellschaftssystems notwendiges Sprachsystem (aus der Menge der funktionsäquivalenten Sprachsysteme) notwendig ist, das Gesellschaftssystem zu erhalten. – Ein anderes Problem ergibt sich aus der in verschiedenen soziolinguistischen Texten unterschiedlichen Extension des Begriffs ‘Funktion’. Er erstreckt sich bisweilen auf alle soziolinguistischen Eigenschaften von Sprachsystemen überhaupt. So kann eine bestimmte Sprecherzahl in funktionalem Zusammenhang mit der Vitalität eines Sprachsystems und womöglich dem Erhalt der Kultur der Sprechergruppe oder können Ausbau und Standardisierung einer Sprache als notwendige Bedingungen für deren Funktionieren in einer Gesellschaft und sogar des Erhalts dieser Gesellschaft gesehen werden. Oft ist auch die Rede von der „Gruppenfunktion“ eines Sprachsystems, wobei nahegelegt wird, dass dessen Verwendung notwendige Bedingung für den Fortbestand der betreffenden Gruppe sei (z. B. Stewart 1968, 540). Man sieht, dass ein derart weiter Funktionsbegriff, der auf funktionale Erklärungen abzielt, sich auf alle oben behandelten Dimensionen von Status und Funktion von Sprachen und Varietäten erstrecken kann (Abschnitte 3.1.–3.7.). Demgegenüber ist es zumindest im vorliegenden Zusammenhang zweckmäßiger, den Begriff ‘Funktion’ spezieller und von den bisher behandelten Dimensionen möglichst disjunkt zu fassen.

Zur Spezifizierung dieses Begriffs von ‘Funktion’ ist es hilfreich, sich Systematisierungsversuche von „Funktionen“ anzuschauen. Sie liegen z. B. vor in den Versuchen, multilinguale Gesellschaften oder Staaten

nach den Status- und Funktionstypen ihrer Sprachsysteme zu vergleichen. Prominente Beispiele sind Stewart 1962; 1968; Ferguson 1966 und Fasold 1984, 67–84; 1989; vgl. auch Ammon 1987, 250–259). Die in diesen Texten genannten „Funktionen“ divergieren zwar nach Abgrenzung und Terminologie, zeigen jedoch auch deutliche Konvergenzen. Beispiele von Funktionen sind – die Erläuterung nach meinem Textverständnis ist jeweils in Klammern beigefügt: *religiös* (Verwendung bei religiösen Zeremonien), *erzieherisch (educational)* (Verwendung als Unterrichtssprache), *schulfachlich (school subject)* (Verwendung als Schulfach), *offiziell auf nationaler Ebene* (Verwendung als nationale Amtssprache), *offiziell auf regionaler Ebene (provincial)* (Verwendung als Amtssprache auf regionaler Ebene), *international* (Verwendung in internationaler Kommunikation), *internelinnerstaatliche Lingua franca (wider communication)* (Verwendung als Brückensprache/Verkehrssprache innerhalb der Gesellschaft/des Staates), und *gruppenspezifisch* (informelle Verwendung innerhalb kleinerer Gruppen). Solche Funktionen lassen sich weitgehend, wenngleich nicht nahtlos spezifizieren als Gebrauch in bestimmten Handlungsfeldern oder Domänen im weiteren Sinn (vgl. Art. 40; 142), allerdings unter Einbeziehung des Zwecks der Kommunikation. Dann bedeuten z. B. *amtliche, erzieherische* oder *religiöse Funktion* eines Sprachsystems dessen (regelmäßigen) Gebrauch auf Ämtern, in Schulen oder religiösen Institutionen, oder spezieller: den jeweiligen Gebrauch in förmlicher Kommunikation in diesen Domänen. Gemeint ist damit Kommunikation in Ausübung der für die betreffenden Domänen spezifischen Rollen, vor allem von Amtsinhabern. (Konvers wäre dann informelle Kommunikation gerade nicht geprägt von den Anforderungen an die Amtsinhaber in ihren amtlichen Rollen, sondern womöglich sogar auffällig davon abgesetzt.) Unter Bezugnahme auf Situationen außerhalb der Amts- und Berufswelt lässt sich auf diese Weise sogar die Gruppenfunktion nach Domänen spezifizieren. Allerdings ist eine Gesamtsystematik solcher Funktionen wegen der Komplexität und Vagheit von Begriffen wie ‘Domäne’ oder ‘Zweck der Kommunikation’ schwierig. Zu beachten ist ferner, dass von der betreffenden Funktion eines Sprachsystems in bestimmten Fällen nur gesprochen werden kann, wenn der definitorisch implizierte Kommunikationszweck

erfüllt ist. So genügt es im Falle der internationalen Funktion oder der Funktion als Brückensprache innerhalb eines Staates nicht, wenn die Kommunikanten die betreffende Reichweite der Kommunikation beabsichtigen, sondern sie muss tatsächlich gegeben sein. Diese Beispiele zeigen auch, dass zur Erfassung solcher „Funktionen“ nicht nur der Domänenbegriff bisweilen weit gedehnt werden muss, sondern zusätzliche Kompetenzen der Kommunikationssituation einzubeziehen sind, z. B. bestimmte Eigenschaften der Kommunikationspartner. So erfüllt ein Sprachsystem die Funktionen ‘Überbrückungssprache innerhalb des Staates’ oder ‘international’ nur, wenn es zwischen Sprechern unterschiedlicher Muttersprachen innerhalb dieses Staates bzw. über Staatsgrenzen hinweg verwendet wird und verständlich ist. Die Definition solcher Funktionen bedarf also der Spezifikation der Kommunikanten nach ihrem geographischen Standort (innerhalb eines Staates, verteilt auf mehrere Staaten) und nach ihren Sprachrepertoires (Muttersprachler derselben oder verschiedener Sprachen; vgl. Art. 24). Wegen der nahezu unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten der Bezugnahme erscheint eine universal gültige Gesamtsystematik derartiger sprachlicher Funktionen oder funktionaler Typen von Sprachen zumindest ungeheuer aufwändig, wenn nicht aussichtslos. Die Unvollständigkeit entsprechender Versuche oder Ansätze dazu (z. B. Stewart 1962; 1968; Ferguson 1966; Fasold 1984, 67–84; 1989; Ammon 1987; 1989) lässt sich leicht nachweisen.

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19. Sprachvarietät – Sprache (Gesamtsprache, historische Sprache) Linguistic Variety – Language (Whole Language, Historical Language)

1. Abgrenzung der Begriffe Varietät und Sprache
2. Definition von ‘Varietät’
3. Definition von ‘Sprache’
4. Exkurs über die Geschichte des Begriffes Varietät
5. Abgrenzung und Charakterisierung der Varietäten
6. Typologie und Klassifizierung der Varietäten
7. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Abgrenzung der Begriffe Varietät und Sprache

Der vortheoretischen beobachtenden Erfahrung ist bekannt, dass ein und dieselbe Spra-

che verschieden gesprochen (oder auch geschrieben) wird, in Abhängigkeit von Ort, Zeit, Sprecher/Schreiber und Umstand, oder, allgemeiner, den spezifischen sozialen Bedingungen, unter denen sie verwendet wird. Jede dieser verschiedenen Spielarten, Sprechweisen oder Existenzformen einer historisch-natürlichen Sprache kann man als *Sprachvarietät* oder einfacher *Varietät* bezeichnen. Das Cockney, der Dialekt von Lorsch im hessischen Ried (vgl. Ziegler 1996), die Computersprache, die Sprache der Jugendlichen, das Regionalfranzösisch von Bordeaux, das Gastarbeiterdeutsch, das *italiano popolare*, das BBC English, das *Pitcairnese*, die *Media Lengua* im zentralen Ecuador, das Standardspanische, das *patois*

von Nendaz (Wallis, CH), das *Russenorsk* der norwegischen Küste usw. bis zum individuellen Sprachgebrauch, dem ‘Idiolekt’, alles sind Sprachvarietäten. Eine historisch(-natürlich)e Sprache ist demgegenüber, vorwissenschaftlich gesehen, jedes Sprachsystem, die heute oder in der Vergangenheit oder Zukunft von einer bestimmten Sprecherbevölkerung gesprochen oder auch geschrieben und traditionsgemäß mit einem eigenen Namen bezeichnet wurde. Deutsch, Englisch, Italienisch, Yoruba, Hindi, Chinesisch, Lettisch, Quechua, Tonganisch, Lateinisch, Hethitisch usw., alles sind historische Sprachen. Was das Verhältnis zu Varietäten angeht, so kann vorerst angenommen werden, dass eine historische Sprache aus (zumindest einer, aber normalerweise) mehreren Varietäten besteht. Eine Sprache kann also als eine Menge von Varietäten definiert werden (Ammon 1987, 316; formalisiertere Behandlung in Ammon 1989, 28–31); da der Terminus *Sprache* polysem ist (s. Abschnitt 3.), ist in diesem Sinne zur Präzisierung der Terminus *Gesamtsprache* anwendbar. In der Soziolinguistik operiert man allgemein mit dem Terminus *Varietät*, um die Grundeinheit der Forschung auf der Ebene des sprachlichen Systems zu bezeichnen. In der anglo-amerikanischen Linguistik wird synonym für Varietät oft der Terminus *dialect* verwendet, so dass auf denselben Begriff sowohl mit (*language*) *variety* als auch mit *dialect* verwiesen wird, was zu Missverständnissen führen kann, zumal in den meisten Traditionen der entsprechende Terminus (dt. *Dialekt*, fr. *dialecte*, it. *dialetto*, hisp. *dialecto* usw.) nur für Sprachvarietäten auf areale Basis verwendet wird (s. z.B. Wardhaugh 1998, 21–53; vgl. Art. 29).

2. Definition von ‘Varietät’

Obwohl es sich um einen der Kardinaltermini der Soziolinguistik handelt, ist es schwierig, eine eindeutige und allseits befriedigende Definition des Varietätsbegriffs zu geben. Das liegt zunächst daran, dass, wenn es sich auch um einen auf die sprachliche Form gründenden klassifikatorischen Begriff handelt (was allein schon nicht problemlos ist), dieser nicht nur von sprachlichen Merkmalen her definiert werden darf; vielmehr müssen gleichzeitig Merkmale sozialer Gruppen und von Gebrauchssituationen in Betracht gezogen werden. Eine sprachliche Varietät zeichnet sich dadurch aus, dass gewisse Realisierungsformen des Sprachsystems in

vorhersehbarer Weise mit gewissen sozialen und funktionalen Merkmalen kookkurrieren. Wenn eine Menge von gewissen kongruierenden Werten bestimmter sprachlicher Variablen (d.h. Realisierungen gewisser Formen, die in der betreffenden Sprache variieren) zusammen mit einer gewissen Menge von Merkmalen auftreten, die Sprecher und/oder Gebrauchssituationen kennzeichnen, dann können wir von einer sprachlichen Varietät sprechen. „[W]e may define a variety of language as a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution“ (Hudson [1980] 1996, 22; derselbe Autor schlägt jedoch vor, auf den Begriff Varietät zu verzichten sei, aufgrund der zahlreichen Probleme, die damit verbunden sind: „to avoid the notion ‘variety’ altogether as an analytical or theoretical concept, and to focus instead on the individual linguistic item“, Hudson [1980] 1996, 68).

Die Hauptschwierigkeiten der strengen Definition von Varietät liegen darin (a) dass es nicht ganz klar ist, welche Menge und welche Typen sprachlicher Merkmale erforderlich sind, um von einer eigenständigen Varietät zu sprechen. Genügt z.B. ein einziges Merkmal einer bestimmten Sprachebene, sagen wir die Aussprache eines Phonems oder ein Lexem, das mit einem anderen synonym ist?, (b) dass die sozialen und/oder situationsspezifischen Faktoren, die in signifikanter Weise mit einer gewissen Menge sprachlicher Merkmale kookkurrieren, sehr breit gespannt und mannigfaltig sind. Hinzu kommt die Tatsache, auf die wir in Abschnitt 3. zurückkommen, dass erhebliche Probleme bestehen bezüglich der genauen Abgrenzung, Einordnung und Unterscheidung von Sprachvarietäten. Schließlich darf nicht übersehen werden, dass in einer Sprache nicht alles variabel ist, sondern es einen stattdessen invariablen Kern des Systems gibt, und folglich alle Varietäten ein und derselben Sprache einen nicht geringen gemeinsamen Teil (*common core*) haben.

Unter den Eigenschaften, die den Begriff ‘sprachliche Varietät’ konstituieren, können jedoch folgende angeführt werden. Zunächst ist Varietät ein sehr allgemeiner Begriff, der fast jeder sprachlichen und soziolinguistischen Untersuchung oder Annahme bezüglich des zu untersuchenden Sprachrepertoires (s. Art. 24) vorausgeht. Zweitens ist Varietät ein neutraler Begriff, der den Urteilen (im Besonderen bezüglich sozialer Werte und Konnotationen) vorausgeht und unabhängig ist von den Spezifizierungen,

die Termini wie *Sprache* und *Dialekt* mit sich bringen. Zur größtmöglichen Vermeidung solcher Konnotationen hat man sogar Termini vorgeschlagen, die noch genereller sein sollten als 'Varietät', z. B. *Idiom* (Kloss 1978), oder, technischer, *-lect*, worunter im engeren Sinn die Grammatik jeder festumrissenen Varietät verstanden wird; dieser Terminus wird zwar fast nur in der Kreolistik verwendet (Bickerton 1972; Bailey 1973), aber gilt als Formativ für bestimmte Klassen von Varietäten wie Soziolekte (Art. 21), Xenolekte usw.

Eine andere Eigenschaft von Varietäten ist ein gewisses Ausmaß an Koimplikationen den verschiedenen Merkmalen, die eine Varietät ausmachen: Sie sind zwischen einander keineswegs beziehungslos, sondern geordnet entlang einer Kookkurrenzskala (vgl. Art. 119). Weiterhin können Varietäten als markiert (s. Abschnitt 5.) betrachtet werden in Abhängigkeit von Anzahl und Eigenheiten der sie charakterisierenden Merkmale, vor allem der Distanz von der Gemeinsprache oder der Standardvarietät (zur Messung solcher Distanz s. Ammon 1998).

Innerhalb einer Varietät besteht eine gewisse Homogenität und Stabilität (auch wenn Soziolinguisten eine innere Variabilität annehmen). Nach Coseriu (1980) ist der wirkliche Gegenstand der linguistischen Beschreibung und Analyse: eine „funktionale Sprache“ innerhalb einer historisch-natürlichen Sprache, synstratisch, syntopisch und synphasisch (s. Abschnitt 6.), d. h. die Varietät einer bestimmten sozialen Gruppe, in einer bestimmten Region und einer bestimmten Klasse von Situationen. Nur diese Kombination verbürgt eine einheitliche Realisierungsform der Sprache und lässt keine Variation entlang der fundamentalen Variationsdimensionen zu.

Oft wird eine Sprachvarietät von den Sprechern selbst als solche erkannt und namentlich bezeichnet, sofern sie sich als besondere Erscheinungsform des sprachlichen Systems, einen charakteristischen *way of speaking* darstellt. Kontroverser ist die Frage der Diskretheit der Varietäten. Während 'Varietät' eigentlich Diskretheit implizieren müsste, die Möglichkeit also, die Grenze zwischen einer Varietät und der anderen zu bestimmen, sowohl innerhalb des Sprachrepertoires einer Sprachgemeinschaft auf Basis ihrer funktionalen und sozialen Distribution, als auch mit Bezug auf sie konstati-

tuierende Merkmale, scheint es den Tatsachen in Wirklichkeit oft angemessener zu sein, Varietäten als (konventionell bestimmte, unscharf abgegrenzte) Verdichtungen in einem Kontinuum zu verstehen (vgl. Downes 1984, 22–28; Berruto 1987, 27–41; 1995, 152–158; 1998). Die Gesamtheit aller erforderlichen oben aufgezählten Eigenschaften, wäre wohl zu umfangreich und unhandlich, um die Existenz und Extension einer Varietät genau zu bestimmen, so dass man sich normalerweise mit einem Teil davon, also mit Varietäten in schwachem oder partiellem Sinn zufriedengibt.

Die Soziolinguistik operiert lieber mit dem Begriff 'sprachliche Varietät', in Verbindung mit extralinguistischen Faktoren, als mit dem Begriff 'Sprache' im Sinne autonomer, globaler und monolithischer Systeme. Die einheitlichen Realisierungsformen, in denen eine Sprache zum Vorschein tritt, sind gerade die Varietäten, die mithin ein der empirischen Wirklichkeit nächstehendes Konstrukt darstellen. Diesbezüglich besteht ein wichtiges Problem darin, wie der Varietätsbegriff in die traditionellen Begriffe der deskriptiven Linguistik einzuordnen ist, im Besonderen unter die der *langue* (System), *Norm* und *parole* (Coseriu 1952). Die Tatsache, dass Varietäten sich als „Realisationsmuster“ oder als „konventionalisierte Realisationsformen des Systems“ (Nabrings 1981, 244ff) auffassen lassen, bringt es mit sich, dass sie viel gemeinsam haben mit der Ebene der Norm (im Sinne Coserius), die zwischen *langue* und *parole* angesiedelt und den sozialen Konventionen unterworfen ist, wo sich strukturell nicht-distinktive Oppositionen (z. B. subphonematischen Typs, zwischen charakteristischen Allophonen eines Phonems) als relevant erweisen können. Dennoch liegt der Varietätsbegriff auf einer anderen Ebene, da er einen Systemaspekt enthält. Ohne diese Frage hier näher zu behandeln, wollen wir feststellen, dass es uns günstiger erscheint, eine Varietät strukturell als Subsystem eines Diasystems (im Sinne Weinreichs) mit eigener Norm zu verstehen.

3. Definition von 'Sprache'

Der Terminus *Sprache* kann in der Linguistik zwei verschiedene Bedeutungen haben. Als 'Sprache' gilt, insbesondere in der theoretischen Sprachwissenschaft, jedes Sprachsystem, oder jedes Ganze von verbalen Zeichen, Formen, Paradigmen, Regeln usw.,

das die allgemeinen Eigenschaften der *langue* besitzt (in diesem Sinne besteht zwischen Sprache und Sprachvarietät kein Unterschied: eine beliebige Form verbaler Kommunikation könnte gleichermaßen zu irgendeiner Sprache X oder Sprachvarietät x gehören). ‘Sprache’ kann aber auch als ein sozial entwickeltes Sprachsystem gelten, das kodifiziert ist, über eine schriftliche Tradition verfügt, mit einer Nationalität verbunden ist und im Prinzip alle kommunikativen Funktionen in einer Sprachgemeinschaft erfüllen kann. Folglich kann *Sprache* auch als Synonym zu *Standardsprache* (Art. 30) oder zu einer *Ausbausprache* im Sinne von Kloss (Art. 26) verstanden werden.

In diesem zweiten Sinn ist eine Sprache als Menge von Varietäten fassbar, d. h. als eine Gesamtsprache. Ammon (1989, 30) hat jedoch unterstrichen, dass in diesem Fall ‘Sprache’ exakt drei verschiedenen Dingen entsprechen kann: (a) einer Standardvarietät (unter Ausschluss der Nonstandardvarietäten, die zur selben Gesamtsprache gehören: z. B. das Deutsche als Standardvarietät ohne die deutschen Dialekte); (b) einer Standardvarietät zusammen mit den Nonstandardvarietäten derselben Gesamtsprache (z. B. das Deutsche als Menge aller deutschen Varietäten); (c) einer Menge von Varietäten ohne jegliche Standardvarietät (z. B. das frühere Baskische oder Rätoromanische).

Das Verhältnis zwischen Sprachvarietäten und Gesamtsprache kann von zwei verschiedenen Standpunkten aus betrachtet werden. Einerseits kann man von einer gegebenen Gesamtsprache ausgehend untersuchen, wie diese in Varietäten zerlegt werden kann und welchen Varietätenraum sie bilden; andererseits kann man von den einzelnen Sprachvarietäten (die, wie gesagt, die konkreten Realisationsformen der Sprachen darstellen) ausgehend untersuchen, wie sie zu Gesamtsprachen zusammengefasst werden können und welcher Sprache eine gegebene Varietät zuzuordnen ist. Auf den ersten Aspekt werden wir in 5. und 6. zurückkommen. Der zweite Aspekt erweist sich als problematischer. Aufgrund welcher Kriterien ist es gerechtfertigt, zwei gegebene Sprachvarietäten x und y zu einer einzigen Gesamtsprache zusammen zu fassen (d. h., als Varietäten ein und derselben Gesamtsprache) oder aber zwei verschiedenen Gesamtsprachen zuzuschreiben? Um diese Frage zu beantworten, müssen verschiedene Faktoren

berücksichtigt werden (ausführliche Diskussion dazu in Ammon 1987, 319–327).

Eine erste Antwort ergibt sich aus der strukturellen Distanz zwischen beiden Varietäten: ist sie gering, so haben wir ein wichtiges Argument dafür, dass es sich um Varietäten derselben Sprache handelt; ist die Distanz erheblich, können wir annehmen, dass es sich um Varietäten zweier verschiedener Sprachen handelt (‘Abstandsprachen’ nach Kloss; Art. 26). Das Kriterium der Distanz setzt aber voraus, dass wir über einen zuverlässigen Maßstab dafür verfügen, was ohne Weiteres nicht der Fall ist. Wie kann man mit Sicherheit festlegen, dass der Abstand zwischen zwei Sprachvarietäten – immer ein relativer Begriff – gering, mittel oder groß ist? Eine erste Möglichkeit besteht darin, die Struktur beider Sprachvarietäten auf allen Ebenen zu vergleichen: dies ist jedoch oft kaum oder nur zum Teil durchführbar (ein gängiger Ansatz, der sich allerdings auf den Wortschatz beschränkt, ist die „Lexikostatistik“: Gudschinsky 1956). Man kann andererseits den wichtigen Faktor der Verständlichkeit hinzuziehen (vgl. Art. 125): Falls die Sprecher einer Varietät x und diejenigen einer Varietät y sich gegenseitig verstehen, so ist die sprachliche Distanz zwischen x und y gering und handelt es sich um Varietäten derselben Sprache. Die gegenseitige Verständlichkeit ist jedoch manchmal nicht bloß Funktion der (geringen) sprachlichen Distanz, sondern hat auch mit der Natur der Regeln der betreffenden Sprachvarietäten oder mit der Einstellungen der Sprecher zu tun. Oft verstehen die Sprecher von x die Varietät y nicht, während die Sprecher von y x verstehen, weil y kompliziertere Regeln und/oder unregelmäßige Entwicklungen aufweist (es besteht also eine strukturelle Asymmetrie); die Sprecher einer Varietät x können aber auch eine verwandte Varietät y nicht verstehen, da sie kein Ansehen genießt und die Sprecher von x zu y keine positive Einstellung haben. Strukturelle Distanz allein taugt daher kaum als einziges Kriterium bei der Frage der Festlegung von Sprachvarietäten oder Sprachen. Ein anderes, mit dem vorangehenden nicht immer übereinstimmendes Kriterium stellt die genetische Verwandtschaft dar. Wenn zwei Sprachvarietäten keinen gemeinsamen Vorfahren besitzen und nicht derselben Sprachfamilie angehören, ist es normalerweise wohl auszuschließen, dass sie Varietäten derselben Sprache sind.

Die beiden erwähnten Kriterien genügen aber nicht, um alle konkreten Fälle zu klären. Will man z. B. die genaue Anzahl der romanischen Sprachen bestimmen, so stößt man auf Probleme. Spanisch, Italienisch und die italienischen Dialekte sind selbstverständlich nah verwandte Sprachsysteme mit geringer Distanz voneinander (vgl. Pellegrini 1972, der 15 romanische Sprachvarietäten, darunter Spanisch, Italienisch und italienische Dialekte wie z. B. Lukanisch vergleicht); die Verständlichkeit zwischen Spanisch und Italienisch ist in gewissem Maße gegeben, sie ist aber zwischen Standarditalienisch und den italienischen Dialekten oft kaum vorhanden; Spanisch und Italienisch gelten jedoch als verschiedene Sprachen, die italienischen Dialekte gehören dagegen zusammen mit dem Standarditalienischen zur selben Sprache.

Um solche Fälle zu erfassen, muss man, zwei weitere Kriterien einbeziehen: den relativen „Ausbau“ (nach Kloss) einer Sprachvarietät sowie ihre Autonomie bzw. Heteronomie. Unter *Ausbau* (Art. 26) versteht man die Eigenschaft einer Sprachvarietät, allen kommunikativen Bedürfnissen einer sozialen (nationalen) Gemeinschaft zu entsprechen, auch der schriftlichen, technischen und wissenschaftlichen. Werden in einer Sprachvarietät z. B. Handbücher der Philosophie oder Botanik publiziert (wofür diese Sprachvarietät dann die Ausdrucksmittel hat), so handelt es sich klar um eine „Ausbausprache“, eine eigenständige Sprache. Eine Sprachvarietät *x* ist ferner heteronom, wenn sie sich in Richtung einer anderen, übergeordneten Sprachvarietät *y*, normalerweise einer Standardvarietät (die als „Dachsprache“ gilt) entwickelt und die verbalen Äußerungen der Sprecher von *x* nach deren Norm korrigiert werden (Chambers/Trudgill 1980, 23–27). Wenn die Sprecher einer Sprachvarietät nicht in Richtung einer anderen Sprachvarietät korrigiert werden, dann ist sie autonom. Diese beiden Kriterien erklären, weshalb Spanisch und Italienisch zwei eigenständige Sprachen sind, die italienischen Dialekte dagegen nicht.

Die Serie der oben erwähnten Kriterien (Distanz und Verständlichkeit, Verwandtschaft, Ausbau, Autonomie) ermöglichen es im Prinzip alle Zweifelsfälle von Sprache oder Varietät zu klären. So können zwei Varietäten, die eine geringe Distanz von einander aufweisen und nah verwandt sind, als zwei verschiedene Sprachen gelten, wenn

beide ausgebaut und autonom sind, z. B. bei Tschechisch und Slowakisch. Sehr ähnliche, nah verwandte Dialekte können dagegen verschiedenen Gesamtsprachen zugehören, weil sie heteronom gegenüber verschiedenen Standardvarietäten sind. Das ist z. B. der Fall bei den niederdeutschen Mundarten im Grenzgebiet zwischen Deutschland, den Niederlanden und Belgien (Limburg), die trotz großer Ähnlichkeit zwei verschiedenen Sprachen, nämlich Deutsch und Niederländisch zugehören. Sie waren in der Tat bis gegen Ende des 19. Jh. nahezu identisch und begannen, sich erst unter dem Einfluss der respektiven Dachsprachen Deutsch und Niederländisch (denen gegenüber sie heteronom sind) zu wandeln (Gerritsen 1999). Dennoch gibt es einzelne Fälle, denen diese Kriterien nicht genügen, sei es aus politischen, ideologischen oder religiösen Gründen. Beispiele sind Hindi und Urdu, die meist als eigenständige Sprachen gelten, obwohl sie sich grösstenteils nur in der Schrift unterscheiden (Devanagari bzw. Arabisch-Persisch). Ähnlich sind die Verhältnisse bei Kroatisch und Serbisch, die sich hauptsächlich in der Schrift (Lateinisch bzw. Kyrillisch) unterscheiden und heute mehr und mehr als zwei verschiedene Sprachen angesehen werden.

4. Exkurs über die Geschichte des Begriffes Varietät

Wenn auch der Begriff der sprachlichen Varietät erst in den letzten Jahrzehnten explizit verwendet wird, ist er nicht erst eine Entdeckung der modernen Linguistik. Die Differenzierung einer Sprache in geographische Varietäten (Dialekte) und auch in soziale ist seit der Antike bekannt, auch wenn sie nicht Gegenstand der Reflexion und Analyse gewesen ist. Bei den Vorläufern der Linguistik im engeren Sinne finden wir z. B. schon deutlich den Begriff der sozialen Varietät bei Adelung (1782, 75ff). Während spätestens bei Paul (1880, 37ff; 404ff) das Wissen um die Varietäten offenkundig ist, finden sich bereits bei Whitney (1875, 153ff) und teilweise bei von der Gabelentz (1891, 281ff) skizzenhafte Typologien synchronischer Varietäten entlang der Dimensionen Raum – Sozialschicht – Individuum. Wenn man will, lässt sich nach den Notizen von Mme Secheyne eine Spur des Begriffes sogar bei de Saussure ([1916] 1968, 462) finden: „une langue est une somme de *dialectes* se reliant

entre eux“. Ende des 19., Anfang des 20. Jhs. finden sich auch spezifische Forschungen zu Varietäten, z.B. in den Arbeiten von H. Sweet und H. Schuchardt und später in der Dialektologie und der Geolinguistik (J. Gilliéron; B. Terracini). Interesse für die Typologie der Varietäten zeigen L. Bloomfield und die amerikanischen Strukturalisten sowie die Prager Schule. Die geographischen Varietäten sind bis in die 50er Jahre des 20. Jhs., als sich das Interesse den sozialen und stilistischen Varietäten zuzuwenden beginnt, die am gründlichsten untersuchten. Anfangs der 80er Jahre ist in der Romanistik ausdrücklich die „Varietätenlinguistik“ eingeführt worden (vgl. Holtus/Radtke 1983).

5. Abgrenzung und Charakterisierung der Varietäten

Da ‚Varietät‘ sich in jedem Fall auf Verschiedenheit in der sprachlichen Struktur bezieht, sind Varietäten gekennzeichnet durch Besonderheiten auf einer oder mehreren Ebenen der Sprachanalyse. Die Art und Weise, in der eine Sprache sich in Varietäten aufgliedert, und Anzahl, sowie gegenseitige Stellung dieser Varietäten bilden die sogenannte Architektur der Sprache (Flydal; Coseriu; Albrecht 1986, 74–78). Die Merkmale, die eine Varietät charakterisieren, können in der Tat verschiedenen Ebenen angehören: der phonologischen (in der angelsächsischen Linguistik werden Varietäten, die sich lediglich durch phonetisch-phonologische Merkmale unterscheiden, in der Regel als *accents* bezeichnet; vgl. Art. 29), der morphosyntaktischen, der lexikalisch-semantischen (erst recht der pragmatischen und textuellen) oder allen Ebenen. Auf der phonologischen Ebene können die Merkmale sowohl phonematisch (bestimmte Phoneme oder phonematische Oppositionen) als auch phonetisch (Durchschnittsrealisierung der Allophone eines und desselben Phonems) sein. Oft unterscheiden sich die Varietäten einer Sprache hauptsächlich durch das Lexikon: onomasiologisch (verschiedene Wörter für dasselbe *designatum*) oder semasiologisch (verschiedene mit einem Lexem assoziierte Signata). Die am wenigstens der Diversifikation ausgesetzte und daher die Varietäten am wenigsten charakterisierende Ebene scheint die morphosyntaktische zu sein, was aber kontrovers ist. Die Varietäten können nicht nur durch An- oder Abwesen-

heit von bestimmten Einheiten, Formen, Oppositionen oder Regeln charakterisiert sein, sondern auch durch ihre Frequenz (Trumper/Mioni 1978; Jørgensen/Kristensen 1995) so wird ‚Varietät‘ zu einem kontinuierlichen statt diskreten Begriff.

Was die Bestimmung der Varietäten auf Grund von extralinguistischen Kriterien betrifft, ist ihre Identifizierung und deskriptive Autonomie eindeutiger auf geographischer als auf strikt sozialer Basis. Wenn man das Merkmalbündel der sozialen Matrix, in die eine Varietät eingebettet ist, erweitert, wird ihre Identifizierung immer unsicherer. Weiterhin haben Nonstandard-Varietäten gegenüber Standardvarietäten eine spezifische sowohl sprachliche als auch soziale Markiertheit in Abhängigkeit von den sie identifizierenden sprachlichen und sozialen Merkmalen.

6. Typologie und Klassifizierung der Varietäten

Klassifizierungen der sprachlichen Varietäten werden sich auf die fundamentalen extralinguistischen Dimensionen gründen müssen, die mit ihnen korrelieren. Es handelt sich in erster Linie um Zeit, Raum, soziale Schicht (Art. 46) und soziokommunikative Situation (Klein 1974, 72–85; Nabrings 1981; Dittmar 1997, 173–232). Dazu hin ziehen einige Autoren auch das Medium/den Kanal der Kommunikation bei (gesprochene/geschriebene Sprache; Art. 158; Berruto 1995, 147–152). Weiter gibt es diesen Dimensionen untergeordnete, spezifischere Faktoren, die für detailliertere Klassifikationen zu berücksichtigen sind. Es werden jedoch entsprechend den genannten Hauptparametern vier oder fünf große Klassen sprachlicher Varietäten anerkannt. Außer den diachronen Varietäten (die vor allem die historische und rekonstruktive Soziolinguistik interessieren; Art. 164) gibt es diatopische (geographische), diastratische (soziale), diaphasische (situative, situationale, funktional-kontextuelle) und eventuell mediale (diamesische; Mioni 1983, 508; deren Varietätenskala läuft z. T. quer durch die anderen Variationsdimensionen). So wird eine Varietät durch typische auf dem Variationsparameter angenommene Werte gekennzeichnet. Da die Dimensionen bei der Bestimmung der Varietäten oft parallel wirken, kann jede auf einer Achse identifizierte Varietät durch Projektion anderer Dimensionen auf diese

Subvarietäten aufweisen (z. B. regional-unterschichtspezifisch-informelle Varietät). Die funktional-kontextuellen Varietäten, auch *Diatypen* genannt (Gregory/Carroll 1978), die sich nicht auf Gruppen von Sprechern, sondern den Sprachgebrauch einzelner Sprecher beziehen (Halliday 1978, 27–35), würden eine speziellere Behandlung erfordern (Art. 22; 23; 133). Eine besondere Stellung haben auch die Sonder- und Fachsprachen (Art. 25; 136), die häufig sowohl Gruppenvarietäten sind (also auf der diastatischen Achse liegen) als auch diaphasische Varietäten. Besonders zu betrachten sind überdies die Kontaktvarietäten (z. B. Pidginsprachen; Art. 34) sowie Lernervarietäten (*interlanguages*), die sich aus der Ko-Präsenz verschiedener Sprachen innerhalb derselben Sprachgemeinschaft bzw. im selben Sprecher beim Lernen einer Zweitsprache bilden.

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20. Linguistic Variable – Linguistic Variant Sprachvariable – Sprachvariante

1. Linguistic variables and variants
2. Dimensions of variation
3. Linguistic variables and linguistic change
4. Linguistic variables, variable rules, and linguistic theory
5. Literature (selected)

1. Linguistic variables and variants

That language is variable is a matter of everyday observation. Most native speakers of German, for example, are aware that in northern and central areas there is a tendency for orthographic <g> in final and pre-consonantal position to be realized as a fricative [x] rather than as a plosive [k], as stipulated by the codified norms of standard German. In this way, *er taugt* ‘he is suitable’ may be pronounced as [ɛr tɑʊxt] – identically to *er taucht* ‘he dives’ – rather than as [ɛr tɑʊkt]. Both pronunciations may be heard in the relevant words, but not all speakers use either consistently, although there is a clear tendency for the fricative pronunciation to predominate in informal situations and/or with lower-class speakers (König 1989, 109ff), (Scholten 1988, 60ff). Such alternatives constitute a linguistic *variable*, and the alternatives themselves – the fricative or plosive pronunciation – make up the *variants* of this *variable*. The modern sociolinguistic concept of linguistic variable goes back to (Labov 1966b), who was the first to show systematically that such alternative ways of saying the same thing in a language variety were not a matter of free variation, but that the frequency of occurrence of a particular variable (cf. art. 117) could show significant correlation with regional, social or situational factors, that we were dealing, in effect, with “structured heterogeneity” (Wein-

reich/Labov/Herzog 1968, 101) rather than random alternation.

Linguistic variables may be phonological, as in the German example given above or in the contrast between the presence or absence of final or pre-consonantal [r] (as in *far*, *farm*) in many British and North American varieties of English, as investigated in an early study by (Labov 1966a cf. also Downes 1998, 133ff). Although sociolinguistic investigation has concentrated in practice on phonological variables, they can occur at all linguistic levels. In respect of morphology, we find, for example, variation in the presence or absence of an inflectional suffix in the present tense in East Anglian and some American English (*he comes* ~ *he come*; cf. Trudgill 1974, 55ff), or in the form of the third person object pronoun in Peninsular and South American Spanish, i.e. *le vi* ~ *lo vi* “I saw him” (Butt/Benjamin 1988, 117ff). Syntactic variables can be illustrated from the variable position of auxiliaries in Dutch subordinate clauses (Gerritsen 1991, 34ff) ... *dat hij het hem heeft gegeven* ~ ... *dat hij het hem gegeven heeft* “... that he has given it him”, or from the variable deletion of the negative particle *ne* in much non-standard French *je l’ai pas vu* ~ *je ne l’ai pas vu* “I haven’t seen him” (Ashby 1991). Finally, lexical variables have rarely been the object of specific investigations, although lexical variation is acknowledged to be characteristic of situational (register) variation (Romaine 2000, 21f). Many languages have whole sets of words which occur almost exclusively in informal colloquial speech and for which alternatives are used in more formal contexts (cf. Durrell 2003, 29ff) for German.

A recurrent problem with the study of linguistic variables is to establish robust crite-

ria to judge whether apparent alternatives are in fact variants of a single variable. A clear precondition is that the variants involved should be formally different, but synonymous (Weinreich/Labov/Herzog 1968, 162). This is reasonably straightforward in respect of phonology, where one is dealing with alternative pronunciations of sets of individual lexical items, but with morphology and, especially, syntax the problem becomes acute, as it may sometimes be questioned whether the variants concerned are actually semantically equivalent. Thus, for the Spanish example given above, some Peninsular speakers maintain that there is a distinction between *le vi* and *lo vi*, with the use of *lo* implying that the person was unaware that he had been seen (Butt/Benjamin 1988, 119). Taking a further example, the account of English constructions with an active or an agentless passive as a syntactic variable by Weiner/Labov (1983) is open to criticism because, although they are aware of the problem, it is still not clear in what way the alternatives are equivalent. If anything, they may reflect discourse organization rather than correlate with sociolinguistic factors (Cheshire 1987). On the other hand, some morphological and syntactic features, such as the Dutch example given above, do exhibit variation similar to that found with phonological items, with the variables determined by social, regional or situational factors, and attempts have been made to classify the types of variation which may legitimately be accounted for in terms of linguistic variables (Winford 1984). Nevertheless, serious problems remain, as Cheshire (1987) points out, and, like numerous authors, including Lavandera (1978) and Godard (1992), she questions the essential principle of extending the concept of the linguistic variable to syntactic variation. However, an alternative view is given by Sankoff (1988), who sees syntactic variation in terms of discourse equivalence.

2. Dimensions of variation

The essential feature of the linguistic variable, as conceived by Labov (1966a; b) is that a systematic quantifiable correlation can be established between the relative frequency of specific variants and independent, extra-linguistic factors. In particular, he showed how the use of high- and low-prestige (cf. art. 51) variants in New York was determined by socio-economic status and

situation, i.e. the relative (in)formality of the speech context which he labelled "style" (cf. art. 22). A consistent feature of this variation, which has been replicated in numerous subsequent studies in America, Britain, and elsewhere, as reviewed in Labov (2001, 224ff), is that, in many instances, these factors are interdependent, with speakers from higher socio-economic classes (cf. art. 46) not necessarily being distinguished from classes below them by the consistent use of a specific discrete variety, but by a higher frequency of use of high prestige variants in each speech context or "style". The type of linguistic variable which exhibits both class-based and style stratification is referred to by Labov (1970, 51) as a *marker*. The low prestige variants of such variables tend to be markedly different from the high prestige variants, and this is often reflected in the spelling, as with the notorious 'h-dropping' in British English (Holmes 2001, 137ff). Characteristically, too, they are often explicitly stigmatized in the community and subject to corrective pressures. Other variables, which he labels *indicators*, only co-vary with class, and exhibit stratification linked to style to a very limited extent, if at all. Such variables appear to be relatively stable, tend characteristically not to be noticed within the speech community and are thus not subject to the same normative pressures as *markers*.

Although the dimension of socio-economic class is important in the selection of linguistic variants, it is not universally relevant. There can be considerable and highly complex patterns of variation within a single socio-economic class, as the studies by Milroy (1987) of variation in Belfast have showed. Here no straightforward stratification of variables with social class could be found, rather it was factors like the intensity of social network ties and community solidarity which were seen to determine the frequency of particular variants, and these have been identified as significant elsewhere (cf. Labov 2001, 334ff). The other major social dimensions which have been found to play a significant role in the determination of variation are age (cf. art. 152) and gender (cf. art. 153), although these characteristically interact both with each other and with class. In respect of gender, the most frequent finding from a large number of investigations has been that, for stable sociolinguistic variables, women tend consistently to use a lower proportion of low prestige vari-

ants than men (Gordon 1997; Labov 2001, 266ff). However, some studies in western societies have shown an increasing number of younger women adopting the low prestige norms of younger males (Chambers/Trudgill 1998, 86; Eckert 1999), and, in general, women may conform less to norms which are not overtly prescribed (Labov 2001, 366ff). In respect of age, a commonly observed pattern of variation is for the incidence of low prestige variants to be relatively high with younger speakers, peaking in late adolescence, but then it declines in middle age and increases again with older speakers (Holmes 2001, 168ff).

3. Linguistic variables and linguistic change

One of the most significant results of the identification of the linguistic variable as a unit has been in its contribution to our understanding of linguistic change (cf. art. 165; 166; 219). Indeed, this was one of the prime aims of the early investigations by Labov (1963; 1966) and his findings formed part of the basis for the programme outlined in Weinreich/Labov/Herzog (1968). It was commonly assumed prior to these studies that linguistic change in progress could not be observed directly – indeed, Bloomfield and Hockett regarded this as inconceivable or impossible, as Labov (1994, 44f) points out. However, he himself showed convincingly in his early studies that the linguistic variables he was able to identify did actually reflect ongoing changes, and that the process of these changes could be correlated with changes in the social environment. Linguistic change thus arises in the “orderly heterogeneity” of language. The existence of a variable is a necessary precondition for change, although not a sufficient one, since some variables can be stable over long periods of time. For example, the variation in the pronunciation of English verbal forms in *-ing* between [ɪŋ] and [ɪŋ̃], which occurs in many modern varieties of English, has been present in the language since the Early Modern period (Labov 2001, 86ff). But many variables, such as the alternation between [t] and [ʔ] in much modern British English, clearly reflect change in progress; this particular variable, for example, has been spreading to many of the large English conurbations in the last twenty years (Milroy/Milroy 1993). The extent of variation of in-

dividual phonological variables with single speakers can be quite striking, as Milroy (1992, 97ff) shows in his account of variation and change in the vowels /æ/ and /ɛ/ in Belfast. Labov (1994, 43ff) shows how changes may be observed in “apparent time”, looking at age-distributed variables in a particular community, and in “real time”, by replicating studies after a time interval. It is now generally accepted that the progress of a change through a speech community takes place gradually (and possibly very slowly) with a slow change in the relative incidence of the older and newer variables in a wave-like progression, as in the model proposed by Bailey (1973; cf. art. 119).

The social determination of the role of variables in linguistic change is shown in detail in Labov (2001). Drawing on his own work in Philadelphia as well as investigations by other scholars, he identifies innovative variation and, crucially, the transmission of variation, as originating with social innovators, specifically upwardly mobile women. Milroy (1992), on the other hand, places more emphasis on the nature of community ties in the development and spread of variation. Both these concentrate on the diffusion or propagation of change through variation, rather than its origin or “actuation”, as Weinreich/Labov/Herzog (1968) term it. However, Croft (2000) has recently put forward an evolutionary model of linguistic change which throws light on possible mechanisms for the innovation of new variants.

4. Linguistic variables, variable rules, and linguistic theory

A basic question in respect of linguistic variables concerns how they are to be accounted for in the grammar of the language or variety under investigation. A possible hypothesis is that variables arise through the intersection of competing grammars. In this view, the alternation between the forms *he comes* and *he come* in Norwich English, for example, could be explained by ascribing them to different co-existing systems, Standard English on the one hand and traditional East Anglian dialect on the other. The variation observed with individual speakers would in this view result from a mixing of these inherently discrete systems. Such an explanation may be plausible in certain language areas, where discrete, focussed varieties exist (cf. art. 19) and are perceived as

such by speakers who are aware of switching between the varieties in question. Such a situation is not uncommon in southern Germany, where Standard German (*Hochdeutsch*) and local dialect can be seen as distinct varieties, and are considered such by the speakers. The relationship between these varieties in the city dialect of Konstanz, for example, as investigated by Auer (1990), is based on the plausible assumption that two such varieties can be identified there.

However, early investigations of urban sociolects of English in Britain and North America, such as Labov (1966a) and Trudgill (1974) rejected the view that they were dealing with a mixture of discrete systems. Their investigations showed that all speakers exhibited structured heterogeneity in their linguistic behaviour, employing a number of variables whose individual values could be correlated systematically with certain social or situational factors. In other words, “the variation is not due to the mixture of two or more varieties but is an integral part of the variety itself” (Trudgill 2000, 34f). It is a matter not of coexistent systems, but rather of the “inherent variability” of the variety. As this variability was seen as constituting an essential part of the individual’s linguistic competence, Labov (1966a) and Trudgill (1974) presented the phonological variation in the varieties they had studied in terms of “variable rules” (cf. art. 117), using the then current model of Generative Phonology. These rules were envisaged as constituting part of the individual’s internalized grammar, with all speakers “knowing” the rule, but applying it differentially in line with specified social variables.

The principle of variable rules was taken up in a variety of ways. Wolfram (1974) and Guy (1980) showed how socially determined variation can intersect with linguistic variation, in that the incidence of the deletion of word-final *t* or *d* in English (in words like *past*, *passed*, *hand*, *west*) varies according to the phonetic environment and morphological function as well as with social and situational dimensions. Especially in Germany, attempts were made to construct “variety grammars” which were intended to make more precise and systematic the relationship between external factors and the probability of application of variable rules. However, these showed themselves to have a number of insuperable inherent weaknesses and were not widely taken up (Klein 1998; art. 118).

Cedergren/Sankoff (1974), and later Rand/Sankoff (1990) developed computer models (VARBRUL, GoldVarb) to calculate the statistical probability of application of a particular rule in terms of quantified variables on the basis of frequency data, and these have been widely used as a statistical tool, e.g. in Naro/Pereira (1996; art. 120).

However, the concept of the variable rule has attracted considerable criticism. It was pointed out, in particular, that variable rules are essentially incompatible with a generative grammar and that probabilistic rules or quantificational data cannot be part of the linguistic competence of an individual (Matthews 1979, 45ff; Romaine 1981). In any case, the form of Generative Phonology in the context of which variable rules were devised in the late 1960s had been abandoned by the early 1980s. In respect of syntax, too, aside from the inherent problems of syntactic variable rules (discussed in section 1.), incorporating variable rules into the most recent syntactic models such as Government and Binding or Minimalism appeared even more problematic than with earlier, transformational models. Fasold (1991, 17) concludes after an overview of the development of variable rules that “the variable rule as a part of linguistic theory has quietly been abandoned”. However, this judgement has proved premature, since attempts have been made more recently to incorporate variable rules into the grammar employing newer theoretical models, notably Lexical Phonology (Guy 1991), Principles-and-Parameters (Kroch 1994) and Optimality Theory (Anttila 1997). The first two of these are reviewed critically by Hudson (1997), who points out the inadequacy of these approaches, and the latter is criticized by Guy (1997b), who continues to maintain the superiority of variable rule accounts to those employing Optimality Theory.

Ultimately, though, the existence of linguistic variables poses a fundamental, and still unresolved question for linguistic theory. Mainstream linguistic theory since Saussure has taken a homogeneous *langue*, or, after Chomsky, the invariant *competence* of the individual speaker as the essential domain of linguistic investigation, and it has even been denied on occasion that variability is of relevance for this (Hudson 1996, 243). Sociolinguistic research, on the other hand, has shown convincingly that account-

ing for individual linguistic behaviour involves the postulation of orderly heterogeneity and inherent variability. The implication of these is that it is untenable to regard individual speaker variation solely as a matter of performance, usage, or E-Language, and thus outwith the concern of linguistic theory. The notion that variation derives from access to alternative grammars, or co-existent linguistic systems, which was suggested by Chomsky (cf. Dittmar 1997, 268f), and is still present in the Principles-and-Parameters account of variable rules espoused by Kroch (1994), is also ultimately untenable, since “one would have to posit an enormous number of discrete grammars for any actual speaker’s competence” (Croft 2000, 52). In this way, variable rules are wholly incompatible with any version of generative grammar, because the “axiom of categoricity” (Chambers 1995, 26ff) cannot be reconciled with variation in an individual speaker’s grammar (Bailey 1987, 275). Despite assertions to the contrary, e.g. by Durand (1993), linguistic variables cannot be incorporated or formalized within contemporary linguistic theory without abandoning the distinction between competence and performance, or, indeed, the very notion of competence itself, as the critiques by Guy (1997a) and Matthews (1979) demonstrate. Ultimately, as Romaine (1981, 96) already observed, the existence of linguistic variables leads us to “a very different theory of language than Chomsky”, but, even now, no such theory has been put forward which has gained widespread acceptance.

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21. Sociolect/Soziolekt

1. Introduction: sociolects and social dialects
2. Sociolect and social stratification
3. Sociolect and regional dialect
4. Sociolect and register/style
5. Summary: sociolects as linguistic varieties
6. Literature (selected)

1. Introduction: sociolects and social dialects

The term *sociolect* emerged in the 1960s with the increasing awareness that traditional studies of linguistic variation which concentrated on the geographical distribution of linguistic variables were ignoring much linguistic variation. By this time the highly dif-

ferentiated local dialects which had been the traditional focus of such study were being used by a decreasing number of mainly rural speakers and it was objected in respect of areal studies that the variants reported in them for a particular area did not represent the actual usage of a great part of the relevant population. Particularly in large urban areas, a different, quite complex kind of linguistic variation could be observed which could not be correlated with geographical factors. Usage there was very diverse, with a significant link between such variation and socially determined factors. Traditional dialectology had not totally ignored such sociological factors (Mattheier

1980, 61 ff) but from the 1960s, socially determined variation in urban areas began to be the focus of serious scholarly investigation; this was the beginning of modern sociolinguistics (Chambers 1994, 15ff). The focus of this sociolinguistics was not *dialects*, as they had traditionally been understood, because the regional dimension was not salient.

A revision of terminology was thus required, and these linguistic varieties whose prime determinants were to be sought in sociological rather than geographical factors came to be termed *sociolects*. This was initially seen in direct contrast to *dialect* (Hammarström 1967; cf. art. 29), but this term is more usual in continental European sociolinguistics, where the need to distinguish the socially stratified varieties of urban areas from rural dialects seemed most acute and the distinction most clear. In the English-speaking world the term *social dialect* has tended to be preferred. This term is widely held to be synonymous with *sociolect*, but its formation reflects assumptions about the structure of linguistic variation characteristic of the English-speaking countries, where it is not unusual for the term *dialect* to be used with reference to any variety, as in Trudgill (2000, 5). A number of reasons have combined to underpin this usage. First, traditional dialects are now vestigial in England, being spoken by a tiny proportion of the population and they have also been subject to a degree of stigmatisation which is atypical in Europe (Durrell 1992) but which has played a significant part in their demise. They are also much closer linguistically to standard English than, say, the dialects of Italy to standard Italian (Maiden/Parry 1997). This has given rise to a vertical continuum of variation from broad dialect to regionally marked English of a kind which is of relatively recent origin in German or Italian (Durrell 1998; Solvero 1997). Finally, many varieties of English outside Britain exhibit far less distinctive regional variation, and, as a consequence, many English-speaking sociolinguists feel that social and regional correlates of variation cannot be disaggregated; all varieties can be referred to as *dialects*, whether social, regional or otherwise. Even standard English is not uncommonly referred to as the *standard dialect*, e.g. by Holmes (2001, 132), a designation which seems nonsensical or contradictory in, say, Germany (Ammon 1998, 195).

2. Sociolect and social stratification

A major motivation for the term *sociolect* was the perceived need to distinguish between linguistic varieties correlating with social factors rather than geography, and *sociolects* are commonly defined as varieties of language determined by social environments or associated with a particular social group (Danesi 1985, 120f; Löffler 1994, 123ff). This definition is wide, and could imply that any variety may be considered a *sociolect* which exhibits significant correlation with one or more of a set of sociological variables which can be independently established (Ammon 1986), including age, gender or ethnicity. However, the term is most often used in connection with variation linked to social class (cf. art. 46), and some linguists would restrict the term to this usage, equating *sociolect* with *class dialect* (Dittmar 1997, 8ff; Holmes 2001, 132ff). This reflects the importance of urban dialectology in the genesis of the term, with sociolectal variation seen as reflecting social inequalities. Such variation could thus be seen as necessarily associated with linguistic prestige, with the language of the lower classes lacking prestige by comparison with the language used by higher ranking social groups (Dittmar 1997, 191f; Milroy 1992). The latter is commonly equated with a standard variety, especially in respect of English, and it is sometimes assumed that all standard varieties are inherently *sociolects* of the middle and upper classes (Guy 1988, 40). However, this is not necessarily true for other languages. Neither standard German nor standard Italian can be correlated with middle-class usage in the same way (Davies 2000, 133; Lepschy/Lepschy 1991, 12). Even in respect of France Ager (1990, 135) points out that “individual variables can rarely if ever be uniquely associated with social category differences”.

The pioneering investigation of sociolectal variation in urban areas was that undertaken by Labov (1966; 1972) in New York City. This work showed how a number of phonological variables correlated significantly with socio-economic class, with lower class speakers typically using a higher proportion of low prestige variants. Labov's methodology was essentially quantitative, showing the statistical correlation of variation with a scale of socio-economic indicators. A central problem here is to establish a valid categorization of social class with

which linguistic behaviour may be correlated (Guy 1988), and such models in Lavov's and subsequent sociolinguistic studies have been seriously criticized, notably from a sociological perspective (Williams 1992). Labov's model has been adopted and developed in numerous subsequent studies of urban sociolects, e.g. in Australia (Horvath 1985), England (Trudgill 1974), Germany (Schlobinski 1987) and Norway (Evenesen/Tveit 1990). This 'quantitative paradigm' has been criticized for concealing significant individual differences (Hudson 1996, 179ff), and an alternative was developed by Milroy (1987) in her study of Belfast speech, applying the notion of *social networks* (cf. art. 55; 143). This concentrated on the sociolectal variation of individual speakers, showing how close social ties ('networks') are linked with relative uniformity and stability of linguistic usage and a higher proportion of often innovative non-standard forms. This model has also been applied elsewhere, e.g. in Australia (Schmidt 1985), Brazil (Bortoni-Ricardo 1985) and England (Edwards 1986 – published before Milroy). Such studies have often been thought of as in opposition to quantitative studies, not least because they place more emphasis on variation which reflects social conflict. However, Milroy/Milroy (1992) show how the two approaches are rather complementary and that the results of class-based and network-based studies can be integrated.

Sociolects are often associated exclusively with urban dialectology and equated simply with *urban dialects* (Hinskens 1998, 157f). However, rural varieties may also reflect socially determined variation. Lippi-Green (1989) shows such variation in a small village in the Austrian Alps, using the network model. Traditional rural dialects have in some countries become restricted to the lowest social strata in rural society, in effect becoming rural sociolects. This development is typical of England, where such dialects are used primarily by non-mobile, older, rural males (Chambers/Trudgill 1998). Similar developments are evident in France, where rural dialects have long been stigmatized as the *patois* of the uneducated (Hawkins 1993), and in northern Germany, where Low German dialects are restricted to the lower social strata in outlying rural areas like East Friesland (Kruse 1993).

Sociolectal variation can take different forms outside highly industrialized societies

where socially determined linguistic variation has been most intensively investigated. Some studies of urban speech in African and South American cities, e.g. Bortoni-Ricardo (1985) or Russell (1982) show rather different tendencies, with women tending to maintain vernacular speech forms, whereas the men accommodated more readily to standard speech-forms. Similar findings have also been reported from the Arab world (Labov 2001, 270). On the other hand, some Asiatic societies exhibit extremely hierarchized social structures which are reflected in sociolectal variation. Characteristic examples of this are the caste differences found in many Indian languages, which can have up to six levels of caste-based distinction (Gumperz 1958). In Javanese, too, relative social status is encoded through complex structures of linguistic variation, with the choice between six varieties being determined by the status of the speaker and the person being addressed (Geertz 1972). However, although all the levels are recognized as autonomous varieties by the speakers, it is notable that they principally involve lexical, rather than morphological or phonological variables.

3. Sociolect and regional dialect

Although, in principle, a (regional) *dialect* indicates a speaker's geographical origins whilst a *sociolect* reflects his/her position on a social hierarchy, this distinction is difficult to uphold in practice. In the English-speaking countries all *dialects* typically correlate with both regional and social factors (Hudson 1996, 42). In England, for example, the regional characteristics of lower class speech are commonly perceived to reflect social status as much as, if not more than regional origin, as is shown by the familiar pyramid model of Trudgill (2000, 30ff), with the lowest social class exhibiting most regional variation in speech and the highest social classes the least. The lowest status variants of Norwich English are, for example, almost all present in traditional Norfolk dialect (Trudgill 1974). However, this correlation is not universal and does not seem to be a necessary concomitant of highly industrialized societies, as Dittmar (1997, 191) would suggest, since in other European countries regional variation is not linked to social status in this way. The reasons for this are to be sought in the peculiar socio-historical de-

velopment of individual countries. In diglossic German-speaking Switzerland, for example, regional variation has no social implications (Ammon 1995, 283ff), and it is also evident that there is no significant correlation between the use of regional varieties and social status in Italy (Berruto 1989, 557). The relationship between social and regional dialect may be quite complex. On the one hand, there are variables whose distribution can be wholly accounted for by reference to sociologically determined factors. Some non-standard variants of English, for example, are found in all English-speaking countries, like multiple negation (Downes 1998, 35), and the deletion of *ne* in negation is universal in non-standard French, whether in France or Québec (Ashby 1991). More typically, though, regional and social factors are impossible to disaggregate, as in the case of rhoticity in English, where the prestige value of postvocalic [r] varies from region to region and social group to social group in the British Isles and North America (Downes 1998, 133ff), functioning as an social marker in different ways in different regions.

4. Sociolect and register/style (cf. art. 22; 23)

A distinction is commonly made between linguistic variation according to the *user* (*sociolect* or (regional) *dialect*) and variation according to *use*. The latter has been variously referred to as *register*, with Halliday (1978), or as *style*, which is the term used by Labov (1972) and others. Its essence is variation according to the speech context, characteristically the degree of relative formality which can reflect the relationship between dialogue participants, the communicative situation and the purpose or subject matter. Biber (1994, 39f) proposes a systematic taxonomy of such factors, and Ferguson (1994) points out that levels of register are typically scaled along a continuum rather than being discrete varieties. However, “one of the most important findings of quantitative sociolinguistics” (Romaine 2000, 75) is that linguistic variables which can be positively correlated with social factors also correlate with register variation, so that the same variables function as markers both of social class and situation. Typically, speakers from lower social classes differ from those from higher

social classes not by their use of a distinct sociolectal variety, but through their use of a rather higher proportion of low prestige variants in each register (Finegan/Biber 1994). It can also happen that some variables – so-called *indicators* (Trudgill 1974, 97ff) – exhibit socially determined variation but do not correlate with register. But this is an exception to the more generally valid pattern of covariance between social and register variation. Indeed, this is not confined to urban sociolects in industrialized societies for they are also to be found in the complex variation structure of Javanese (see 2.), where the variety selected depends not only on the social status of the speaker, but also on situational factors. It is indicative of the uncertainties in the definition of terms and their application which are presented by the complex structure of interaction between these two types of factors that Holmes (2001, 134f) refers to these various forms of Javanese as *social dialects*, whereas Romaine (2000, 20f) calls them *registers*.

The parallelism between sociolect and register variation does not allow of simple explanation, indeed it has typically been regarded as coincidental (Kroch 1978). Bell (1997) has suggested that it is a matter of accommodation to a particular audience, although this would not appear to explain why middle class speakers employ a higher proportion of vernacular forms in informal situations. Finegan/Biber (1994, 315) see it as systematic, deriving “from the functional patterns of register variation and the fact that social groups have differential access to the range of communicative tasks” and suggest that different social classes have established differential usage norms which subsequently become associated with particular tasks and attract differential evaluation. This is above all demonstrated, as empirical research has consistently shown in a number of countries, by the resistance by the lower social classes to the adoption of prestige linguistic norms which must be explained by a desire not to be identified with high status groups (cf. Guy 1988, 51).

5. Summary: sociolects as varieties (cf. art. 19)

The terms *sociolect* or *social dialect* suggest that these can usually be identified as discrete linguistic varieties, but this is clearly

not the case. It is a commonplace of traditional dialectology that, against the expectation of early dialectologists, regional dialects cannot be clearly delimited the one from the other, but typically form part of a geographical *continuum* of variation (Niebaum/Macha 1999, 76ff). Certain regional variants may be typical of a particular area, but none will have exactly the same distribution. With sociolects, too, we typically find a similar (vertical) continuum which is perhaps even more fluid because it is not formed by variables with variants which are restricted in their occurrence to a particular social class. Rather it is the case that the distinctive usage of a particular social group is characterized by the relative frequency with which particular variants occur. As we saw in 4., this stratificational variation also typically interacts with a further continuum, that of register variation, so that it might be difficult to distinguish “a casual salesman from a careful pipefitter” (Labov 1972, 240). The interplay of these three continua of variation means that associating individual varieties of language with particular individual dimensions raises fundamental theoretical and empirical problems, as Dittmar (1997, 189f) points out, and it is rare for any particular variety (or even variable) to be associated uniquely with any one particular dimension of variation, whether social, regional or situational. Empirical studies support the view that few, if any, linguistic varieties can be unambiguously marked as *regional dialect*, *sociolect* or *register*, since the boundaries between the dimensions of variation are not clear-cut, and, although some variables may be primarily indicative of a particular dimension, it is quite typical for a single variable to correlate with all three in some measure. In practice, most investigators use the terms *sociolect* or *social dialect* pragmatically, as a descriptive convenience to indicate that the speech of a particular group is being studied with particular reference to the dimension of social stratification, (Dittmar 1997, 173ff). Studies of particular sociolects have characteristically not attempted to provide comprehensive descriptions of that sociolect as a variety, but have given accounts of the distribution of certain linguistic items which correlate significantly with social and/or stylistic factors which can be established independently. In this way, a *sociolect* is effectively a set of variants which may be associated with a par-

ticular group and which may be accepted by that group as identifying it. This reflects the apparently insuperable difficulty of defining precisely what might constitute a linguistic *variety* (Dittmar 1997, 312f). In practice, it comes close to the definitions of *variety* in Downes (1998, 24) as “a cluster of features”, or in Hudson (1996, 22) as “a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution”. This may, as Hudson goes on to say, “seem rather radical”, but, as we have seen, it more accurately reflects the actual practice of sociolinguistic investigation at present.

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22. Stil/Style

1. Stilistik und Soziolinguistik
2. Stil und sprachliche Varietät
3. Theorie der Stilistik
4. Stilkonzeptionen
5. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Stilistik und Soziolinguistik

Gemeinsame Grundlage für Stilistik und Soziolinguistik ist die Annahme, dass menschliche Sprache nicht homogen und in ihrer Realisierung im Sprachakt nicht notwendig streng determiniert ist, sondern dass es vielmehr für den Ausdruck eines Sachverhaltes in jeder denkbaren Situation prinzipiell mehrere sprachliche Formulierungsmöglichkeiten gibt. Beide wissenschaftliche Disziplinen haben zum Gegenstand sprachliche Besonderheiten, Schwankungen, Abweichungen, die vom Regelsystem einer 'Systemlinguistik' nicht erfasst oder nicht vorhergesehen werden. Daraus abgeleitete Stilauffassungen, die Stil als ungrammatische oder unakzeptable Spracherscheinung definieren, als Abweichung von einer Sprachnorm, lassen sich jedoch theoretisch nicht halten (vgl. dazu die kritische Bestandsaufnahme bei Spillner 1974a, 40–45).

Soziolinguistik und Stilistik haben aber nicht nur ein gemeinsames Verhältnis zur Systemlinguistik, sie beschreiben jeweils die zusätzlichen Textqualitäten sprachlicher Varianten. Diese Parallelen haben dazu geführt, dass zwischen den beiden linguistischen Disziplinen theoretische und vor allem terminologische Gleichsetzungen vorgenommen wurden; so wenn die Soziolinguistik davon ausgeht, „dass (...) die Sprecher verschiedener sozialer Schichten sich im Hinblick auf die Merkmale ihrer Sprache und ihres Sprachstils unterscheiden“ (Hartig 1985, 139) oder wenn in soziolinguistischen Analysen mit Termini wie *style*, *stylistic varieties* oder *style switching* gearbeitet wird (vgl. die Übersicht bei Spillner 1974 c, 172f). Konsequenterweise wurden in stilistischen Untersuchungen soziolinguistische Fragestellungen thematisiert, z. B.: „Does a particular style necessarily reveal or serve a particular class or a particular politics?“ (Delany 1974, 439) Es wurde sogar vorgeschlagen, Methoden des einen Bereiches auf den anderen zu übertragen: „In these properties, styles agree with dialects, in particu-

lar with social dialects; it may even be claimed that styles can be considered special types of social dialects. The identification of different styles can be undertaken in much the same way as the identification of different dialects of a language: a boundary between two styles can be established on the basis of a bundle of isoglosses.“ (Winter 1964, 324) Richtig ist, dass Soziolinguistik und Stilistik in machen Bereichen vor vergleichbaren methodischen Schwierigkeiten stehen, z. B. der problematischen Korrelation zwischen sprachlichen Merkmalen und sozialen Daten einerseits und der nicht weniger schwierigen Zuordnung von Textmerkmalen zu Intention des Autors oder Stileffekt beim Leser andererseits. Unterschiedliche Traditionen beider Disziplinen (z. B. die enge traditionelle Bindung der Stilistik an die Rhetorik und die literaturwissenschaftliche Textinterpretation) und Unterschiede in den analysierten sprachlichen Äußerungen, Textsorten, Kommunikationssituationen etc. sollten jedoch davon abhalten, beide Disziplinen vorschnell gleichzusetzen oder die eine der anderen integrierend zuzuschlagen:

„The purpose of stylistic analysis is to investigate how the resources of a language code are put to use in the production of actual messages. It is concerned with patterns of use in given texts. (...) messages are produced in accordance with systems of social convention (...). Stylistics is concerned with such message types; its purpose is to discover what linguistic units count as in communication and how the effects of different conventions (...) are organized in texts.

Stylistics, then, is the study of the social function of language and is a branch of what has come to be called sociolinguistics.“ (Widdowson 1974, 202)

Nach Crystal (1981, 147) wäre dagegen die Stilistik eine der Soziolinguistik übergeordnete Disziplin, die sich mit der Analyse der Sprachvarietäten zu befassen hätte: „Stylistics (...) as the linguistic study of systematic, situationally-distinctive, intra-language variation.“ (vgl. Art. 2; 20) Berührungspunkte nimmt Sandig (1978, 181) an, wenn sie die Möglichkeit andeutet, dass die Stilistik in eine 'Soziolinguistik der Handlungsmuster' mündet. Die genauen Beziehungen zwischen Soziolinguistik und Stilistik können erst dann bestimmt werden, wenn der sehr

uneinheitliche theoretische und terminologische Status von ‘Stil’, ‘Sprachstil’, ‘sprachliche Varietät’ (vgl. Art. 19) etc. geklärt ist.

2. Stil und sprachliche Varietät

2.1. Typen von Varietäten

Wenn eine natürliche Sprache nicht als in sich homogen, sondern als ein bis zu einem gewissen Grade heterogenes, wenn auch strukturiertes Gebilde aufgefasst wird, muss versucht werden, die theoretisch postulierten oder in Texten beobachteten sprachlichen Unterschiede als Typen zu systematisieren. Hierfür sind in der Linguistik eine Reihe von Ansätzen entwickelt worden. Gemeinhin werden die auf historischen Sprachwandel zurückgehenden Varietäten als *diachronische* Unterschiede bezeichnet. Weniger Übereinstimmung gibt es im Bereich synchronischer Varietäten; verbreitet ist folgende von E. Coseriu (z.T. in Anlehnung an L. Flydal (1952, 248)) vorgenommene Differenzierung:

- „diatopisch“ – Unterschiede im Raum, z.B. Dialekte, Mundarten.
- „diaphasisch“ – Unterschiede im Sprachstil, Ausdrucksabsichten.
- „diastatisch“ – sozialkulturelle Unterschiede (z.B. im Altindischen innerhalb einer typischen Klassengesellschaft des Sanskrit gegenüber dem Prakrit). (...)
- „Diaphasisch“ bezieht sich auf die unterschiedliche Modalität des Sprechers, in demselben Raum, in derselben ‘Schicht’, aber den Umständen des Zwecks entsprechend verschieden, z.B. ‘familiär’, ‘gehoben’ usw.“ (Coseriu 1969, 149)

Nach dieser Einteilung wären vor allem die diastatischen Varietäten für die Soziolinguistik relevant, die diaphasischen Varietäten für die Stilistik. Überschneidungen sind selbstverständlich möglich: So können etwa diatopische Unterschiede soziolinguistisch bedeutsam sein (z.B. Einschätzung von Dialektsprechern, Sprachdefizite durch Dialekt), aber auch stilistisch (z.B. Mundart als Stilmittel in literarischen Werken). Es muss betont werden, dass diese – oder eine andere – Taxonomie von sprachlichen Varietäten noch nicht Zusammenhänge zwischen einzelnen Varietäten bzw. Unterschiede zwischen ihnen beschreibt oder erklärt. Dasselbe gilt für intendierte Korrelationen zwischen sprachlichen Varietäten

und außersprachlichen Unterschieden (soziale Unterschiede, stilistische Intentionen/Wirkungen).

2.2. Stil und Synonymie

Wenn die Kategorie ‘Stil’ dem Bereich sprachlicher Varietät zugeordnet wird, dann ist damit die Existenz konkurrierender sprachlicher Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten impliziert. Tatsächlich liegt eine solche Annahme – explizit oder implizit – den meisten linguistischen Stilkonzeptionen zugrunde, z.B.: „Roughly speaking, two utterances in the same language which convey approximately the same information, but which are different in their linguistic structure, can be said to differ in style: ‘He came too soon’ and ‘He arrived prematurely’.“ (Hockett 1958, 556) Diese berühmte Definition ist einerseits als heuristischer Einstieg in die Stilproblematik sehr gut geeignet, da er die wichtigsten Definitionsmerkmale – grammatische Varietät bei semantischer Invarianz – vorab einer spezifischen Stiltheorie leicht verständlich vermittelt. Andererseits zeigt er aber auch deutlich die Schwächen dieser Definition, die einmal in ihrer Vagheit liegen (‘roughly’, ‘approximately’), dann aber auch in der Problematik, festzustellen, wann zwei sprachliche Äußerungen dieselbe Information vermitteln. Sind die Bedingungen hierfür Denotatsidentität, gleiche Bedeutung von Lexemen, übereinstimmender Textsinn, gleiche kommunikative Wirkung der Äußerungen? Wie stellt man semantische Invarianz zweier Äußerungen exakt fest und wie lässt sich ein solches Verfahren operationalisieren? Mit anderen Worten: Eine Stilkonzeption im Sinne Hocketts ist an das in der Sprachwissenschaft in den letzten 250 Jahren intensiv diskutierte, aber nicht befriedigend gelöste Problem der *Synonymie* gebunden. Ein Stilunterschied ist eine formale Varietät zweier oder mehrerer synonymen paraphrastischer Äußerungen. Wenn es gelänge, die semantische Analyse so extrem zu verfeinern, dass jedweder sprachlichen Varietät eine je differente semantische Interpretation zugeordnet werden könnte, wäre eine eigenständige Kategorie ‘Stil’ überflüssig geworden; die Stilistik wäre in die Semantik integriert. Solange dies nicht geschehen ist, kann als ‘Stil’ diejenige Differenzqualität alternativer Äußerungen angesetzt werden, denen die linguistische Semantik keine unterschiedlichen Bedeutungen zuordnet bzw. die von den Sprechern der Sprache nicht als bedeutungsdifferent aufgefasst werden.

2.3. Stil und Auswahl

Tatsächlich beruhen auf diesen Grundannahmen eine ganze Reihe von Stildefinitionen: Die Stilistik ist „(...) die Lehre von den synonymischen Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten im schriftlichen und mündlichen Verkehr (...) unter konkreten, gesellschaftlich und individuell bedingten Umständen.“ (Riesel [1959] 1963, 40) „Redestil ist (...) die Gesamtheit der an bestimmte gesellschaftliche Anwendungsnormen gebundenen fakultativen Varianten der Rede innerhalb einer Reihe synonymischer Möglichkeiten zur sprachlichen Darstellung eines Sachverhalts.“ (Michel [1968] 1972, 34f) „The differences between synonymous sentences may then be called stylistic, (...)“ (Hough 1969, 7) „Wir verstehen unter Stil die durch die Tatsache fakultativer Variation in der sprachlichen Darstellung *eines* Sachverhaltes *ermöglichte* und innerhalb bestimmter gesellschaftlicher Anwendungsnormen sich *realisierende* Verwendungsweise der Sprache.“ (Fleischer 1969, 225; ähnlich Fleischer 1976, 99) „(...) on ne peut isoler le style d'un énoncé que si ce dernier est performé à partir d'un code autorisant de variantes libres.“ (Klinkenberg 1985, 243)

Im Kern sind diese Gedanken bereits in der Stilkonzeption von Steinthal (1866, 479) enthalten: „Derselbe Inhalt lässt mannichfache Darstellungen zu (...)“ Beim gegenwärtigen Forschungsstand der Stilistik muss die vage Ausgangsposition von synonymischen Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten in Kauf genommen werden. Die Stilistik gehört zu den „(...) komplizierten, wahrscheinlich noch auf lange Sicht keineswegs widerspruchsfreien sprachwissenschaftlichen Teildisziplinen“ (Peukert 1977, 76). Stil ist „one of the thorniest concepts to be dealt with“. (Crystal 1987, 66) Wenn man von synonymischen Varietäten ausgeht, bedeutet dies für den verbalen Produktionsprozess, dass der Sprecher/Schreiber unter den fakultativen Möglichkeiten eine Auswahl trifft. Diese Auswahl kann bewusst oder unbewusst geschehen (vgl. Spillner 1974a, 45–49); sie ist auch nicht völlig frei, sondern durch gesellschaftliche Konventionen, Regeln, *Stilnormen* determiniert (vgl. Carstensen 1970, 258ff; Asmuth/Berg-Ehlers 1974, 28; Bobek 1982, 78; Schröder 1982, 65; Sandig 1978, 39–42): „Die Stilnorm ist die gesellschaftlich gültige, auf statistischer Gesetzmäßigkeit beruhende Bevorzugung synonymischer Varianten in einem bestimmten Anwendungsbereich.“ (Michel [1968] 1972, 51)

3. Theorie der Stilistik

Bereits Aronstein (1920, 251) klagt: „Was ist Stil und was ist Stilistik? Die Worte sind sehr vieldeutig.“ Simons (1932, 20–35) stellt schon 39 verschiedene Stilkonzeptionen zusammen; weitere Sammlungen finden sich u. a. bei Sanders (1973, 13–22), Guiraud ([1954] 1970, 24–39), Sowinski (1973, 13–31) und – in imponierender geistesgeschichtlicher Vertiefung der metaphorischen Topik von Stildefinitionen – bei Müller (1981, 9–195). Dabei sind nicht nur die zugrundeliegenden Stiltheorien verschieden, die einzelnen Konzeptionen unterscheiden sich auch danach, wo die Kategorie ‘Stil’ situiert wird und zu welchem Zweck sie untersucht wird. Eine erste Differenzierung erscheint am ehesten dann möglich, wenn man von einer Einteilung der Disziplin Stilistik ausgeht (Abb. 22.1)

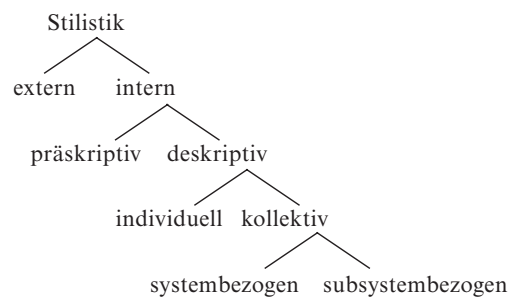


Abb. 22.1: Einleitung der Disziplin Stilistik

Eine erste Ausgrenzung betrifft die externe Stilistik, die vergleichende Stilistik, die durch systematische Komparation der grammatischen und lexikalischen Inventare zweier Sprachen die spezifischen Besonderheiten einer Sprache zu ermitteln sucht (vgl. z. B. Malblanc [1961] 1968). Hierbei geht es allerdings nicht um Stil im engeren Sinn; die *Vergleichende Stilistik* gehört in den Bereich der Sprachvergleiche, der Kontrastiven Linguistik, wobei der Vergleich eine Methode zur besseren Übersetzung von einer Einzelsprache in eine andere ist. Alle anderen Konzeptionen von Stilistik betreffen eine Einzelsprache bzw. Teilbereiche einer Einzelsprache. Nach ihrem Zweck lässt sich die deskriptive von der präskriptiven, normativen Stilistik abgrenzen. Präskriptive Stilistiken beruhen auf der – sehr bestrebbaren – Annahme, dass stilistische Wirkungen an konkrete sprachliche Einheiten geknüpft

sind und sich vorhersagen lassen. Sie stellen also als sprachliches Inventar auf *langue*-Ebene sprachliche Ausdrucksmittel zusammen (Nomen, verbale Ausdrucksweise, Adjektivreihung, Parallelismus, Metapher, Passiv, Adverb, Apposition) und schreiben ihnen Stilwerte und Stilwirkungen zu. In der Regel sind sie didaktisch orientiert und lehren – ausgehend von einem Stilideal oder apriorischen Stiltugenden in der Tradition der Rhetorik (Klarheit, Anschaulichkeit, Angemessenheit, Wechsel des Ausdrucks) –, wie man sich stilistisch wirksam und angemessen ausdrücken soll (z. B. Bally [1909] 1951; Marouzeau [1941] 1965; Riesel 1954; [1959] 1963, 1964; Faulseit/Kühn [1965] 1969; Crystal/Davy 1969; Gáldi 1971; Sumpf 1971; Sowinski 1973; Turner 1973).

Soweit die Stilistik deskriptiv angelegt ist, lässt sich unterscheiden, ob sie sich als Individualstilistik versteht oder von vornherein überindividuelle Stileigenschaften beschreiben will. Die traditionelle Stilanalyse, vor allem dann, wenn sie literarische Texte untersucht hat, hat Stil überwiegend als Individualstil verstanden, der sich in Texten eines Schreibers/Sprechers manifestiert: „Eine der Hauptleistungen der Stilistik der letzten Jahre ist die Erschließung und Registrierung der dichterischen *Individualsprachen*, d. h. (...) die Feststellung des besonderen Wortschatzes, der besonderen Semantik, der besonderen syntaktischen Bräuche u. dgl. eines Schriftstellers, die den betroffenen Autor von anderen (...) unterscheiden.“ (Hatzfeld 1929, 54) „(...) l'on convient aussi d'appeler style l'ensemble des traits spécifiques qui caractérisent une œuvre dans son action sur un lecteur.“ (Mounin 1973/74, 77f) Ähnliche Auffassungen finden sich u. a. auch bei Chatman (1967, 31), Thakur (1972, 39) und Carter (1984, 93). Eine den Individualstil analysierende Stilistik schließt keineswegs aus, dass an Texten ermittelte Stileigentümlichkeiten zu höheren Gruppierungen zusammengefasst werden. So werden in der literaturwissenschaftlichen Stilanalyse Autorenstile (oder auch z. B. der Altersstil eines Autors), Gruppenstile, Epochenstile, Gattungsstile (lyrischer, dramatischer Stil) usw. unterschieden. Für die sprachlichen Charakteristika von Autorengruppen ist auch der wenig glückliche Terminus *sociostylistics* verwendet worden (Wales 1989, 438).

Wenn von *Individualstil* die Rede ist, geht es in Wirklichkeit nicht um ein *Individuum*

(den Autor, den Sprecher/Schreiber), sondern um die Tatsache, dass Stil auf der Ebene der *parole*, in der *Performanz*, am konkreten Text, auf der Ebene des Diskurses analysiert wird: „la linguistique est la science des formes langagières en tant qu'elles actualisent un système, la stylistique est la science des formes langagières en tant qu'elles constituent un discours.“ (Gauthier-Darley 1977, 99); „die Stilistik hat es primär mit dem *Gebrauch* der sprachlichen Mittel seitens des Sprechers zu tun, nicht mit der *systeminternen* Semantik der sprachlichen Mittel einschließlich ihrer emotionalen Komponente.“ (Michel 1969, 275) Nach diesen Definitionen, die immerhin den Vorteil einer sauberen Trennung haben, wären alle Phänomene auf einer höheren Abstraktionsstufe als der des Textes, des Sprachgebrauchs, des Diskurses nicht Gegenstand der Stilistik, sondern der Linguistik. Tatsächlich gibt es aber auch Versuche, das Phänomen Stil auf der Ebene der *langue*, der Kompetenz, des Sprachsystems zu situieren. Auch auf solche Ansätze hatte Hatzfeld bereits verwiesen: „Eine ganz neue stilistische Disziplin dürfte die *Sprachstilforschung* an den Schriftsprachen bilden, deren Wesenszüge als Ausdrucksformen einer nationalen Kultur ähnlich jenen der Kunstsprachen festgestellt werden wollen.“ (Hatzfeld 1929, 66) So sind zahlreiche Versuche zur Etablierung des Stils von Einzelsprachen entstanden (z. B. Nägelsbach 1846; Becker 1848; Strohmeyer 1910; Bally [1909] 1951; Riesel 1954; Kurkowska/Skorupka 1959; Riesel [1959] 1963; Riesel 1964; Marouzeau [1941] 1965; Crystal/Davy 1969; Gáldi 1971; Sumpf 1971; Sowinski 1973; Sandig 1986; Marin 1988; Widdowson 1992; Esser 1993; Paz Gago 1993; Lesina 1994; Peters 1995; Fleischer/Michel/Starke 1996; Bradford 1997; Garrido Medina 1997; Landfester 1997; Kovacević 2000; White 2000; Abdul-Raof 2001).

Eine Situierung von Stil auf *langue*-Ebene scheint auch bei einigen pragmatisch orientierten Konzeptionen vorzuliegen, die die „Beschreibung von Stilistischem als Regelfaitem“ (Sandig 1978, 19) intendieren. Diese scheinen – obwohl dies nicht immer deutlich wird – zumindest dann systemorientiert zu sein, wenn sie von Stilinventaren, konventionellen Stilmustern, durch soziale Konstellationen festgelegte Realisierungsverfahren (Rehbein 1981, 22f) ausgehen oder die Erstellung eines Stilsystems beabsichtigen:

„Der Versuch einer umfassenden Differenzierung einer Einzelsprache müsste es sich also zum Ziel setzen, ein Stilsystem dieser Sprache zu entwickeln.“ (Püschel 1976, 228) Wenn auch ohne eine normative Zielsetzung wird im Rahmen einer solchen Stilkonzeption also die Deskription eines Inventars auf Systemebene wie in der präskriptiven Stilistik angestrebt. Die meisten überindividuellen deskriptiven Stilistiken beziehen sich jedoch auf Subsysteme der Sprache. Hierher gehört einerseits die Konzeption, dass das Sprachsystem in eine begrenzte Anzahl von in sich relativ homogenen *Funktionalstilen* gegliedert ist, die sich als sprachliche Subsysteme durch ihren Verwendungsbereich definieren: „Die Stilistik ist eine sprachwissenschaftliche Disziplin, deren erstrangige Aufgabe die Aufhellung aller funktionalstilistischen Systeme einer Nationalsprache ist.“ (Spiewok 1970, 6) Andererseits gehört zu dieser Stilistik die Annahme, dass innerhalb des Sprachsystems in sich geschlossene und je nach Kommunikationssituation auszuwählende *Register* (vgl. Art. 23) oder *niveaux de langue* (Lefebvre 1983, 306), verstanden als *modes of speech organization* (Slepack 1980, 141), bereitgestellt werden. Unabhängig von der hier getroffenen Differenzierung können als Aufgaben einer linguistischen Stilistik gelten: „die theoretische Begründung der Kategorie Stil, die Aufstellung von Stiltypen und die Deskription und Kodifizierung der sie kennzeichnenden stilistischen Mittel, die Entwicklung von Prinzipien und Methoden der Stilanalyse, die wissenschaftliche Fundierung von Sprach- und Stilkritik, sowie die Aufstellung und Begründung von Stilnormen, die insbesondere dem Stilunterricht dienen können.“ (Püschel [1973] 1980, 305)

4. Stilkonzeptionen

Die Definition von *Stil* innerhalb der deskriptiven Stilistik hängt nicht zuletzt davon ab, welche Stiltheorie ihr zugrundegelegt wird und in welcher Dimension des Kommunikationsprozesses *Stil* situiert wird. Wenn man davon ausgeht, dass an sprachlicher Kommunikation mindestens die Kategorien *Äußerung/Text*, *Sprecher/Schreiber*, *Hörer/Leser* sowie eine Sprache und die jeweiligen Situationen von Produktion und Rezeption beteiligt sind, dann muss festgestellt werden, dass die meisten Stilkonzeptionen jeweils nur eine dieser Kategorien fo-

kussieren. Selten sind Stilkonzeptionen, die den gesamten Kommunikationsprozess berücksichtigen.

4.1. Textinterne Auffassungen

Die meisten Stildefinitionen versuchen, *Stil* textintern ohne Berücksichtigung der Produktions- und Rezeptionsseite zu erfassen. In der älteren literaturwissenschaftlichen Stilinterpretation wurde angenommen, dass ein sprachliches Kunstwerk *Stil an sich* habe. *Stil* wurde werkimmanent aufgefasst, als *Werkstil*, der nur aus dem Werk selbst zu analysieren und zu verstehen sei (vgl. dazu kritisch Spillner 1974a, 25f). Auch in anderen Stilkonzeptionen wird versucht, *Stil* ohne Berücksichtigung seiner Entstehung und seiner Rezeption zu definieren. Während aber in der textimmanenten Stilauffassung *Stil* als das durchgehend Charakteristische des Werkes, als eine untrennbare Einheit von Form und Inhalt angesehen wird, lässt sich *Stil* auch deuten als eine zusätzliche Komponente, die Texte durch eine besondere formale Ausarbeitung erfahren haben. *Stil* wäre demnach mit einer Formulierung von Enkvist „an addition to a central core of thought or expression“ (Enkvist/Spencer/Gregory 1964, 12). Insbesondere bei der Stilanalyse von Lyrik wurden Phänomene wie Reim und Rhythmus als Beigabe zur normalen Sprache aufgefasst, die ihr einen zusätzlichen stilistischen Wert verleiht. Sehr problematisch ist allerdings die zugrundeliegende Vorstellung, dass im sprachlichen Formulierungsprozess zunächst eine neutrale Aussage entsteht, die dann in einem zweiten Schritt mit einem ästhetischen Kleid, d.h. mit *Stil*, ausgeschmückt wird. Eine Konsequenz dieser Stilkonzeption ist ferner die Annahme, dass alle sprachlichen Texte ohne die zusätzliche Ausarbeitung oder Ausschmückung keinen *Stil* haben, also eine deutliche Trennung von Sprache und *Stil*. Nur künstlerische, literarische Texte hätten also *Stil*.

Demgegenüber wird gegenwärtig in der Stilistik fast ausnahmslos die Ansicht vertreten, dass die Kategorie ‘*Stil*’ prinzipiell allen Texten zukommt. Wegen der Schwierigkeit, *Stil* rein textimmanent ohne Vergleiche zu analysieren, wurde *Stil* in einer sehr verbreiteten Weiterführung dieser Konzeption als Abweichung von einer extratextuellen Norm definiert. Abweichung wird dabei verstanden als „difference between a text and the overall grammatical norm of the language.“

Deviance is thus the sum of nongrammaticality and nonacceptability.“ (Enkvist 1973, 101)

Belegt wurde diese Stilkonzeption u. a. an einer Analyse des vielzitierten (u. a. Thorne 1965; Carstensen 1970) Satzes von E.E. Cummings „He danced his did.“ sowie an literarischen ungrammatischen Stileffekten. Eine Variante dieser Auffassung sind generative Stiltheorien, die Stil als nicht vom Regelapparat erzeugte ungrammatische bzw. unakzeptable Anomalie auffassen. Obwohl die Konzeption der Abweichungsstilistik als widerlegt gelten kann (vgl. mit linguistischen Argumenten u. a. Spillner 1974a, 39–45; mit logischen Argumenten Vasiliu 1983, 465), wird sie in der Stilistik noch immer vertreten (vgl. u. a. Kjetsaa 1981, 48ff). Sie kann allerdings bestenfalls heuristischen Wert bei praktischen Stilanalysen beanspruchen. Für die soziolinguistische Analyse von Varietäten kommt diese verbreitete Stilkonzeption nicht in Betracht.

4.2. Produktionsorientierte Konzeptionen

Auf der Seite des Sprechers/Schreibers ist besonders wichtig die Konzeption von Stil als Auswahl (Šabršula 1978, 193) unter fakultativen Möglichkeiten des Sprachsystems, bereits von Marouzeau ([1945] 1965, 10) als *principe de choix* der Stilistik beschrieben und seitdem von vielen Stiltheoretikern vertreten (vgl. Spillner 1974a, 45–49). Die Konzeption geht davon aus, dass einem Sprecher prinzipiell mehrere Möglichkeiten zum Ausdruck eines Sachverhaltes zur Wahl stehen. So kann z. B. ein Sprecher mit sehr verschiedenen Formulierungen versuchen, einen Hörer dazu zu bewegen, ihn zu verlassen:

Bitte geh jetzt!
 Ich möchte jetzt allein sein.
 Mach, dass du wekommst!
 Würdest du mich bitte allein lassen?
 Es ist jetzt Zeit für dich zum Gehen.
 Hau ab!
 Ich fordere dich hiermit auf, mich auf der Stelle zu verlassen.
 Weg mit dir!
 Darf ich dich fragen, ob es dir etwas ausmachen würde, dich nunmehr zu entfernen?

Die Definition von Stil als Auswahl (*choice*) schließt sich der unter 2.3. beschriebenen Konzeption der Selektion unter synonymischen Varietäten an. Sie kann als Teiltheorie einer Stilkonzeption akzeptiert werden, sofern sie um eine Komponente für die Rezeptionsseite ergänzt wird.

4.3. Rezeptionsorientierte Auffassungen

Die Rezeptionsseite des Kommunikationsprozesses wurde in Stilkonzeptionen nur in geringem Maße berücksichtigt. Ansätze gibt es in der älteren Stilistik, wenn auf den affektiven Charakter von Stileffekten verwiesen wird (Bally [1909] 1951, 16); in manchen Stiluntersuchungen wird auch besonders die expressive Seite von Stilmerkmalen herausgearbeitet (z. B. Sechehaye 1908, 155; Marouzeau [1941] 1965, 33–54; Ullmann 1964; Koževnikova 1973, 126). Eine entscheidende Befruchtung erhielt der Rezeptionsaspekt des Stils durch die Arbeiten von Riffaterre (zusammengefasst in Riffaterre 1971, 27–158), der die Auffassung von Stil als Kontrast innerhalb des Textes mit der Annahme verbindet, dass der Leser den Stil durch seine Reaktion auf den Text im Lektüreprozess reaktiviert. Nach Riffaterre wird im Prozess der Lektüre beim Leser eine Erwartungshaltung geschaffen, die durch unerwartete Textelemente, Kontraste zum Kontext, enttäuscht wird, so dass ein Stileffekt entsteht. Obwohl Riffaterres Stiltheorie nicht hinreichend elaboriert erscheint und in sich nicht widerspruchsfrei ist (vgl. Spillner 1974a, 50–56; Frey 1980, 5–7), kann sie doch als entscheidender Schritt auf dem Wege zu einer kommunikativ orientierten Stiltheorie gewertet werden. Forderungen wie die von Kintgen (1977, 13), die Leserseite einzubeziehen, sind also längst realisiert.

4.4. Kommunikativ orientierte Stilkonzeption

Im Folgenden soll eine Stiltheorie skizziert werden, die die Konzeption von Stil als Auswahl mit einer weiterentwickelten und erweiterten Rezeptionsstilistik verbindet (Einzelheiten dazu bei Spillner 1974a, 64–72; 1974b, 285–289; 1976, 20–22; 1984, 69–71; zur Methode vgl. Porsch 1984, 18ff). Im Gegensatz zu Riffaterre ist diese Konzeption nicht nur auf schriftliche literarische Texte bezogen, sondern auf alle potentiell stilistischen Sprachvarietäten. Die Konzeption versucht, ‘Stil’ im Kommunikationsprozess zu situieren und fasst Stil nicht als statische, ein für allemal festgelegte Textqualität, sondern als veränderliche dynamische Kategorie auf. Es wird von der Auffassung ausgegangen, dass das Phänomen ‘Stil’ nicht losgelöst von den Kategorien ‘Autor des Textes’ und ‘Rezipient des Textes’ definiert werden kann. Gewiss kommt Stil nur dann

zustande, wenn im Text formal beschreibbare (syntaktische, lexikalische etc.) Merkmale enthalten sind, die Stileffekte auslösen können. Wichtig aber ist, dass diese Merkmale auf eine – bewusste oder unbewusste – Auswahl des Autors unter den ihm zur Verfügung stehenden sprachlichen Realisierungsmöglichkeiten zurückgehen und dass man der gewählten Sprachform im Vergleich mit den anderen Möglichkeiten gegebenenfalls eine Hypothese über stilistische Absichten des Autors zuordnen kann. Wichtig ist ebenso, dass ein virtuelles Textmerkmal nur dann Stilqualität erlangen kann, wenn es im Rezeptionsvorgang vom Leser/Hörer bemerkt und durch seine Reaktion aktualisiert wird. Stil wird daher aufgefasst als *‘das Resultat aus der Auswahl des Autors aus den konkurrierenden Möglichkeiten des Sprachsystems und der Rekonstituierung durch den textrezipierenden Leser’* (Spillner 1974a, 64). Somit ergeben sich Stileffekte erst durch das Wechselspiel zwischen den im Text kodierten Folgen der durch den Autor getroffenen Auswahl und der Reaktion durch den Leser. Stil ist daher keine statische, ein für allemal unveränderlich festgelegte Erscheinung an Texten, sondern eine virtuelle Qualität, die im Kommunikationsprozess (d.h. bei der Textrezeption) rekonstruiert werden muss. Am Text erkennbar sind lediglich die Folgen der einmal erfolgten Auswahl durch den Autor und die Voraussetzungen für die durch die Leseerwartung determinierte Reaktion des Lesers.

Für die Methodik der Stilanalyse ergeben sich aus dieser Auffassung von Stil eine Reihe wichtiger Konsequenzen. Zunächst einmal gilt es, nicht nur den Text zu berücksichtigen, sondern die Autoren- und Rezipientenseite des Kommunikationsprozesses mitsamt ihren pragmatischen Bedingungen in die Analyse einzubeziehen. Für die Autorensseite bedeutet dies, systematisch oder auch nur exemplarisch diejenigen sprachlichen Alternativen zu ermitteln, die dem Autor – bei nahezu gleichem semantischen Informationsgehalt – zur Verfügung standen. Methodische Schritte bei der Analyse der Autorensseite sind also das Sammeln vorhandener Textvarianten, die Rekonstruktion konkurrierender Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten durch Paraphrasierungen der Textfassung und der Vergleich der vom Autor gewählten Fassung mit den anderen Realisierungsmöglichkeiten im Hinblick auf Stilintentionen und virtuelle Stileffekte. Wichtiger für die Stilanalyse sind Aussagen über virtu-

elle Stileffekte, da diese an Lesergruppen getestet werden können. Gegebenenfalls lässt sich aber auch die unterschiedliche stilistische Wirkung konkurrierender Textfassungen experimentell an Lesergruppen testen. Diese Überprüfung von Aussagen über virtuelle Stileffekte führt bereits zu den Methoden der Analyse der Rezipientenseite. Wenn der kommunikative Ansatz in der Stilanalyse ernst genommen werden soll, muss die Rezipientenseite mit einbezogen werden. Daraus ergibt sich aber auch, dass der Stil eines Textes je nach Lesergruppe prinzipiell unterschiedlich sein kann. Die hier skizzierte Stilkonzeption steht nicht allein. Inzwischen wurde für die Stilanalyse eine Methode vorgeschlagen, die sowohl die Produktions- als auch die Rezeptionsseite des Kommunikationsprozesses einbezieht (vgl. Antos 1984, 19ff).

4.5. Quantitative Analyseverfahren für eine Stiltypologie

In der literaturwissenschaftlichen Stilforschung ist vielfach versucht worden, Stil zu differenzieren und typologisch zu klassifizieren. Auch in der Registertheorie (vgl. Art. 23) gibt es Ansätze, Stiltypen auszugrenzen. Diese Versuche gehen aber nicht über die aus Wörterbüchern geläufige Stilmarkierung von Lexemen nach einem zweidimensionalen Schichtenmodell hinaus. Hierbei werden Wörterbucheinträge üblicherweise nach einer Stilskala eingestuft, die etwa von *literarisch*, *gehoben* über *umgangssprachlich* bis zu *familiär* und *vulgär* reicht. Von der Stiltheorie her ist dies kaum ein Fortschritt gegenüber der bis in die Antike zurückreichenden Lehre von den drei Stillagen (vgl. Spillner 1974a, 46f), die es erlaubt, Lexeme, aber auch grammatische Konstruktionen stilistisch zu klassifizieren, z.B.:

Hohe Stilebene	<i>Antlitz</i>	<i>Ross</i>
Mittlere Stilebene	<i>Gesicht</i>	<i>Pferd</i>
Niedere Stilebene	<i>Fresse, Visage</i>	<i>Gaul</i>

Über eine solche stilistische Lexemklassifikation hinaus sind bislang nur geringe Ansätze für eine Stiltypologie entwickelt worden. Gemeinhin werden nur antagonistische Stiltendenzen unterschieden, z.B. *Nominalstil* vs. *Verbalstil*, *parataktischer* vs. *hypotaktischer* Stil, *variierter* vs. *monotoner* Stil, *impressionistischer* vs. *expressionistischer* Stil usw. Die meisten dieser Termini entstammen der literaturwissenschaftlichen Interpretation und entbehren bislang ebenso

wie die häufig genannten Stilprinzipien (*Anschaulichkeit, Klarheit, Spannung*) einer linguistischen Beschreibung. Auch eine linguistische Einteilung in Stiltypen wie *loose, balanced* und *tight* (Hendricks 1981, 47) dürfte lediglich heuristischen Wert für die Stildidaktik haben. Die Stilistik wird dafür andere Methoden einsetzen müssen als das von Spitzer (1948, 27) empfohlene Verfahren wiederholter Textlektüre.

Solche Methoden sind bereits vor längerer Zeit von der quantitativen bzw. statistischen Stilanalyse (vgl. u. a. Fucks 1955; Bailey/Doležel 1968; Pieper 1969; de Kock 1981) vorgeschlagen worden. Dabei wird versucht, aufgrund rein formaler, messbarer bzw. zählbarer Textmerkmale den Stil literarischer Autoren abzugrenzen oder Epochenstile, Gattungsstile, Textsortenstile zu typologisieren. Die auf solchen rein formalen Parametern (z. B. Satzlänge, Häufigkeit von Wortarten, Verteilung von Konjunktion, Frequenz von Komposita, Verb-Substantiv-Relation, Wortwiederholung) beruhenden quantitativen Stiluntersuchungen haben erstaunlich gute Ergebnisse bei der Autorenzuweisung anonymer literarischer Texte und innerhalb der forensischen Linguistik bei der Texturheberschaftsermittlung erbracht. Eine operationalisierbare Verbindung der qualitativ interpretierenden Stilanalyse mit quantitativen Methoden der formalen Stilkonzeption ist bislang nicht geleistet.

4.6. Pragmatische und semiotische Ansätze

Die in den letzten Jahrzehnten erfolgte Ausweitung des linguistischen Objektbereiches hat auch Konsequenzen für die Stilistik gehabt. Durch die textlinguistische Umorientierung der Stilanalyse werden weniger isolierte Stilzüge oder Stilfiguren ermittelt, sondern verstärkt makrostilistisch im Textzusammenhang beschrieben. In pragmatisch orientierten Stilkonzeptionen (vgl. Püschel [1973] 1980; Sandig 1978; 1986; Rehbein 1981) werden zunehmend Produktionsbedingungen und die soziale Geltung von Stil diskutiert. Soweit solche Parameter nicht bereits in kommunikativ orientierten Stiltheorien entwickelt wurden, wird auf Ansätze der Funktionalstilistik und der Registertheorie zurückgegriffen. In pragmatischen Stiltheorien wird häufig nicht *Stil* analysiert, sondern *Stile*, d. h. sozial, pragmatisch differenzierte Subsysteme der Sprache. Auch die Erweiterung des Textbegriffes auf mehrere Zeichensysteme hat zu einer Öffnung von

Stiltheorie und Stilanalysemethoden geführt. Multimediale Texte (z. B. Comics, Fotoromane, Bilderbücher, Filme, Fachbücher mit Illustrationen, Werbeanzeigen, Opernarien) erfordern eine semiotisch fundierte Stilkonzeption (siehe Klinkenberg 1985; Spillner 1995). Damit lässt sich gewährleisten, auch solche Texte stilistisch zu beschreiben, an denen neben verbalen Zeichen auch nonverbale Informationen beteiligt sind (z. B. visuelle Darstellungen, Gestik, Musik, oder sogar olfaktorische Elemente). Durch semiotisch abgesicherte Analysemethoden wird die Stilistik in die Lage versetzt, auch Texte aus mehreren Zeichensystemen stilistisch zu beschreiben.

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23. Register/Register

1. Forschungsgeschichte des Begriffs
2. Systematisierung des Begriffs:
Sprachgebrauch oder situationsspezifische Varietät?
3. Perspektiven
4. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Forschungsgeschichte des Begriffs

1.1. Kontextspezifische Diskursgestalt nach Halliday

Der Registerbegriff geht in der modernen Linguistik auf die sprachtheoretische Perspektive in den fünfziger Jahren (vgl. Firth 1968) zurück: Im Unterschied zum amerikanischen Strukturalismus postulierte dieser einen Bedeutungsbegriff, in dem sprachliche Zeichen in direkter Abhängigkeit von der Situation und dem Kontext analysiert werden. Als Belege für seine Bedeutungsanalyse wählte er „Restricted Languages“: Sprechakte aus den so genannten Redewendungen aus der Regelung des Luftverkehrs, die Wetterberichte, die Glückwunschkarten/-sendungen, spielbegleitende simplifizierte Register (Skat, Schach, Bridge). Bei seinen Beispielen ist die unauflösbare Verbindung von Kontext und sprachlich-kommunikativen Mustern evident. Firth geht es um eine *inte-*

grierte Theorie der Bedeutung, in die die *Sprachbenutzer* und ihr *Sprachgebrauch* zu gleichen Teilen eingehen sollen. Der Begriff des *Registers* wurde zuerst vom Firth-Schüler Reid (1956) benutzt. Seine erste begriffliche und theoretische Ausarbeitung erfuhr er in Halliday, McIntosh & Stevens (1964), einem Buch zur angewandten Linguistik. Die Grundidee dieses Aufsatzes, dem Begriff *Dialekt* die Dimension *Sprachbenutzer* und dem des *Registers* die Dimension *Sprachgebrauch* zugrunde zu legen, wird in Halliday (1978) geleistet. Der Register-Begriff ist hier einer der tragenden Pfeiler der Halliday-schen Konzeption von Soziolinguistik. Im Unterschied zum *Dialekt* (Varietät der *Sprachbenutzer*) ist ‚Register‘ eine Varietät des *Sprachgebrauchs* (Halliday 1978). „The dialect is what a person speaks, determined by who he is; the register is what a person is speaking, determined by what he is doing at the time“ (110). Unter verschiedenen Definitionsversuchen für ‚Register‘ ist die folgende prototypisch: „A register can be defined as the configuration of semantic resources that a member of a culture typically associates with the situation type. It is the meaning potential that is accessible in a given social context. Both the situation and

the register associated with it can be described to varying degrees of specificity; but the existence of registers is a fact of everyday experience – speakers have no difficulty in recognizing the semantic options and combinations that are ‘at risk’ under particular environmental conditions. Since these options are realized in the form of grammar and vocabulary, the register is recognizable as a particular selection of words and structures.” (111) *Register* sind nach Halliday semantisch und grammatisch definierte Varietäten differenziert nach situativen Kontexten. Typen von Sprechsituationen können nach folgenden Kriterien unterschieden werden: „First, what is actually taking place; secondly, who is taking part; and thirdly, what part the language is playing. These three variables, taken together, determine the range within which meanings are selected and the forms which are used for their expression. In other words, they determine the ‘register’.” (Halliday 1978, 31. Drei Parameter erlauben die Vorhersage der linguistischen Ausprägungen des ‚Registers‘ auf einem Kontinuum: (1) (*Diskursives*) *Sprachgebrauchsfeld*, (2) (‚Tenor‘) und (3) *Diskursmodus*.

Diese drei Größen aktivieren bestimmte „networks of semantic options“ (a.a.O 123). Zu (1) Mit den Typen unserer Handlungen variiert auch die Sprache (unterschiedliche lexikalische und grammatische Muster). Das diskursive Feld ist in erster Linie ein Handlungsfeld: Bei der Tätigkeit *Fußball* (Hauptthema) kann über das Wetter gesprochen werden (Unterthema ‚Meteorologie‘), ohne das gegenwärtige Tätigkeitfeld zu beeinträchtigen. Diskursstil(‚Tenor‘)

Hierunter ist zunächst das Medium der Kommunikation zu verstehen: schriftlich vs. mündlich; dabei wird die Vertrautheit der Interaktionspartner untereinander als Ausdruck von Stilausprägungen (formell vs. informell) berücksichtigt. Typisch sind hierfür institutionelle Rollenverhältnisse wie z. B. Lehrer vs. Schüler, Eltern vs. Kinder, Arzt vs. Patient, Verkäufer vs. Käufer, etc. Institutionelle Rollenbeziehungen qualifiziert Halliday als „stabilized patterns of the tenor of discourse“ (222). In der pragmatischen Forschung würde man hier von kommunikativen Gebrauchsmustern sprechen, denen jeweils ein Musterwissen zugeordnet werden kann. Diskursmodus

Hiermit ist die mediale (schriftlich vs. mündlich) und die rhetorische Gestaltung

des Diskurses gemeint: Ein „particular rhetorical channel“ (222) wird gewählt, um als Lehrer, Arzt oder Dichter zu sprechen, etc. Funktionen der Erzählung sind von solchen der Instruktion zu unterscheiden etc. Schließlich würde es auch zum Diskursmodus gehören, ob die Äußerungen *ego*-bezogen (Sprecherbetonung) oder *alter*-bezogen (Hörerbetonung) organisiert sind. Zusammenfassend meint der dem Orgelspielen entlehnte Begriff *Register* im Sinne dieser Hallidayschen Konzeption: Kongruenz zwischen einer situativen Ausprägung (Parameter auf einem Kontinuum), einem Diskursmodus (Medium der Kommunikation, kommunikative Gattung), einer Befindlichkeitsebene (‚Tenor‘) und in die Kommunikation involvierter sozialer Rollen (institutionelle und gruppenspezifische Rollenbeziehungen). Diese vier Parameter schlagen sich formalsprachlich in der grammatischen und pragmatischen Diskursorganisation nieder. Diese Grundzüge der Hallidayschen Konzeption wurden, trotz aller Kritik im einzelnen, als Kern des soziolinguistischen Registerbegriffs bis heute beibehalten.

1.2. Simplifizierte Varietäten nach Ferguson

Inspiziert durch Firth („restricted languages“) und Halliday (Theorie situativen Sprachgebrauchs) widmete sich Ferguson (1977) der Beschreibung vereinfachter Sprachgebrauchssysteme, die das Ergebnis erheblicher Unterschiede im sprachlichen Wissen (‚motherese‘, ‚Babyregister‘ oder ‚foreigner talk‘, Fremdenregister) oder im situativen/kontextspezifischen Wissen (‚sport announcer talk‘, Sportberichterstatte) darstellen. Im Falle (a), dem Baby- oder Fremdenregister, passen sich Erwachsene/Eltern sprachlich an Kleinkinder oder Muttersprachler an Nichtmuttersprachler durch Vereinfachung (Lexikon, Grammatik, hyperkorrekte Artikulation) an. Die Verständigungseffizienz hat höchste Priorität. Die sprachlichen Vereinfachung werden taxonomisch mit Hilfe von linguistischen Merkmallisten beschrieben. Roche (1989) hat Fergusons Registerbegriff auf der Grundlage einer eigenen empirischen Untersuchung zum Fremdenregister aus diskursanalytischer Sicht kritisiert. Roche findet eine *heterogene*, pragmatisch bedingte Variation in den diskursiven Ausprägungen von Fremdenregistern vor und führt eine Grundlagenforschung zu situativen interaktiven und pragmatischen Parametern durch.

Einen Überblick über die frankophone Erforschung des Registerbegriffs geben Ager (1990) und Sanders (1993). Der französische Begriff *registre* wurde in den 70er Jahren geprägt und unterscheidet sogenannte *Niveaux de langue: Populaire, familier, courant, soutenu, académiquelittéraire*. Man unterscheidet diese Niveaus nach dem Grad der Formalität der Sprechsituation. Das *vulgäre* Französische ist offenbar durch erhebliche grammatische Normverstöße gekennzeichnet; mit *niveau familier* ist die Alltagssprache zwischen vertrauten Personen gemeint (z.B. würde man sagen *Tu peux me donner un conseil?* anstelle von *Peux-tu me donner un conseil?*). Das *niveau courant* läßt sich als durchschnittliche Umgangssprache verstehen (Frageform: *Est-ce-que tu peux me donner un conseil?*) Schließlich wird in dem anspruchsvollen, pretentiösen Sprachstil (*soutenu*) die Inversion verlangt: *Peux-tu me donner un conseil?* Das höchste Niveau, der akademische oder literarische Sprachgebrauch, verlangt bestimmte konventionelle Formeln der französischen Klassik. Eine Übersicht über Merkmale der *niveaux de langue* findet sich in Sanders (1993, 33). Die französische ‚Register‘-Forschung stellt den *Diskursstil* in das Zentrum einer Stillagenbeschreibung. Die soziologischen Korrelate bleiben vage, die sprachlichen Eigenschaften von Registern sind soziolinguistisch unzureichend beschrieben.

2. Systematisierung des Begriffs: Sprachgebrauch oder situationsspezifische Varietät?

Nach Arrivé, Gadet und Galmiche (1986, 597–600) sind Register auf dem Niveau der Phonetik (Liaisons, Harmonisierung der Vokale etc.), der Prosodie (Stimmführung, Pausen und Verzögerungen), des Lexikons (Synonyme auf einer Zielebene) und der Syntax (*Relativpronomina* und *Fragesätze* wie *Quand c'est ti qu'i vient?*) bestimmt. Gerade unter dem Gesichtspunkt der systematischen Eigenschaften gesprochener Sprache scheint den genannten Autoren die bisherige Einteilung der Register nach *niveaux de langue* fragwürdig (*langue populaire* hat als Kriterium soziale Schicht, *langue familière* bezieht sich jedoch auf eine Situation). Die Autoren fordern eine systematische Varietätenbestimmung und -einordnung. Während in der francophonen Forschung *Register* ein

wichtiger soziolinguistischer Begriff ist, hat sich in der deutschsprachigen Forschung in den letzten Jahren der Begriff *sozialer Stil* durchgesetzt (vgl. Dittmar 1997, 222ff). In Anlehnung an die ethnographischen Arbeiten von John Gumperz werden *Stile* auf der Folie von ‚*contextualization cues*‘ als Kongruenzen zwischen gruppenspezifischen Faktoren, prosodisch markierten Befindlichkeiten (Diskursmodi), situativen Rahmenbedingungen und sprachlichen Kodierungen/Mitteln betrachtet Hinnenkamp und Selting (1989) und Dittmar (1995 a; b). Im Unterschied zum francophonen und anglophonen Registerbegriff wird Stil auf der Folie des Konversationsanalytischen Ansatzes verstanden, d.h. Stile verändern sich im Laufe der dynamischen Interaktion. Die germanophone Stilforschung geht somit einem grundlagentheoretischen Problem nach, das auch für die Bestimmung des Begriffs ‚Register‘ relevant ist: Die pragmatischen Parameter zu isolieren, die die Dynamik der Kommunikation im Verlauf der Interaktion steuern und damit wesentlichen Einfluss ausüben auf die *Sequenzbildung im Diskurs, die Wahl sprachlicher Mittel* und *Synchronisierung der Interaktionspartner in der wechselseitigen Rede*.

Bei der Frage nach der Rolle des Begriff *Register* ist seine Einbettung des Begriffs in beispielsweise eine soziolinguistische Theorie oder in die Varietätenlinguistik von Bedeutung. Halliday (1978) geht es um die Beantwortung zweier Fragen:

- (1) Welchen Bezug hat der Begriff *Register* zu anderen Varietäten im Varietätenkontinuum?
- (2) Welchen Bezug hat er zur Sozialstruktur?

Nach Gregory (1967) sind *dialektale Varietäten* durch soziale Merkmale der *Sprecher* in Gebrauchssituationen markiert. *Diatypische Varietäten* sind demgegenüber durch Merkmale des *Gebrauchs* durch Sprechen in Situationen gekennzeichnet. Der Unterschied zwischen diatypischen und dialektalen Varietäten liegt in dem Bezug zur Situation, zum Kontext und zu Stilniveaus (vgl. die Tabelle in Halliday 1978, 225). Gregorys (1967) Unterscheidungen von *diatypischen* Varietäten (situative Gebrauchsmerkmale) und *dialektalen* Varietäten (Sprechermerkmale) macht sich Halliday (1978, 35) in Form der Abb. 23.1 zu eigen:

Table 1 Varieties in language

Dialect ('dialectal variety') = variety 'according to the user'	Register ('diatypic variety') = variety 'according to the user'
A dialect is: what you speak (habitually) determined by who you are (socio-region of origin and/or adoption), and expressing diversity of social structure (patterns of social hierarchy)	A register is: what you are speaking (at the time) determined by what you are doing (nature of social activity being engaged in), and expressing diversity of social process (social division of labour)
So in principle dialects are: different ways of saying the same thing and tend to differ in: phonetics, phonology, lexicogrammar (but not in semantics)	So in principle registers are: ways of saying different things and tend to differ in: semantics (and hence in lexicogrammar, and sometimes phonology, as realization of this)
Extreme cases: antilinguages, mother-in-law languages	Extreme cases: restricted languages, languages for special purposes
Typical instances: subcultural varieties (standard/nonstandard)	Typical instances: occupational varieties (technical, semitechnical)
Principal controlling variables: social class, caste; provenance (rural/urban); generation; age; sex	Principal controlling variables: field (type of social action); tenor (roles relationships); mode (symbolic organization)
Characterized by: strongly-held attitudes towards dialects as symbol of social diversity	Characterized by: major distinctions of spoken/written; language in action/language in reflection

Abb. 23.1: Dialektale und diatypische Varietäten (aus Halliday 1978, 35)

Dialekt wird mehr mit *Habitus* assoziiert, während Register die Vielfalt sozialer Prozesse (z. B. die soziale Arbeitsteilung) situationsbezogen ausdrückt. Die Kontrollvariablen des Dialekts sind soziale Schicht, lokale Herkunft, Alter oder Geschlecht, die des Registers demgegenüber *Diskursfeld*, *Diskursstil* und *Diskursmodus* (vgl. oben). Dialekte unterscheiden sich des Weiteren durch Bewertungen, die mit ihnen assoziiert werden; Register sind durch mediale und handlungs-/kontextspezifische Parameter determiniert.

Die Abb. 23.2 (Halliday 1978, 69) illustriert, welcher Zusammenhang zwischen sozialen Systemen und Texten in Situationen besteht; sie können unterdifferenziert werden in *Kodes* (Prinzipien semiotischer Zeichenorganisation, die durch soziale Schicht, familiäre Rollensysteme und Status-Rollenbeziehungen bestimmt werden), soziale Dialekte (geographisch, aber auch durch die soziale Schicht bestimmt) und Register (abhängig vom kulturellen Kontext, Situationstypen und sozialen Kontexten). Das von Halliday ausgearbeitete Konzept haben sei-

ne Schüler an moderne Vorstellungen des Zusammenspiels von Syntax, Semantik und Pragmatik anzupassen versucht. In der Festschrift für Halliday spezifiziert, schreibt einer seiner Gregory (1988) in „systemische Perspektive“ Aufsatz den Zusammenhang von Register und „generische Situation“: „I postulate generic situation as well as register in order to organize what can be generalized about ‚particular environmental conditions‘ whatever channel of communicational selection by people to exchange the messages, the knowledge as a function of living, as social fact“ (1988, 315). Gregory unterscheidet zwischen Wissens- u. Sprachkontexten, die sich in unterschiedlicher Weise auf in der Interaktion ausgedrückte Erfahrungen, auf die Beziehung der Interaktionspartner und auf das Medium der Kommunikation beziehen lassen. Diese Bezüge lassen sich wiederum in den Hallidayschen Begriffen der „ideational function“ (field), interpersonal function (tenor) und textual function (mode) Konzeptualisieren (Gregory 1988, 313). In den neunziger Jahren ist der *Regis-*

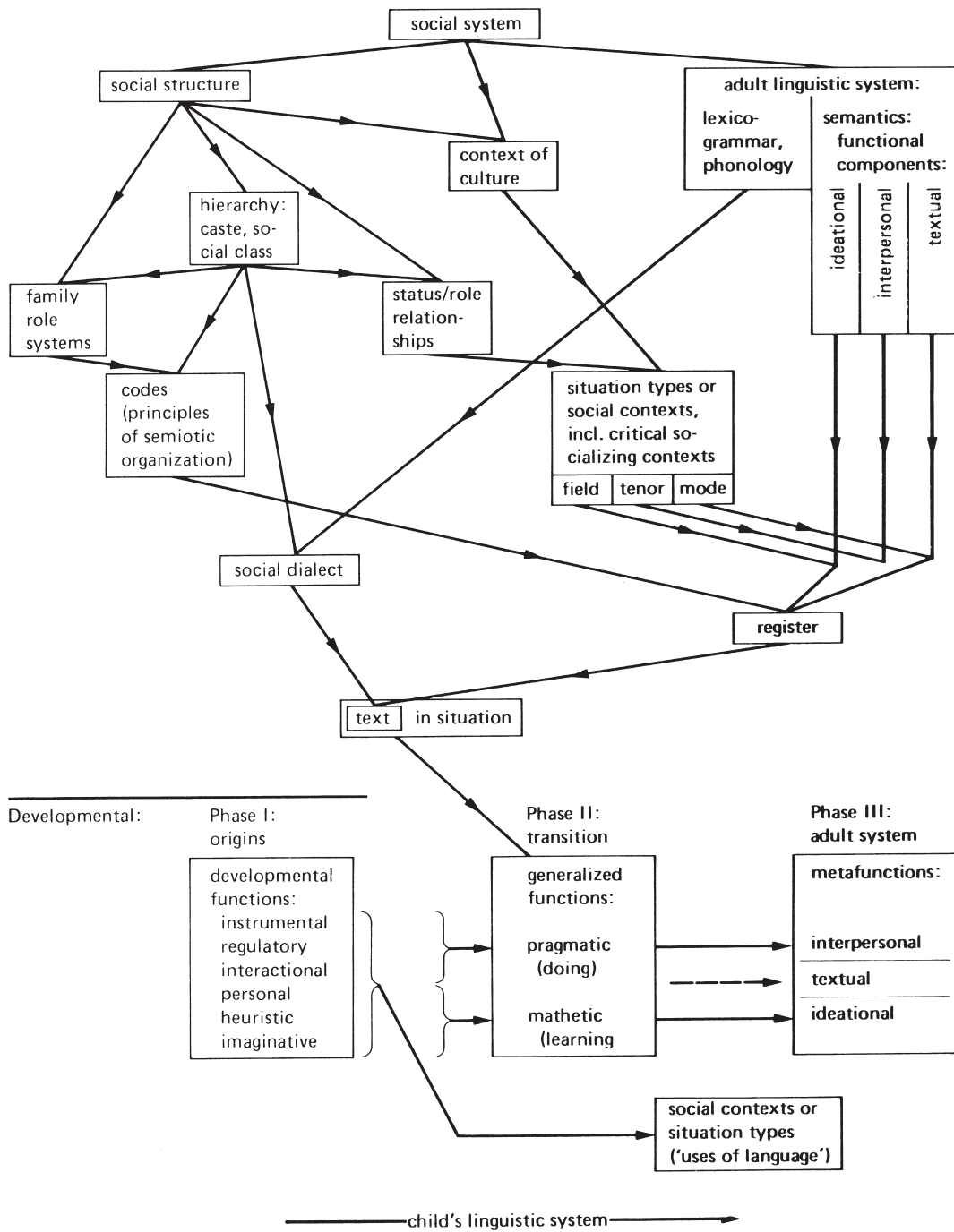


Abb. 23.2: Schematische Darstellung von Sprache als soziale Semiotik und die Art des kindlichen Zugangs zu ihr (aus Halliday 1978, 69)

ter-Begriff in der soziolinguistischen Forschung durch den von Biber und Finegan herausgegebenen Sammelband *“Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register”* (1994) belebt worden. Der diskursbezogene Ansatz korreliert situative mit sozialer Variation und entwickelt ein Beschreibungsraster zum Vergleich von Registertypen im Rahmen eines Repertoires von Sprachgemeinschaften. Theoretisch werden die Abgrenzungen von Register zu Stil, Gattung, Texttyp und Dialekt vorgenommen. In einem Essay zur Geschichte der Soziolinguistik gehen Biber und Finegan den Gründen nach, warum der „context of situation“, von dem Malinowski schon 1923 redete, und die theoretischen Essays zur situativen Sprachvariation von Firth aus dem Jahre 1935 (vgl. Firth 1968) in der neueren Forschung vernachlässigt wurden – von Halliday’s Konzept einmal abgesehen. Die Registerkonzeption wird rehabilitiert, empirische Forschung in neuem Lichte gesehen und eine begriffliche Differenzierung zwischen *Register*, *Stil* und *Gattung* vorgenommen. Als theoretische und methodische Grundlage und Orientierung gilt für neuere amerikanische Forschungen der Aufsatz von Biber (1994) „An analytical framework for register studies“. Anknüpfend an Arbeiten von Hymes, Halliday und anderen fordert Biber in „An analytical framework for register studies“ eine explizite, operationalisierbare Registerkonzeption, mit der empirische Forschung durchgeführt werden kann. Auf der Folie taxonomischer und quantitativer Soziolinguistik Labov’scher Prägung soll eine explizite Methodik der Registerbeschreibung *sprachliche* und *situative* Parameter isolieren. Zwei Typen linguistischer Beschreibungen sind zu trennen: (a) die *Registermarker*, welche diskurslinguistische distinktive Merkmale einzelner Register erfassen; (b) die quantitative Beschreibung einzelner linguistischer Variablen oder Merkmale wie z. B. Nomina, Pronomina, Nebensätze etc. Die situativen Parameter, mit denen die sprachlichen korreliert werden sollen, werden als „open ended parameters“ bezeichnet. Zu diesen mehrdimensionalen Parametern gehören *schriftlich* vs. *mündlich*, *Formalität* vs. *Informalität*, *Texttypen* etc.; lexikalische und grammatische Kernmerkmale werden als trennscharfe Indikatoren von Registerdifferenzen gewertet. Solchen Indikatoren werden funktionale registerdifferenzierende Eigenschaften zugeordnet. In empirischen

Untersuchungen wurde zunächst eine kleine Anzahl signifikant registerdifferenzierender Merkmale identifiziert. Ein zentraler Analysebegriff ist der der Kookkurrenz: Er ist eine Art Kohäsionsindikator. Halliday (1978, 162) definiert in diesem Sinne Register als „A cluster of associated features having a greater – than – random ... tendency to co – occur“. Biber gibt der Kookkurrenz in seiner Registerkonzeption eines multidimensionalen Ansatzes einen formalen Status. Sprachliche Variation ist mehrdimensional und muss auf einem Kontinuum skaliert werden; Kookkurrenzcluster werden, wenn sie als signifikant nachgewiesen werden können, als qualitative Indikatoren für zugrunde liegende Dimensionen betrachtet.

So entstehen Registerkonfigurationen, die aus unterschiedlichen quantitativen Ausprägungen der Kookkurrenz und der qualitativen Alternanz diskurslinguistischer Regelanwendungen bestehen: Der Grad der Textkohärenz kann recht verschieden ausfallen: Persönliche Briefe sind in sich homogener als akademische Prosa. Um den Mangel an Theorie zu überwinden, schlägt Biber situative Parameter für die Variationsanalyse vor (Biber 1994, 40f)

- (1) kommunikative Qualifizierung der Teilnehmer (*Anredende*: Einzelne vs. Institutionen; *Adressierten*: selbst/andere; einzelne/mehrere; *Zuhörer*: ja vs. nein)
- (2) die Beziehungen zwischen Anredenden und Adressierten: soziale Rollenbeziehungen (Status und Macht; Ausmaß geteilten Wissens; Grad der Interaktivität; Qualität der persönlichen Beziehung).
- (3) situative Umstände (Merkmale und Besonderheiten des Kommunikationsortes; Ausmaß, in dem die örtlichen Gegebenheiten durch Interaktionsteilnehmer genutzt werden; Ausmaß, in dem die Teilnehmer Zeit untereinander teilen etc.).
- (4) Kanal (Wahl des Medium der Mitteilung): Dauerhaftigkeit: Medium der Übertragung/Fixierung von Mitteilungen/Texten; Art der Redekontexte bei spontanem Sprechen; Einbettung in den sozialen Kontext.
- (5) die Beziehung der Interaktionsteilnehmer zum Diskurs.
- (6) Zwecke, Intentionen, Ziele (Faktizität der Kommunikationsereignisse; Ziele der Kommunikation): Thema/Gegenstand der Rede; spezifischer Redegegenstand: Wissenschaft, Religion, Politik, Sport, Gesetzmäßigkeit, Alltagsaktivitäten etc.)

Die meisten dieser Parameter werden in Folge ihres taxonomischen Zuschnitts als wohldefinierte Konstrukte verstanden; eine Reihe von Größen werden als ‚offene‘ Größen bezeichnet (Biber 1994, 41) offene, noch genauer zu operationalisierende Größen. Die etablierten Operationalisierungen werden auf der Grundlage quantitativ differenzierender Signifikanz gewonnen – gemessen an dem hohen Standard moderner pragmatischer Forschung eher oberflächliche Kategorisierungen. Als Beispiel für diese Konzeption mag die Studie von Biber (1988) für 481 Texte, differenziert nach vier situativen Parametern dienen. Es werden von Biber unterschieden: (1) Modus (Sprechen oder Schreiben), (2) Interaktivität (interaktiv oder nicht), (3) Umstände der sprachlichen Produktion (wiedergegeben/revidiert, geplant, spontan) und zweckspezifische Informativität (hoch, mittel, niedrig). Die Variablen (1) und (2) sind dichotom, die Variablen (3) und (4) umfassen 3 Parameter (vgl. Abb. 23.2). Sechs Register werden in der Tabelle unterschieden und für die 4 situativen Größen distinktiv bestimmt. Danach hat zum Beispiel die (informelle) Konversation von Angesicht zu Angesicht das Profil 1 – 1 – 1 – 1, während der Zeitungsartikel das Profil 0 – 0 – 3 – 3 hat (die diskreten Kategorien wirken sich hier offenbar recht unterschiedlich aus). Die 4 Parameter hat Biber nun mit den morphosyntaktischen Variablen *Kontraktion* (Zusammenziehung der Kopulaform und des ihr unmittelbar folgenden Morphems), Tilgungen des Indefinitpronomens *that*, dem *typetoken* – Verhältnis, den Präpositionalphrasen und den Diathesen (Passiv) korreliert. Eine Tabelle über die korrelativen Unterschiede findet sich in Biber 1994. Die Art der funktionalen soziolinguistischen Analyse unterscheidet sich wenig von der taxonomischen schichtspezifischen Forschung in den siebziger Jahren (vgl. Dittmar 1973), auch nicht von den quantitativen Studien, die Labov, Sankoff u. a. gemacht haben und lediglich in dem *Register*-Kontext auf Textmerkmale erweitert wurden. Bei *that* – Tilgungen sowie bei Kontraktionen wurde der jeweilige diskursive und textuelle Kontext nicht potentiell kategorienverändert einbezogen. *Metasoziolinguistischer Kommentar*: Die von Biber und Finegan vorgeschlagene Konzeption schließt an taxonomische Vorstellungen der quantitativen Soziolinguistik (quantitatives Paradigma nach Labov) an. Es geht um die Iso-

lierung von Variablen, deren Vorkommen in Textsorten und kommunikativen Gattungen (mündlich vs. schriftlich) erfasst werden. Hatte Labov keine Textsorten oder Gattungsspezifika unterschieden, sondern das Spektrum der Variation eher zwischen formaler und informeller Situation angesiedelt, so erfassen die Registeruntersuchungen mit dem Ansatz von Biber die Rede – bzw. Textproduktion in Korrelation mit operationalisierten situativen Parametern. Die Quantifizierung erfolgt auf dem Niveau der Nominal- oder der Ordinalskala. Bibers Konzeption hat den Anspruch, ein „comprehensive analytical“ (33) sowie ein „explicit situational framework“ (39) zu liefern und damit das varietätenspezifische Konzept ‚Register‘ in die soziolinguistische Theorie zu integrieren. Zu dieser quantitativen Position seien einige kritische Punkte angemerkt:

- (1) die pragmatische Erforschung von Gattungen, Diskurstypen, Textsorten etc. mit funktional – grammatischen und diskursspezifischen Instrumenten wird weitgehend ignoriert; insofern ist die taxonomische und quantitative Beschreibung (orientiert an Labov'schen Prinzipien der siebziger Jahre) eher konservativ. Ein Stück parole-systemischer Soziolinguistik liegt vor, die „Pragmatisierung“ der Linguistik der achtziger und neunziger Jahre ist an diesem Ansatz vorbeigegangen.
- (2) Ein methodisch erfolgversprechender Aspekt ist der Vergleich *mündlicher* und *schriftlicher* Sprachproduktionstypen; die soziolinguistische Erforschung medialer Unterschiede ist bisher zu kurz gekommen.
- (3) Unterschiede zwischen Registern (und zwischen Diskurstypen im Allgemeinen) sind je nach kommunikativer Aufgabe (Erzählung, Brief, Vorstellungsgespräch, Problemlösungsaufgabe etc.) in eine spezifische Abfolge kommunikativer Funktionen mit spezifischen sprachlichen Mitteln untergliedert. Für Erzählungen, Wegbeschreibungen, Wohnraumbeschreibungen, Bewerbungsgespräche etc. wurde dieser Form-Funktionszusammenhang in detaillierter und expliziter Weise nach dem Anteil textinterner und textexterner Parameter qualitativ herausgearbeitet. In solchen Beschreibungen wird der interaktiven Dynamik explizit Rechnung getragen. Die jeweiligen Betei-

ligungsperspektiven von Sprecher und Hörer sind berücksichtigt und schlagen sich in der Formulierung konstitutiver Regeln nieder. Reine Häufigkeitswerte linguistischer Variablen zeugen von einer statischen Auffassung von Diskurs/Text. Text- bzw. Redekonstitutionsdynamik muss jedoch Rechnung getragen werden. Außerdem wird das qualitative Zusammenspiel linguistischer Variablen mit anderen sprachlichen Größen des Kontextes vollkommen ignoriert. Die Beispiele in Biber (1994, 44–49), die Analyse koreanischer Register (Kim/Biber 1994) und die Übergangsstadien von Alphabetisierungsprozessen in Alphabetisierung in Somalia (Biber/Hared 1992) weisen beeindruckende Listen von Merkmalen zur Oberflächenkohäsion sowie zur Tiefendimension der Textkohäsion auf. Die Kohäsions- und Kohärenzmerkmale sind jedoch statistisch-statistischer Art (Durchschnittswerte), Bezüge zu einer pragmatischen Theorie der Textsorten/Kommunikativen Gattungen fehlen, Kriterien semantischer und pragmatischer Beschreibungsadäquatheit werden nicht diskutiert. Die Explikationen werden im Wesentlichen dichotomisch formuliert: *erzählend* vs. *nicht erzählend*, ‚offene‘ vs. implizite logische ‚Kohäsion‘ etc. Diese polaren Vereinfachungen ignorieren allerdings die pragmatisch differenzierten Ergebnisse zur Beschreibung von Diskurstypen und Textsorten. Wünschenswert ist hier die präzisere Formulierung des Zusammenhangs von grammatischen Variablen und pragmatischen Eigenschaften von Äußerungen.

3. Perspektiven

Nabrings diskutiert die „Register-Konzeption“ unter dem Gesichtspunkt *methodische Ansätze zur Erfassung innersprachlicher Variabilität* (Vorschlag von Coseriu). Die primäre Einordnungsinstanz für *Register* ist dann die situative Variation (diaphasische Dimension), die allerdings im Sinne Hallidays (1978) durch *diastatische* Faktoren markiert wird (soziale Rollen). Als Varietät „according to use“ steht sie den *funktionalen Stilen* nahe. Während jedoch Linguisten, die funktionale Stile untersuchen, geltend machen, daß es „eine kausale Beziehung zwischen der Funktion der Sprache und der hierfür entwickelten Sprachform gibt“

(Nabrings 1981, 200), ist der vom britischen Kontextualismus postulierte Zusammenhang zwischen sprachlichen Registern und Anwendungssituationen durch konventionelle lexikalische und diskursive festgelegt. Die funktional-stilistischen Komponenten der persönlichen Anschutzgestaltung *Zweckbestimmtheit* einer Varietät für einen Redegegenstand gelten eher als sekundäre Bestimmungsmerkmale. Der Schlüssel zum Verständnis dieses historisch gewachsenen, schulenspezifischen Unterschiedes liegt in der Firthschen Tradition der funktionalen Vernetzung sprachlicher Äußerungen mit dem sozialen Kontext. Der Ansatz von Halliday, McIntosh und Strevens (1964) zeigt die enge Verbindung der Registerkonzeption mit der *Angewandten Linguistik*. Der Terminus eignet sich im Kontext des Fremdsprachenlernens für die Beobachtung, dass Ausländer, die eine zweite fremde Sprache lernen, in bestimmten sozialen Situationen/verbalen Interaktionen mit Muttersprachlern *qua soziale Rollen* kontextbedingte Fehler machen bzw. Stile kontextbezogen unangemessen benutzen. Die in schriftlichen als auch mündlichen Diskursen manifesten Abweichungen (*errors*) lassen darauf schließen, dass Register Ausdruck einer engen Verbindung zwischen *Sprecher*, *Situation* und *Sprachgebrauch* darstellen. Im sogenannten kommunikativen Ansatz des Fremdsprachenunterrichts haben die Untersuchungen von Halliday und anderen einen fruchtbaren Niederschlag gefunden. In der Tat zweifelt kaum ein Linguist daran, dass die Art, wie ein Musikprofessor seinen Schüler in Cello unterrichtet, ein Register darstellt, in dem bestimmte Termini in einer an die Tätigkeit angepassten Weise eine sprachlich-diskursive Ausprägung erfahren. Die angewandte Linguistik hat somit Stoff zur Festlegung des Register-Begriffs geliefert. Grundlage bildet das Verständnis von Register als durch *Rollen*, *Situation* und *Redegegenstand* festgelegte konventionelle Gebrauchsmuster. Daher unterscheiden sich die Forschungsrichtungen, die sich explizit oder implizit mit Registerbeschreibungen befassen, darin, ob die Dimensionen *Sprecher qua soziale Rollen*, *Situationen qua institutionelle* oder *gruppenspezifische Konstellationen* und *Thema/Redegegenstand qua Tätigkeitsfeld* als verzahnte, unteilbare Komponenten eines Zusammenspiels gesehen werden oder als isolierbare Faktorenbündel.

- (1) Die von Ferguson initiierten Beschreibungen simplifizierter Register werden in unterschiedlichen methodischen Orientierungen fortgeführt. Das Eltern-Kleinkind-Register würde in diskurspragmatischer Differenziertheit unter dem Bezugsbegriff ‚motherese‘ weit über die grammatischen Merkmale hinaus semantisch und pragmatisch detailliert beschrieben. In quantitativer textlinguistischer Perspektive wurde das Sportberichterstatregister untersucht (vgl. Simmler, Handbuchaufsatz). Roche untersuchte in einem kontextsensitiven diskurslinguistischen Ansatz (sogenannter ‚quästiv-Ansatz‘, vgl. Klein & von Steutterheim) die qualitative pragmatische Variation von Fremdenregistern. Gemeinsam ist diesen neueren Untersuchungen, dass sie die eher engen Fesseln des Registerbegriffs verlassen und sich einem pragmatisch fundierten interaktionalen Ansatz zugewandt haben.
- (2) Stilistischen oder interkulturellen/ethischen Fehlleistungen, die ja von Halliday et al. (1964) mithilfe des Registerbegriffs erfasst werden sollten, wendet sich Gumperz mit seinem Ansatz der Kontextualisierung zu. Im Rahmen dieses Ansatzes untersuchen viele Forscher Missverständnisse in der NS-NMS-Kommunikation oder kulturspezifische Unterschiede in der Realisierung von Gebrauchsmustern in kommunikativen Gattungen (vgl. Birkner 2001, Kern 2001). Unterschiedliches pragmatisches Musterwissen, verschiedene Routinen im Rückgriff auf Gesten und Prosodie, unterschiedliche kommunikative Formeln und Sprachgebrauchsmuster führen zu solchen Missverständnissen. Diese interkulturellen Unterschiede könnte man im Lichte der Registerforschung interpretieren, der Begriff ‚Register‘ wird allerdings aufgrund seiner systemlinguistischen Vorgaben und Restriktionen nicht verwendet.
- (3) Ehlich und Rehbein haben in vielen Arbeiten die Funktion *kommunikativer* Muster in der institutionellen Kommunikation untersucht. Die Interaktion zwischen Lehrern und Schülern, Richtern, Verteidigern und Zeugen bei Gerichtsprozessen, von Ausländern und Einheimischen in Arbeitsprozessen, von Arzt und Patient in der Institution Krankenhaus wurde unter Rückgriff auf soziale und institutionelle Rollen und die konkrete Situation im sprachlich-kommunikativen Ablauf in Form von Sequenzen und Sprachgebrauchsmustern exemplarisch beschrieben. Der Begriff *Musterwissen* ist auf kognitive Prozesse bezogen (psycholinguistische Grundlage), demgegenüber Registerbeschreibungen Oberflächenbeschreibungen sind. Umsetzung und Austausch erfolgen nach pragmatischen Prinzipien der Interaktion; aus der Sicht der fokussierten linguistischen Beschreibungsebenen werden bei der ‚Register‘-Analyse nur systemische, im wesentlichen lexikalisch-grammatische Variablen (unter Einbeziehung eingeschränkter semantischer Beziehungen der Kohäsion) herausgezogen. Demgegenüber sucht die Musteranalyse die interaktive Gestalt von Austauschprozessen als ein Ergebnis des Zusammenwirkens von Wissen und pragmatischen Funktionsparametern zu erfassen.
- (4) Varietätenlinguistik
Die Varietätenlinguistik (vgl. Nabrings 1981; Dittmar 1997; Wesch 1998) untersucht theoretisch und methodisch, in welcher Weise Register durch die der *diaphasische* oder die *diatristische* Dimension der Variation bzw. durch ihr differenziertes Zusammenwirken bestimmt ist. Blasco Ferrer (1990) sieht im *Grad der Formalität des Sprechens* das entscheidende Charakteristikum des Registerbegriffs. Für ihn gehört das Kontinuum *italiano popolare* bis hin zu *italiano standard* zu einer Abstufung von Registern. Dieser Ansatz ist stark an Labov orientieren. Die Frage, welchen Platz *Register* in dem Gefüge von bisher isolierten Varietäten einnehmen könnte (kurzum: wie sich die gleichzeitige Zugehörigkeit zu *diaphasisch* und *diatristisch* auflösen läßt), beschäftigt Berruto (1995); er diskutiert zwei mögliche interessante Perspektiven: Beide legen nahe, dass die diaphasische und die diatristische Dimension je nach soziolinguistischer Fragestellung primär und sekundär hierarchisch miteinander vernetzt sind: (a) Der *Erwerb* von Registern würde die Hypothese begünstigen, dass das Kind zunächst die diatopische Dimension erwirbt, dann die diatristische und schließlich erst situationsspezifische Unterschiede (Register) erlernen kann.

Wenn dies der Fall ist, würde es nahe liegen, eine hierarchische Relation *diatopisch* > *diastratisch* > *diaphasisch* zu formulieren. (b) Eine zweite Möglichkeit ist in dem Ansatz zu einer modularen Beschreibung von Variation in Wunderli (1992) zu sehen. Es gibt ein Modul der primären Manifestationsebene, das sich auf die Sprachbenutzer bezieht: Sie besteht aus zwei primären Achsen, der horizontalen diatopischen und der vertikalen diastratischen. Die primäre Manifestationsebene wird differenziert durch die Parameter der kommunikativen Situativität (diaphasische Dimension). Dieses zweite Modul strukturiert Wunderli nach den drei Parametern von Halliday: Gesprächsgegenstand („Feld“), Diskursmodus (etwas breiter verstanden als bei Halliday) und Diskursstil („Tenor“ bei Halliday; in der modernen soziolinguistischen Forschung der Unterschied zwischen formalen und informalen Stilen). Diese dann insgesamt fünf Dimensionen erlauben es nach Berruto, Sprachproduktionen auf den zwei Ebenen der Module zu klassifizieren. Der Gedanke der Integration der gegebenen Ebenen (hierarchische Struktur) ist durchaus weiterführend; nicht gelöst in dem Vorschlag von Wunderli (aufgegriffen durch Berruto) ist jedoch die interne Struktur des Moduls „diaphasische Dimension“. In der Tat ist es dringend geboten, pragmatische Grundlagenforschung in die Registerkonzeption zu integrieren, die den Zusammenhang von

- Sprachgebrauch und Situationstypen,
- Sprachgebrauch und sozialen/institutionellen Rollen,
- Sprachgebrauch und unterschiedlichen Gefühlslagen/Befindlichkeiten der Sprecher genauer zu erfassen erlaubt.

Es empfiehlt sich, bei der Untersuchung dieser drei grundlegenden Bereiche einen *skalaren* Ansatz zu verfolgen. Ein fruchtbares Konzept soziolinguistischer Registerforschung wurde in den achtziger und neunziger Jahren von Biber, Finegan u. a. in den USA entwickelt. Mediale und registertypspezifische signifikante Unterschiede wurden mittels grammatischer und semantischer Variablen ermittelt. Die systemischen Grundlagen von Halliday wurden somit in eine gehaltvolle Empirie umgesetzt. Damit öffnet sich die Soziolinguistik pragmatisch motiviertem situativen Sprachgebrauchs.

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24. Sprachrepertoire/Linguistic Repertoire

1. Konzeptuelle Grundlagen
2. Stil, Dialekt, Register
3. Konstruierungsmechanismen
4. Sprachwechsel, Sprachwahl und Sprachökologie
5. Sprachideologie und Sprachimperialismus
6. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Konzeptuelle Grundlagen

Der Begriff 'Repertoire' ist zunächst den Theater- bzw. Musikwissenschaften entnommen und bezeichnet im allgemeinen „die Gesamtheit der von einem Orchester, Theater oder Ensemble gespielten Stücke [...]"; ferner die von einem Künstler beherrschten Partien oder Rollen“ (*Der Musik Brockhaus* 1982, 490). Übertragen wir nun metaphorisch die Form künstlerischer Darbietungen auf die

allgemein menschliche Kommunikationsfähigkeit, so ist im linguistischen Sinne von 'Sprachrepertoire' (*linguistic/verbal repertoire*) die Rede bzw. von der Gesamtheit der sprachlichen Möglichkeiten, die einem Sprecher in spezifischen Situationskontexten zur Verfügung stehen. Diese mit Rollen und Situationen variierende Sprachverwendung setzt die kommunikative Kompetenz voraus, sich mittels stilistischer und dialektaler Sprachmittel situationsadäquat (registerspezifisch; vgl. Art. 23) zu verhalten bzw. zu artikulieren. In der Literatur findet sich der im Kompositum 'Sprachrepertoire' enthaltene Begriff 'Sprache' vielfach ersetzt durch die Bezeichnung anderer kommunikationsspezifischer Aspekte, i.e. 'Phonem-' bzw. 'Lall-Repertoire' im Erstspracherwerbskontext (Cutler 1997; Bosch

1994) oder 'vokales-' bzw. 'Lautrepertoire' in der Tierkommunikation (Jürgens 1986). Ferner finden sich die Begriffe 'personen-bezogenes' und 'kulturelles' Repertoire (Hymes 1974, 29; Extra/Verhoeven 1998); von 'kommunikativem Repertoire' ist die Rede, wenn parasprachliche und nonverbale Aspekte der Kommunikation berücksichtigt werden (Poyatos 1983).

'Repertoire' bezeichnet nicht nur die Kompetenzen monolingualer Sprecher, sondern auch im bilingualen Kontext sind die Aspekte des Sprachwechsels (*Code-Switching*) wie auch der Sprachwahl (*language choice*) bedeutsam. In diesem genannten Sinne wurde der Begriff 'Sprachrepertoire' (*linguistic repertoire*) zum ersten Mal von John Gumperz (1964, 137) verwendet. Im Wesentlichen wird konstatiert, dass Sprecher einem kontinuierlichen Prozess der Entscheidungsfindung ausgesetzt sind und dabei aus einem Repertoire sprachlicher Verwendungsweisen schöpfen können. Die Analyse des Sprachrepertoires eines Individuums oder einer Gemeinschaft lässt somit Rückschlüsse auf die Variationsmöglichkeiten im Sprachgebrauch zu.

Der Begriff 'Repertoire' lässt sich sowohl auf den individuellen Sprecher wie auch auf die sprachlichen Fertigkeiten einer Sprechergemeinschaft anwenden (J. Milroy/L. Milroy 1999). Insofern spricht man vom sprachlichen Repertoire einzelner Personen, z. B. Stilwechsel in der Performanz afro-amerikanischer *Drag Queens* (Barrett 1998) oder einzelner Mitglieder von Gruppen, z. B. *Jets, Cobras* (Labov 1972) oder auch vom (bilingualen) Repertoire einer städtischen Gemeinschaft, z. B. Montreal in Kanada (Poplack 1988). Die Analyse des Sprachrepertoires in allgemeinen soziolinguistischen Studien bzw. in Minoritätengesellschaften bedeutete gleichzeitig eine Aufwertung sozial benachteiligter Gruppen, die im Kontext einer strukturalistischen und generativen Auffassung von Sprache eher marginalisiert und ignoriert wurden.

Der Begriff 'Repertoire' und seine Anwendung auf die Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten von Sprechern ist somit im Kontext von Sprache in Wechselwirkung mit einer heterogen strukturierten Gesellschaft zu sehen. Es geht demnach nicht um die Beschreibung und Analyse homogener sprachlicher Systeme, sondern im Blickpunkt des Interesses steht etwa die Untersuchung stilistischer und grammatischer Variation und deren

Funktion im konkreten Gebrauch von Mitgliedern einer Sprachgemeinschaft. Um dieser engen Verzahnung von 'Repertoire' und 'Sprachgemeinschaft' Rechnung zu tragen, schlägt Kloss (1977, 228) den Terminus 'Repertoiregemeinschaft' (*repertoire community*) vor, welche somit ein gleiches bzw. ähnliches Repertoire unterschiedlicher Sprechweisen von Individuen innerhalb einer Gemeinschaft beinhaltet (vgl. Art. 14). In der deutschsprachigen einschlägigen Literatur findet sich diesbezüglich der Terminus *Sprechgemeinschaft* „für eine Gruppe, die sowohl ein gemeinsames Varietätenrepertoire als auch gemeinsame Regeln für den sozial angemessenen Gebrauch dieser Regeln hat“ (Raith 1987, 204).

2. Stil, Dialekt, Register

Bilinguale Sprecher stehen häufig in Kommunikationssituationen vor der (zumeist unbewußten) binären Entscheidung, aus der Gesamtheit des Sprachrepertoires eine spezifische Varietät (i.e. Sprache) in situationsadäquater Weise auszuwählen und zu verwenden. Auch monolinguale Sprecher im engeren Sinne verfügen über stilistische, dialektale und registerspezifische Varietäten derselben Sprache, die sie in Abhängigkeit von sozialen Variablen, z. B. Teilnehmerrollen, Gesprächsthema, Situationskontext etc. einer sozialen Rahmenbedingung anpassen. Dies betrifft die Auswahl eines spezifischen Sprechstils, eines standardsprachlichen, regionalen oder sozialen Dialekts (vgl. Art. 29) oder eines bestimmten Registers (z. B. Fachsprachen, Argots, Handelssprachen). Variationen innerhalb einer Sprache sind auf allen Strukturebenen möglich: phonetisch/phonologisch, grammatisch (morphologisch/syntaktisch), lexikalisch und pragmatisch (Gal 1987).

In engem Zusammenhang mit dem Konzept der kommunikativen Kompetenz stellt Hymes (1974, 30) fest, dass Sprecher grundsätzlich über weit mehr als *eine* stilistische Varietät (vgl. Art. 22) verfügen, die sie in situationsspezifischer Interaktion zur Anwendung bringen. Zur Illustration sei auf das stilistische Repertoire verwiesen, das etwa einem Sprecher in täglicher Interaktion zur Verfügung steht, um Kommunikationsabsichten und Ziele zu verwirklichen: die Teilnahme an einer Konferenz, Versammlung oder Demonstration, der Unterricht in der Schule, das schriftliche Verfassen eines Be-

richts oder eines persönlichen Briefes, die Beschäftigung mit der kleinen Tochter oder die Erzählung humorvoller Episoden in Partylaune, i.e. die gesamte Bandbreite formell-öffentlicher und informell-privater Situationskontexte (Milroy/Milroy 1999, 100f). Ohne Zweifel variiert das stilistische Spektrum je nach dem Grad der Aufmerksamkeit, mit der Sprecher ihren verbalen Ausdruck variieren und somit ihr Sprechen kontrollieren (Labov 1966).

Sprecher sind nicht nur in der Lage, ihr Sprachverhalten in stilistischer Hinsicht (formell/informell) zu variieren, sondern insbesondere aufgrund ihrer Aussprache bzw. des Akzents lässt sich häufig auch auf die regionale bzw. geographische Herkunft von Individuen schließen. Regionale Varietäten (im engeren Sinne 'Dialekte') bzw. *Nonstandard-Dialekte* dienen in erster Linie der mündlichen Kommunikation und fungieren zu meist als örtlich bedingte Sprachform vor dem Hintergrund einer überregionalen Standardvarietät (vgl. Art. 30). Grammatisch divergierende Konstruktionen als Teilaspekte des Sprachrepertoires lassen sich in regional unterschiedlichen, nationalen Varietäten z.B. des Englischen identifizieren (Trudgill/Chambers 1995). Solche vornehmlich regional gebundene Varietäten sind konzeptuell zu trennen von sozialen Dialekten (bzw. Soziolekten), die durch die Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten sozio-ökonomischen Schicht, einer Altersgruppe oder ethnischen Gruppe motiviert sind und somit den soziologischen Hintergrund des Sprechers bestimmen (Labov 1966). Zuzüglich zu regionalen und sozialen Dialekten wird aufgrund der sozio-ökonomischen Relevanz eine sog. Standardvarietät gesondert ausgewiesen, i.e. „die durch unterschiedlich herrschende gesellschafts- und machtpolitische Verhältnisse in historischem Prozeß als überregionales Verständigungsmittel legitimierte und institutionalisierte Varietät einer Sprachgemeinschaft“ (Dittmar 1980, 134). Da die Standardvarietät quasi als *lingua franca* fungiert und meist einen hohen sozialen Prestigewert besitzt, ist ihr Status in den letzten Jahren in zunehmendem Maße kritisch beleuchtet worden, insbesondere wenn es um ideologische, diskriminatorische und gesellschaftspolitische Aspekte der Sprachverwendung geht (Milroy/Milroy 1999).

Ein Teilaspekt des Sprachrepertoires von Individuen bzw. Sprachgemeinschaften lässt sich zudem als registerspezifische Varietät

bestimmen. Es handelt sich um charakteristische syntaktische und lexikalische Muster, die durch sog. Sprechereignisse in ähnlichen Situationen geprägt werden, wobei eine solche Sprechsituation etwa von der Konstellation zwischen Sprecher und Hörer, vom Thema und dem Medium der Äußerung (gesprochen/geschrieben) abhängig ist. Im Gegensatz zu den dialektalen Varietäten, die 'sprecherbezogen' interpretiert werden können, sind registerspezifische Unterschiede im Kontext der Sprachverwendung feststellbar (Halliday 1964). So genannte Sondersprachen bzw. Jargons (Sprachen bestimmter Berufsgruppen), Fachsprachen (der Ökologie, der Medizin, der Linguistik etc.), oder auch Anti-Sprachen (Halliday 1976), i.e. *Sophiatown Afrikaans* in Soweto, Rasta-Sprache im *Jamaican Creole*, lassen sich unter dem Begriff 'Register' subsumieren.

Insbesondere Jargons und Anti-Sprachen werden verwendet, um den Aspekt des 'in-group-Verhaltens' von Eingeweihten zu betonen oder um dem politischen und ideologischen Protest gegenüber einer dominanten Gruppe Ausdruck zu verleihen. In diesem Zusammenhang sind in neueren Arbeiten eine Vielzahl an situationspezifischen Kontexten analysiert worden, z.B. Predigt und Glossolalie bzw. religiöse Kommunikation im afro-amerikanischen Kontext (Tomlin 1999), pidginisiertes Butler-Englisch in Indien (Hosali 1992), *Rasta-Talk* im Repertoire jamaikanischer Rastafarians (Pollard 1994), Gastarbeiterdeutsch (Klein/Perdue 1993) oder die Registervarietät amerikanischer Automobilfabrikaner (Bernstein 1998). Sämtlichen Sprechweisen ist gemeinsam, dass sie situationspezifisch realisiert werden und in ihrer Symbolfunktion zu meist Gruppenzugehörigkeit und sozio-kulturelle Identität dokumentieren.

3. Konstruierungsmechanismen

Definieren wir den Begriff 'Sprachrepertoire' als „Gesamtheit der sprachlichen Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten, die einem Sprecher in spezifischen Situationskontexten zur Verfügung stehen“ (vgl. 1), so erscheint es angebracht, den Begriff gleichsam in die relativ innovative und derzeit bestimmende theoretische Konzeption der Kognitiven Linguistik zu situieren (Langacker, Lakoff). Vertreter der Kognitiven Linguistik gehen von der Annahme aus, dass Sprache und Kognition untrennbar miteinander verbunden sind und

das sprachliche Wissenssystem durch allgemeine Kognitionsprinzipien (Wahrnehmung, Kategorisierung etc.) erklärt werden kann. Sprache wird somit als ein Ausdrucksmittel für nahezu alle Konzepte bestimmt, mit deren Hilfe der Mensch die Wirklichkeit wahrnimmt und verarbeitet. Zweifelsohne wird die Versprachlichung von Erfahrungswissen in unterschiedlicher Weise konzeptualisiert bzw. gedanklich kategorisiert. Diese differenzierten Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten finden sich sowohl im monolingualen Repertoire einzelner Sprecher wie auch im Kontext divergierender sprachlich-kultureller Gesellschaften (Wierzbicka 1994). Langacker (1994), einer der führenden Vertreter der Kognitiven Linguistik, betont denn auch die Relevanz einer sozialen bzw. kulturellen Komponente von Sprache und formuliert im Hinblick auf sein anwendungsbezogenes Modell einer kognitiven Grammatik eine Reihe unterschiedlicher Konstruierungsmechanismen. Diesbezüglich wird auf fünf schematische Kategorien verwiesen, die als kognitive Basisfähigkeiten des Sprechers zur unterschiedlichen Gestaltung eines konzeptuellen Inhalts herangezogen werden (Langacker 1990, 5–14): (i) Spezifitätsgrad, (ii) Hintergrund, (iii) Aussage-Skopos, (iv) Perspektivierung und (v) Prominenz. Das konzeptuelle Phänomen *Konstruierung* beinhaltet somit die Einsicht, dass ein objektiv-konzeptueller Inhalt (eine Situation, ein Objekt, eine Handlung etc.) auf verschiedene Weisen dargestellt bzw. 'konstruiert' werden kann. Im Konzeptualisierungsprozess kann ein Sprecher sich im Rahmen seiner Möglichkeiten (Repertoire) entscheiden, „eine gewisse Perspektive oder einen Orientierungspunkt einzunehmen, eine Szene nur global oder in reichen Details darzustellen, einen Partizipanten aus einer Szene herauszulassen oder in sie einzubeziehen, eigene Ansichten und Normen durchschimmern zu lassen“ (Feyaerts 1997, 22). Die verschiedenartigen Möglichkeiten, eine Situation auf verschiedene Weisen darzustellen, liegt im Kern der kognitiven Semantik und lässt sich für die Zwecke der Repertoire-Bestimmung von Sprechern als fundamentale Konstruierungsfähigkeit beschreiben. Es wurde schon relativ früh gezeigt (Radden 1979, 376), dass sich deutliche Unterschiede in der Konstruierungsauswahl bei Sprechern verschiedener sozio-ökonomischer Schichten feststellen lassen: so offenbaren aufgrund der unterschiedlichen Frequenz spezifischer

semantischer Relationen (Agens bzw. Patiens) amerikanische Unterschichtssprecher eher ein „Aktions-Interesse“ in ihrem Sprachverhalten. Die enge Verflechtung sozio-kultureller und linguistisch-kognitiver Aspekte der Sprachverwendung stellt sicherlich eine der wichtigsten Herausforderungen im Hinblick auf zukünftige Forschungsparadigmen dar.

4. Sprachwechsel, Sprachwahlprozesse und Sprachökologie

Es ist bereits darauf hingewiesen worden (vgl. 2), dass das Sprachrepertoire eines Individuums vom stilistischen und dialektalen Spektrum monolingualer Sprecher bis hin zur bilingualen Verwendungsweise zweier oder mehrerer Sprachen reichen kann. Studien der letzten 20 Jahre haben zudem zu Genüge gezeigt, dass bilinguale Sprecher über einen zusätzlichen dritten Sprachkode verfügen, dessen Realisierung in der einschlägigen Literatur mit dem Begriff 'Sprachwechsel' (*Code-Switching*) bezeichnet wird (Eastman 1992; Heller 1988; Jacobson 1990). Diese 'bilinguale Strategie' als Teilaspekt des Sprachrepertoires beinhaltet den wechselseitigen Gebrauch zweier Sprachen innerhalb einer Konversation oder in unterschiedlichen situativen Kontexten. Untersuchungen zum bilingualen Repertoire des Code-Switching wurden im wesentlichen unter zwei Gesichtspunkten durchgeführt: sozial-funktional (z.B. Blom/Gumperz 1972; Myers-Scotton 1993a) und linguistisch-syntaktisch (z.B. Myers-Scotton 1993b; Poplack 1980).

Konzeptuell zu trennen von dem wechselseitigen, funktionalen Gebrauch zweier oder mehrerer Sprachen in sozialen Situationen bzw. innerhalb einer Konversation ist der Terminus der 'Sprachwahl' bzw. der 'Code-Alternierung' (Saville-Troike 1982, 61), der sich vornehmlich in sprachsoziologischen Arbeiten zur diglossischen bzw. situations-spezifischen Verwendungsweise zweier Sprachen findet. Die Wissenschaftsdisziplin der Soziolinguistik, so Fasold (1984, 180), ist nur deshalb existent, weil Sprecher im Rahmen ihrer Möglichkeiten binäre Entscheidungen für eine spezifische Sprache/Dialekt/Stil in Abhängigkeit von sozialen Faktoren (Teilnehmer, Interaktionsort, Gesprächsthema etc.) treffen und sich somit für

die Wahl einer bestimmten Sprachvarietät entscheiden können. Im Wesentlichen basieren bisherige Ansätze zur Identifizierung, Analyse und Interpretation von Sprachwahlprozessen auf soziologisch, sozialpsychologisch und anthropologisch orientierten Untersuchungen (Fasold 1984, 183ff).

Eine spezifische Konstellation von außersprachlichen Faktoren wie etwa Teilnehmerrollen, Interaktionsort und Thema in Übereinstimmung mit gesellschaftlichen Institutionen bedingt das Konzept der *Domäne* (Fishman 1972). Als mögliche Situationen, in denen tendenziell die Verwendung einer bestimmten Sprache im Rahmen der Repertoire-Möglichkeiten bevorzugt wird, lassen sich etwa die Kontexte der Familie, der Freundschaft, der Religion bzw. des Arbeitsplatzes als *primäre* Domänen identifizieren, wobei die Institutionen der Regierung, der Verwaltung, der Justiz, der Erziehung wie auch der öffentlichen Bereiche generell als *sekundäre* Domänen zu bezeichnen sind. Das Konzept der Domäne ist auch in engem Zusammenhang mit dem der *Diglossie* zu sehen, welche aus sprachsoziologischer Sicht eine funktionale Differenzierung der in einer bilingualen Gemeinschaft gesprochenen Varietät vorsieht (Ferguson 1959).

In engem Zusammenhang mit Aspekten der Sprachwahl, der Spracherhaltung, der Sprachverschiebung und insbesondere der 'Umkehr' der Sprachverschiebung (Fishman 1991) ist der Begriff *Ökolinquistik* (Fill 1993) bzw. *Sprachökologie* zu nennen, der von Haugen (1972) geprägt wurde. Sprachökologie bezeichnet das „Studium der sozialen Existenzbedingungen und Organisationsformen natürlicher Sprachen und der sie tragenden Sprechergruppen in multiethnischen Kontaktregionen“ (Haarmann 1980, 9). Ziel einer sprachökologischen Analyse ist es, die betreffenden Wirkungsfaktoren herauszuarbeiten, die das variable Sprachverhalten multilingualer Sprechergruppen bestimmen, um somit die ethnolinguistische Vitalität (Giles et al. 1977) einer Gemeinschaft zu ermitteln. Sprachökologische Untersuchungen befassen sich etwa mit der Identifizierung demographischer, soziologischer, politischer, psychologischer und linguistischer Variablen, die in ihrer Wechselwirkung das Sprachverhalten in Bezug auf gruppenspezifische intra- und interethnische Kontakte steuern (Haarmann 1980, 199ff). Gekoppelt mit solchen Fragestellun-

gen ist der Verlust der sprachlichen und kulturellen Vielfalt als Folge interkultureller Kommunikation etwa im pazifisch-melanesischen Raum, in dem es aufgrund von Kolonisierung und Missionierung zu sog. „Sprachkatastrophen“ (Mühlhäusler 1990, 26) gekommen ist. Eine erste umfassende Dokumentation, in der die ökologischen Existenzbedingungen so genannter Kleinsprachen sowie deren Existenzbedrohung und Überlebenschancen erfasst werden, findet sich in Haarmann (2001). In diesem Zusammenhang beschäftigen sich Untersuchungen der letzten Jahre in zunehmendem Maße mit sprachideologischen und sprachimperialistischen Aspekten von Sprachwahlprozessen, die dem Repertoire von Sprechern zugrunde liegen.

5. Sprachideologie und Sprachimperialismus

Die bisherige Diskussion des Begriffs Sprachrepertoire beschäftigte sich mit stilistischen, dialektalen und bi- bzw. multilingualen Varietäten im situationsspezifischen Kontext, ungeachtet der Wirkung ideologischer Zwänge in Sprachwahlprozessen. Die sog. Kritische Linguistik (Fowler et. al 1979) bemüht sich um die Aufdeckung des dialektischen Zusammenhangs zwischen Sprache einerseits und Macht, Manipulation und Diskriminierung in sozialen Institutionen, den Medien und Minderheitengesellschaften andererseits (siehe auch Wodak 1989). Sprachkontakt, Sprachdominanz und Sprachkonflikt führen nicht selten aufgrund ideologischer Zwänge und aufkotroyierter sprachpolitischer Maßnahmen zu Kulturverfall und sprachlicher Diskriminierung (Pütz 1995). So führte das Eingreifen in die sprachliche Kultur der kolonisierten Völker Afrikas zu einer Konfliktsituation, die der französische Sprachsoziologe Calvet (1974) in der Konsequenz als Glottophagie bzw. 'Sprachenfresserei' bezeichnet hat. Calvet führte zur Analyse der Relation zwischen sog. 'herrschender' und 'beherrschter' Sprache im Kontext der Kolonisierung den Begriff der sprachlichen Suprastruktur ein: die Verteilung von Sprachen in einem gegebenen Areal und ihr Verhältnis zur politischen und ökonomischen Macht. Ein Kennzeichen sowohl anglophoner wie auch frankophoner Sprachpolitik in den Staaten Afrikas bleibt auch nach der Unabhängigkeit der überwiegend dominante Status einer einzi-

gen europäischen Sprache als offizielles Kommunikationsmedium. Phillipson (1992) spricht diesbezüglich von sprachlichem Imperialismus als einer Form des sog. Linguizismus. Es wird die Forderung nach „ethnolinguistischer Demokratie“ (Fishman 1995) bzw. „linguistischen Menschenrechten“ (Skutnabb-Kangas/Phillipson 1995) erhoben und auf die Gefahren eines ‘sprachlichen Genozids’ aufmerksam gemacht (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000).

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25. Fachsprache/Language of Specific Purposes

1. Fachsprachen als Ergebnis und Ausdruck sprachlicher Differenzierung
2. Fachsprachen als Funktionalstile bzw. Funktionalsprachen
3. Fachsprachen als Varietäten
4. Fachsprachen als Subsprachen
5. Fachsprachen als Gruppensprachen
6. Andere Statusbestimmungen
7. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Fachsprachen als Ergebnis und Ausdruck sprachlicher Differenzierung

Sprachen leben nicht in Grammatiken und Wörterbüchern, sondern in ihrer ständigen

Verwendung durch die Menschen. *Sprachverwendung* bei der Mitteilung von Empfindungen und Gedanken (kommunikative Funktion) wie auch beim Gewinn neuer Einsichten und Erkenntnisse (kognitive Funktion) führt zu *Sprachwandel* und *Sprachdifferenzierung*. Den Sprachwandel erfaßt die Sprachwissenschaft in diachronischer Betrachtung als Sprachgeschichte sowohl sprachübergreifend als auch einzelsprachlich in Disziplinen wie historische Phonetik, historische Morphologie, historische Syntax oder historische Lexikologie. Die Sprachdifferenzierung ist in erster Linie Gegenstand der synchronischen Betrachtung von Einzelsprachen in Disziplinen wie

Stilistik, Dialektologie und Soziolinguistik. In neuerer Zeit – deutlicher erkennbar seit den 60er Jahren des 20. Jhs. – hat sich der Analyse sprachlicher Differenzierungsprozesse und ihrer Resultate auch die Fachsprachenforschung angenommen (Näheres s. Art. 136).

Die Untersuchung und Beschreibung sprachlicher Differenzierung hat ihren Ausgang von ganz unterschiedlichen Positionen genommen und auch ganz unterschiedliche Merkmale und *Differenzierungskriterien* erhoben. Grob vereinfachend läßt sich sagen: Für die Stilistik sind Zweck und Wirkung ausschlaggebend. Die Dialektologie geht von der räumlichen Verbreitung aus. Die Soziolinguistik interessiert sich für die Sprachverwendung in bestimmten gesellschaftlichen Schichten und Gruppen. Für die Fachsprachenforschung steht bzw. stand lange Zeit der Kommunikationsgegenstand im Vordergrund. Bei näherem Hinsehen und vor allem auch bei diachronischer Betrachtung ergeben sich allerdings z. T. beträchtliche Überschneidungen zwischen den sog. Diasystemen oder Sprachvarietäten, z. B. Soziolekt und Dialekt, Dialekt und Fachsprache, Fachsprache und Gruppensprache. In der Fachsprachenforschung werden neben dem Kommunikationsgegenstand zunehmend auch die Kommunikationspartner mit ihren Kommunikationsabsichten, die Kommunikationssituation u. a. Faktoren berücksichtigt, z. B. das Kommunikationsmedium, die Kommunikationsgemeinschaft, die Statusfunktion, die internationale Rezeption usw.

Da die Fachsprachenforschung sich relativ spät konstituiert hat und viele ihrer Vertreter sie zunächst neben oder im Rahmen der (Funktional-)Stilistik, der Soziolinguistik oder anderer linguistischer Disziplinen wie Lexikologie und Lexikographie, Terminologearbeit, Übersetzungswissenschaft, ja sogar Rhetorik, Hermeneutik, Sprachkritik und Sprachdidaktik betrieben haben, sind recht unterschiedliche Vorstellungen vom *Status der Fachsprachen* entstanden, die ihren Ausdruck in unterschiedlichen *Definitionen von Fachsprache* und später *Fachkommunikation* gefunden haben.

2. Fachsprachen als Funktionalstile bzw. Funktionalsprachen

Sieht man von der „klassischen“ Stilistik mit ihren Stilschichtmerkmalen (z. B. poetisch – gehoben – neutral – salopp – vulgär)

ab, dann sind Differenzierungskriterien der Stilklassifikation vor allem Zweck und Wirkung der sprachlichen Äußerung; Untersuchungs- und Beschreibungsgegenstand ist die Funktion bzw. Wirksamkeit der sprachlichen Mittel bei der Erfüllung des jeweiligen Zwecks. Die zweck- und wirkungsorientierte Funktionalstilistik wurde besonders deutlich von der Prager (s. Havránek 1932; 1942; Beneš 1969; 1981) und der Moskauer (s. Riesel 1963; Kožina 1966; 1972) Schule repräsentiert. Sie ist von der deutschen Fachsprachenforschung vor allem in der ehemaligen DDR rezipiert (z. B. Gläser 1979) und kritisch verarbeitet (s. Hoffmann 1987, 31–44; Gläser 1998) worden. Gegenwärtig spielt sie nur noch eine geringe Rolle.

Charakteristisch für die begriffliche Entwicklung in der funktionalstilistischen Konzeption ist die Triade *Funktionalsprache – Funktionalstil – Fachstil*. Die Vertreter der Prager Schule unterscheiden zunächst vier Funktionen der Literatursprache: (1) die kommunikative, (2) die praktisch spezielle, (3) die theoretisch spezielle, (4) die ästhetische. Den vier Funktionen sind vier funktionale Sprachen zugeordnet: (1) die Alltagssprache, (2) die Sachsprache, (3) die wissenschaftliche Sprache, (4) die poetische Sprache. Die Fachsprachen sind hier in (2) und (3) zu suchen. Die Weiterführung hin zu einer bestimmten Anzahl von funktionalen Stilen hat die Moskauer Schule am konsequentesten betrieben: (1) Stil des öffentlichen Verkehrs, (2) Stil der Wissenschaft, (3) Stil der Publizistik, (4) Stil des Alltagsverkehrs, (5) Stil der künstlerischen Literatur. Hier hat die Fachsprachenforschung an (2) angeknüpft, und es war nur ein kleiner Schritt vom Funktionalstil der Wissenschaft (wissenschaftlichen Stil) zum Fachstil. Wie nahe beide beieinander liegen, zeigen zwei Definitionen, nämlich die des *Funktionalstils* als „bestimmtes System sprachlicher Mittel, die zu einem bestimmten Zweck unter bestimmten Bedingungen der sprachlichen Kommunikation verwendet werden“ (Mitrofanova 1973, 11), und die des *Fachstils* als „für die Gestaltung eines Fachtextes charakteristische Auswahl und Anordnung sprachlicher Mittel, die in einem Gesamtzusammenhang von Absicht, Inhalt, Form und Wirkung der Aussage fungieren“ (Gläser 1979, 26).

Eine Gleichsetzung von Funktionalstil (isb. Wissenschaftsstil) bzw. Fachstil und *Fachsprache* ist *expressis verbis* nie erfolgt,

wohl aber so lange praktiziert worden, wie wissenschaftliche Texte nur im Rahmen der Stilistik und im Vergleich mit künstlerischen Texten beschrieben worden sind. Der Hauptmangel dieser Vorgehensweise lag darin, daß sie ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf allgemeine Merkmale und Gemeinsamkeiten von Fachsprachen konzentrierte, deren innere Differenziertheit aber unbeachtet ließ. (Näheres zum Verhältnis von Fachsprache und Funktionalstil s. Gläser 1998.)

3. Fachsprachen als Varietäten

Wenn davon die Rede ist, daß einzelne Menschen, besonders aber größere oder kleinere Menschengemeinschaften unterschiedlichen Gebrauch von ihrer Nationalsprache (Einzelsprache) machen, dann operiert die Sprachwissenschaft mit Begriffen wie Varietät, Lekt, Subsprache, Existenzform u.a.m. Der Terminus *Varietät* betont die Abweichung von einem bestimmten Standard, der Terminus *Lekt* die besondere Lesart oder Sprechweise, der Terminus *Subsprache* die Unterordnung unter ein größeres Ganzes, der Terminus *Existenzform* die relative Selbstständigkeit einer speziellen Teilmenge der Gesamtsprache. Voraussetzung für die Wahrnehmung von Varietäten ist das Auftreten einer hinreichenden Zahl gemeinsamer Merkmale, durch die sich eine Varietät von den anderen unterscheidet, ohne daß dabei völlig unterschiedliche Teilsprachen der Gesamtsprache entstehen müssen. Variation der Gesamtsprache ist vielmehr ein Kontinuum mit unterschiedlichen Variationsgraden. Dennoch tritt das Kontinuum als etwas Gegliedertes, Diskontinuierliches von Verschiedenheiten in der sprachlichen Form und Struktur, eben in Gestalt von Varietäten auf.

Die traditionelle Klassifizierung hat mit drei Arten von Varietäten gearbeitet: regionale (Dialekte), soziale (Soziolekte), funktionale bzw. situative (Funktionalstile; Register). In der neueren Literatur werden diese als diatopische bzw. geographische, diastratische bzw. soziale und diaphasische bzw. funktional-kontextuelle Varietäten bezeichnet. Die Fachsprachen lassen sich am ehesten in die dritte Klasse einbeziehen, wenn man damit auch nicht allen ihren Besonderheiten gerecht wird. Vernachlässigt werden dabei vor allem die Spezifik des Kommunikationsgegenstandes und die innere Differenziertheit der Fachsprachen.

In der Verallgemeinerung „zeichnet sich eine sprachliche Varietät dadurch aus, daß gewisse Realisierungsformen des Sprachsystems in vorhersehbarer Weise mit gewissen sozialen und funktionalen Merkmalen der Sprachgebrauchssituation kookkurrieren. Wenn eine Menge von gewissen miteinander kongruierenden Werten für bestimmte sprachliche Variablen (d. h. gewisse Realisierungen gewisser Formen, die in der Gesamtheit der Sprache mehr Realisierungen zulassen) zusammen mit einer gewissen Menge von Merkmalen auftreten, die die Sprecher und/oder die Gebrauchssituationen kennzeichnen, dann können wir eine solche Menge von Werten als sprachliche Varietät bezeichnen“ oder „eine Varietät als Subsystem eines Systems mit einer ihr eigenen Norm [...] verstehen“ (Berruto 1987, 264f).

Das träfe in einem sehr weiten Sinne auf die Produktion und Rezeption von Fachtexten durch Fachleute im Zusammenhang mit ihrer fachlichen Tätigkeit zu und käme der Auffassung von Fachsprachen als Subsprachen nahe. Die Fachsprachen wären in dieser Sicht Varietäten, die in der Summe mit allen anderen Varietäten die National- oder Gesamteinzelsprache ausmachen und in ihr einen gemeinsamen Kern haben. (Näheres zu den Varietäten s. Halliday/McIntosh/Strevens 1964, 81–98; Baily 1973; Klein 1974; Nabrings 1981; zum Verhältnis von Varietäten und Fachsprachen s. Adamzik 1998; Ammon 1998a).

Varietätenorientiert sind die beiden folgenden, auf Sprachfunktionen und zweckorientierten Handlungen aufbauenden Fachsprachendefinitionen, auch wenn das nicht explizit erklärt wird und sie in ihrer Terminologiewahl unabhängig erscheinen:

„Wir verstehen unter Fachsprachen heute die Variante der Gesamtsprache, die der Erkenntnis und begrifflichen Bestimmung fachspezifischer Gegenstände sowie der Verständigung über sie dient und damit den spezifischen kommunikativen Bedürfnissen im Fach allgemein Rechnung trägt. [...] Entsprechend der Vielzahl der Fächer, die man mehr oder weniger exakt unterscheiden kann, ist die Variante 'Fachsprache' in zahlreichen mehr oder weniger exakt abgrenzbaren Erscheinungsformen realisiert, die als Fachsprachen bezeichnet sind“ (Möhn/Pelka 1984, 26).

Bei der Anwendung dieser Definition spielen fachliche Sprachverwendungssituationen mit ihren Fachtexten eine entscheidende Rolle. Und:

„Fächer sind Arbeitskontexte, in denen Gruppen von fachlichen zweckrationalen Handlungen vollzogen werden. Fachsprachen sind demnach sprachliche Handlungen dieses Typs sowie sprachliche Äußerungen, die konstitutiv oder z.B. kommentierend mit solchen Handlungen in Verbindung stehen“ (von Hahn 1983, 65).

4. Fachsprachen als Subsprachen

Werden Fachsprachen als Subsprachen interpretiert, dann tritt gegenüber Kommunikationsabsicht und Kommunikationshandlung, gegenüber Funktion und Situation der Kommunikationsgegenstand in den Vordergrund. Mit Hilfe dieses Kriteriums läßt sich jeder Text einem bestimmten Sachgebiet oder Kommunikationsbereich und damit einer bestimmten Subsprache zuweisen. Auch die Abgrenzung der Subsprachen gegeneinander auf Grund des Kommunikationsgegenstandes bzw. der in den Texten behandelten Themen ist einfacher als bei den Varietäten. Die Vielzahl der Gegenstände bzw. Themen läßt eine weitreichende Differenzierung zu. Allerdings verlaufen die Grenzen auch hier nicht ganz scharf; denn ein und derselbe Gegenstand oder Vorgang, z. B. ein Fahrzeug, ein Gemälde, eine chemische Reaktion, eine Erkrankung, kann in unterschiedlichen Kommunikationsbereichen und (Fach-)Texten von unterschiedlichen Standpunkten oder von einem interdisziplinären Ansatz aus behandelt werden.

Subsprachen sind Teil- bzw. Subsysteme des gesamten Sprachsystems, die in den Texten bestimmter, z. T. sehr spezieller Kommunikationsbereiche aktualisiert werden. Man kann auch sagen: Subsprachen sind ausgewählte Mengen sprachlicher Elemente und ihrer Relationen in Texten mit eingeschränkter Thematik (s. Hoffmann 1988, 9; 1998a, 190).

In den englischsprachigen Arbeiten über diese Problematik ist oft die Rede von einem *reduzierten Sprachgebrauch*. Als Beispiel dafür sei eine von vielen ähnlichen Definitionen angeführt:

„Factors which help to characterize a sublanguage include (i) limited subject matter, (ii) lexical, syntactic and semantic restrictions, (iii) “deviant” rules of grammar, (iv) high frequency of certain constructions, (v) text structure, (vi) use of special symbols. [...] This notion of sublanguage is like that of *subsystem* in mathematics“ (Lehrberger 1982, 102f).

Diese und ähnliche Aussagen über das Wesen und die Eigenschaften von Subsprachen

enthalten drei Hauptbestandteile: (1) einen pragmatischen (organized part of the real world; science subfield); (2) einen semantischen (lexical, semantic restrictions); (3) einen syntaktischen (restricted grammar), wobei der erste die beiden anderen determiniert. Mit *scientific subfield* wird jener Kommunikationsbereich hervorgehoben, der auch im Mittelpunkt des Interesses der Fachsprachenforschung steht.

Das Konzept der Subsprachen ist in modifizierter Form auch in die deutsche Fachsprachenforschung eingegangen, was an der folgenden Definition zu erkennen ist:

„Fachsprache – das ist die Gesamtheit aller sprachlichen Mittel, die in einem fachlich begrenzten Kommunikationsbereich verwendet werden, um die Verständigung zwischen den in diesem Bereich tätigen Menschen zu gewährleisten“ (Hoffmann 1987, 53; Näheres zu den Subsprachen s. Kittredge/Lehrberger 1982; Hoffmann 1987, 47–71; zum Verhältnis von Fachsprachen und Subsprachen s. Hoffmann 1998c).

5. Fachsprachen als Gruppensprachen

Korreliert man Varietäten oder Subsprachen mit sozialen Schichten oder Gruppen, dann rücken die Fachsprachen in die Nähe von Soziolekten; denn diese werden u.a. definiert als Subsysteme oder Varietäten, deren Sprechergruppen mit bestimmten von der Soziologie ermittelten Sozialschichten identisch sind. Die Besonderheiten der Fachsprachen werden dann vorwiegend danach bewertet, inwiefern sie wegen ihrer Gruppentypik bzw. soziolektalen Markiertheit ihre Benutzer als Vertreter eines bestimmten Faches und gleichzeitig als Angehörige einer bestimmten sozialen Gruppe erkennen lassen (s. Kubczak 1987, 269ff). Mit anderen Worten: Fachsprachen erhalten den Status von Gruppensprachen. Zu ihrer Symbolfunktion kommt die Symptomfunktion hinzu. Sie trägt dazu bei, Gruppen von Fachleuten gegen andere Menschengruppen, aber auch untereinander abzugrenzen und gleichzeitig die Mitglieder der Gruppe enger aneinander zu binden. So entsteht sprachliche Gruppenidentität auf mehreren Ebenen vom streng wissenschaftlichen Sprachgebrauch in fachinternen Publikationen bis hin zum Fachjargon in der mündlichen Fachkommunikation. Fachextern, d.h. gegenüber Laien, ist die Verwendung von Fachsprachen, ja schon der Gebrauch von Fachtermini, dazu angetan, Autorität,

Sozialprestige oder auch soziale Dominanz zu schaffen, z. B. bei Ärzten, Juristen oder hochspezialisierten Handwerkern. Für extreme Formen der Abgrenzung steht der Begriff der *Sprachbarrieren*, mit dem Kommunikationskonflikte oder einfach Verstehens- und Verständigungsschwierigkeiten bezeichnet werden (s. Fluck 1991, 198ff). Auf den Punkt gebracht wird die gruppensprachliche Position in Formulierungen wie: „Das *Fach* ist personal gesehen die Gruppe der Experten. [...] Eine *Fachsprache* ist das sprachliche System der Experten oder kurz das *Expertensystem*“ (Wichter 1994, 42f). Ihre Bekräftigung findet sie in der folgenden Feststellung:

„Die relative Isolierbarkeit der Expertengruppe und des zugehörigen Sprachausschnittes rechtfertigt in vielerlei Hinsicht eine gesonderte Betrachtung des Wechselverhältnisses von Fachsprache und Gruppe. Primär ist dabei die sprachliche Manifestation von für die Expertengruppe einschlägigen Wirklichkeitsausschnitten, welche die Gruppenmitglieder bindet und orientiert. Versprachlichungen im Verlauf der Gruppengeschichte belegen, daß mit der Entwicklung der Eigenperspektive einer Expertengruppe zugleich ein hohes Innovationspotential für die Sprachgeschichte gegeben ist. Folge dieses in der fortschreitenden Arbeitsteilung begründeten Resultats und Geschehens ist zugleich eine ausgeprägte Exklusivität, Hermetik, zu deren Überwindung es erheblicher mentaler und sprachlicher Aufwendungen bedarf, um eine die Grenzen der Expertengruppe erweiternde, d. h. fachexterne Kommunikation [...] gelingen zu lassen“ (Möhn 1998, 151; Näheres zur Gruppe s. Fisch 1987; zum Verhältnis von Fachsprachen und Gruppensprachen s. Möhn 1998).

6. Andere Statusbestimmungen

Neben den skizzierten vier Auffassungen vom Status der Fachsprachen gibt es eine Reihe anderer, die diese variieren oder auf bestimmte Kommunikationsbereiche und Sprechergruppen einengen.

Fachsprachen als *Register* sind – im klassischen angelsächsischen Verständnis – funktionale Varianten des Sprachgebrauchs in der Fachkommunikation, die primär durch fachliche Situationen determiniert sind. Sie liegen zwischen Funktionalstilen und Varietäten (Näheres s. Hess-Lüttich 1998). – Fachsprachen als *Wissenschaftssprachen* zu betrachten bedeutet, daß der Gegenstand der Betrachtung einerseits auf die Kommunikation und damit auf die Funktion von Sprachen in der Wissenschaft

allgemein und in einzelnen wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen eingeschränkt wird. Zu einem Diskussionsschwerpunkt hat sich dabei die Dominanz des Englischen in der Wissenschaftskommunikation entwickelt (Näheres s. Kalverkämper/Weinrich 1986; Skudlik 1990; Ammon 1998b). Andererseits erfolgt eine Erweiterung von der kommunikativen auf die kognitive Funktion, d. h. auf die Rolle der Sprache als Erkenntnisinstrument bzw. auf das Verhältnis von Denken und Sprache (Näheres s. Kretzenbacher 1992; 1998). – Fachsprachen als *Techniksprachen* (Technolekte) verdienen insofern eine besondere Würdigung, als sie eine wesentliche Komponente in der Menschheitsentwicklung und in der Geschichte der Zivilisation darstellen. Schon im Fachwortschatz lassen sich einzelne Reflexe und ganze Innovationsschübe aus dem Bereich der Technik erkennen, die bis in die Ur- und Frühgeschichte zurückreichen. In neuerer Zeit interessiert vor allem die Stellung zwischen Theorie und Praxis, z. B. die Wechselwirkungen von Naturwissenschafts-, Handwerks- und Alltagssprache(n) (Näheres s. Jakob 1998). – Fachsprachen als *Institutionensprachen* können als institutionell verfestigte Gruppensprachen interpretiert werden (Näheres s. Rehbein 1998; Ludger Hoffmann 1998; Selle 1998; Hoffmann 1998b; Mohl 1998). – Fachsprachen erscheinen als *Sprachverwendung in unterschiedlichen* (sozialen, situativen fachspezifischen) *Kontexten*, wenn aus soziologischer Sicht das Rollenverhalten von Fachleuten in den Mittelpunkt gestellt wird (s. Salthe 1998). – *Berufssprachen* schließlich tragen Merkmale von Funktionalstilen, Varietäten und Gruppensprachen in unterschiedlicher Mischung.

So unterschiedlich die Versuche zur Bestimmung des Status von Fachsprachen und die damit verbundenen Beschreibungen ihrer Spezifik ausgefallen sein mögen (s. Ammon 1998a), gemeinsam ist ihnen die Zuweisung eines ausgeprägten Sonderstatus. Besonderes aber ergibt sich gewöhnlich aus Vergleichen. Verglichen wurden Fachsprachen von Anfang an mit der *Gemeinsprache*, was immer man darunter verstanden haben mag: Umgangssprache, Literatursprache, allgemeinen bzw. durchschnittlichen Sprachbesitz, „Nichtfachsprache“ usw. Die Dichotomie von Fachsprachen und Gemeinsprache war lange Zeit ein zentrales Thema der Fachsprachenforschung. Konkrete Vergleiche scheiterten jedoch am Fehlen einer einheitlichen Definition des Phä-

nomens 'Gemeinsprache' und den damit verbundenen Abgrenzungsproblemen (s. Hoffmann 1987, 48ff; 1998c; Fluck 1991, 196ff). Von gewissem sprachhistorischem Interesse mag – nach der Erforschung der Prozesse der Terminologisierung und Entterminologisierung – die Bereicherung der Lexik durch Fachwortschätze sein. Mit der Schwerpunktverlagerung vom Terminus zum Text hat das Thema jedoch an Attraktivität verloren.

7. Literatur (in Auswahl)

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26. Abstandsprache – Ausbausprache Abstand-Language – Ausbau-Language

1. Einleitung
2. Die dualistische Problematik der interlinguistischen Distanz
3. Die Dualität von Abstandsprachen (AbS) – Ausbausprachen (AuS) und die Kategorisierung der Sprachen der Welt
4. Moderne Ausbausprachen und die Herausforderung der digitalen Literalität
5. Ausbaukomparatistik: Methodik und terminologisches Instrumentarium
6. Ausblick
7. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Einleitung

Der Umgang mit dem Ausdruck *Sprache* ist alles andere als einfach. Dies liegt vor allem darin begründet, dass Sprache auf den ver-

schiedensten Ebenen menschlicher Interaktion nicht nur als Kommunikationsmedium wichtig ist, sondern auch zum metasprachlichen Objekt der Betrachtungen und Wertungen ihrer Benutzer wird. Sucht man nach den Ursachen dafür, weshalb das hier thematisierte Verhältnis von Abstandsprache (AbS) und Ausbausprache (AuS) besonders komplex ist, so findet man sie in der Problematik sprachlicher Variation (Haarmann 1989). Im umgangssprachlichen Gebrauch wird nur sehr diffus zwischen ‚Sprache‘ und ‚Dialekt‘ unterschieden. Der Ausdruck *Sprache* ist in der Alltagssprache häufig synonym mit *Sprachvariante* (Art. 19). Der unbefangene Sprecher wird sich bewusst, dass die „Sprache der Politiker“ oder die „Spra-

che der Massenmedien“ von der Alltagssprache abweichen. Das Kauderwelsch der Computertechniker mutet wie eine eigene „Sprache“ an, vom Amtssprachengebrauch ganz zu schweigen, für dessen Texte der ungeschulte Muttersprachler eigentlich eine Übersetzung benötigt. In den letzten Jahren haben die Deutschen in der west-östlichen Interaktion die leidige Erfahrung gemacht, „dass Menschen, die die gleiche Muttersprache sprechen, ständig das Gefühl haben, aneinander vorbeizureden“ (Fraas 1994, 87). Sprachvariation ist eben häufig, wenn nicht sogar immer, gebunden an unterschiedliche Erfahrungs- und Bewertungsmuster. Auch der metaphorische Gebrauch des Ausdrucks *Sprache* trägt nicht gerade zur Erleichterung des Begriffsverständnisses bei. Wir leben mit einer ausufernden Metaphorik, die in den letzten Jahren immer mehr Raum in der alltäglichen Begriffswelt eingenommen hat, und die den Sprachbegriff in alles Zeichenhafte ausweitet. Man spricht beispielsweise von der „Körpersprache“, obwohl dieses non-verbale Zeichensystem von Gesten und Posen lediglich seine Zeichenhaftigkeit mit Sprache gemein hat.

Sprachliche Variation ist eine elementare Erfahrung eines jeden Individuums, sei es in Gestalt intralingualer Variation oder in der Konfiguration interlingualer Varianz in Kontaktsituationen. Vom Standpunkt einer sprachtheoretisch-sprachphilosophischen Betrachtung ist es berechtigt, Phänomene wie Sprachvariation und Leistungsfähigkeit einer Sprache in einen ursächlichen Zusammenhang zu stellen. „Die Leistungsfähigkeit einer Einzelsprache hängt daher von der Struktur sowohl ihrer Abstandseinheiten als auch ihrer Varianten und von deren Zusammenwirken ab“ (Auburger 1993, 45). Es kann niemanden verwundern, wenn es erhebliche Schwierigkeiten bereitet, *Sprache* als einen Ausdruck, der in der Alltagssprache bedeutungsmässig enorm überfrachtet und daher diffus ist, in der wissenschaftlichen Terminologiebildung zu verwenden. Dies gilt entsprechend für viele Zusammenhänge mit diesem Grundbegriff oder dessen Ableitungen. Der Sprachbegriff ist bekanntlich nicht nur in den sprachorientierten Disziplinen wie der allgemeinen Linguistik, Soziolinguistik, Kontaktlinguistik oder Psycholinguistik relevant, sondern ebenso in kulturwissenschaftlichen Disziplinen, in denen Sprache zu den Untersuchungsgegenständen gehört, wie der Semiotik, Kulturan-

thropologie, Identitätsforschung u.ä. Alle hier genannten Disziplinen haben in der einen oder anderen Weise mit Sprachvariation und damit auch mit der begrifflichen Dualität von AbS – AuS zu tun. Dies bedeutet, dass sich beispielsweise Sprachtypologen zu entscheiden haben, ob sie grammatische Vergleiche zwischen normierten Schriftsprachen oder dialektalen Kontinua anstellen, dass Kontaktlinguisten die linguistische Distanz zwischen Sprachen, die sich wechselseitig beeinflussen, in Rechnung zu stellen haben, dass Anthropologen mit dem Problem linguistischer Distanz konfrontiert werden, wenn sie feststellen müssen, wie stark die Sprache einer Ethnie von den sie umgebenden Kontaktsprachen abweicht und ob es sich etwa um eine dialektale Variante einer Nachbarsprache handelt.

Identitätsforscher sehen sich unter anderem dem Dilemma kommunikativ-intentionaler Grenzziehung ausgesetzt: Stützt sich das sprachliche Selbstbewusstsein in benachbarten Gemeinschaften auf die bloße Existenz von ausgebauten Schriftmedien – bei gleichzeitiger wechselseitiger Verständlichkeit, oder unterscheiden sich die Sprachgemeinschaften auch durch kommunikative Barrieren? Beispielsweise spiegelt sich die heutige Situation der politischen Trennung von Kroaten und Serben, die das Ergebnis des Krieges von 1992 ist, deutlich in der Selbstidentifizierung beider Völker wider, wobei kulturelle Unterschiede in einem Zusammenhang verstärkt werden, wo vorher lediglich eine minimale Differenzierung im dialektalen Kontinuum des gemeinsamen Serbokroatischen existierte. Die Feststellung, in welchem Abstand eine beliebige Sprache zu einer anderen steht, gründet sich nicht allein auf rein formale (linguistische) Kriterien wie die Distanz zwischen Sprachstrukturen, sondern auch auf die soziolinguistische Differenzierung sprachlicher Varianten in einer Sprachgemeinschaft (Dialekt vs. Regiolekt vs. Umgangssprache vs. Schriftsprache vs. Fachsprache) und das kommunikative Kriterium der wechselseitigen Verständlichkeit (Art. 125). Rund ein Fünftel der Sprachen in der Welt sind verschriftet, d. h. diese sind für den schriftsprachlichen Gebrauch „ausgebaut“ (entsprechend der von Heinz Kloss geschaffenen Terminologie). Die Problematik des Abstands zwischen Sprachen erweitert sich damit zu der einer vielschichtigen Differenzierung sprachlicher Varianten.

2. Die dualistische Problematik der interlinguistischen Distanz

Jede Sprache besitzt ein Lautsystem, grammatische Strukturen, syntaktische Techniken, ein Lexikon und ein pragmatisches Regelsystem, das den Einsatz von Sprache in der Interaktion steuert. Dies ist die substantielle Basis eines Kommunikationsmediums, das definitiv als Zeichensystem fungiert. Jede Sprache übernimmt bestimmte kommunikative Funktionen in der Gemeinschaft, in der sie als Muttersprache, Zweitsprache usw. verbreitet ist. Die Skala der kommunikativen Funktionen kann von der Verwendung in nur gesprochener Form (z. B. das Yanomami im Nordwesten Brasiliens oder das Dyirbal im Nordosten Australiens) bis zur multimedialen Verflechtung globaler Sprachfunktionen wie des Englischen oder Französischen reichen. In der von H. Kloss geschaffenen Terminologie, die sich vor Jahren auch in der angelsächsischen Forschung durchgesetzt hat, haben wir es hier mit der Dualität von „Sprachkorpus“ und „Sprachstatus“ zu tun (s. Art. 87 zu bibliographischen Verweisen). Der Korpus einer Sprache und ihr Status stehen in wechselseitiger Abhängigkeit zueinander. Die Dualität ist charakteristisch für die ökologischen Existenzbedingungen einer jeden Sprache. Nicht nur die Infrastruktur des Sprachkorpus ist komplex, auch die des Sprachstatus. Dies hat Ammon (1989a) mit seinem Rahmenwerk sprachlicher Statuskriterien verdeutlicht. Es gibt allerdings eine Reihe von Grenzfällen einzelsprachlicher Existenz, die zeigen, dass es auch einen Sprachkorpus ohne korrelierenden Status geben kann. Solche Grenzfälle sind aussterbende Sprachen, die nur noch von jeweils einem Sprecher gesprochen werden. Die meisten dieser 1-Sprecher-Sprachen finden wir heutzutage in Australien, dem grössten Sprachenfriedhof der Welt. Vom kommunikativen Standpunkt aus betrachtet sind 1-Sprecher-Sprachen keine funktionstüchtigen Kommunikationsmedien mehr, d. h. sie erfüllen keine kommunikativen Funktionen mehr in der Sprachgemeinschaft, deren Mitglieder sich fast ausnahmslos an eine dominante Sprache assimiliert haben. Der letzte Sprecher kann in seiner Muttersprache nur noch mit sich selbst oder mit seinen Ahnen kommunizieren.

2.1. Kriterien interlinguistischer Distanz

Mit dem Problem, die Distanz zwischen Sprachkorpora nach formalen Kriterien zu

bestimmen, haben sich die Sprachtypologen schon seit dem 19. Jahrhundert auseinandergesetzt. Die Tradition des Umgangs mit formalen Methoden mündet ein in die Versuche der Moderne, die interlinguistische Distanz mit Hilfe der numerischen Taxonomie zu ermitteln. Unter anderem sind hier die morphologische Charakteristik der Sprachen nach Greenberg und Krupa, die Distanzmessungen nach Altmann und Lehfeldt, die statistischen Teilsystemanalysen von Manoliu-Manea (s. Haarmann 1976 zu den obigen Ansätzen), die phonometrische Modellierung nach Piotrovskij (1966), die dialektometrische Methode von Goebel (1984) u. a. hervorzuheben. Die Anwendung dieser Methoden auf konkrete Sprachzustände hat gezeigt, dass die Grenzen zwischen intralingualer Distanz (d. h. Distanz zwischen den Subsystemen einer historischen Einzelsprache) und interlingualer Distanz (d. h. zwischen historischen Einzelsprachen als Ganzsystemen) fließend sind. Gerade die dialektometrische Methode von Goebel operiert mit dialektalen Kontinua, wobei Distanzen als Bündelungen von Abstandskriterien transparent gemacht werden. Wie sehr sich die Begriffe von interlingualer und intralingualer Distanz relativieren, zeigt sich beispielsweise bei der Anwendung der Greenbergschen Taxonomie auf verschiedene Entwicklungszustände von Sprachen und auf Textkorpora in ein und derselben Sprache. Nach der morphologischen Charakteristik sind die Distanzen zwischen Altfranzösisch und Neufanzösisch, zwischen Altenglisch und modernem Englisch, zwischen Mittelhochdeutsch und Neudeutsch solche zwischen AbS. Elizarenkova und Toporov (1976) haben die geolinguistische Distanz zwischen Texten in der heiligen Sprache des Buddhismus, in Pali, festgestellt. Es ergeben sich unter anderem markante Unterschiede zwischen Texten aus Indien, Sri Lanka, Südostasien und China.

Im Verlauf des 20. Jahrhunderts ist die Menge an Daten über die Sprachenvielfalt in der Welt enorm angewachsen. Mit dem Zuwachs an Detailinformationen sind zwangsläufig Probleme der Kategorisierung aufgeworfen worden. Zum Zweck der Feststellung einer Art Mindestabstand zwischen sprachlichen Varianten wurde die Methode entwickelt, die Distanz zwischen Sprachen anhand der Verwandtschaft von Elementen des Lexikons zu bestimmen. Auf diese Weise war es möglich, die relative Nähe (bzw. Di-

stanz) zwischen verglichenen Varianten zu ermitteln, es bleibt aber weiterhin die Frage offen, welcher Prozentsatz an Distanz einen Mindestabstand signalisiert: 80%, 60% oder 50%? Ein illustratives Beispiel für die Schwierigkeiten, denen man bei der Distanzbestimmung mit Hilfe der lexikostatistischen Methode begegnet, ist die Kategorisierung der Sprachen in der Strickland-Bosavi-Region von Papua-Neuguinea (Tab. 26.1). Da in dem sprachökologischen Milieu, in dem die betreffenden Kleinvölker leben, Schriftsprachengebrauch unbekannt ist, ist der Forscher (Soziolinguist, Anthropologe, Ethnologe) allein auf Kriterien der linguistischen Distanzbestimmung zwischen den Sprachformen angewiesen. Deren Gruppierung zeigt Ähnlichkeiten zwischen (1) Samo und Gebusi, (2) Etoro und Bedamini und zwischen (3) Kaluli, Kasua und Kamula. Das Onabasulu ist aufgrund seiner lexikalischen Affinitäten mit den Sprachen der Gruppe (2) und (3) assoziiert.

2.2. Kriterien funktionaler Distanz

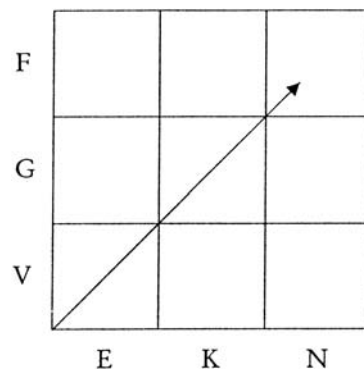
Die längste Tradition in der Auseinandersetzung mit der Problematik der funktionalen Distanz zwischen Sprachen finden wir in der osteuropäischen Soziolinguistik, genauer gesagt in der sowjetischen Sprachplanung. In den 1920er Jahren richteten sich die Bemühungen der Sprachplaner auf den Ausbau bis dahin nicht verschrifteter Sprachen zu Medien, die gesellschaftliche Aufgaben im Sowjetstaat erfüllen konnten. Es zeigte sich bald, dass die ideologische Vorstellung von einer klassenlosen Gesellschaft, in der nicht nur alle Menschen, sondern auch deren Sprachen und Kulturen gleich wären, Ideal bleiben würde. Nach einigen Jahrzehnten planerischer Tätigkeit hatten sich klare hierarchische Differenzierungen in den funktionalen Anwendungsbereichen der Sowjetsprachen herausgebildet (Glück 1984,

546ff), die auch von den Ideologen stillschweigend als Realitäten akzeptiert wurden. Die sowjetische Soziolinguistik war immer bemüht, die realen Statusdifferenzen ideologisch zu verbrämen. Das Russische, das faktisch Staatssprachenfunktion übernahm, wurde nicht als Quelle von Assimilationsdruck, sondern als Motor für die als gesellschaftliches Ideal gepriesene Internationalisierung gewertet. Sprachen mit funktionaler Unterentwicklung wurden dennoch als nominell mit dem Russischen „gleichrangig“ bezeichnet (Nenarokov 1991). Die Kategorisierung der Sowjetsprachen nach soziopolitischen Kriterien war zu allen Zeiten eine brisante Problematik. In der postsowjetischen Ära hat die Diskussion über Statuskriterien wegen der Frage kultureller Autonomie für die nichtrussischen Völker in der Russischen Föderation besonderes politisches Gewicht bekommen.

Seit ihren Anfängen in den 1950er Jahren war die moderne westliche Soziolinguistik mit dem Problem der funktionalen Distanz zwischen Sprachen konfrontiert. Von den Versuchen, die funktionale Distanz nach formalen Kriterien zu bestimmen, sind einige erfolgreich angewandt worden. Zu diesen gehören die Methode der Dominanzkonfigurationen nach Fishman (1965), die soziolinguistischen Profilformeln nach Ferguson (1966) und die Ausbauparadigmatik von Kloss (1952; 1967; 1978; u. a.). Besonderen Widerhall haben in der Forschungstradition die Bemühungen von Kloss gefunden, die funktionale Varianz von AuS zu systematisieren und für die Zwecke einer Distanzbestimmung anwendbar zu machen (Muljačić 1986). Wichtig für Kloss ist die Differenzierung der schriftsprachlichen Produktion einer AuS nach ihrer Qualität in eine rein literarische Sparte (d. h. Belletristik) einerseits, in die Sachprosa (d. h. sachorientierte Literatur) andererseits. Für die Domäne der

Tab. 26.1: Lexikalische Affinitäten und Distanzen zwischen einigen Sprachen Papua-Neuguineas (Kelly 1993, 30)

Samo							
90	Gebusi						
36	36	42	Bedamini				
34	37	67	Etoro				
31	34	52	58	Onabasulu			
36	37	46	48	64	Kaluli		
30	32	38	41	52	64	Kasua	
24	28	29	31	32	44	55	Kamula

**Anwendungsbereiche:**

- V – volkstümliche Prosa (Grundschulniveau)
- G – gehobene Prosa (Niveau der höheren Schulausbildung)
- F – wissenschaftliche Prosa (Hochschulniveau)

Entfaltungsstufen:

- E – eigenbezogene Thematik (Themen aus dem eigenen Lebensbereich der Sprachgemeinschaft)
- K – kulturkundliche Thematik (Themen aus geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Bereichen)
- N – naturwissenschaftliche Thematik (Themen aus naturwissenschaftlichen sowie technisch-technologischen Bereichen)

Abb. 26.1: Ein Phasenmodell für die Entwicklung von Sachprosa (Kloss 1978, 49)

Sachprosa, die für die Frage nach den sozialen Funktionen einer Sprache in einer modernen Gesellschaft von besonderer Bedeutung ist, unterscheidet Kloss zwischen Anwendungsbereichen und Entfaltungsstufen. Werden diese beiden Parameter der Sachprosaproduktion als soziolinguistische Parameter in ein Diagramm integriert, so kann mit dessen Hilfe der Ausbaustatus einer jeden Sprache bestimmt werden und, konsequenterweise, die funktionale Distanz zwischen einzelnen Sprachen formal dargestellt werden (Abb. 26.1). Kloss (1978, 49) hat Vorschläge gemacht, wie sein Diagramm angewendet werden könnte. So kategorisiert er das Färingische, Irische, Sorbische, Kymrische und Westfriesische als AuS mit folgenden Ausbauphasen: V x E, G x E, F x E, V x K, G x K bzw. V x N.

Prinzipielle Schwierigkeiten treten auf, wenn es um die konkrete Anwendung des Diagramms auf reale Sprachverhältnisse geht. Die Bemessungskriterien können zwar willkürlich festgelegt werden, es fragt sich dann aber, ob die Zuordnung konkreter AuS-Funktionen gemäss dem Diagramm sinnvoll oder angemessen ist. Es tun sich eine Reihe von Alternativen auf:

a) Wie soll man die Vitalität einer AuS in den Massenmedien im Hinblick auf folgende

Abstufungen bewerten: regelmässig – sporadisch – potentiell? Die Verwendung einer AuS kann als potentiell eingestuft werden, wenn es Personen gibt, die das Stilniveau beherrschen, das für die Aufnahme von Texten in eine Tageszeitung oder eine Wochenzeitung gefordert wird. Reicht für die Zuordnung zu einer Sparte des Diagramms von Kloss das Kriterium der potentiellen, der sporadischen oder erst der regelmässigen Verwendung?

b) Wie sieht das Verhältnis von „öffentlich-geschriebenen“ und „öffentlich-nur gesprochenen“ Texten aus? In den Massenmedien Rundfunk und Fernsehen sowie in Vortragssituationen werden Texte präsentiert, die nur in gesprochener Form der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich sind (z. B. Reportagen, Moderationen, Nachrichten, politische Rede). Obwohl die Inhalte solcher Zusprachetexte häufig eine schriftliche Vorlage haben, ist diese nicht zur Veröffentlichung bestimmt.

c) Ist es sinnvoll, die Domäne der Alltagsprosa von anderen Sachprosabereichen abzugrenzen? Die Alltagsprosa ist weitaus verzweigter als die Sachprosa, bei der es in erster Linie um die Produktion selbständiger Druckwerke geht. Auch manche Erscheinungsformen der Alltagsprosa treten in ge-

druckter Form auf, wobei es sich aber nicht um Texte mit dem Charakter selbständiger Publikationen handelt. Zur Alltagsprosa gehören Einkaufszettel, Briefe, Tagebücher, Formblätter (Fragebögen, Anmeldeformulare), Quittungen und Abrechnungen im Handel, Werbeprospekte, Packungsbeilagen, Graffiti an Häuserwänden und WC-Kritzeleien.

d) Wie ist das soziokulturelle Potential von Schlüsseltexten zu bewerten? Es geht hier um die Frage, in welcher Weise Schlüsseltexte von den potentiellen Lesekonsumenten rezipiert werden. Welche praktische Bedeutung hat die Bibel in christlichen Gesellschaften? Wie häufig wird der Koran in islamischen Ländern gelesen? Existierten die in viele Sprachen übersetzten Standardwerke des Marxismus-Leninismus während der Sowjetära als Ikonen oder wurden sie tatsächlich gelesen?

Bei jungen, wenig entwickelten AuS in den Entwicklungsländern kann die Rolle von Schlüsseltexten entscheidend für deren Vitalität sein. Dies gilt für die zahlreichen Bibelübersetzungen in die Sprachen von Kleinvölkern; für das Sissala (seit 1995) in Burkina Faso, das Reshe (seit 1970) in Nigeria, das Fipa (seit 1988) in Tansania, das Cholo (seit 1991) in Kolumbien, das Cora (seit 1961) in Mexiko, das Yaqui (seit 1959) in den USA, das Arop-Lokep (seit 1990) in Papua-Neuguinea, u. a.

3. Die Dualität von Abstandsprachen (AbS) – Ausbausprachen (AuS) und die Kategorisierung der Sprachen der Welt

Auf den ersten Blick scheint es so, als ob die Distanz zwischen Abstandsprachen ein rein linguistischer Untersuchungsgegenstand ist, während die Analyse des Ausbaustatus von Sprachen eine Aufgabenstellung der Soziolinguistik ist. Tatsächlich aber haben beide Bereiche der Sprachwissenschaft, ob nun mehr linguistisch-formal oder soziolinguistisch orientiert, nicht nur mit jeweils einem der Begriffe, sondern mit der Begriffsdualität zu tun. Wenn hier von interlinguistischer Distanz die Rede ist, so bezieht sich dies auf die rein linguistische wie soziolinguistische Ebene.

Die Sprachen der Welt lassen sich im Hinblick auf die Dualität von AbS und AuS in folgende Kategorien einteilen:

a) Status als Nur-AbS. – Die meisten Sprachen der Welt sind Nur-AbS, einfach deshalb, weil sie nicht als Schriftsprachen ausgebaut sind und ihr Abstand zu anderen Sprachen allein nach strukturellen Merkmalen bemessen werden kann. Dies trifft auf rund vier Fünftel aller Sprachen der Welt zu. Eine Nur-AbS definiert sich einerseits aufgrund ihrer Distanz zu einer anderen Nur-AbS (Beispiel: Liwisch und Ischorisch als ostseefinnische Sprachen), andererseits aufgrund ihrer Distanz zu einer AbS/AuS (Beispiel: Ainu im Verhältnis zum Japanischen). Es gibt viele Kontaktsituationen, wo die Sprecher einer Nur-AbS eine regional dominierende AuS verwenden. In den Fällen, wo die Nur-AbS und die AuS historisch verwandt sind, wird das Abstandsverhältnis zwischen den beteiligten Sprachen nicht selten im Bewusstsein der AbS-Sprecher deformiert, indem die Muttersprache wegen ihres fehlenden oder unzureichenden Ausbaus als bloßer Dialekt bewertet wird. Solche psychologischen Störzustände finden wir im Verhältnis von Kaschubisch (Nur-AbS) zum Polnischen (als von den Kaschuben verwendete AuS), von Sardisch zum Italienischen, von Niedersächsisch zum Deutschen usw. Allgemein bekannt ist die Patois-Mentalität der Sprecher von Regionalsprachen in Frankreich, auf die das Französische als AuS einen funktionalen Druck ausübt. Nur-AbS, die von ihren Sprechern nicht als solche erkannt, sondern für „Dialekte“ gehalten werden, bezeichnet man in der Terminologie der Ausbaukomparatistik als „scheindialektisierte AbS“ (engl. *near- oder pseudodialectized Abstand languages*; Kloss 1978, 67ff).

b) Status als AbS und als AuS. – Da nur rund ein Fünftel der Sprachen der Welt verschriftet sind, d. h. in unterschiedlichem Umfang hochsprachliche Funktionen übernehmen, ist die Zahl der Sprachen mit dem Status einer AbS und AuS kleiner als die der Nur-AbS (vgl. a). Beispiele für diese Kategorie von Sprachen sind die Distanz zwischen Finnisch und Saamisch, zwischen Deutsch und Englisch, zwischen Russisch und Tschechisch. Der Grad der linguistischen Distanz als AbS und der soziolinguistischen Distanz als AuS ist bei den Beispielpaaren jeweils spezifisch. Das Saamische repräsentiert einen eigenen Zweig der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen, das Finnische ist ein Vertreter der ostseefinnischen Gruppe. Die Distanz zwischen beiden Sprachen nach dem AbS-Kriterium ist vergleichsweise grö-

ber als zwischen Russisch und Tschechisch, die sich linguistisch näher stehen. Die interlingualen Distanzen zwischen den finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen sind vielfach größer als zwischen slawischen Einzelsprachen, da deren Ausgliederung aus dem urslawischen Kontinuum wesentlich später erfolgte als im Fall der Ausgliederung finnisch-ugrischer Einzelsprachen. Die Distanz zwischen Deutsch und Englisch ist geringer als zwischen Saamisch und Finnisch, aber größer als zwischen Russisch und Tschechisch. Die interlinguale Distanz nach dem AuS-Kriterium zeigt erhebliche Schwankungen. Die Diskrepanz zwischen dem Finnischen als vollständig ausgebauter Kultursprache (als Schriftsprache mit den verschiedensten Funktionen, als Amtssprache, als Sprache der Wissenschaft und der High-Tech-Industrie) und dem Saamischen mit defektivem Ausbau ist vergleichsweise größer als zwischen dem Englischen und Deutschen, beides moderne Kultursprachen, wobei das Englische allerdings die größere globale Reichweite besitzt.

Zu den Sprachen dieser Kategorie gehören auch solche, deren interlinguale Distanzproblematik weithin – selbst in Fachkreisen – unbekannt ist. Ein solcher Fall ist die Situation des Saamischen und seiner regionalen Varianten. In der Tradition der historisch-vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft der Finno-Ugristik wird das Saamische (früher Lappisch genannt) als eine historische Einzelsprache mit zahlreichen regionalen Varianten aufgefasst (z. B. in der Sprachgeschichte des Saamischen von Korhonen 1981). Die Versuche jedoch, für das Saamische eine einheitliche Schriftsprache zu schaffen, sind gescheitert. Dies hängt in erster Linie damit zusammen, dass Sprecher der verschiedenen Regiolekte sich nur mühsam oder gar nicht untereinander verständigen können. Saamisch wird in mehreren Varianten geschrieben. Als das Saamische im Jahre 1991 als fakultative Amtssprache in der finnischen Provinz Lappland (finnisch *Lappi*) neben dem Finnischen anerkannt wurde, standen die Behörden vor dem Problem, welchen Schriftstandard des Saamischen sie wählen sollten. Die Lösung des Problems mutet salomonisch an: Alle drei, in Finnland gebräuchlichen saamischen Schriftsprachen sind regional zugelassen. Dies bedeutet etwa, dass amtliche Verlautbarungen, außer in Finnisch, in drei saamischen Schriftsprachen veröffentlicht werden: in Nord- oder Berg-Saamisch, in Inari-Saamisch und in Skolt-

Saamisch. Hinsichtlich ihres ethnopolitischen Status werden die Saamen in den Ländern, wo sie leben (d. h. in Norwegen, Schweden, Finnland und Russland), einheitlich behandelt. Das heißt, die Regierungen dieser Länder gehen von der Existenz einer einzigen ethnischen Gruppe aus, die kulturelle Kollektivrechte genießen. Die Kriterien allerdings, nach denen die Zugehörigkeit zur saamischen Volksgruppe definiert wird, weichen in den einzelnen Ländern ab. Abstammungs- und Sprachzugehörigkeitsprinzip werden teilweise separat, teilweise kombiniert angewandt. Trotz dieser ethnopolitischen Realitäten, die durch ein intersaamisches Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl gestützt werden, unterscheiden sich die regionalen Varianten des Saamischen als AbS ebenso wie als AuS.

c) Status als Nur-AuS. – Die Zahl der Sprachen, die sich nach ihrem Status als AuS, nicht aber nach dem AbS-Kriterium unterscheiden, ist verhältnismäßig gering, wenn man sie mit den zahlreichen Fällen unter (a) und (b) vergleicht. Von exemplarischer Bedeutung für die Diskussion dieser Sprachen ist die Studie von Auburger (1976) über die Ausbaukriterien der altmakedonischen und neumakedonischen schriftsprachlichen Varianten in ihrem Verhältnis zum Bulgarischen. Diejenigen sprachlichen Situationen, auf die ein Status als Nur-AuS zutrifft, sind sämtlich von erheblicher soziopolitischer Brisanz. Auf einige dieser Fälle sei hier hingewiesen. Während der Sowjetära unterschieden die Sprachplaner zwei ausbausprachliche Varianten des Tscheremissischen (Mari), das Wiesen-Mari und das Berg-Mari. Seit die nichtrussischen Nationalitäten im postsowjetischen Russland mehr Mitspracherechte auf politischer Ebene wahrnehmen, ist auch das Mari zum Objekt politischer Entscheidungen geworden. In der Verfassung der Republik Mari-El' (früher A.S.S.R. der Mari) von 1992 wird eine einheitliche Mari-Sprache anerkannt, die in zwei regionalen Varianten geschrieben wird. Im Fall des Mordwinischen sind die Verhältnisse noch komplexer. Die sowjetische Sprachplanung unterschied zwei Sprachen (Mokscha- und Erza-Mordwinisch) und zwei mordwinische Ethnien. Die Regierung der Republik Mordowien (früher Mordwinische A.S.S.R.) entschied sich dafür, zwei selbstständige Schriftsprachen, aber nur eine Ethnie anzuerkennen. Das Mari wie auch das Mordwinische sind also jeweils in einem Paar von AuS vertreten. Bis in

die jüngste Vergangenheit existierte das Rumänische aus politischen Gründen in Gestalt zweier AuS. Die Dualität von Standardrumänisch in Rumänien und moldauischer Schriftsprache in Moldawien (früher Moldauische S.S.R.) symbolisierte die politisch-ideologische Grenzmarkierung zwischen der Sowjetunion und Rumänien während der Zeit des „Kalten Krieges“ (vgl. Art. 87). Abgesehen von minimalen strukturellen Unterschieden bestand die Distanz zwischen beiden Schriftstandards im Wesentlichen darin, dass das Moldauische in Kyrillisch, das Rumänische in Lateinschrift geschrieben wurde. Es kam hinzu, dass sich die Inhalte, die durch die Texte in den beiden schriftsprachlichen Varianten vermittelt wurden, unterschieden (sowjetisch-internationalistisch versus rumänisch-isolationistisch). Politisch brisant und in ihren Konsequenzen noch nicht absehbar ist die Trennung des Serbischen und Kroatischen in zwei verschiedene AuS. Solange das alte Jugoslawien bestand, waren das lateinisch geschriebene Kroatisch und das Serbische in kyrillischer Schrift Varianten ein und derselben Sprache: Serbokroatisch. Die politische Trennung von Kroatien und Serbien ist die Folge des Krieges von 1992. Die frühere Idee einer serbokroatischen Sprache mit regionalen Schriftvarianten fiel den ethnischen Ressentiments zum Opfer, durch die sich die beiden südslawischen Völkern identitätsmäßig voneinander abgrenzen (Neweklowsky 1997). Im Schriftgebrauch des Serbischen wie auch des Kroatischen werden seither regionale Besonderheiten befürwortet und vorhandene Ausdrucksalternativen manipulativ ausgemerzt. Aufgrund dieser bewussten „Abstandnahme“ beider Sprachkulturen voneinander sind das Kroatische und Serbische in einer Transitionsphase von Nur-AuS zu Aus + AbS.

4. Moderne Ausbausprachen und die Herausforderung der digitalen Literalität

Im letzten Jahrzehnt des 20. Jhs. hat die Digitaltechnik, und insbesondere die der Schreibcomputer, traditionelle Auffassungen über Schrifttum, Literalität und die Rolle von AuS revolutioniert. Viele befürchten, dass immer mehr lokale AuS in den Sog der Globalisierung hineingerissen werden, was soviel bedeutet, als dass diese Sprachen immer mehr Funktionen an das Englische ab-

geben und letztendlich nur mehr funktionale Nischenplätze im Gesamtspektrum einer vom Englischen dominierten Literalität einnehmen. Solche apokalyptischen Visionen krankten daran, dass mit ihnen bestimmte Trends der Globalisierung linear fortgeschrieben werden, so als ob es keinerlei Alternativen zum medialen Druck des Englischen gäbe. Tatsächlich aber übernehmen lokale AuS vielerlei Funktionen, die das Englische theoretisch auch ausfüllen könnte, aber in der Praxis nicht tut. Englischsprachige Belletristik und Trivialliteratur werden in viele Sprachen übersetzt, weil es für die Lesekonsumenten angenehmer ist, Texte in der Muttersprache zu lesen, unabhängig davon, ob ihre Englischkenntnisse für die Lektüre von englischem Originalschrifttum ausreichen. Auch die Produktion von Übersetzungsliteratur in Sachprosbereichen hat weltweit keine Einbrüche durch die Dominanz des Englischen erlebt. Hier zeigt sich ebenso wie im Bereich der Belletristik, wie wichtig das vertraute sprachliche Medium (d. h. die Muttersprache) ist. In einer Atmosphäre, wo eine solche Vertrautheit im Umgang mit einer lokalen AuS dessen Wahl für die Rezeption von Schrifttum bestimmt, wird auch die Produktion von Originalschrifttum in den Sachprosbereichen vorrangig sein. Der Aspekt der kommunikativen Intimität, die durch die lokale Literalität vermittelt wird, ist keine sentimentale Marginalie, sondern der entscheidende Motor für die Resistenz lokaler AuS gegen den globalen Druck des Englischen.

Was hier über das Verhältnis von Globalität und dem Potential lokaler AuS gesagt wurde, gilt in kleinerem Masstab ebenfalls für das Verhältnis von dominanten und in-dominanten AuS in Einzelstaaten. Selbst wenn theoretisch sämtliche hochsprachlichen Funktionen von einer dominanten Sprache ausgefüllt werden könnten, stehen dieser prinzipiellen Kapazität die soziokulturellen Bedürfnisse lokalsprachlicher Identität entgegen. In einer Zeit, wo die Menschenrechtsdiskussion auf eine Förderung lokaler Kulturen und lokaler Sprachen angelegt ist, wo weltweit eine Stärkung des kulturell-sprachlichen Selbstwertgefühls bei großen und kleinen Ethnien zu beobachten ist, wo sich das Verständnis für Multikulturalität vertieft und das Bewusstsein multilateraler Abhängigkeiten geschärft hat, in einer solchen Zeit stehen Bemühungen um die Förderung lokaler AuS und der Ausbau

neuer Kultursprachen nicht etwa im Gegensatz zu modernen Vorstellungen von Fortschritt, sondern sie besitzen einen wesentlichen Stellenwert im Bemühen um die Schaffung von Lebensqualität.

Auch vom Standpunkt der Effektivität der digitalen Literalität ist AuS-Monokultur in Gestalt des Englischen keine Ideallösung. Es wird immer wieder behauptet, dass die meisten Informationen über die Welt in englischer Sprache verfügbar und digital gespeichert sind. Dies trifft zu, wenn wir den Wissenshorizont als Maßstab nehmen, den wir Menschen in der westlichen Hemisphäre überschauen. Da wir Globalisierung gern gleichsetzen mit der digitaltechnologischen Vernetzung der Welt, kommen wir vom Image des Informationsmonopols auf Seiten des Englischen nicht los. Das Wissen über unsere Welt ist aber nicht nur digital gespeichert oder in geschriebener Form in den AuS der Welt verfügbar, es existiert auch in unzähligen Lokalkulturen und ihren Sprachen, die nicht verschriftet sind. Dies bedeutet, dass es tausendfaches Wissen über unsere Welt gibt, das den allermeisten Menschen in der postindustriellen Gesellschaft verborgen bleibt, weil es nämlich nur über die orale Tradition vermittelt wird. Die Aktivisten weltweiter Entwicklungshilfeprojekte haben schon vor Jahren erkannt, dass es nicht ausreicht, westliches Know-How in die Länder der Dritten Welt zu transferieren. Es müssen die bodenständigen Wissensressourcen mobilisiert werden, d. h. das ökologische Wissen der einheimischen Völker (Warren et al. 1995). In den industrialisierten Ländern wie Russland oder Bulgarien, in den postindustriellen Ländern wie Frankreich oder Großbritannien und in den „Schwellenländern“ (d. h. in den Ländern, die die Schwelle zur Industrialisierung überschritten haben) wie Thailand oder Mexiko sind die Voraussetzungen gegeben, dass die digitale Literalität das Spektrum der existierenden Varianten traditioneller Literalität organisch erweitert. Die größten Konzentrationen des digitalen Informationsflusses finden wir bisher in den technologisch am höchsten entwickelten Ländern, in den fünfundzwanzig OECD-Staaten. Nimmt man als Kriterium für die Kapazität des Informationstransfers das Internet, so ist die Verteilung der Anschlüsse für dieses Medium denkbar disproportioniert. Über 90% der Internet-Anschlüsse konzentrieren sich in den OECD-Staaten, in denen lediglich 19% der Weltbevölkerung

lebt (Human Development Report 1999, 61 ff).

Der Zugang zur digitalen Literalität ist für die meisten Bewohner der Entwicklungsländer versperrt, zum einen wegen fehlender technischer Infrastruktur, zum anderen aber auch wegen fehlenden Zugangs zur traditionellen Literalität. Der Sprung in die moderne Zeit geht aber nicht vom Analphabetentum in das Medium der digitalen Literalität, sondern über die Brücke der traditionellen Schriftlichkeit. Seit Jahren arbeiten die Aktivisten der Entwicklungshilfeprogramme mit ihren Alphabetisierungskampagnen auf diesem weiten Feld. Die Problematik der Alphabetisierung korreliert jeweils mit einer anderen spezifischen Problematik, nämlich der Wahl des sprachlichen Mediums, über das Lesen und Schreiben gelernt wird. Die Wahl ist jeweils die zwischen einer dominanten Sprache der Region, die entweder amtliche oder bildungspolitische Funktionen übernimmt, und einer Lokalsprache. Die Lokalsprache besitzt den Vorteil, dass sie soziokulturelle Intimität vermittelt, was für die Lernmotivation gerade in der Primarstufe der Schulausbildung entscheidend ist. Die Verschriftung lokaler Sprachen und die Verwendung dieser AuS im Schulunterricht sind eine essentielle Komponente in den Kampagnen, den Bewohnern in den Staaten der Dritten Welt den Zugang zur traditionellen Literalität zu ermöglichen. Die Alphabetisierung in einer lokalen AuS ist das unterste Glied in der Ausbildungskette, das zweite Glied ist die Erweiterung des Wissenshorizonts über das Medium einer dominanten AuS, die ihrerseits Anteil hat an der Digitalisierung von Informationen. Die digitale Literalität überlagert die traditionale Literalität in den Entwicklungsländern nicht, einfach aufgrund fehlender infrastruktureller Kapazitäten. Wohl aber ist denkbar, dass sich dort das Verhältnis von traditioneller Schriftlichkeit und digitaler Literalität ausbalanciert.

5. Ausbaukomparatistik: Methodik und terminologisches Instrumentarium

Der erste Versuch, das Kloss'sche Diagramm in einem Reihenvergleich einzusetzen, stammt von Haarmann (1979, 332ff), der sich um eine Typologie der europäischen AuS bemüht. In der Sprachenwelt Europas

sind praktisch alle Kombinationsmöglichkeiten von Anwendungsbereichen und Entfaltungsstufen realisiert. Die Situation der AuS war noch in den 1980er Jahren verhältnismäßig stabil. Diese Entwicklungsphase der AuS in Europa ist von Verdoodt (1989b) breit dokumentiert worden. Als Folge der politischen Veränderungen im Zeitraum zwischen 1989 (Wende in Osteuropa) und 1991 (Auflösung der Sowjetunion) haben sich die Entfaltungsbedingungen für zahlreiche kleinere Sprachen erheblich verbessert. Während die Produktion von Sachprosa in den naturwissenschaftlichen Bereichen (Fachprosa) für Sprachen wie Estnisch, Lettisch, Armenisch oder Georgisch vor 1991 relativ schwach entwickelt war – hier dominierte das Russische –, haben diese Sprachen in den 1990er Jahren enormen Auftrieb erlebt. Die Modernisierung der naturwissenschaftlichen Terminologie ist ein bis heute andauernder Prozess, und für die Produktion von Texten in den lokalen Sprachen hat sich ein neuer Konkurrent eingefunden: das Englische mit seiner globalen Reichweite. Auch dort, wo nach 1991 das Russische dominiert, im Kernland Russland, ist die Produktion von Sachprosa in den nichtrussischen Sprachen aktiviert worden. Die Ausdehnung des lokalen Sprachgebrauchs in die Bereiche des höheren Ausbildungswesens, der regionalen Administration und der Massenmedien hat für AuS wie das Tatarische, Kalmykische oder Komi einen Zuwachs an soziokultureller Stabilität bewirkt. Die Verwendung dieser Sprachen in den politischen Geschäften der nichtrussischen Teilrepubliken (wie Tatarstan, Chalm-Tangsch, Republik Komi u. a.) innerhalb der Russischen Föderation ist ein weiterer Anker für die Festigung des soziopolitischen Status der modernen europäischen AuS. Nicht nur bei der Anwendung des Kloss'schen Diagramms, auch bei der Statusbestimmung einer sprachlichen Variante als AuS, ist man mit erheblichen methodischen Schwierigkeiten konfrontiert. In erster Linie sind es begriffliche Unschärfen, die die Zuordnung konkreter Ausbaufunktionen erschweren. In diesem Zusammenhang tun sich nachfolgend geschilderte Probleme auf.

5.1. Die Differenzierung ausbausprachlicher Varianten nach Abstandskriterien

In Gesellschaften, in denen Schriftlichkeit nicht nur ein elementarer Kulturträger ist, sondern auch prestigemäßig als Medium für

höhere Bildung geschätzt wird, werden nicht nur standardsprachliche Varianten für die Produktion von schriftlichen Texten verwendet, sondern auch Regiolekte, lokale Mundarten oder Sondersprachen. In einigen Ländern gibt es langlebige Traditionen, Schrifttum in den regionalen Dialekten zu produzieren und auf diese Art die bodenständige Kultur zu pflegen. In Italien beispielsweise fächert sich die Literalität aus in die Verwendung einer überregionalen Standardsprache (hochsprachliches Italienisch) und zahlreicher Dialekte (Venezianisch, Piemontesisch, Genuesisch, Napolitanisch u. a.). Die Dialektsprecher, die ihre lokale Sprachvariante als Schriftmedium für die Heimatpflege verwenden, sind sich zumeist bewusst, dass sie einen „Dialekt“ sprechen und schreiben. Diese Einsicht in die sprachliche Zugehörigkeit zu einer höheren sprachlichen Einheit tut dem Selbstbewusstsein keinen Abbruch. Die positive Selbstidentifizierung mit der lokalen Sprachvariante kann allerdings eine Kettenreaktion bewirken, nämlich eine Verstärkung des Lokalpatriotismus, der womöglich in die Forderung nach der Anerkennung eines schriftlich verwendeten Dialekts als AuS einmündet. Die Renaissance der Regionalkulturen in den 1970er, noch stärker vielleicht in den 1990er Jahren, hat soziokulturell-separatistische Strömungen gefördert. Von Kulturaktivisten werden unter anderem Forderungen gestellt, das Piemontesische oder Venezianische in Italien, das Wallonische in Südbelgien oder das Niederschottische (Lallans) in Schottland als von den sie überdachenden Standardsprachen unabhängige AuS aufzuwerten. Eine lokalpatriotische Identifizierung mit einem für schriftsprachliche Funktionen aufgewerteten Dialekt ist auch charakteristisch in Kontaktsituationen, wo eine plurizentrische Hochsprache (vgl. Art. 33; 149) einen regionalen Dialekt überdacht, der in verschiedenen formellen Funktionen verwendet wird. Dies ist der Fall beim Schwyzertütsch, in dem regelmäßig Zusprachetexte produziert werden, in Verhandlungen kommunaler Körperschaften, in kirchlichen Amtshandlungen, im Rundfunk und in der Filmbranche. Allein nach ihren Ausbaufunktionen kann man diese Dialekte den Sparten des Kloss'schen Diagramms zuordnen. Aufgrund fehlenden linguistischen Abstands aber handelt es sich hier nicht um selbständige AuS, sondern um „Ausbaudialekte“ (in der Kloss'schen Terminologie; Kloss 1978, 55ff).

Verkompliziert wird die alternative Identifizierung einer schriftsprachlichen Variante als AuS oder Ausbau-Dialekt durch den Sachverhalt, dass für eine Reihe von AbS mehrere ausbausprachliche Varianten in Gebrauch sind. Bei den Versuchen, die regionale Zersplitterung der AuS zu überwinden, zeigt sich, ob die Verständigungsbarrieren zwischen den lokalen Dialekten auszugleichen sind oder nicht. Im günstigen Fall gelingt die Vereinheitlichung (Beispiel: Baskisch), bei zu großer linguistischer Distanz bleibt die Trennung ausbausprachlicher Varianten erhalten (Beispiel: Saamisch). Die längste Zeit seiner Geschichte als Schriftsprache basierte das Baskische auf lokalen Dialekten. Geschrieben wurde in Guipuzkoanisch und Bizkainisch auf spanischer Seite, in Laburdisch und Soulisch auf französischer Seite. Seit Jahrzehnten hatte sich die Euskaltzaindia (Akademie der baskischen Sprache) um die Vereinheitlichung standardsprachlicher Normen bemüht. Auf der Konferenz von Bergara im Jahre 1979 wurden die Normen endgültig festgelegt. Das erfolgreich propagierte Euskera Batua ('Einheitsbaskisch') wird seither immer häufiger verwendet. Ungefähr 80% des Schrifttums in baskischer Sprache basiert auf dem Euskera Batua (Aulestia 1989, 15f). Diese Variante des Baskischen mutet derzeit noch manchem seiner Benutzer künstlich oder fremdartig an. Aber diesen Eindruck machen alle Standardsprachen, die als Ausgleichsform entstanden sind. Das Baskische hat sich also aus einem Zustand ausbaudialektaler Konkurrenz zu dem einer einheitlichen AuS entfaltet.

Die Bemühungen um eine Vereinheitlichung des Rätoromanischen in der Schweiz, des Bündnerromanischen (Graubündnerischen), sind (noch) nicht so erfolgreich wie die der baskischen AuS. Offiziell werden fünf lokale Dialekte des Bündnerromanischen als Ausbaudialekte auf dem Niveau der Grundschule verwendet. Im Alltagsleben werden allerdings die zwei sprecherstärksten Dialekte bevorzugt, das Surselvische und das Engadinische (Caviezel 1993). Seit längerem haben sich Sprachplaner um den Ausbau eines einheitlichen Standards bemüht. Der jüngste, und gleichzeitig erfolgreichste Ausbauversuch stammt von Schmid (1982), der seine Standardsprache Rumantsch Grischun nennt. Der Standard des Rumantsch Grischun ist in eine Elementargrammatik und in ein normatives Wörterbuch eingegangen, und es entstanden

zahlreiche Gebrauchstexte (Darms 1989). Schwieriger als die Festlegung der Normen des Rumantsch Grischun scheint aber die Propagierung dieser Ausgleichsform zu sein, deren Druckproduktion inzwischen zugenommen hat.

5.2. Das Problem einer fehlenden Überdachung von Mundarten durch eine Standardsprache

Problematisch ist nicht der Umstand, dass Mundarten von einer standardsprachlichen Variante überdacht werden. Dies ist der Normalfall in einer Sprachgemeinschaft, die Teil hat an der Literalität. Vielmehr sind es Zustände, wo Mundarten nicht überdacht werden von einer AuS, die als Subsystem zu demselben Makrosystem gehört wie die gesprochenen Varianten. In der Kloss'schen Terminologie haben wir es in solchen Fällen mit „dachlosen Außenmundarten“ zu tun (vgl. Muljačić 1989 zum Dachsprachenbegriff). Dies trifft beispielsweise auf das Elsässische in Ostfrankreich zu, das nicht vom Hochdeutschen, sondern von der AbS/AuS Französisch überdacht wird, auf die deutschen Mundarten in Sibirien (in und um Irkutsk), deren Sprecher unter dem „fremden Dach“ der russischen AuS stehen, oder auf das Cajun-Französische im Süden Louisianas mit seiner englischen Überdachung.

5.3. Die Kategorisierung von AuS in Kontaktsituationen

Aufbauend auf den Grundlagen der von Kloss initiierten und ausgeloteten Ausbaukomparatistik sind Erweiterungen und Verfeinerungen des ursprünglichen Ausbaumodells vorgeschlagen worden. Muljačić hat sich in mehreren Studien insbesondere um eine Typologie von AuS in Kontaktsituationen bemüht. AuS stehen immer im Kontakt zu gesprochenen Varianten und häufig auch im Kontakt mit anderen AuS im selben Kulturmilieu. In der Regel zeigen sich in jeder beliebigen Kontaktsituation funktionale, status- und/oder prestigemäßige Unterschiede zwischen den beteiligten Sprachen. Eine der Sprachen ist zumeist dominant und besitzt größeres Prestige als andere. Aus solchen Kontaktbedingungen kann eine Schwächung von Status und Funktionen der indominanten Sprache(n) resultieren. Indominante Sprachen geraten auf diese Weise in einen Prozess soziolinguistischen Verfalls (franz. *déchéance sociolinguistique* in der Terminologie von Muljačić). Sprachen können

Processus de déchéance sociolinguistique	Processus d'émancipation sociolinguistique
1 ^{re} phase LD et LE	4 ^e phase LD et LE
2 ^e phase LD	3 ^e phase LEAL
3 ^e phase LDAD	2 ^e phase LE
4 ^e phase DN de LD	1 ^{re} phase DN de LD

LD = langue par distanciation
 LE = langue par élaboration
 LDAD = langue par distanciation apparemment dialectalisée
 DN = dialecte normal
 LEAL = langue par élaboration apparemment »linguifiée«

Abb. 26.2: Potentielle Entwicklungen von AuS in Kontaktsituationen (Muljačić/Haarmann 1996, 637)

sich aber auch gegen den Druck dominanter Kontaktsprachen emanzipieren und zu AuS entfalten. Diese Entwicklung signalisiert einen Prozess der soziolinguistischen Emanzipation (franz. *émancipation sociolinguistique* nach Muljačić). Stellt man die Dynamik des soziolinguistischen Verfallsprozesses einerseits, der soziolinguistischen Emanzipation andererseits in Rechnung, so entsteht ein Phasenmodell von AuS im Sprachkontakt, das *modèle relativiste* von Muljačić (Abb. 26.2).

6. Ausblick

Im Zuge der begrifflichen Verfeinerung der Ausbauparadigmatik hat sich herausgestellt, dass es einfacher ist, für die deutsche Terminologie englischsprachige Äquivalente zu schaffen als romanischsprachige (vgl. Goebel 1989, 278). Um die zukünftige Forschung zu erleichtern, ist eine terminologische Koordination unerlässlich. Eine terminologisch-normative Vergleichsstudie ist derzeit das dringlichste Desiderat.

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27. Umgangssprache – Nonstandard/Vernacular – Nonstandard

1. Grundlagen
2. Nonstandard und Vernacular im anglophonen Sprachraum
3. Umgangssprache und Substandard im deutschsprachigen Raum
4. Die Verkehrssprache in der Frankophonie
5. Kritische Aspekte und Perspektiven: Konvergenz, Divergenz und Koinébildung
6. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Grundlagen

Die sozialen Spielarten der *Norm* stellen die prototypische Ordnungsinstanz von Varietäten einer Einzelsprache in der Spannung

von Sprachsystem (*langue*) und Sprachgebrauch (*parole*) dar (vgl. Coseriu 1970; Bartsch 1988; Art. 48). Das Spannungsverhältnis von *Chaos/Spontanität* und *Ordnung*, das auf der Ebene des Varietätenkontinuums einer Einzelsprache konvergente und divergente Orientierungen auslöst, betrachtet Lüdtke (1999, 1–17) als wesentliche Triebfeder des Sprachwandels.

Die zwischen den Einzeldialekten und der Standardvarietät (zur linguistischen Operationalisierung vgl. König 1989) anzusetzenden Varietäten der „sprechsprachlichen Mitte“ (breite mittlere Bevölkerungsschichten),

floaten, je nach dem kommunikativen Klima auf den diversen städtischen und ländlichen „linguistischen Märkten“ (Bourdieu 1982) konvergierend zur Standardvarietät oder divergierend in Richtung Einzeldialekte. Verstärkte Divergenz kann, wie im Falle des hochallemannischen Schweizerdeutschen, zu Verständnisverlusten mit den anderen Teilen der deutschsprachigen Bevölkerung führen. *Sprachpolitisch* herbeigeführte Konvergenz kann, wie im Falle des nachrevolutionären Frankreich im 19. Jahrhundert, zur weitgehenden Nivellierung der Dialekte führen. Die „sprechsprachliche Mitte“ einer Einzelsprache ist durch einen hohen Grad an intersozialer, -kultureller, -dialektaler und -domänenspezifischer (gegenseitiger) *Verständlichkeit* gekennzeichnet. Ihre die Grenzen der sprachlichen Verständigung überwindende Rolle unterstreicht ihre *verkehrssprachliche* Funktion (VL, vgl. Dittmar 1997, 159ff); unter VL verstehen wir die Varietät einer Einzelsprache, die in der europäischen Soziolinguistik *Umgangssprache*, *Substandard* (germanophon), *vernacular* (anglophon) und *langue populaire* (frankophon) genannt wird. Die Variation lässt sich *topologisch* auf der horizontalen Ebene des Raumes und *stratisch* auf der vertikalen Ebene des sozialen Status von Gesellschaftsmitgliedern bestimmen (diatopisch, diastratisch, vgl. Coseriu 1970; Dittmar 1997); Kommunikationssituationen (und die in sie eingehenden unterschiedlichen sozialen und lebensweltlichen Erfahrungen) bestimmen die *diaphasische* Variation, (auch *diasituativ*) in Gestalt von Registern (vgl. Art. 23 in diesem Band). In dieser primären ausgleichenden Funktion sind ihre *diastratischen*, *diaphasischen* und *diatopischen* Differenzierungen weitgehend neutralisiert. Dabei kommt dem diatopischen Aspekt größeres Gewicht zu als den diastratischen und diaphasischen (vgl. Wesch 1998).

Verkehrssprachliche Funktion heisst dann: (a) kommunikative Geltung über die Grenzen einzelner sozialer Parameter hinaus; (b) wertneutrale Erleichterung der zwischenmenschlichen Verständigung in allen öffentlichen und halböffentlichen Situationen; (c) optimales Verstehen mit minimalem Aufwand zu ermöglichen. Im Varietätenkontinuum handelt es sich um *Mesolekte*, die zwischen *Basilekten* (lokale Dialekte) und dem *Akrolekt* (der Standardvariante) positioniert sind.

Eine theoretische Bestimmung der VL steht in dialektischer Spannung zur *Korpus-*

dimension (vgl. Aurburger 1990), d.h. einer auf sprachliche Korpora gegründete empirische Beschreibung der Normierung und Kodifizierung von Varietäten.

Gleichzeitig müssen wir ihre Verbreitung/Vitalität in gesellschaftlichen Domänen und ihre Legitimität in Gebrauchssituationen auf einer Skala bestimmen (Dittmar 1997, 157).

Untersuchungen in vielen Sprachgemeinschaften belegen, dass eine großflächige Mitte zwischen den Extremen der dreidimensionalen Variation (Raum, soziale Gruppe, Situation) mit je nach Zeitintervall gewählten Grenzverschiebungen (*Konvergenz* Standardvarietät; *Divergenz* lokale Dialekte) für die VL anzusetzen ist (vgl. Nabrings 1981).

Der Stand der synchronen und diachronen Erforschung der VL ist nach Repräsentativität, Validität und Reliabilität vorliegender Korpora zu beurteilen. Kernfragen sind (vgl. auch Art. 98 und 102): Welche *linguistischen Ebenen* müssen belegt sein? (In Ziegler 1997 werden nur zwei phonologische Variablen zur Evidenz angeführt). Wie *repräsentativ* müssen die sprachlichen *Belege* sein? Wieviele *Mindestvorkommen* sind der soziolinguistischen Varietätenanalyse zugrunde zu legen? Theoretische Klärungen betreffen vor allem die Abgrenzung von anderen Varietäten im V-Kontinuum (viele Überlagerungen und Überlappungen); dabei müssen jeder Varietät, auch der VL, kreative eigenständige Anteile zuerkannt werden (vgl. u.a. Klein 1984; Dittmar & Schmidt-Regener 2001). Die multifunktionalen Rollen der VL (Überdachung, Substandard etc.) sind wenig erforscht. Die VL ist echt enthalten in der historischen Gesamtsprache (vgl. Steger 1988), aber nicht in der *Standardvarietät*. Die VL-Performanzen sind nicht mit der kodifizierten schriftlichen, sondern mit der mündlichen (vgl. König 1989) Standardnorm zu vergleichen. Zur Definition und Ausgrenzung VL reichen Bündel sprachlicher Merkmale in Korrelation mit außersprachlichen Parametern nicht aus. Die Varietätengestalt. Die umhüllenden Grenzen der Varietätenlinguistik müssen distinktiv via Einstellungen/ Bewertungen abgrenzbar sein.

Am Beispiel des germanophonen, anglophonen und frankophonen Sprachraums sollen nun exemplarisch die Eigenschaften (Form und Funktion) der VL aufgezeigt werden.

Vorliegende wissenschaftskulturell geprägte Definitionen sind der germanistische Begriff *Umgangssprache*, der französische *langue commune*, *langue populaire* (Radtke 1973), der italienische *italiano popolare* und der englische *nonstandard*. Die Aufgabe des Soziolinguisten besteht darin, aus dem Oberbegriff *Gesamtssprache* nach expliziten Kriterien (außersprachlichen und innersprachlichen) Varietäten auszusondern, in die sich die Gesamtsprache gliedert. Hier gibt es zunächst zwei Möglichkeiten: eine solche Abgrenzung auf Sprachteilnehmer zu gründen (Oberbegriff *Repertoire* einer Sprachgemeinschaft, vgl. Auer 1990) oder auf Kriterien, die die Forscher in der Außenperspektive auf diese Sprachgemeinschaft definieren, (vgl. die Literatur in Dittmar 1997, 137ff) Im Folgenden gehen wir der intentionalen Begriffsbestimmung auf der Ebene der *parole* nach.

2. Nonstandard und Vernacular im anglophonen Sprachraum

Die anglophone Tradition unterscheidet gemäß Halliday (Halliday et al. 1964) *language users* und *language use* (Sprecher vs. Sprachgebrauch). Dialekte werden auf der Folie von Sprechern überregionaler/ umgangssprachlicher Sprachgebrauch nach dem Kriterium *language use* definiert. Letzteres geschieht im Rahmen der Registerforschung (vgl. Biber & Finegan 1994 und Art. 23).

Standard oder *standard variety* ist kodifiziertes Englisch, dessen Regeln für den schriftlichen Gebrauch normativ festgelegt sind (*Received Pronunciation* (RP) und öffentliche Medien für die gesprochene Sprache). Englisch ist eine polyzentrische Sprache – es gibt unterschiedliche „offizielle“ und nationale Normen in Großbritannien, USA, Kanada, Australien, Indien (u. a.). Da die anglophonen Gesellschaften kulturelle Angelegenheiten in der Regel nicht nach kodifizierten Regeln des Gebrauchsrechts behandeln (im Gegensatz zur *Académie Française*), werden die Prestigevarianten, deren Formen für sozialen Erfolg und Korrektheit stehen, über die öffentlichen Medien verbreitet und kontrolliert. Natürlich werden die formalen Standardregeln auch durch die Schule, die Universitäten und öffentliche Institutionen definiert; insofern ist auch hier eine Norm für den mündlichen Sprachgebrauch gegeben. Das Komplement der kodifizierten Standardvarietät ist nach Labov & Trudgill das Kontinuum der *Nonstandard-*

Varietäten, jenes nicht-kodifizierten mündlichen Sprachgebrauchs, der nach geographischem und sozialem Hintergrund der Sprecher je nach Kommunikationssituation unterschiedlich ausfällt. Der Terminus *a language* schließt alle Varietäten des Englischen ein. Die geschriebene und gesprochene Standardvarietät wird dann als *Standard*, die komplementären Varietäten als *Nonstandardkontinuum* (Einschluss von Dialekten) bezeichnet. In der anglophonen Terminologie ist der Standard *autonomous* – unabhängig von anderen historischen Varietäten; er gilt als Dach der geographischen und sozialen Varietäten. Dialekte gelten als *heteronomous*, also vom Standard abhängig. Trudgill illustriert Typen von Nonstandardäußerungen in Listenform (1983, 32–37). 1(a) ist eine *Standard-* 1(b) eine *Nohnstandardäußerung*. 1 (a) Do you want any dessert? (adressiert an mehr als eine Person)
(b) Do you want any dessert? (adressiert an eine Person)

Die Listen von Trudgill zeigen Nonstandardunterschiede auf den Ebenen der Lautbildung, der morphophonologischen Realisierungen, der Syntax und der Lexik. Aus der Menge der Nonstandardphänomene sind dann Dialekte oder Soziolekte herauszufiltern. Damit ist auch deutlich, dass die anglophone Linguistik (hier pauschal und undifferenziert genommen) zwischen Varietäten von *Sprechern* (Dialekte, Soziolekte) und Varietäten des *Sprachgebrauchs* (Register) unterscheidet. Die Nonstandardvarietäten gliedern sich nach ihrem Bezug auf *Sprecher* vs. *Gebrauch* in Dialekte und Register (als Ausdruck der Variation des mündlichen Sprachgebrauchs nach situativem Kontext). So hat Lodge (1998) die dialektale und soziolektale Variation *inter-linguistisch* genannt, die situative Variation (Register) *intra-linguistisch*. Der Terminus *Vernacular* ist nach Labov allgemein als jene Art des Sprechens (Varietät?) definiert worden, dem die geringste Aufmerksamkeit in der alltäglichen Rede gilt, also in Gesprächen mit Vertrauten (Freunde, Verwandte etc.):

„Not every style point on the stylistic continuum is of equal interest to linguists. Some styles show irregular (...) patterns (...). In other styles, we find more systematic speech, where fundamental relations which determine the course of evolution can be seen most clearly. This is the ‚vernacular‘ – the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech. Observa-

tion of the vernacular gives us the most systematic data for our analysis of linguistic structure“ (Labov 1972, 208).

Formen des Vernacular wurden von Labov und anderen vor allem für städtische Zentren nachgewiesen, wobei die Varianten eher im Sinne von Registern (formal vs. informal) differenziert sind (vgl. Biber & Finegan 1994). Auf soziokulturaler Ebene fand Labov eine gewisse Parallelität zwischen formellen Registern und Bildung (soziale Schicht) und informellen Registern und „Distanz von der prestige – und schriftsprachlichen Kultur“. Im Bereich des Nonstandard unterscheidet die amerikanische SL noch den *white vernacular* von dem *black vernacular*. Die Trennungslinie ist die ethnische Zugehörigkeit. Die dialektalen Unterschiede im britischen und amerikanischen Englisch sind nicht so ausgeprägt wie die im italienischen oder deutschsprachigen Raum. Lodge (1998) spricht vom Wesentlichen als „standard + dialects“.

In seiner Bestimmung von vernacular orientiert sich Labov mehr an der tief verwurzelten Grundsprache des Individuums im Rahmen von sozialen Gruppen denn an der verkehrssprachlichen Funktion der Umgangssprache zur optimalen gegenseitigen Verständigung. Labov geht somit der grundlegenden Frage nach, welche Varietät unter den vielen manifesten in einer Sprachgemeinschaft sich am besten dafür eignet, von Linguisten als originäres unmarkiertes System beschrieben zu werden. Die Validität der zu beschreibenden Daten wird wichtiger genommen als die soziolinguistische Bestimmung einer Verkehrssprache.

Neuere Untersuchungen heben auch den Kontakt zwischen Dialekten hervor (Trudgill 1986) und belegen Anpassungsprozesse zwischen größeren und kleineren, mehr oder weniger prestigebesetzten Dialekten mit dem Terminus *interdialects* (Übernahme des interlanguage-Ansatzes aus der Zweitspracherwerbsforschung). Dialektmischung und durch Kreuzungen entstehende neue Merkmale werden als Prozesse interpretiert, die Sprachwandel auslösen oder Fossilierung (Begriff aus der L₂-Forschung). Solche Prozesse werden in Kapitel 5 unter *Konvergenz* und *Divergenz* behandeln. Trudgill hat am Beispiel des kolonialen Englisch die *koinéization* des kolonialen Englisch aufgezeigt. Der soziolinguistische Begriff *Koiné* ist die „Bezeichnung für jede ‚entregionalisierte‘ Varietät, die sich innerhalb eines Verbandes von

mehreren (zunächst) gleichwertigen, regional gebundenen Varietäten allgemein akzeptierten überregionalen ‚Standardvarietät‘ entwickelt“ (Bußmann 1990, 390).

3. Umgangssprache und Substandard im deutschsprachigen Raum

3.1 Umgangssprache (Regiolekt)

Dem Terminus *Umgangssprache* wird in der germanistischen Linguistik *diatopisch* der mittlere Bereich zwischen kleinräumigen (lokalen) Dialekten und dem großräumigen Standard zugewiesen: Munske versucht in seiner Erläuterung des Begriffs *informelle Konversationssprache* (vgl. *vernacular* bei Labov) und *sozio-regionale Unmarkiertheit* zu verbinden:

„mit diesem Sammelbegriff [werden] die zahlreichen regionalen Varianten gesprochener Sprache bezeichnet, die nicht mehr Dialekt und noch nicht Hochsprache sind: Sprachformen mit weitgehend überregionaler Verstehbarkeit, doch zugleich erkennbar regionalem Charakter. Diese beiden Bedeutungen von Umgangssprache lassen sich grob als eine *diasituativ* geprägte Existenzform gesprochener Sprache einerseits und als eine aus dem Kontakt von Dialekt und Hochsprache erwachsene *diatopisch* und *diastratisch* variierende Form gesprochener Sprache andererseits charakterisieren“ (Munske 1983, 1002).

Aus der Perspektive der lokalen Dialekte könnte man die Umgangssprache als in Richtung Standard konvergierende Varietät bezeichnen, in umgekehrter Perspektive (Divergenz) wäre sie eine den zwanglosen und informellen Umständen einer Situation angepasste saloppe, unkontrolliert gebrauchte Varietät (vgl. Domaschnev 1987, 308). Das Zusammenwirken von Form und Funktion sieht Munske so:

„Umgangssprachen sind in wesentlichen Zügen ihres phonologischen, morphologischen und semantischen Systems das Resultat eines strukturellen Ausgleichs zwischen Dialekt und Hochsprache, wobei komplexere dialektale Strukturen einfacheren hochsprachlichen angepasst werden. Phonologische Kontraste werden dabei geduldet, soweit sie lediglich Oberflächenerscheinungen sind und durch einfache Umsetzungsregeln (auf der Basis gleicher Tiefenstrukturen) ineinander überführbar sind. Dadurch wird Umgangssprache auch überregional

verstehbar, ihr bleibt als Charakteristikum nunmehr ein regionaler Akzent. Sprachhistorisch lässt sich dieser Vorgang wie folgt bewerten: Durch solchen Sprachwandel wird die genuine Entwicklung der Dialekte abgebrochen, sie verlieren ihre sprachgeschichtliche Selbständigkeit und treten nunmehr in ein abhängiges, ein deszendentes Verhältnis zur Hochsprache“ (Munske 1983, 1009).

Eine noch allgemeinere Definition gibt I. Radtke (1973, 170):

„Wir bezeichnen mit Umgangssprache die gesprochene deutsche Sprache eines jeweiligen synchronen Zeitabschnitts (darin ist also auch die sprachhistorische Komponente enthalten), die überregional gesprochen und verstanden wird, nicht fachgebunden (Fachsprache) und verhüllend (Sondersprache) ist, aber durchaus landschaftliche Züge (etwa in den Intonationsverhältnissen) aufweisen kann.“

Wie fruchtbar ein Vergleich zwischen dem Gebrauch des Terminus *Umgangssprache* in der Germanistik und in der Romanistik sein kann, zeigt der Aufsatz von Holtus und E. Radtke (1984). Während die Germanistik nach 1950 Umgangssprache als „Zwischenschicht“ zwischen Volkssprache (Grundsprache) und Hochsprache (Schriftsprache) und in diesem Sinne als „sozial-vertikale Schichtung“ (= diastratisch) betrachtet (I. Radtke 1973), haben viele Romanisten die sozial breit gefächerte, der Alltagssprache nahestehende Umgangssprache als Prototyp der *gesprochenen Sprache diaphasisch* beschrieben. Wesch (1998) zeigt überzeugend auf, dass *diastratische* und *diaphasische* Eigenschaften im Falle der *langue populaire* nicht trennscharf voneinander geschieden werden können (1998, 41 ff); beide Aspekte sieht er in der neu geschaffenen Dimension *Diatonik* integrativ aufgehoben. Vor allem formelle und informelle Stilniveaus werden zur näheren Bestimmung von der *langue populaire* angeführt (siehe die französische Soziolinguistik der gesprochenen Sprache, Kap. 4; vgl. Ager 1990; Sanders 1993).

Die gehaltvollsten empirischen Beiträge zur Bestimmung der VL im deutschsprachigen Raum sind die Stadtsprachenuntersuchungen zu Berlin (Dittmar & Schlobinski 1988), Mannheim (Kallmeyer 1994 u. 1995), Zürich (Werlen 1995), und Konstanz (Auer 1990) u. a. Urbanolekte (vgl. Dittmar 1997: 193 ff.) weisen eigene Strukturen auf, sind in gewissen Anteilen jedoch soziovertikale

Ausgleichsvarietäten zwischen Dialekten und der Standardvarietät.

Im Folgenden seien einige in der Literatur immer wieder zitierte Merkmale der deutschen Umgangssprache aufgeführt:

1) Morphologie

Die morphophonologischen *Verschmelzungen* in (i) *im Garten* anstatt Standardvarietät (S + V) *in dem Garten*;

(ii) *zur Straße* anstatt Standardvarietät *zu der Straße*;

(iii) *Alfred geht aufs Gymnasium* anstatt Standardvarietät *auf das Gymnasium*

gelten als typisch (vgl. Hartmann 1990, 52).

Spezifische Verteilungen von Verschmelzungstypen *Artikel + Präposition* können nach sozialer Markiertheit klassifiziert werden (a.a.O.).

2) Syntax

(a) koordinierendes *weil* als Diskursmarker mit Verbzweitstellung (vgl. Wegener 1993; Dittmar und Bredel 1999) in z. B.

(iv) *einkaufen geh ick doch lieber im Westteil weil + da is ürgentwie mehr Vakaufskultur* (Berlin-Korpus „9. November 1989“, vgl. Dittmar/Bredel 1999);

(b) *Vor-Vorfeldbesetzungen*: Diskursmarker wie *indessen, freilich, immerhin, nur, echt, also* etc. können in der Funktion von Skopus-Operatoren außerhalb der Proposition gestellt werden (vgl. Barden, Elstermann & Fiehler 2001).

(c) *Extrapositionen*: In der Äußerung

(v) *den Tisch, den lass mal dort drüben stehen* ist das Thema links herausgestellt, mithilfe der flektierten Proform wird an das Thema anaphorisch angeknüpft. Die Linksherausstellung ist auch ein Mittel der Fokussierung (vgl. Zifnionun et al. 1998, Bd.1).

(d) *Ausräumung oder Nachfeldbesetzung*: Hierunter versteht man den meist pragmatisch bedingten Nachtrag nach dem rahmenschließenden infiniten Verbleil:

(vi) *sie ist dann wieder nach Hause zurückgekehrt, nach vielen Umwegen und mit der Bahn anstatt mit dem Auto*. In einer Art Kommentar werden Umstände nachgetragen.

(e) *Verbspitzenstellung*: Nach Auer (1993) in der überregional gesprochenen Sprache sehr häufig anzutreffen; in der mündlichen Rede fallen häufig die Expletivpronomina *es/das* weg; ebenso kann das finite Verb (anstelle von anaphorischem/deiktischem Personalpronomen oder satzanaphorischem

das) an der Spitze der Äußerung stehen. Prototypisch werden mit V_{fin} in Spitzenstellung Äußerungen mit bestimmten Handlungscharakter eingeleitet. Die Verbspitzenstellung hat auch die Funktion, zwei benachbarte Syntagmen zu raffen. Der Raffungseffekt steht im größeren Zusammenhang der mündlichen Strategie der semantischen *Verdichtung* bzw. der *Fragmentierung*.

(f) „*Nonstandardmuster*“ mit mehr oder weniger überregionaler Reichweite: Es gibt Beispiele, in denen das flektierte Pronomen oder die flektierte Pronominalphrase (*ihm, ihr ...*) vom Substantiv abhängig ist: *dem sein Sohn, dem seine Tochter hat dann geheiratet, wem sein Hut ist das?* (Henn-Memmesheimer 1989, 144). In diesen Beispielen ist das Fragepronomen bzw. das indefinite Pronomen abhängig von der NP; die entsprechenden Standardäußerungen wären: *Der Sohn von X, die Tochter von ihm hat dann geheiratet, wessen Hut ist das?* Nach Henn-Memmesheimer (1989 – vgl. die Karten!) werden diese Konstruktionen überregional benutzt.

3) Lexik

Die Lexik wurde im Atlas für Umgangssprache von Eichhoff (1978) festgehalten. Die dort kartierte areale Verteilung trifft heutzutage aufgrund raschen Wandels nicht mehr zu und evoziert die Notwendigkeit von Längsschnittstudien (vgl. Art. 103, G. Sankoff).

Dittmar (2000) belegt z. B., dass die ausschließlich für den süddeutschen Raum ausgewiesene Modalpartikel *halt* inzwischen neben *eben* in den norddeutschen stadtsprachlichen Räumen (z. B. Berlin) systematisch verwendet wird (allerdings gibt es ein ‚Ost-West‘-Gefälle nach der ‚Wende‘).

4) Aussprache/Phonetik

Demgegenüber stellt Königs Ausspracheatlas zu Westdeutschland vor der Wiedervereinigung die einzige empirische Untersuchung dar, die versucht, „großlandschaftliche Unterschiede in der Aussprache des Schriftdeutschen zu erkunden und darzustellen. Das betrifft vor allem die Phonetik des Deutschen“ (König 1989, 8). Aus der „alten“ BRD vor 1989 wurden 44 Aufnahmen aus meist stadtsprachlichen Kontexten untersucht (Ostdeutschland [ehemalige DDR], Österreich und die Schweiz fehlen). Die Stichprobe wurde dem gehobenen sozialen

Mittelstand im Alter zwischen 30 und 40 Jahren entnommen. „Standardnahe Umgangssprache“ war das Ziel der empirischen Erhebung.

Die ausgewählten Sprecher sollten nicht auffallend dialektal von einem gewissen Durchschnitt abweichen. Folgende Kontextstile wurden erhoben: (a) spontane Sprechweise; (b) Vorlesesprache eines zusammenhängenden Textes; einer Wortliste; von Minimalpaaren und Einzellauten.

Die von König zusammengestellten Übersichten über den Konsonanten- und Vokalgebrauch in Westdeutschland stellen die erste empirische Beschreibung der standardnahen Aussprache und ihrer sozialen Markierung (*hoch* = Prestige, *niedrig* = Substandard) dar. Die Studie ist ein Spiegel real existierender Gebrauchsnormen und ersetzt in diesem Sinne die Siebsschen Vorschriften durch Richtnormen (die Relevanz für DaF ist erläutert in Dittmar & Schmidt-Regener 2001).

Als zentrales definitorisches Merkmal der VL findet sich in der germanistischen Linguistik die sprachliche Ökonomie: Je größer die Informalität des Sprechens, desto mehr Kontraktionen finden sich in der Sprechsprache und umso sparsamer wird die Informationsstruktur syntaktisch und semantisch gestaltet. Man kann von einer *Entlastung* der Kommunikation durch sprachökonomische Vereinfachungen sprechen. Offenbar vollziehen sich Verständigung und Kommunikation in der unmarkierten Grundsprache ohne Leistungsansprüche im Modus des Wohlbefindens. Mit eher schriftsprachlichen und literarischen Normen verbinden sich höhere Leistungsansprüche in der Kommunikation: Prestige, ein hoher Grad an sozialer Formalität, Explizitheit der Nachricht (Medien) etc. Aus der entgegengesetzten Perspektive, der lokalen Dialekte, gehören Varietäten, denen wesentliche dialektale Merkmale fehlen, dialektnahen Umgangssprachen an. Will man das Bezugsvarietätenproblem der standard- oder dialektnahen Beschreibung aus der Perspektive der Sprecher lösen, braucht man Sprecherurteile. Will man es lediglich *linguistisch* lösen, so führt man in der Regel sprachliche Merkmale einer Umgangssprache VL an und korreliert sie mit sozialen Parametern. Für das *polyzentrische* Deutsch (vgl. Clyne 1992) gibt es in der BRD und Österreich ähnlich definierbare Umgangssprachen, während es ‚unterhalb‘ des schweizerdeutschen Standards und

„oberhalb“ der lokalen Dialekte offenbar keine umgangssprachliche Ausgleichsvariation gibt (vgl. Christen 1999).

3.2. Substandard

Substandard ist nach Bellmann (1983 und 1985) der „Oberbegriff für den sprechsprachlichen Gesamtbereich unterhalb der gesprochenen Standardsprache“ (Mattheier 1990). „Dabei kann die Variation in zwei Richtungen verlaufen: zum einen in Richtung Standardsprache (Entdialektalisierung) und zum anderen in Richtung einer substandardsprachlichen Varietät (Entstandardisierung). Der Ausgangspunkt der Variation ist also jeweils ein anderer, auch wenn die Produkte, die sich aus dieser Form von Varietätenkontakt ergeben, häufig auf den Mittelbereich im Dialekt-Standard-Kontinuum abzielen“ (Ziegler 1997, 530).

Einem *Gesamtsubstandard* entsprechen regionale Einzelsubstandards. Im Wesentlichen sei durch den Begriff ein „Kontinuum von Varietäten zwischen Dialekt und Standardsprache“ (Mattheier 1990, 2) gekennzeichnet ohne explizite kodifizierte Normen. „Der ‚Substandard‘, als Produkt des strukturellen Ausgleichs zwischen Dialekt und Standardsprache, basiert im wesentlichen auf vertikal ausgerichteten Variationsprozessen, die zum einen zu einer Kontrasteinebnung und zum anderen zu einer Vereinheitlichung der dialektalen Charakteristika führen. Wenn sich diese Variationsprozesse auf einem bestimmten Interferenzniveau einpendeln und Tendenzen zur Varianten Neubildung erkennen lassen, kommt es zur Ausbildung des sogenannten „Neuen Substandards“, (Ziegler 1997, 533).

Um die Entwicklung des Substandards zum Ende des 20. Jhd's flächendeckend zu ermitteln, untersuchte Huesemann (1998) mit der Methode des Varietätenzensus (großräumige Fragebogenerhebung) Schlüsselregionen in Nord- und Süddeutschland. Die *horizontale Verteilung* wird nach Huesemann „auch heute noch in erster Linie von der linguistischen Distanz der beteiligten Varietäten bestimmt und damit von der Dominanz der Region“ (Huesemann 1998, 259). Die KOEXISTENZ von Standardvarietät und Ortsdialekt muss regional verschieden erklärt werden. Insgesamt ist in allen Regionen Deutschlands der Wechsel zu einer „Sprachlage im mittleren Bereich des Dialekt-Standard-Kontinuums“ (=standardnahe Sprachlage) zu beobachten. Die Varia-

tion in der Mitte und im Süden Deutschlands bedarf jedoch einer anderen Erklärung als die des Nordens. „Der Wechsel zu einem überregionalen Kommunikationsmittel hat aus Gründen der linguistischen Distanz zwischen den Varietäten im niederdeutschen Sprachraum zu einem Sprung vom Basisdialekt zu einer zumindest überregional verbreiteten Regionalsprache geführt. Im mittel- und oberdeutschen Sprachraum hingegen findet eine langsame Akkomodation statt, die auf einem hochdeutschferneren Punkt (im Vergleich zum niederdeutschen Sprachraum) das Bedürfnis der überregionalen Verständlichkeit erfüllt und u. U. keine weitere Anpassung mehr notwendig macht“ (Huesemann, 1998, 259). Die *vertikale* (=soziale) Verteilung des mittleren Dialekt-Standard-Kontinuums lässt sich im wesentlichen durch die Parameter *Region* und *Mobilität* erklären. Zusammenfassend ist das Ergebnis der Untersuchung: „Die Notwendigkeit überregionaler Kommunikation hat zur Ausbildung überregionaler Kommunikationssysteme und letztlich zur Standardvarietät geführt, der sich insbesondere SprecherInnen bedienen, die überregional mobil sind ... Für soziale Mobilität ist eine prestigereiche Sprachlage von großem Vorteil und kann für manche (prestigereiche) Berufe Voraussetzung sein“ (Huesemann, 1998, 260f).

Für den Begriff des *Substandards* hat die neuere germanistische Linguistik ihre Definitionskriterien nicht aufgegeben: sie liegen auf der Ebene faktischen Sprachgebrauchs. Der Begriff *Substandard* wird nicht durch varietärentypologische, sprachliche Eigenschaften wie Ellipsen, Anakoluthe, Typen von Vorvorfeldbesetzungen, Variation der durch die koordinierende Konjunktion *weil* eingeleiteten Teilsätze mit Hauptsatzstellung etc. expliziert (vgl. Wegener 1993), sondern vielmehr durch die landschaftlichen Färbungen der Standardvarietät (vgl. Mattheier 1990, 3). Definitionsebene für den Substandard sollen lexikalische, morphophonologische und morphosyntaktische Eigenschaften sein, gleichwohl solche Eigenschaften bisher völlig unzureichend – und ohne Bezug zu den „Feldanalysen“ in den neunziger Jahren – ermittelt wurden. Ein grundlegendes Problem der Definition von Substandard liegt in der Beziehung zur Bezugsvarietät, der Standardvarietät. Eher wenig ist darüber bekannt, wie die in gewissen Idealnomen kodifizierte deutsche Standardsprache in sozial und regional unmar-

kierter Weise gesprochen wird (vgl. Bartsch 1987). Über die Standardvarietät in alltäglicher Performanz wird viel spekuliert – diese Bezugsvarietät muss aber in ihren Eigenschaften bekannter sein, wenn man sie zum Substandard abgrenzen will.

Der Begriff *Register* könnte am besten der Festlegung von Einzelsubstandards im Rahmen der Gesamtsprache dienen. Situationen und Formalität der Sprechsituation sind in die Registerperformanz eingeschlossen. Das Konzept des Registers erlaubt außerdem Vergleiche zwischen sprechsprachlichen mit schriftsprachlichen Varietäten. Im Zusammenhang von Substandardeigenschaften wird auch von Deliteralisierung gesprochen.

Viele Untersuchungen heben hervor, dass die Isolierung von Substandard mit genaueren Erhebungen zu Normvorstellungen der Sprecher einhergehen muss. Mattheier (1990) stellt fest, dass die Lockerung dialektaler und die Annäherung an sprechsprachliche Standardnormen mit größerer Normtoleranz verbunden ist, d. h. Dialektsprecher akzeptieren die standardsprachlichen Normen und orientieren sich an ihnen, je nach Prestige in einem Gebiet. Bellmann (1985) identifiziert die Ausbildung von Substandardvarietäten mit dem Prozess der Enddiglossierung, d. h. die Dichotomie schriftsprachliche Normen der Kommunikation vs. sprechsprachliche wird aufgelöst, im Zwischenbereich zwischen diesen beiden Polen bilden sich sprechsprachliche Regeln, wohl nach dem Prinzip der Konvergenz (Annäherung an standardsprachliche Regeln, die immer auch mit schriftsprachlichem Gebrauch in Verbindung stehen bzw. mit Prestige besetzten sprechsprachlichen überregionalen Normen des kultivierten Standard).

Es gibt verschiedene Möglichkeiten, Varietäten aus dem Gesamtbereich der Einzelsprache zu isolieren: in Ammon & Arnuzzo-Lanszweert (2001, 794), werden vorgeschlagen:

(a) der Grad der genetischen Verwandtschaft zwischen den Varietäten (geht auf Schleicher zurück; eine moderne Perspektive bietet Diwald? mit dem Konzept der *Grammatikalisierung*).

(b) der Grad der linguistischen Ähnlichkeit zwischen den Varietäten (vgl. u. a. hierzu Domaschnew 1987; Radtke 1973; Munske 1983).

(c) der Grad der gegenseitigen Verständlichkeit (Nordberg 1994 für die skandinavischen Sprachgemeinschaften).

(d) der Grad der Konvergenz mit der gesprochenen Standardvarietät (standardnahe Varietäten werden von standardfernen Varietäten getrennt).

Abgesehen von Konzept (c) sind die Konzepte (a), (b) und (d) sprachlinguistische Perspektiven auf die Beschreibung von Ähnlichkeiten mit Unterschieden. Auch wenn Verständlichkeit mit globalen Einschätzungen und prototypischem Verstehen einhergeht, was nicht immer gleich des Summe der Einzelbedeutungen zu sehen ist, so ist auch dieser Ansatz (c) an linguistische Werte gebunden, wenn auch nicht an Formen im engeren Sinne (Funktionen spielen eine entscheidende Rolle). Für die soziolinguistische Isolierung einer Größe wie Umgangssprache/ Interimvarietäten zwischen Dialekt und Standard legen wir folgenden Grundsatz zugrunde:

Eine soziolinguistische Definition dieser Varietät muss auf sprachliche Formen (und deren kommunikative Funktionen) gegründet sein. Ohne nämlich die Extreme des Sprachgebrauchs in einem sprachlichem Kontinuum einer Sprachgemeinschaft zu kennen (lokale Dialekte einerseits, Standardvarietät andererseits) lässt sich diese Zwischenvarietät nicht sinnvoll fassen.

4. Die Verkehrssprache in der Frankophonie

Standardfranzösisch ist die offizielle Sprache von Frankreich (und auch eines Teils von Belgien und der Schweiz). In Kanada ist Französisch eine nationale und offizielle Sprache. Seine grammatischen Formen und das Vokabular werden in normativen Textbüchern (Grammatiken, Wörterbüchern und phonetischen Lehrwerken) beschrieben. Es handelt sich um das Französisch der Schule sowie es auch als „français comme langue étrangère“ gelehrt wird. Standardfranzösisch existiert in schriftlicher und mündlicher Form ‚pan-regional‘ – es wird überall im Hexagon gesprochen und aus dem Akzent eines die Standardvarietät Französisch sprechenden Sprechers kann man in der Regel nicht auf die geographische oder soziale Herkunft schließen.

Mit „les français régionaux“ sind Ausspracheunterschiede in den Regionen Frankreichs gemeint; grammatische Formen und das Vokabular sind in der Regel wenig betroffen. Man sagt im Osten Frankreichs *ça j'y trouve pas beau* (das mag ich nicht) an-

stelle des Standardfranzösischen *ça je le trouve pas beau*. (Im geschriebenen Standard würde man die Negationspartikel *ne* hinzufügen). Es gibt im Bereich der regionalen Französischvarianten überhaupt kein Verständigungsproblem, lediglich das Lexikon und bestimmte Segmente der Aussprache sind markiert. Seit der französischen Revolution, wie Schlieben-Lange in ihrem grundlegenden Werk ausgeführt (1983) hat, gibt es keine grafischen Repräsentationen für regionale Varianten des Französischen und da die Schulen zentralistisch darauf ausgerichtet sind, nur standardgesprochenes und -geschriebenes Französisch zu lehren, treten hier Abweichungen nur in geringem Maße auf. Eine sorgfältige Übersicht über die sprachlichen Erscheinungen regionaler Varianten des Französischen geben Hawkins (1993, 55–84; mit Textbeispielen und Wesch 1998, zahlreiche Belege). Für kleinräumige, meist im Verschwinden begriffene Dialektreste gibt es den Terminus *patois*. Befremdlicherweise wird der Terminus *patuis* oder auch Dialekt für die sprachlichen Minderheiten im französischen Territorium benutzt: Bretonisch, Baskisch, Katalanisch, Elsässisch, Flämisch, Okzitanisch und Korsisch. In all diesen Fällen handelt es sich um Sprachen, die eine große Distanz zum Französischen aufweisen (wie Baskisch und Elsässisch) oder mindestens vom Standardfranzösischen so weit entfernt sind wie Katalanisch von Spanisch oder Sardisch von Standarditalienisch. Die genannten Sprachen haben keinen offiziellen Status.

Die regionale und soziale Markierung des Alltagsfranzösischen fällt im Unterschied zum Deutschen, Italienischen und Spanischen sehr gering aus: „Whilst there has been reduction in regional and social variation in French, there has been a growth in the importance of stylistic variation, accompanied by a widely shared desire to break away from the constraints of the norm and to allow creativity and local identity to flourish unhindered, and better acceptance of external influences“ (Gadet 2002).

Lodge sieht den größten Anteil der Variation im Französischen im Bereich der diaphasischen Dimension. Diese Variation nennt er „variation intra-locuteur“ (2002, 1). Diese sprecherinternen Variationen wird am besten mit dem Begriff Register gefasst, der Variationen auf der Achse formell – informell in der Sprechsprache eines einzelnen Individuums erfasst in Korrelation mit der Gesprächs-/Dis-

kursituation. Damit kommen mediale Unterschiede zum Ausdruck: gesprochene und geschriebene Form variieren erheblich. Dies zeigt sich vor allem auf der lexikalischen, morphophonologischen und syntaktischen Ebene der Performanz. Nach Art der Beziehung und des Milieus hat man Registerunterschiede mit den Termini *populaire*, *familier*, *courant*, *soutenu* oder *académique* bezeichnet. Sanders (1993, 29) gibt dafür Beispiele aus der Morphosyntax der Frage.

<i>Populaire:</i>	Interrogative particle – <i>ti tu viens- ti?</i>
<i>Familier:</i>	No inversion <i>tu peux?</i>
<i>Courant:</i>	<i>Est-ce-que</i> + subject – verb <i>est-ce que tu peux</i>
<i>Soutenu:</i>	Inversion of subject – verb <i>peux-tu?</i>
<i>Académique/Littéraire:</i>	Certain other formulae e.g. <i>puis-je ...?</i>

Sehr viele Register korrelieren mit dem Vertrautheitsgrad in Gruppen und Beziehungsnetzwerken, aber auch mit bestimmten Gebrauchsdomänen in sozialen Milieus. Sanders führt im Übrigen Beispiele für das *français populaire* an: phonetisch-phonologische wie die Liaison oder die Aussprache bestimmter Vokale. Besonders gut untersucht wurden die Konnektoren, deren Gebrauch nach Sanders (1993, 47ff) auf das Milieu des Sprechers schließen lassen. Einige Muster zeigen deutlich den Unterschied *geschrieben* – *gesprochen*, andere sind typisch für das Medium der gesprochenen Sprache, z. B. die Topikalisierung, die Gadet (2002, 3) zitiert. „*Moi, son bouquin, je l'ai pas lu*“ („*Me, his book, I haven't read it*“).

Typisch für den Gebrauch in kleineren und größeren sozialen Gruppen ist auch das alternative Lexikon zu den Standardwörtern. Hier gibt es oft eine Vielzahl von Varianten für eine Bezeichnung/einen Begriff.

Von besonderer Bedeutung im frankophonen Sprachraum ist der Typ *verlan*. Dieses Kürzel für einen Stil kommt von *parler à l' envers* = in umgekehrter Reihenfolge sprechen. Vor allen Dingen in der sogenannten *banlieue* im Umfeld von Paris und Marseille aber auch in anderen großen Städten entstehen multiethnische und multikulturelle *argots* oder Slangs, die der zunehmenden Urbanisierung und Immigration geschuldet sind und zum Teil opaque Gruppensprachen praktizieren – solche Gruppensprachen also, die geheimsprachliche Züge haben und hermetisches Abschließen nach außen signalisieren.

Hat die Verkehrssprache im deutschen Sprachraum eine zwischen extremen Standard und Dialekt ausgleichende Funktion, so hat die Registerdifferenzierung in Frankreich (sprecherinterne Variation) die Funktion, Gruppen sozial distinktiv zu markieren, also „kleine Unterschiede“ (Bourdieu 1982) sinnfällig zu machen.

5. Kritische Aspekte und Perspektiven: Konvergenz, Divergenz und Koinébildung

Die Bilanz der Diagnose verkehrssprachlicher Funktion in den drei Sprachgemeinschaften sieht alles andere als gut aus. Das Beispiel Frankreich zeigt, dass die gesprochene Sprache mehr oder weniger mit der Verkehrssprache und ihrer vernakulären Funktion zusammenfällt – die Variation kann man als intrasprecher-spezifische Variation bezeichnen – also handelt es sich um Registervariation. Lodge (1998) ist zu dem Schluss gekommen, dass Frankreich in soziolinguistischer Weise mehr *diglossisch* definiert werden kann – also besteht die kommunikative/sprachliche Kluft in den Sprachbenutzern vor allem in der Dimension geschrieben vs. gesprochen (die Verschränkung und Vermittlung zwischen beiden im Sinne von Koch und Oesterreicher 1990 ist dann die konzeptuelle Schriftlichkeit/Mündlichkeit). Wenn die gesamte Sprachgemeinschaft zum großen Teil unter die gemeinsam geteilte Verkehrssprache fällt (also wenig Dialekt und Soziolekt bestehen), dann muss die Identifizierung mit dieser Varietät hoch sein (die nationale Identifizierung mit dem Französischen *ist* demgemäß entsprechend groß!).

In seiner terminologischen Diskussion der „Erscheinungsformen der deutschen Sprache“ hat Steger (1988) die Probleme der Definition von Umgangssprache (in unserem Zusammenhang VL) auf den Punkt gebracht:

„Der Terminus ‚Umgangssprache‘ hat ... einen Stellenplatz in der terminologischen Ordnung: ‚Umgangssprache‘ – ‚Fachsprache‘. ... Andererseits hat aber seit langem der Terminus ‚Umgangssprache‘ auch einen festen Stellenplatz in der terminologischen Ordnungsreihe: ‚Dialekt‘ – ‚Umgangssprache‘ – ‚Hochsprache‘/‚Standardsprache‘, und es ist offenkundig, dass das wissenschaftliche Sprechen von ‚Umgangssprache‘ und anderen Termini hier jeweils auf ganz andere (Teil-)Eigenschaften eines Ausschnitts aus der deutschen Sprache zielt. Aber welche sind es? Stehen formale Unter-

schiede sprachlicher Zeichensysteme zur Debatte und ggf. welche? Handelt es sich um unterschiedliche geographische Gültigkeitsräume oder um unterschiedliche soziale Trägergruppen? Oder geht es vielleicht um unterschiedliche funktionale Zwecke?“

Folgende Gesichtspunkte sind näher zu erforschen:

- 1) Die Varietäten, und damit auch ihre verkehrssprachliche Funktion, sind im Rahmen einer historisch gewachsenen ‚Gesamtsprache‘ Deutsch zu sehen. Hier muss ein Trennstrich zwischen Alltagssemantiken und Fachsemantiken gezogen werden (vgl. Steger 1988, 296ff). „Man muss also festhalten, dass alle Sprecher spezielle sprachliche Mittel besitzen, deren Zweck die volle sprachliche Bewältigung ihrer vitalen Lebenspraxis ist: eine lebenspraktische ‚Alltagssemantik‘. Sie muss ‚neben‘, das ist auf der gleichen theoretischen Ebene mit anderen funktional-zweckhaften Semantiken, z.B. fachlichen Semantiken, gesehen werden.“ (Steger 1988, 298).
- 2) Um Veränderungen, z.B. Konvergenz und Divergenz, genauer zu erfassen, muss es mehr Längsschnittuntersuchungen geben (vgl. für empirische Vorbilder siehe die genannten Arbeiten in dem Artikel 103 in diesem Handbuch). Nur feine, diachrone Schnitte in einem als synchron aufzufassenden Zeitabschnitt können über fein granuliert Veränderungen und deren Tendenz Auskunft geben.
- 3) *Validität* und *Reliabilität* in der Datenanalyse sind bezogen auf die hier zur Debatte stehenden Varietäten verkehrssprachlicher Funktion (VL) recht ungeklärt. Welche Daten aus welchen Kommunikationssituationen, welchen geographischen und sozialen Räumen belegen oder widerlegen welche terminologischen Festlegungen? Dies ist nicht nur eine Frage des linguistischen Niveaus: phonetische vs. morphophonologische Varianten vs. syntaktische vs. lexikalische Varianten), sondern auch eine Frage der Vergleichbarkeit des gewählten geographischen und sozialen Raumes und der sprachlichen Phänomene. Es bietet sich an, wandel-sensible Phänomene wie die Modalpartikel *halt* oder die Stellung des Diskursmarkers *weil* in Äußerungen nord-

mittel- und süddeutscher Varietäten zu vergleichen (vgl. Art. 113). Von solchen vergleichenden Untersuchungen mit operationalisierten Ausdrücken sind Aufschlüsse über Veränderungsbewegungen zu gewinnen – hier gibt es ganz sicher prototypische Phänomene, die Vorreiter von kookkurrenten Divergenzen oder Konvergenzen sind. Die genannten Operatoren hätten somit eine Schlüsselfunktion. Schließlich würde sich auch der Vergleich verkehrsprachlicher Gestaltfunktionen in unterschiedlichen Sprach- und Kommunikationsgemeinschaften anbieten.

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28. Slang and Antilanguage/Slang und Argot

1. Definition
2. Primary versus secondary slang
3. Slang and other kinds of vocabulary
4. Effects of slang
5. Antilanguage
6. Lexicography
7. Literature (selected)

1. Definition

Slang is part of a continuum of words and expressions that serve the social and interpersonal functions of language more than its ideational function. For instance, English *polluted*, *smashed*, and *wasted* convey informality, flippancy, and camaraderie and are slang equivalents of the neutral *drunk* for ‘suffering the ill effects of the consumption of alcohol’. Slang is not distinctive in form, reference, or grammar and cannot be distinguished from other kinds of vocabulary on those bases; e.g., the slang words *polluted*, *smashed*, and *wasted* are also everyday words in English, the regularly formed passive participles of active verbs of destruction that can be used adjectivally. In a groundbreaking article, Dumas and Lighter (1978) show that slang can be identified only by its social consequences, i.e., by the effects that the use of slang words and phrases instead of neutral vocabulary has on the relationship between speaker and audience. This socially sensitive kind of vocabulary is part of the life experience of almost all speakers of any language. However, it is generally not used for serious purposes in speech or in

writing, and it is not appropriate for schoolwork. Until recently, the social dimensions of vocabulary received almost no attention in a systematic way from language scholars. Consequently, no standard set of technical terms with precise definitions distinguishes among overlapping lexical phenomena such as slang, argot, jargon, colloquialisms, vulgarity, secret verbal codes, and nonstandard grammatical forms. Lighter (1994, xi), in an introduction discussing the characteristics of slang, reluctantly offers this brief definition: “an informal, nonstandard, nontechnical vocabulary composed chiefly of novel-sounding synonyms for standard words and phrases.” Fenyvesi/Kis/Varnai (1999) specifically address the issue of definition, reprinting and translating into Hungarian well-known descriptions of slang by Jespersen (1964), Partridge (1980), and others in addition to presenting original essays on defining slang from researchers in Finland, Germany, Hungary, Japan, Norway, Russia, Slovakia, and the USA. Different researchers focus on different characteristics of slang: widespread recognition, ephemerality, potential for secrecy, expressiveness, role in discourse, variation by user, variation by situational context, and others. Despite the difficulties of defining the term, slang does have some consistent characteristics (Eble 1996, 12–24). Slang vocabulary rarely refers to meanings that the ordinary vocabulary does not have words to express. Slang tends to refer to types of people, relation-

ships between people, social activities and behavior, and judgments of acceptance or rejection. Most slang items enjoy only a brief time of popularity, bursting into existence and falling out of use much more rapidly than items of the general vocabulary. Slang is lexical rather than phonological or syntactic, although body language and intonation are often important in signaling that an expression is to be interpreted as slang. Nor is there a slang syntax. Slang expressions do not follow idiosyncratic word order, and slang words and phrases typically fit into an appropriate grammatical slot in an established syntactic pattern. Thus, slang synonyms for 'drunk' in English occur as attributive and predicate adjectives, e.g., *The wasted football fans threw ice at the referee* or *The football fans who threw ice at the referee were wasted*. Furthermore, the productive morphological and semantic processes responsible for slang are the same ones responsible for the general vocabulary. For example, in English, the slang term *space cadet* 'one who is unaware of reality' results from compounding; *foodaholic* 'someone addicted to food' from suffixation; *abs* 'abdominal muscles' from shortening; *O.D.* 'overdose' from acronymy; *grass* 'marijuana' from metaphor; *cancer stick* 'cigarette' from metonymy; and *wicked* 'good' from irony. Slang also foregrounds cultural knowledge. Mihaly (1999, 39) makes the important point that slang "occupies different positions in the systems of language use of different national speech communities, and this affects the function and content of slang as well."

2. Primary versus secondary slang

Slang is associated with groups (cf. art. 53). Knowing and keeping up with constantly changing in-group vocabulary is often an unstated requirement of group membership, and inability to master the slang can result in discomfort or estrangement. It has been well documented in English-speaking contexts since the eighteenth century that particular kinds of groups are breeding grounds for an idiosyncratic vocabulary (cf. art. 66) to enhance their solidarity. Groups that operate on the periphery of society—prisoners, thieves, drug dealers, con-artists, gamblers, nightclub performers, and others—seem particularly adept at creating slang. Some slang-producing groups engage in activities that are disreputable or illegal. Others, like

low-ranking military personnel, feel isolated from mainstream society because they lack freedom and ordinary access to the channels of power. Most groups whose colorful slang has been reported in numerous popular publications for more than two centuries lead lives in which the printed word, mastery of the standard written forms of language, and formal education are not important. By contrast, their oral language is often rich, complex, and powerful, and they live by using it effectively. Chapman (1986, xii) calls the specialized social vocabulary of subcultures primary slang. Secondary slang, on the other hand, functions for purposes of a breezy, trendy, or avant-garde style or attitude more than for identification with an easily delineated group. Examples of current American English secondary slang are *hang* 'while away time in a particular place', *nuke* 'heat in a microwave oven', and *pump up* 'fill with enthusiasm or energy'. The primary slang of groups is often appropriated into general slang. It strikes members of the mainstream as novel, rich, and imaginative. It suggests a way of life with greater fun and excitement than the well-regulated lives of most. Adopting the vocabulary is a way of sharing vicariously in the daring while remaining apart from what is unsafe or objectionable about the way of life in the subculture. Customarily, the lexical items of subcultures that are borrowed into secondary slang are acquired via television, films, music, and the like rather than from personal interaction with members of the group. Current American English is filled with vocabulary of varying degrees of formality that originated in the slang of groups: *asap* 'as soon as possible', *chew out* 'reprimand severely', and *midnight requisition* 'thievery' from the military; *cool* 'excellent' and *square* 'dull, conventional' from jazz musicians; *dark horse* 'unlikely winner' from racetrack gamblers; and *blow someone's mind* 'dazzle, amaze, shock' and *cold turkey* 'total and abrupt deprivation' from narcotics addicts. At the end of the twentieth century, the primary slang of young African-Americans in urban ghettos was propelled throughout the world by the commercial success of rap music. From Tokyo to Singapore to Rome to Rio de Janeiro, superlatives like *phat* and *da bomb* and designations for friends like *homeboys* and *posse* could be heard interspersed in the native tongues of fashion-conscious young people.

3. Slang and other kinds of vocabulary

The origin of the word *slang* is unknown. In its earliest occurrences in the eighteenth century, *slang* referred to the specialized vocabulary of underworld groups and was used fairly interchangeably with the terms *cant*, *flash*, and *argot*. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the word *flash* is obsolete, *cant* is learned, and *argot* is associated with the underworld. In general contemporary English usage, the label *slang* is applied to almost any sort of vocabulary that is perceived as inappropriately informal, socially objectionable, or grammatically incorrect. The common thread is that slang—even though it may be clever, expressive, and tolerated—is somehow not right. Such consensus is probably the result of schooling that represents the more formal styles of written language as the norm and vocabulary that is not characteristic of those styles as deviant. For *slang* to be a useful term for understanding how language works, it must be distinguished from other subsets of the lexicon to which the term is commonly applied. Slang is not geographically restricted vocabulary. For example, in New Orleans, Louisiana, many people call ‘the paved walkway along a street’ a *banquette* and ‘the grassy strip that divides the lanes of a road’ a *neutral ground*. *Banquette* and *neutral ground* are not slang; they are regionalisms. Yet some slang items can be associated with a particular region, e.g., *guy* with North America and *bloke* with Britain. Slang is not jargon. Jargon is, strictly speaking, the vocabulary needed to do a job or to pursue a specialized interest, e.g., *distribution requirement*, *drop-add period*, and *capstone course* at an American university. Of course, people who work together or who have a common interest can develop in addition to jargon a slang vocabulary, which usually conveys feelings and attitudes and unity of spirit. For instance, in addition to studying, students at the University of California Los Angeles in 2000 could *bail* ‘leave a boring party’; *chillax* or *kick back* ‘take it easy’; *fake-bake* ‘tan in a tanning booth’; *pray to the porcelain god* ‘vomit’; *rage* ‘have fun’; *roll deep* ‘know a lot of people’; *smell bacon* ‘sense the presence of police nearby’; and *zone out* ‘not pay attention’ (Munro 2001). Slang is not colloquialism (cf. art. 27). Colloquialisms belong to the spoken part of

language and are seldom written except in direct quotation of speech. Because slang is usually spoken rather than written, slang is usually colloquial. However, not all colloquial expressions are slang, e.g., *shut up* for ‘be quiet’ and *throw up* for ‘vomit’. Slang is not nonstandard grammar (cf. art. 30). For example, *ain’t* is a nonstandard negative contraction, and *Me and John went to the movies* illustrates a nonstandard choice of pronoun case, but they are not slang. Nor is slang equivalent to obscenity or vulgarity. But because slang is often purposefully irreverent or shocking, it is not surprising that slang often refers to the taboo subjects of a culture, e.g., *heat-seeking missile* ‘penis’ and *dump a load* ‘defecate’. Slang is also not restricted to the specialized and sometimes secretive vocabulary of underworld groups (cf. 2). In English, the French borrowing *argot* usually has this sense. In other languages, the term *argot* has a more general reference and is equivalent to English *slang*.

4. Effects of slang

What distinguishes slang is the effects of its use. Whatever else the use of slang may signal, it always makes a claim on the relationship between user and audience—usually a claim of affinity, sympathy, or insider knowledge. Although investigators emphasize different effects of slang use, three general, overlapping effects are consistently pointed out: informality, identity, and opposition to convention or authority.

4.1. Informality

The injection of slang diminishes the formality or dignity of speech or writing (cf. art. 22). Sentences (4.1.a)–(4.1.c) contain a general, neutral vocabulary that does not call attention to itself and that reveals little about the speaker’s attitude toward the subject matter or audience. In sentences (4.1.d)–(4.1.f), a slang word substitutes for a neutral one, and the resulting sentence is less formal.

(4.1.a) What time is dinner?

(4.1.b) They were relaxing in the shade.

(4.1.c) The humidity is unpleasant.

(4.1.d) What time is chow?

(4.1.e) They were vegging out in the shade.

(4.1.f) The humidity sucks.

Informality in language use is relative. An utterance is informal by contrast with what

is deemed formal, that is, suitable to serious and important occasions and subject matter. Sentences (4.1.d)-(4.1.f) may be inappropriately informal in some social situations, say at a fund-raising event for charity at which the guests do not know each other. However, among neighbors at a backyard picnic where informality is a sign of friendliness, the same sentences may be perceived positively. Even though slang is usually avoided in impersonal public contexts, the ability of slang to disrupt momentarily the serious tone of spoken pronouncements can make it a useful means of easing tension or establishing rapport with an audience. For example, a local official seeking election to national office might pledge to *deep six* 'put an end to' a tax increase and not to *wimp out* 'fail to live up to a commitment' on campaign promises. In parts of the world where the United States has cultural influence today, the criterion of informality to categorize an expression as slang is limited, because all forms of social interaction, including language, have been moving in the direction of informality. Rarely in spoken American English is formal discourse more appropriate than informal. Even in discussions of pressing political and societal problems in structured formats like press conferences and radio and television interviews, informal vocabulary occurs frequently, including the judicious use of slang.

4.2. Identity (cf art. 50; 154)

Slang identifies members of a group—either a clearly delineated group, like truck drivers or college students, or a more nebulous group loosely united by attitude or style. Slang confirms a sense of belonging. Sharing and keeping up with a constantly changing set of slang expressions aids group solidarity, for a group's slang serves to include or to exclude. In a few instances, the tension between insiders and outsiders is so severe that slang functions as a secret code, for example, among gang members. But in most instances, slang is the linguistic counterpart of fashion and serves much the same purpose. Like stylish clothing, effective slang must be new, appealing, and able to gain group acceptance quickly. Nothing is more damaging to status within a group than using out-of-date slang. In addition, slang provides users with automatic linguistic responses that assign others to either an in crowd or an out crowd. For example, in

2000, undergraduate students at one university in the United States had at least eighteen nouns to label someone negatively: *bama*, *barney*, *bookie*, *chump*, *dick*, *dumbass*, *geek*, *gimp*, *loser*, *patsy*, *random*, *re-re*, *retard*, *scrub*, *slacker*, *sketch*, *tool*, and *toolbag*. Worldwide advances in communication have brought a new dimension to the notion of using vocabulary for purposes of identity, particularly among young people attuned to popular culture. Groups have always borrowed vocabulary selectively from other groups and made it part of their identity. (cf. 2) Now the desire is to borrow the whole identity. For example, in the 1990s the media-generated image of the young, head-shaven, street-smart, and smooth-tongued African-American male hip-hop celebrity became the height of *coolness*. Teenage males mimicked his clothing, body language, and speech. In some instances, middle class youths in the United States tried to perfect their identification with the style and language of this popular figure by hanging out in urban ghettos. The phenomenon of adopting as one's own "language varieties associated with social or ethnic groups that the speaker does not normally 'belong to'" is known as *crossing* (Rampton 1995, 14). Crossing includes not only vocabulary but also phonology and grammar.

Emanating from German universities, concerted studies of all facets of *Jugend-sprache*, youth language, are carrying the understanding of the linguistic life of one slang-producing group well beyond a cataloging of its distinctive vocabulary (Androutsopoulos/Scholz 1998; art. 146).

4.3. Opposition to convention or authority

Slang is vocabulary with an uncooperative or daring edge to it. It is often judgmental and negative in tone and can be offensive. The attitude projected by slang can range from downright subversion to slight irreverence. As McKnight (1923, 46) observed, regardless of the degree of opposition to convention or authority, "the spirit of slang is that of open hostility to the reputable." Incarcerated criminals offer an example of the subversive end of the continuum. Prisoners wield their language like a weapon, sometimes for contest and display—using it to release pent-up aggression, to express fear and terror, to retaliate against their treatment, and to gain authority among fellow prisoners. For many other groups that cultivate

slang and for users of secondary slang, the irreverence is ordinarily targeted at social mores, and the opposition consists of breaches of good taste. *Goo food* 'Asian cuisine' is culturally insensitive; *brain fart* 'mental error' is indelicate; *punk-ass* 'annoying person' is vulgar; and *fuck-film* 'pornographic movie' is obscene. Even an innocuous expression like *couch potato* 'person who lies around doing nothing except perhaps watching television' carries a tinge of irreverence-toward the work ethic that is widely honored as the basis of success.

Part of the pleasure of using slang also derives from daring to use forms forbidden in schoolwork.

5. Antilanguage

The antiestablishment effect of slang allies slang with the notion of *antilanguage* developed by Halliday (1976). Sometimes the term *argot* is used as the rough equivalent of *antilanguage*. However, *antilanguage* as Halliday uses it is a precise term. An antilanguage is the language of an antisociety, which constructs by means of language an alternate reality set in opposition to some established norm. Although the distance between the two realities need not be great, the relationship is always one of tension. Halliday uses three examples of increasingly complex antisocieties and their languages, one historic and the others reported in the early 1970s: vagabonds of Elizabethan England, the underworld of Calcutta, and inmates in Polish reform schools and prisons. Among the characteristics observed in these varieties are overlexicalization in areas of activities that set the group off from established society, metaphor as the ordinary mode of expression, and the typical use of the antilanguage for contest and display. Among slang users, the slang of incarcerated criminals is most likely to qualify as antilanguage. The slang of other groups does tend to show the three main linguistic characteristics of antilanguage. For example, the slang of college students shows overlexicalization: in any given school year American college students have dozens of ways to say 'drunk', 'sexually attractive', 'engage in sex', and so forth. However, overlexicalization in college slang shows up not in the areas that set students off most sharply from established society but precisely in those areas that are taboo in the standard language. To be sure,

the slang of many groups also relies extensively on metaphor and other kinds of figurative language, and its use has some characteristics of performance. Yet most groups that use slang lack the essential qualification for their distinctive vocabulary to be antilanguage; despite an irreverence toward authority, they do not constitute an antisociety.

6. Lexicography

Slang is an understudied part of language. Because it is customarily reported as the idiosyncratic and deviant vocabulary of quirky or suspicious groups, slang has not traditionally been taken seriously as a scholarly subject that can contribute to the understanding of language in general. Despite the neglect of slang by scholars with academic appointments, there is a strong tradition of slang lexicography. Dictionaries of slang are available for the world's major languages, and with increased global communication slang dictionaries for speakers of other languages are finding an audience, e.g., the Polish-English and English-Polish slang dictionaries of Widawski (1998;1997). Language lovers have compiled and published collections of the slang of groups as disparate as cowboys, restaurant employees, emergency room attendants, longshoremen, and lumberjacks. Most of these lists appeared as privately published booklets or as filler or feature items in newspapers and magazines. Few are cataloged. The name most associated with the lexicography of slang in the English-speaking world is Eric Partridge. In their numerous editions, Partridge (1968) and Partridge (1984) are the best known twentieth-century collections of English slang. Three major dictionaries of American slang have been published since World War II: Wentworth and Flexner (1960), Chapman (1986), and Lighter (1994; 1997). The multi-volume *Random House historical dictionary of American slang* (Lighter 1994; 1997), with volumes covering A-O completed, is the most ambitious project of American slang lexicography. Its first volume contains an excellent essay on the history of slang in North America. The internet has brought slang lexicography into a new era for both professional and amateur lexicographers. All the major dictionary publishers maintain free, attractively designed, and user-friendly websites where anyone with access can find information about words.

In addition, a good search engine will identify hundreds of sites devoted to the slang of various interests posted by organizations, universities, and individuals. Many are short-lived. A longstanding example, however, is the ever-growing dictionary of rap maintained since 1992 in the Netherlands by Patrick Atoon (1992–2001).

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29. Dialect and Accent/Dialekt und Akzent

1. Introduction
2. ‘Dialects are socially and/or regionally constrained’
3. ‘Dialects are not standardised’
4. ‘Dialects are linguistically similar to and mutually intelligible with other dialects’
5. ‘The boundaries between dialects are socio-politically not linguistically created and perpetuated’
6. ‘Dialects have recognisably distinct linguistic structures from standard varieties’
7. Conclusion
8. Literature (selected)

1. Introduction

These two words, commonly used both in sociolinguistics and beyond, both key concepts for students of the discipline, often cited together, often taught at the same time,

differ remarkably in the way they have been handled in the sociolinguistic literature. Definitions of accent are quite consistent – involving ONLY the pronunciation of a language variety, regardless of who speaks it, whether standard or non-standard-speaking, native or non-native. Simpson (1994, 8), for example, defines it thus: ‘A spoken variety of language is realised in speech sounds: any one system of such sounds and their combinatorial possibilities constitutes an accent of that variety of language’; Trask (1997, 3), more simply, suggests that an accent is ‘a particular way of pronouncing a language’. Some definitions link the term ‘accent’ to the social position of the speaker, but do not exclude, say, standard speakers from its remit. Harmegnies (1997, 11), for example, suggests that it refers to ‘l’ensemble des caractéris-

tiques de prononciation liées aux origines linguistiques, territoriales ou sociales du locuteur ... ce concept ... est exclusivement attaché aux aspects phoniques des énoncés'. The term 'dialect', meanwhile, lacks definitional consensus perhaps more than any other in the field. The only agreement across the discipline, it appears, is in the meaning of 'dialect' vis à vis 'accent', where the former is commonly recognised as involving every level of language, including, but not restricted to the phonological. In attempting to synthesise an account of accent and dialect, therefore, it is important to recognise a number of factors which can account for the semantic fog which surrounds 'dialect' in particular:

1.1. Different meanings, different places

The terms are used differently in different sociolinguistic traditions, and in each tradition are embedded within differing terminological arrays. From a German perspective, for example, Ammon (1998; see also 1987) contrasts definitions of 'dialect' in 'the Continental European' and 'Anglo-Saxon' traditions. He notes that 'dialects and standard varieties ... in Anglo-Saxon terminology ... would usually be called regional dialects (our dialects) or standard dialects (our standard varieties), respectively. On the European continent, however, this terminology would often be confusing' (1998, 195). To Anglo-Saxon sociolinguists, then, everyone speaks a dialect of some kind (and a few may speak a dialect which happens to be a standard variety). In the German system, not everyone speaks a dialect – some speak a 'standard variety' which isn't a dialect (see also Durrell (1999) and Barbour and Stevenson (1990) for a comparison of the English versus German classification systems). In assessing the semantics of 'dialecte' in the French tradition, Knecht (1997, 120) claims that 'dialecte' is deprived of terminological precision, partly through semantic interference with the English term 'dialect'. There, 'dialecte' shares the terminological battlefield with a whole host of other terms, such as 'patois', 'français commun', 'français régional', 'français général', 'français populaire' and so on (see, for example, Pooley 1996; 2000 for a discussion).

1.2. Lay meanings, academic meanings

Both terms have long had lay and non-scientific meanings that differ from, but have undoubtedly interacted with, those used in the

academic discourse of the field. Not only does the 'Anglo-Saxon' tradition, for example, differ from the mainland European, but it also differs from lay and prescriptive viewpoints within its own realm. From the lay perspective, 'dialect' is rarely applied to the standard variety; dialect prescriptivists consider as an economic obstacle, a barrier to upward class mobility, a sign of social degeneration and criminality and believe the standard is some kind of social panacea (e.g. Honey 1989; 1997, Tebbitt, cited in Graddol and Swann 1989, 102). Some academic linguists believe that it is important for scientific definitions to try to accommodate or at least move towards those used more widely (see, for example, Ammon 1998, 195; and the discussion in Newbrook 1991, 116), but it is doubtful that such a move would produce much general agreement on definitions beyond, possibly, at the local level.

1.3. Different meanings, different contexts

Both accent, and, especially, dialect have been applied as terms to describe the sociolinguistic realities of very different speech communities around the world. We can compare, for example, the use of the term 'dialect' to describe the 'Low' variety in a diglossic situation, where often great linguistic, social, stylistic, functional and topical differentiation can exist between the low and high varieties, with the use of the same term to describe the *relatively* homogeneous varieties of English spoken in, say, most of Canada and Australia – where linguistic variation is mostly quantitative rather than qualitative. Sociolinguists, I believe, would be quite happy to use the term in both contexts, but the entities are quite different in each case, and the semantic 'traces' that remain from such terminological usage probably add to, rather than reduce the definitional fog.

1.4. Constrained meanings

Any vernacular speech act will vary as it is filtered through the linguistic constraints (e.g. surrounding phonological and syntactic environment) operative on that variety, the 'constraints' of the speaker's social locale (i.e. the interactions of gender, class, place, network, age, lifestyle, etc) and those of his/her audience, topic and setting (see Preston 1991; Bell 1984). Consequently, delimitation of accents and dialects at any one

of these three levels (or sub-levels within them) is extremely difficult, since the effects of the others rather reduce the force of the one. Renowned, for example, are the difficulties with *geographical* definitions of ‘dialect’ (see Britain 2002; Chambers and Trudgill 1998), yet it is often to geography that most textbook, and especially dictionary definitions of dialect resort (see, for example, Bussmann 1996, 125; Crystal 1997, 114; Apte 1994, 907–908; Matthews 1997, 96). Social definitions are equally problematic, partly in that often only one social factor (e.g. social ‘class’) is taken into account, and partly in that social groupings in sociolinguistics have often been essentialised in the form of discrete n-ary categories, such as ‘sex’ (sometimes dressed up as ‘gender’), rather than the sociolinguistic being seen as fluid and constructed locally through social and linguistic practice.

1.5. Linguistic meanings, social meanings

As is the nature of the discipline, dialect, in particular, has acquired definitions which range from the largely linguistic – suggesting that it comprises a relatively focussed, relatively homogeneous linguistic code, used by a group whose membership is defined by the very use of that code – to the largely social, where it corresponds to the language code used – however variable and unfocussed – by a *socially* focussed and embedded network of speakers. Sociolinguistics, by definition, has had a tendency to adopt the former approach, whilst some contemporary approaches (e.g. that of Community of Practice theorists (see, for example, Meyerhoff 2002)) have recognised the active role language itself plays in the very creation and negotiation of the social groups concerned.

1.6. Convenient meanings

‘Dialect’, in particular, is often used as a contrastive definitional tool (in comparison with terms such as ‘language’ or, in some traditions, ‘standard’) where its definition is largely phrased in binary oppositional terms. So whereas sociolinguists usually and quite rightly play down the role of mutual intelligibility as a defining characteristic of the difference between ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ (Chambers and Trudgill 1998) – because of the high number of problem cases (such as the dialect continua of Ausbau languages – see below) – ‘dialect’ is often use-

fully used in ways which clearly assign mutual intelligibility as the primary definitional characteristic. Trudgill’s (1986) book ‘Dialects in contact’ is a case in point – here ‘dialect’ is used as a term to specifically refer to distinct but mutually intelligible varieties that collide, as opposed to and in comparison with the long tradition of research which has investigated the consequences of contact between varieties where there is no such intelligibility (e.g. Thomason and Kaufmann 1988; Thomason 2001).

Rather than entering into the petty terminological bickering which characterises much of the argument around definitions of these concepts, an argument which Russ (1990, xxi), for example, rightly labels as ‘sterile’, I plan here to draw upon and discuss some of the core axes of existing definitions in the literature on accent and dialect. The aim is not to eventually define either, but to demonstrate where the terminological ‘contest’ is at its most disputed or critical.

2. ‘Dialects are socially and/or regionally constrained’

Most definitions of these terms suggest use by a socially or regionally restricted sector of the population, such that ‘a dialect of X’ is necessarily spoken by a smaller group than those who speak X. Examples come from many traditions: Crystal’s definition (1997, 114) is of ‘a regionally or socially distinctive variety of language’ whilst Simpson (1994, 9) claims ‘in English, ... the majority of accents are regional’, Trask (1999, 75) suggests ‘a more or less identifiable regional or social variety of language’ and Apte (1994: 907) ‘varieties of speech based on geographical location and/or social background’. Bussmann (1996, 125) suggests that it is ‘a linguistic system that ... is tied to a specific region in such a way that the regional distribution of the system does not overlap with an area covered by another such system’. Matthews (1997, 96) claims that it is ‘any distinct variety of a language, especially one spoken in a specific part of a country or other geographic area’ (see also Besch 1983, 962, Pooley 1996, 56, Russ 1990, xx, Ammon 1987, 330). Most such definitions are passive in the sense that they view ‘dialect’ as reflecting some pre-existing social or, especially, geographical order, rather than actively and dynamically helping

to shape and define that order. Definitions appear not to have kept track of the current sociolinguistic trend towards identity, creativity and construction.

3. 'Dialects are not standardised'

This is a defining characteristic in a number of sources, including Bussmann (1996, 125) and Ammon (1987; 1998), particularly in non Anglo-Saxon traditions. The consequences of this view are manifold: dialects are less likely to be written (and if they are, the focus tends to be on the dialect itself, rather than the content of the message); less likely to be used in institutional settings; less likely to be disseminated and hence less likely to gain prestige, acceptability, status and recognition at a societal level.

In some accounts, dialects are considered occasionally to lack 'communicative functionality' (Ammon 1998, 197), unlike standard varieties, and to function less well 'for trans-regional communication ... which is why they [=standard varieties! DB] have been developed in the first place or why they keep being taught in school'. This is indeed a very generous view of the function of standardisation (as against the view, for example, that standards serve as hegemonic tools to prop up and maintain the interests of the ruling classes). This view is only arguably true of, say, the English speech community, and doesn't offer a more critical understanding of *why* the standard form serves transregional communicative and educational functions – more important are the historicity of the standard (we understand the standard not because it is easier to understand but because we have been forcibly exposed to it for centuries), and the fact that we are taught it partly because the ruling classes (and their organs of hegemonic control, particularly the media) consider it – their own 'dialect' – 'correct' and partly because it is considered imperative for economic survival in a society where dialect discrimination (unlike sexual or ethnic) in the workplace is still openly legitimised. If speakers of, say, English English were routinely and intensively exposed to and forced to learn, say, Scottish English for several centuries, that 'dialect' too would be fully functional as a tool of transregional communication.

Furthermore, Trudgill (1999) argues strongly that 'non-standard dialects' do not

lack communicative functionality, and that, given the chance, nuclear physics and sociolinguistics could readily be discussed in, say, a Norfolk dialect, since the technical lexicon does not belong solely to standard varieties. The supposed superior functionality of the standard, if it exists at all, has been claimed for what are essentially formal or non-intimate contexts. But given the primacy of informal spoken language in (socio)linguistics, and the fact that such language is the dominant medium of human discourse, there seems no *a priori* reason why we should only consider communicative functionality at the formal end of the speech repertoire. If we followed the argument further, we would surely also have to argue that since it is more likely that dialect (as opposed to standard) is used in in-group discussions with smaller non-institutional audiences (i.e. the vast bulk of our language use), dialect, in this context, rather than the standard, has greater functionality. The situation where standard varieties have assumed a more widespread multifunctional role derives ultimately from their hegemonic status, not from some inherent and practical superiority.

4. 'Dialects are linguistically similar to and mutually intelligible with other dialects'

The claim of similarity and mutual intelligibility is one which appears regularly in definitions. Bussmann (1996, 125) for example, claims that a dialect is 'a linguistic system that ... shows a high degree of similarity to other systems so that at least partial mutual intelligibility is possible'. Knecht claims that dialects have '*une certaine proximité structurale avec [une] autre variété*' (1997, 120 – his emphasis). Counter-examples are, of course, numerous. On the one hand, there are ample examples of varieties sharing (some) mutual intelligibility, yet each belonging to different autonomous languages. Most of these counterexamples come from Ausbau dialect continua – chains of locally mutually intelligible varieties, divided not by linguistic but by political boundaries into groups of genetically related dialect clusters, each with their own autonomised standard variety – consider, for example, the Romance or Southern Slavic dialect continua. On the other hand,

there are instances where ‘dialects’ of a language exist that are so divergent that mutual intelligibility is only possible through the medium of a standard or lingua franca, as is the case in the Arabic speaking world, for example.

5. ‘The boundaries between dialects are socio-politically not linguistically created and perpetuated’

Trumper and Maddalon (1988, 219) neatly present the idea that dialects ordinarily would lie on a non-discrete linguistic continuum where ‘varieties run one into the other’. The ‘conceptual starting point is a natural linguistic continuum of dialects ... What is discrete ... and what has the capacity to convert a linguistic continuum into a set of discrete boundaries are the extra-linguistic forces that come into play in language use’. Chambers and Trudgill (1998) and Trudgill (2000) both highlight a number of cases where the autonomisation of dialects has led to mutually intelligible varieties being ‘differentiated’ by the conferment of ‘language’ status on chunks of Ausbau dialect continua, for example in the former Yugoslavia. In these cases, it is not linguistic difference which has promoted the dialects to the status of languages, but the supposed requirements of nation-building. The socio-politically charged definition of dialect conflicts somewhat with the mutual intelligibility issue, of course, since it is politically motivated *Ausbau*ness that causes most of the exceptions to (lack of) mutuality as a defining characteristic.

Not only can external factors create ‘difference’ where none exists, they can also create ‘unity’ where, likewise, none exists. Maiden and Parry (1997, 2) highlight the sociopolitical nature of dialect definitions when they claim, for Italian: ‘It is a striking reflection of the linguistic diversity of Italy that, even if we were to exclude from our analysis Sardinian, Ladin and Friulian, we should still be left with a heterogeneous array of dialects. There is simply no linguistic feature which characterises all and only the ‘dialects of Italy’, however we define them’ (my emphasis). Muljačić (1997, 389), indeed, talks about ‘the Italian Area of Convergence’ to refer to ‘all idioms inside Italy’.

6. ‘Dialects have recognisably distinct linguistic structures from standard varieties’

This is a highly controversial issue, since it appears to contradict the rather strongly held view that non-standard varieties of language are in no sense linguistically, but only socially distinct from standard norms. Despite claims to the contrary, however – Mattheier (1980, 13), for example, claims that dialects and standards are ‘linguistically not distinguishable’ – one linguistic difference that has been noted is that standard varieties tend to be characterized by the relative lack of inherent variability (Milroy 1999, 27–8). One aim of standardization, claims Milroy (1999, 28 – his emphasis), is to fix and embalm the structural properties of the language in a uniform state and *prevent* all structural change, and although it is never entirely successful, it does inhibit the levels of variability that have been found in studies of most non-standard varieties. Cheshire (1999) reminds us that this restriction of variability is less successful in spoken standards than in written ones. Her work (and that of others, e.g. Milroy and Milroy 1999) highlights that spoken standard varieties are constrained by the same pressures of language processing, speaker involvement, conversational management, and so on, as spoken non-standard varieties and hence embrace significant levels of structural variability.

In addition, Kroch has argued (1978, 18, 23) that overtly prestigious varieties differ from the dialects of the non-elite in that they resist normal processes of phonological conditioning, such as consonantal simplifications (e.g. the merger of /ð/ and /d/ in New York) and assimilations of foreign borrowings (e.g. British English non-elite [kaf] versus elite [kafe] for ‘café’). This suppression is motivated, he suggests, by the desire of ‘prestige speakers [to] seek to mark themselves off as distinct from the common people and because inhibiting phonetic processes is an obvious way to do this’ (Kroch 1978, 30; see also Finegan and Biber 1994).

7. Conclusion

An attempt has been made here to characterize the debates surrounding the terms accent and dialect. ‘Accent’, fortunately, possesses a great deal of definitional agreement.

Dialect, however, continues to be a battleground for terminological dispute, on a number of fronts, and from a number of differing sociolinguistic traditions. Presented here was a brief sketch of some of the more contentious fields of skirmish.

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30. Standard Variety/Standardvarietät

1. Terminology
2. Standard variant, standard variety, standard language
3. Basic aspects of the development of standard varieties
4. Social forces establishing and controlling standard varieties
5. Problems of delimiting standard from non-standard variants
6. Giving standard forms the coherence of a variety
7. Forming standard languages through roofing
8. Elaboration and modernization of standard varieties
9. Literature (selected)

1. Terminology

The term *standard* with respect to language was only established over the course of the 19th century, with a few attested occurrences dating back to the early 18th century (Joseph 1987, 3f). It was borrowed from English into French (*langue standard*) and other European languages in the middle of the 19th century, but only recently into German (*Standardsprache*). Whatever its original meaning (perhaps ‘flag’ – cf. Engl. *standard bearer*, Germ. *Standarte*), its relevant sense in the present context is related to ‘permanence, fixity’ (as a semantic feature of *stand*. Cf. Mathesius [1932] 1983). It is in this sense quite common in contexts other than language (*standard procedure, standard deviation*, etc.). The term *standard variety* (cf. art. 20) is newer than the term *standard language*. The latter is used (1) synonymously with the former, designating only

part of a language (e.g. in Garvin [1959] 1964; Besch 1983), or (2) differently, in the sense of an entire language (Ammon 1986). Both meanings are often not clearly distinguished, as when phrases co-occur, such as “people often value the standard language more highly than the non-standard dialects” (meaning 1), and “Italian is a standard language comprising various non-standard dialects” (meaning 2). Similarly, the name of the entire language is often used to designate only the standard variety, or, vice versa, the standard variety is taken for the entire language (“they study Italian/the Italian language” meaning ‘Standard Italian’ = ‘the standard variety of the Italian language’).

There are a number of other synonyms for *standard variety* (also for *standard language* in sense 2) which highlight different attributes of standard varieties. The various terms can be seen as relating to different underlying theories of standardization, i.e. explanations for why standard varieties developed and which purposes they serve. The most important of these terms are the following, with some of their shortcomings being pointed out:

Standard dialect (Chambers/Trudgill 1980, 3) has the advantage of stressing sense (1) but the disadvantage that cognate correspondences are often missing in other languages (Fr. *dialecte*, Germ. *Dialekt*, Ital. *dialetto*, etc. usually imply ‘non-standardness’). *Written language* (Dokulil [1952] 1971; Jedlička [1974] 1978) stresses the written function of standard varieties but ignores their spoken function (Fr. *langue*

écrite, Germ. *Schriftsprache*). *Literary language* (Guchmann [1958] 1961) shows the same one-sidedness. The term is a calque from Russ. *literaturnyj jazyk*, used especially in former East Germany (Fr. *langue littéraire*, Germ. *Literatursprache*). *High variety* (Ferguson 1959): stresses associations with higher functions (especially in a diglossic situation; cf. art. 15) or with the upper social classes, neither of which should, however, be taken as definitional (Fr. *variété haute*, Germ. *Hochsprache*). *Common language* (Ammon 1973) denotes a wider regional range than that of dialects, but this, again, should not be taken as definitional (Fr. *langue commune*, Germ. *Einheitssprache*). *Roofing variety* (Ammon 1989, 38–43)/ *superimposed* or *superposed variety* (Joseph 1985); *roofing* is a calque from Germ. *Dach* ‘roof’ (introduced into sociolinguistics by Kloss [1952] 1978, 60. Germ. *Dachsprache* is more common than *Dachvarietät*).

2. Standard variant, standard variety, standard language

A standard variety (SV1a) is only one of the systems in a language (L1) (SV1 \in L1) (cf. art. 19). This does not strictly rule out extensional identity of varieties and languages in some cases (e.g. planned languages which have not been put into practice); however, for languages which are actually spoken or written, it may be assumed that they always comprise non-standard varieties (NSV), even in cases of artificial or classical languages (Esperanto, today’s Latin). An entire language (L), then, is a set of varieties (V): $L_1 = \{V_{1a}, \dots, V_{1n}\}$. Such a set can be dubbed a *standard language* if it contains at least one standard variety; otherwise it is a *non-standard language* or a *vernacular language*. The distinction between language and variety is important for dealing with non-standard and standard varieties separately or for distinguishing several standard varieties of a language (e.g. British and American Standard English).

The concept ‘language variety’ is linked with the concepts ‘language variant’ and ‘language variable’ (cf. Ammon 1995, 61–73). A language variant is a single unit, or form, as it can be isolated by linguistic analysis from speech or writing, e.g. an incidence of a single phoneme, morpheme, or word. For a linguistically identifiable form to be a variant, it has to be an element of a

variable, i.e. to be exchangeable paradigmatically (in de Saussure’s sense) for at least one other variant. Thus, *lorry* and *truck* are two variants (of English, with the values British or American Standard English, respectively) in the variable {lorry – truck – ...}, which may comprise still more variants in the English language, especially non-standard variants. There are of course also *constants*, i.e. linguistically identifiable forms which do not vary. A standard variety (e.g. British Standard English or Austrian Standard German) is a system of standard variants and standard constants. It is a *system* due to its coherency, which, in the case of our examples, is due to their relationship to a particular nation (Britain, Austria; cf. 6). Such a system can be specified as *linguistic* at a descriptive level in order to distinguish it from the underlying “real” *oral* system (or competence). The distinction can be useful for demonstrating the possibility of constructing different grammars, or linguistic systems, for the same oral system on the basis of different linguistic theories. However, this approach will not be pursued in what follows.

Strictly speaking, varieties are systems without variation, i.e. they do not comprise variables (only variants or constants). This idea is based on the assumption that any two variants (of the same variable) have different functions, i.e. they are not interchangeable in all contexts. This is perhaps true. However, the varieties actually presented as such by linguists are never ideal or homogenous in this sense. Take our examples of British Standard English or Austrian Standard German. They are actually sets of varieties in the strict sense, since they do contain some – one might say considerable – internal variation. In actual practice, the term (*language*) *variety* is used for sets of varieties of any complexity below that of an entire language. Awareness of this is important with respect to standard varieties, which usually comprise various situational, or stylistic, varieties (registers), i.e. they are far more complex than any unvariable variety (cf. Havránek [1936] 1971; Garvin 1964).

The idea of language varieties suggests the possibility of a clear-cut delimitation of one variety from another. This proves difficult if not impossible to achieve in practice. Variants of the so-called colloquial standard, for instance, cannot easily be de-

limited from non-standard variants in every case (cf. Aniche 1982; Bartsch 1985). This begs the more general question of what makes a linguistic form, especially a variant, standard as opposed to non-standard. The answer does not necessarily have to be a strict yes-no distinction, but it could lead to gradations of standardness of linguistic forms, thereby disclosing in detail why there is no clear-cut distinction between standard and non-standard varieties. Another important question is: what exactly makes a standard variety coherent so that it may be regarded as a system, though perhaps an open one and not precisely delimitable. Finally, it remains to be asked: what provides an entire standard language with the coherence that justifies placing standard and non-standard varieties together into a single language.

3. Basic aspects of the development of standard varieties

The following is not a historical description of how any standard variety actually developed but rather a scheme of more or less recurrent features of standardization (cf. overviews and examples in Ansre 1970; Henzen 1954; articles in Bédard/Mauvais 1983; Cuffer/Schubert/Weier/Wolff 1991; Mattheier 1992; Hasnain 1995; cf. art. 240). At the outset of a standardization process, there is usually a set of closely related, or linguistically similar, varieties which are, however, not sufficiently mutually intelligible for a given communicative purpose, especially for public communication over the wider area covering all the varieties. For this purpose, certain speech forms are selected: either an entire variety or variants from different varieties together with constants (cf. Byron 1976). The latter procedure generates a new, mixed variety. Either process of selection can be seen as a kind of *reduction* (reducing several varieties, or variants, to a single one; Ray 1963). The standard variety is acquired by the individuals who need it, especially those involved in public communication over a wider area. In its incipient stage it may even be created by these individuals, but then, typically, expert linguists take over its further development. For easier acquisition and control, it is fixed in writing, either in the form of model texts (perhaps chrestomathies, i.e. collections of

literary passages) or in the codified form of dictionaries or grammars. This presupposes, of course, the existence of a script whose creation is sometimes considered the first step of standardization (cf. art. 242). However, the development of an orthography is in fact only part of the standardization process in a narrower sense. By being fixed in writing, the incipient standard variety is stabilized compared to mere oral varieties (non-standard or vernacular) which lack codification. Stabilization increases through codification, even when compared to other written varieties which remain relatively volatile. The forms of a codified variety can be looked up and justified, which is important, for instance, in legal documents such as business contracts. Once fixed in writing, it can also be developed, cultivated and modernized more easily. Typically, the standard variety derives from the most prestigious variety, or variants, from the language behaviour of the privileged or ruling classes, and it is primarily used for the higher functions or the domains most important for social control. It may also be fostered and used by linguistic experts (grammarians) or language specialists (actors, professional speakers and writers) who are part of the ruling class or work in tandem with it. As a consequence, the standard variety has more prestige than the non-standard varieties, and the speakers of the latter may suffer from linguistic discrimination.

This rough scheme does not capture the actual developments in their entire complexity, some of which deserve to be pointed out. The script used or developed for standardization is itself a possible object of standardization on the one hand, and it is a means of codification on the other. If it is exclusively ideographic (logographic), as in the case of Chinese, standardization can capture only written, not oral, communication. It can extend to varieties whose sound patterns are so divergent that linguists will normally consider them members of different rather than the same language. As a consequence, standardization based on ideographic script is considered, at best, an incomplete standardization. Even syllabic or alphabetic scripts are, as a rule, insufficient for a phonetic standardization that is precise enough to eliminate audible regional or social variation. Such precision requires sophisticated phonetic transcription, which was not developed until the second half of

the 19th century; only then did comprehensive language standardization become possible.

Processes of standardization have traditionally not been centrally controlled but instead were worked out gradually by numerous institutions and individuals selecting and using variants, orally or in writing, compiling dictionaries and grammars, teaching the forms they preferred or were obliged to teach, etc. The overall results of such endeavors, which sometimes went on for centuries, particularly in Europe, were some of the standard varieties, and standard languages, we have today. Only in recent times has overall planning and control occurred, either in attempts to create universal languages (Esperanto, Ido), national languages (Malay, Indonesian), or regional languages (numerous cases in the former USSR, in India and other developing countries). Standardization is among the main issues for modern language planning (cf. arts. 240–243), and standard varieties, or standard languages, are considered indispensable for modern societies.

4. Social forces establishing and controlling standard varieties

A fully-fledged standard variety is codified, i.e. its rules are written down in dictionaries or grammars or both (Haugen [1966] 1972; cf. art. 17). Not every dictionary or grammar is in itself a (*linguistic*) *codex*. This is only the case if it is used as a set of guidelines for correcting behaviour, either by language users themselves for self-correction or by authorities for correcting others (e.g. teachers vis-à-vis students) (cf. Ammon 1995, 73–82; 2003). Moreover, a codex needs to be accepted or justified as a basis of corrections within the society where it functions as such. Not every dictionary A or grammar B can legitimately be cited in statements like: “Form f is correct (in some language: French, Italian etc.), because it is given in A or B.” This is only possible for dictionaries or grammars which are part of the codex; the more central their position in the codex, the less questionable the validity of such statements. Which dictionaries or grammars belong to the codex is not always clear; delimitation can be a problem. For most standard varieties there are, however, publications which are more or less generally accepted as the codex and which can

legitimately be cited (in their newest editions) for justification of corrections in the respective language. The canonical form of corrective behaviour is: “Say or write *b* not *c*!” To call *b* *correct* is then usually synonymous with calling it *standard* (a standard form/form of the standard variety). Codices also tend to contain certain non-standard forms, marked as such, for the information of the user. Only those forms which are not marked as non-standard (“slang”, “regional dialect” or the like) are to be regarded as standard.

For a dictionary, grammar etc. to become part of the codex, it is irrelevant who its authors are, as long as it is accepted as an authoritative basis for corrections. There are cases of private individuals (Noah Webster for American English), of private companies (the *Duden* publisher for German, specifically German German), or prestigious institutions of the state (like the *Académie Française* for French, specifically for French French. Cf. Guitarte/Torres Quintero 1967). The chances of becoming accepted will, of course, vary depending on the authors’ social position. The codex is one of the social forces which helps establish and maintain a standard variety. Its authors, the *codifiers*, can be seen as part of this force, and so can the social groups or institutions which guarantee the codex’s *validity* and, consequently, the validity of the norms it describes (cf. von Wright 1963, 194–202). Among them are typically the school authorities, which, in turn, might be dependent on higher institutions within a hierarchy of authorities extending, in some cases, to the sovereign of the state. The importance of codices for standard varieties is due to the fact that they do not represent, as a rule, the native tongue of everyone who wants to, or has to, use them, but are acquired through formal learning. Standard varieties can be codified to varying degrees depending on the comprehensiveness of codification at the different linguistic levels: phonetics, orthography, lexicon, grammar, pragmatics. Comprehensive codification is most clearly evident when there are separate volumes for each level: a dictionary of pronunciation, an orthographic dictionary, a defining dictionary, a grammar book, and a manual for pragmatic features. The comprehensiveness of codification can be measured in the form of at least a rank scale (if not a metric scale; cf. Ammon 1989, 89).

It can be useful to see the (*language*) *norm authorities* as another of the social forces establishing and maintaining a standard variety (cf. Milroy/Milroy [1991] 1998; Gloy 1975; Ammon 2003). They are the individuals who are professionally entitled, or even obliged, to correct others', their *norm subjects*', verbal behaviour. Typical norm authorities are teachers, office superiors, or the language editors of publishing houses. They disseminate the knowledge of the codified standard, or enforce its use, on the one hand, but can assist in establishing uncoded forms of the standard on the other. A standard variety can never be codified completely, and any codex, for all its stabilizing effect, can contain forms which are in practical terms outmoded (Dokulil [1952] 1971). The norm authorities may refer to the codex in cases of doubt, or may even be obliged to do so, but will often enough just follow their own intuitions. If their judgment diverges from the codex, the norm subjects (students, secretaries, authors) can try to object with reference to the codex, but usually they do not, and in such cases there would be no guarantee of success anyway. Thus, the norm authorities can be to some extent autonomous in establishing what constitutes a standard. One of the reasons for their autonomy is the fact that there are forces other than the codex which help establish what is standard and to which the norm authorities can refer in justifying their decisions.

Important amongst these are *model texts*. Their existence becomes apparent if the codex claims to be based on them or quotes them as examples of "good", and of course correct, usage. This typically happens with "classical" literature. However, non-fiction (Kloss' "Sachprosa"), including prestigious journals or magazines, can be more important as model texts than fiction (Kloss [1952] 1978, 40–46). As a rule, norm authorities are justified in relying on or consulting them (for regular usage rather than individual incidences), perhaps even in cases which are at odds with the codex. For oral standards there can also be model texts which diverge from codified pronunciation. Typical of these are stage productions, especially of "classical" drama, or, ever more important in modern times, radio and TV, especially news broadcasts. The producers of model texts can be called *model writers* (authors, journalists) or *model speakers* (actors, news readers). Again, the delimitation of model

texts and model speakers or writers is not clear-cut. Thus, model speakers can be conceived more comprehensively as including all individuals who are engaged in public oral communication, with the leading politicians as a subgroup. Thus, the notion of standard is extended to include the so-called colloquial standard.

Finally, expert linguists, or their judgments, can function as an additional force to be reckoned with in establishing a standard variety. These linguists should be defined separately from the codifiers, in order to avoid overlap. Their judgment can diverge from that of the codifiers which becomes noticeable in their criticism of the codex. Such criticism can have the effect that the codex undergoes revision, as happened with the *Österreichisches Wörterbuch*, whose 1979 edition was heavily criticised by the linguistic experts, among others (cf. Clyne 1985), and which was revised for its 1986 edition.

All these social forces are partially independent but at the same time influence one another. Their importance varies from one language community to another, and other social forces can play a role too. What they establish as standard may be primarily derived from the usage of some elite group, as in most cases, or of the broader population, depending on the extent to which they exhibit elitist or democratic tendencies. This may be either intentional and even made explicit, or it may be done involuntarily. Any of the above forces may pose problems of delimitation. Usually, there are clear cases of inclusion as well as clear cases of exclusion, but also cases whose respective status is unclear at any given point in time. – Beyond these distinctions, standardization can be seen from both aspects which Kloss (1969) introduced into sociolinguistics: *corpus* and *status*. Not only is a fully-fledged standard variety codified on all the major linguistic levels: graphics (orthography), phonetics, grammar, lexicon, and pragmatic features (*corpus*); but it also relies on all the major control forces: codex, model texts, norm authorities, and linguistic experts (*status*). This makes for a fully-fledged standard variety, though it may differ from other fully-fledged standard varieties in numerous additional aspects of corpus (e.g. script) and function (e.g. use as a medium of school instruction) or status (e.g. being the official language of a state).

5. Problems of delimiting standard from non-standard variants

From what has been said in section 4, it seems clear that the categorization (delimitation) of standard from non-standard forms is not always a simple yes-no decision, though there are unquestionable standard forms and unquestionable non-standard forms, namely those for which all the above-mentioned forces agree. There is the possibility of disagreement and, accordingly, of forms whose standard or non-standard status is debatable. Some forms may, for example, be treated as standard by model texts but be missing in the codex or even be marked there as non-standard. Borderline cases may exist in any of the forces mentioned above. This may result in forms being accepted (unmarked) in dictionaries with little prestige whose status as part of the codex is questionable but being marked as non-standard in prestigious dictionaries. These and other possibilities allow for a complex gradation between standard and non-standard. – Things become even more complicated if one considers the difficulty of distinguishing *norm levels*, such as standard – non-standard, from *stylistic levels* or *registers*, like formal – informal (cf. McLaughlin 1972). These codex' markings are often ambiguous. An example is *colloquial* (or German *umgangssprachlich*), which can be taken to mean (1) 'colloquial standard', i.e. a stylistic level within the standard norm, or (2) 'non-standard', without the codex giving any indication as to what is meant. Therefore, what appears clear theoretically may be difficult to fully operationalize or sufficiently sharpen for empirical research; namely that both standard and non-standard varieties have formal and informal registers. Sometimes the same forms can, it seems, be taken as informal standard or as non-standard, depending on one's point of view. One of the reasons for this is perhaps that, while the main purpose of standardization is to provide the means for formal writing and speaking, especially for wider communication (beyond regional dialects), written or spoken standard texts can contain informal passages too. This is, at the same time, a possibility of how standard varieties borrow from the non-standard varieties. The borrowed forms retain an unclear status for some time. – It seems possible, in principle, to develop scales of standardness

with respect to the above distinctions, though their general validity may remain questionable; however, this issue goes beyond the frame of the present article.

6. Giving standard forms the coherence of a variety

For some linguists the answer to the question: "Which forms (words etc.) belong to the same linguistic system?" may be as simple as: "Ask the native speaker!" However, this response is insufficient when considering standard varieties. They may, at some time in their history, not even have any native speakers, and they always remain under the "unnatural" control of social forces such as the codex (cf. 4). Therefore, the question above is far from trivial. Generally speaking, a standard variety receives its coherence through its recognition as such by a community. This may be a group without its own state based on a common ideal (e.g. the Esperantists) or a common religion (the Old-Order Amish) or an ethnic bond (the Roma), or a religious or ethnic group, or subgroup, with its own state (the Catholics: the Vatican, the Austrians: Austria). All the groups mentioned have their own, though perhaps not fully-fledged, standard varieties: Standard Esperanto, Amish High German, Standard Latin, Standard Roma and Standard Austrian German. – Such groups, or societies, have their special, usually public and official, situations, or texts, in which the forms of the standard varieties and no others can be used (non-standard forms may, of course, be quoted). The sum of these situations, or texts, and their norms for choice of linguistic forms give the standard variety its coherence. The institutions which prepare young people for these situations, or texts, function in a complementary manner: All forms which they accept, or are obliged to accept, as "correct" for certain situations or texts (written composition, oral presentation in class, class discussion etc.), belong to the same standard variety. Finally, the interplay of all the standard-establishing forces (sketched under section 4) in a particular society guarantees the unity of the standard variety. They are, as a rule, partially or completely integrated into a hierarchy of authorities, which in the case of a state reaches all the way to the sovereign. Thus, the same forces which keep the entire group together also hold the standard variety together.

Social and political coherence does not necessarily imply the total uniformity of the standard variety. It can allow for some variation, even at a regional level. Variation is often explicitly provided for in the codex. Thus, the *Duden* volumes and other parts of the codex for Germany contain standard forms marked as southern (“südd[deutsch]”) or as northern (“nordd[deutsch]”) which nevertheless are part of the standard variety of German in Germany. – However, variants used in Austria or Switzerland (marked in the codex for Germany as “österr[eichisch]” or “schweiz[erisch]”) are part of the Austrian or the Swiss Standard German variety (if accepted there as such). It is the state then which in such cases provides coherence for the standard variety. This does not necessarily mean that each state has its own standard variety. There is also the possibility of several states supporting the same standard variety, either on the basis of co-operation or through the dominance of one state over the others. In these cases too, however, the forces or institutions sketched under section 4 actually establish the standard variety.

7. Forming standard languages through roofing

Heinz Kloss ([1952] 1978) distinguished two possibilities for how what he described as an *idiom* (“Idiom”) (roughly speaking a linguistic system) becomes an independent language. One is through *abstand* (“Abstand”), a great linguistic, structural distance from all the other idioms, which makes the respective idiom an *abstand language*. The other is through *ausbau* (“Ausbau”), which is roughly translatable as *development* but can thus perhaps be misunderstood (cf. art. 26). *Ausbau* shows in the functions of the idiom or the types of texts for which it is used. The existence of non-fiction, especially scientific, texts is an indicator that *ausbau* has been achieved. Through *ausbau*, even idioms which are not structurally distant can become independent languages, *ausbau languages*. Examples are Danish and Swedish, both of which have *ausbau*, but not *abstand*.

Beyond Kloss’ proposals, the question also arises of why British and American English, both of which undoubtedly have *ausbau*, are not different languages too. A plausible answer is that the linguistic distance between them is too small, so that not

even their *ausbau* makes them different languages. We arrive, thus, at three different degrees, or spans, of linguistic distance (cf. for differences in different language communities Barbour 1999): (1) great distance (*abstand*) – which suffices to make two idioms two different languages, independent of *ausbau*; (2) medium distance, a range between small and great – where *ausbau* matters: In the case of *ausbau* of the two idioms we have two different languages, otherwise they are considered the same language; (3) small distance – which rules out the two idioms being considered different languages, not even through *ausbau*.

Dealing with the possibilities of measuring linguistic distance and, then, defining the various degrees more precisely would carry us beyond the frame of this article. It is partially due to unsolved problems in this area that any attempt to define languages is often categorically declared impossible. In spite of the enormous difficulties entailed, we are not so pessimistic and believe that keeping in mind the three above-mentioned ranges of linguistic distance could bring us closer to a solution. From the viewpoint of standardization, it seems possible to give Kloss’ rules additional precision and even explanatory power. We have, from this viewpoint, made the clear distinction – which Kloss does not make for his idioms – between varieties and languages (sets of varieties). In addition, we have distinguished standard varieties from non-standard varieties (e.g. regional dialects). This now begs the question: By which criteria, or factors, are varieties clustered into languages? Different degrees of linguistic distance are certainly one set of such factors. Another derives from *ausbau*, or rather, to utilize our new perspective, from standardization. Kloss ([1952] 1978, 60–63) himself gave a clue as to its role by introducing the term *roof* (“Dach”), which an “Überdachende Kultursprache” can form over a dialect, or the notion of *roofless dialect* (“dachloser Dialekt”/“dachloser Außendialekt”). Chambers and Trudgill (1980, 10–14) developed the necessary concepts more clearly, and with explicit reference to standardization, using the terms *autonomy* and *heteronomy* (perhaps taken from Stewart 1968). *Autonomy* corresponds to *roofing* in Kloss’ terminology, and *heteronomy* to *being roofed*.

Only standard varieties can be roofed, and only non-standard varieties can be roofed; this is

at least what we assume here, without discussing other possibilities. What is meant is the typical relationship between a standard variety and its non-standard varieties, in fact the relationship of human beings to both types of varieties. It comprises the evaluation of the roofing variety as being correct and the roofed variety as being incorrect, at least for public, official usage, together with the forces establishing this attitude (cf. 4), for example the norm authorities (teachers) with their corrective behaviour. Roofing is, however, not fully identical with the relationship between a standard variety and its non-standard varieties, because it can also exist between the standard variety of one and a non-standard variety of another language, whose speakers can be corrected accordingly and develop basically the same attitudes to it. Perhaps the concept could even be stretched, so that one standard variety can roof another standard variety too, but we will not discuss this possibility here. Nor do we consider the possibility of a variety being roofed by two different varieties at the same time. However, for a standard variety to roof two or more non-standard varieties is very much the rule.

We thus arrive at two sets of factors which play a role in grouping varieties into languages (without ruling out the existence of other factors): (A) roofing: (a) Acting as a roof, (b) being roofed; (B) linguistic distance: (a) great, (b) medium, (c) small. The rules for grouping varieties into languages become simpler, or at least more redundant and easier to grasp, if, in addition, we make the distinction between standard varieties and non-standard varieties instead of accounting for this difference in terms of roofing alone. On this basis we generate the following rules:

(I) If the linguistic distance between two varieties is great, they belong to different languages, irrespective of roofing. This corresponds to Kloss' *abstand language* (e.g. Standard Serbian and Standard Albanian; Standard French and the Alemannic dialect in the Alsace).

(II) If the linguistic distance between two varieties is medium, roofing matters:

(IIa) If one variety roofs the other, or both are roofed by the same variety with no more than medium distance between the roofing variety and the varieties being roofed, then all belong to the same language (e.g. German Standard German and Swa-

bian dialect; Swabian dialect, Pommeranien dialect and German Standard German);

(IIb) In the case of two standard varieties (where neither can roof the other), they belong to different languages. This case corresponds to Kloss' *ausbau language* (e.g. German Standard German and Dutch Standard Dutch).

(III) If the distance between two varieties is small, roofing matters too, however in a way different from our previous assumption:

(IIIa) In the case of two standard varieties (where neither can roof the other), both belong to the same language (e.g. German Standard German and Austrian Standard German). The same holds true, following from IIa, in the case of a standard and a non-standard variety if the former roofs the latter, or in the case of two non-standard varieties both of which are roofed by the same standard variety;

(IIIb) In the case of two non-standard varieties, each of which is roofed by a different standard variety with both standard varieties belonging to different languages (on the basis of IIb), they belong to different languages (e.g. two dialects on either side of the Dutch-German border). Distances between the two non-standard varieties then tend to increase as a consequence of borrowing from the two different roofs (Kremer 1983).

Other rules can be deduced from these, if not rigorously then at least rather safely by common sense, for example that two non-standard varieties of small distance which are roofed by two different standard varieties of small distance, belong to the same language (from IIa and IIIa). – (I) and (II) are not quite compatible, since two non-standard varieties which are roofed by the same standard variety could be more than medium distance from each other, actually as much as twofold; which shows that the system needs more elaboration to become really consistent. It should, however, indicate the direction towards developing a solution to the problem. – The remaining unclear issues for our two sets of factors, which show in the lack of valid and reliable scales for precise measurement, are graver problems which still require intensive research. There are various proposals for measuring linguistic distance (cf. arts 116, 124; Casad 1974; Ammon 1987, 321–325) and for degrees of distance for delimiting language,

but they are not yet satisfactory. Developing relatively flawless scales and deciding on the criteria for delimiting degrees of distance or distinguishing ‘roofing’ from ‘being roofed’ remains a challenge. It requires a broad overview of languages and varieties in order to somehow neutralize ideologies and political interests. Each language community has a natural interest in incorporating as many varieties into its language as possible, and so does each country in which the language has national or official status. Nevertheless, to finally arrive at a politically balanced, scientifically based and practicable method of classifying varieties into languages and delimiting languages is not as impossible a task as some linguists would seem to think.

Standardization is explanatory for language formation along the following lines. Standard varieties divide dialect continua by way of roofing and thereby assemble the individual dialects or varieties into languages, namely standard languages. In doing this, standard varieties vis-à-vis non-standard varieties can be metaphorically compared to suns vis-à-vis planets, with roofing corresponding to gravity. Roofing (gravity) can, however, only bridge distances that are not too great. Of course, this analogy has its limits. Closely related standard varieties can be developed in opposite directions depending on political and linguistic preferences, either to keep the distance from neighbouring standard varieties small or to increase it. In the first case, they remain within the same language; in the second case they form a new language, and its core is surrounded by its own layer of non-standard varieties. Austrian Standard German is an example of the first kind, retaining its small distance from (or great similarity with) German Standard German; generally, pluricentric or plurinational languages, or their various central standard varieties, are such cases. Standard Letzeburgish is an example of the second kind. It was developed so that it now has medium distance from any standard German variety. Through this, the people of Luxemburg symbolically demonstrate national distance and autonomy vis-à-vis Germany, which planned to annex the country in the event of a victory in WW I and WW II. Development of both kinds can be observed around the world and explained basically along the same lines. Such insights can be, and in fact are utilized, in planning standard varieties and standard languages.

8. Elaboration and modernization of standard varieties

Kloss’ *ausbau* is often used in the comprehensive sense of standardization, elaboration and modernization (cf. art. 243). The three concepts can be distinguished, but differences are often blurred, the more so because languages, or varieties, tend to be developed in all three directions at the same time. *Elaboration* means structural and lexical enrichment of the standard variety, which can be accomplished through coining new words or morphemes, or from borrowing either from other varieties (the regional dialects) of the same language or from other languages. *Modernization* can be seen as a special case of elaboration, namely endowing the standard variety with the means of expression necessary for comprehensive use in a modern society, especially for science, education and research. Therefore, creating and establishing scientific terminology is the core of modernization. The term *cultivation* is also used in this context, mostly in roughly the same sense as *elaboration*.

Elaboration and modernization are not necessarily limited to standard varieties. It was again Kloss ([1952] 1978, 55–60) who pointed this out with the examples of *cultural dialects* (“Kulturdialekte” or “Ausbaudialekte”), such as the Alemannic dialect of German in Switzerland which is used orally in practically all domains and for all topics where Swiss Standard German is used in writing. It therefore has to have the same vocabulary as the standard variety from which it freely borrows, adjusting the loans to its own phonetic-phonemic and grammatical system.

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31. Focussing and Diffusion/Konzentration und Diffusion

1. Terminology and history
2. Lexical and phonological diffusion
3. External versus internal causation
4. Relocation and cultural diffusion
5. Final remarks
6. Literature (selected)

1. Terminology and history

The terms *focus* and *diffusion* refer most commonly to the processes whereby linguistic features are spread from one population of speakers of a language to another. Occasionally, *diffusion* has also been applied in historical linguistics to the spread of a language throughout geographical space, usually at the expense of other languages, as with the spread of Latin in the era of the Roman Empire.

In the earlier days of linguistics, *focus* and *diffusion* were studied exclusively within historical linguistics and dialect geography as phenomena whereby semantic, syntactic, lexical, morphological, and phonological elements found originally in the speech of one region came to supplant the corresponding elements in a different region. Often, a number of such linguistic changes occur in a given locale at about the same point in history, *diffusing* out from a donor *focal area* in what have been described as *waves* of individual features that affect one or more receptive *borrower regions*. Conservative regions that escape the diffusion of the alien linguistic features are termed *relic areas*. Most often, relic areas were created by geographical barriers to communication—oceans, rivers, swamps, and mountain ranges that would prevent the human contact needed for the transmission of linguistic features. Such geographical barriers could also be sociopolitical, creating, for example, the

persistence of a Welsh relic area in Wales, despite the hegemony of English; or causing the persistence of relic features in Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts (Labov 1963).

Clearly, even the early conception of *focus* and *diffusion* implies an inherent variability in the process of linguistic spread. As forms move from one locale to another, they necessarily must often generate *transition areas* in which some speakers use the old form and some the new. For example, as the very useful English pronoun *she* spread from northern England to the South, there were transition areas in which some speakers – used *she* and some used the older form *heo*; within such regions one would expect that *she* was favored more by some social subgroups (e.g., perhaps younger speakers), while *heo* was preferred by others. There must also have been transitional speakers – individuals who sometimes used one form, sometimes the other – as well as speakers who invariably used one of the forms in speaking but who understood the alternative form when used in the speech of other community members.

The earliest dialectologists were primarily interested in the rustic speech of elderly, uneducated speakers. American dialect atlas researchers of the earlier twentieth century made some attempts at correlating the diffusionary patterns of transition areas by sampling the speech of three types of informants divided according to age and education as well as geographical location. As sociolinguistics has grown and matured, *diffusion* has come to be seen increasingly as not only a geographical phenomenon, but also one that describes the spread of linguistic innovations borrowed between social groupings of people who reside in the same location (especially when they speak varieties of the same language). Relevant groupings include

such commonplace sociological factors as gender identification, generation, social class, caste, occupation, and education. Situation of utterance also plays a critical role; for example, *you*, *your* and *yours* have completely supplanted the earlier second-person singular English pronouns *thee*, *thou*, *thy*, and *thine* in all standard varieties of English. However, the older singular forms are still used in some religious texts and contexts.

2. Lexical and phonological diffusion

In contemporary society, owing to mass communications and human geographical mobility, the concept of geographical location may sometimes be very broad. Thus, for example, the use of the English verb *go* as a spoken quotative (e.g., *He looks at me and he goes, "Why are you staring at me like that?"*), which is now so widespread that most speakers have at least a passive acquaintance with this new usage, appears to have begun thirty years ago or so among adolescents. However, it may be impossible to pinpoint with any certainty a particular country as the focus area or source of diffusion; rather, quotative *go* seems to have arisen virtually simultaneously in England, the United States, Canada, and Australia.

Somewhat confusingly, especially in contemporary usage, the term *lexical diffusion* is generally applied less frequently to the spread of a lexical alternant through geographical or social space than it is to the spread of a sound change through a dialect's or language's relevant vocabulary (Wang 1969; McMahon 1994). Contrary to the neogrammarian principle that phonological change takes place gradually, regularly, and simultaneously in all linguistic environments in a given language variety, linguists have noted a number of examples where sound change affects only some words but not others (see, e.g., Wang 1977; Labov 1994). For example, it is well known that in some varieties of American English (especially in Middle-Atlantic urban locations), the /æ/ phoneme has for some time tended to be splitting, variably tensing (and/or rising in the direction of /e/) in some identifiable words but not in others. In communities undergoing this sound change, however, the progressive diffusion of tense /æ/ throughout portions of the lexicon appears to be governed by complex and shifting constraints that are only partly related to the

linguistic environment of /æ/ in the words in which it is found. Thus tensing of /æ/ is confined largely to a specifiable subset of those words in which it appears before /f/, θ, /s/, /m/, /n/, and sometimes /d/; in New York, but not in Philadelphia, tensing of æ tends also to take place when æ occurs before /z/, /g/, and /ʃ/ (Labov 1994, 430). However, certain other conditions also control the tendency for the splitting of /æ/. For example, stressed /æ/ before /m/ and /n/ in two-syllable words and strong verbs does not regularly tense, nor does one regularly hear tensed /æ/ in the monosyllabic words *mad*, *bad*, and *glad*. Furthermore, Labov indicates that, in some parts of the Philadelphia region, tensed æ appears to be occurring with high frequency among younger speakers in certain words in which, for older speakers, æ remains lax. For example, only younger speakers tense æ in the environment before /l/; also, younger speakers tense *planet* but not *Janet*, whereas older speaker tense neither *planet* nor *Janet*.

3. External versus internal causation

According to Lexical Diffusion Theory, then, sound change neither takes place suddenly and uniformly nor does it even progress at a constant rate. Rather, lexical diffusion follows an S-curve model, beginning slowly until perhaps 20 percent of the potential words have been affected, then speeding up until something like 80% of the changes have been completed – and then growing once again progressively slower and slower (McMahon 1994, 51). Lexical Diffusion Theory (which may apply as well to syntactic diffusion as well; see McMahon 1994, 128) thus stands as a contradiction to the fundamental neogrammarian principle that the rules of phonological change have no exceptions that are not in themselves rule-governed, nor can lexical diffusion in this case be explained away (as the neogrammarians were sometimes able to do) as mere examples of external linguistic diffusion, i.e., dialect borrowing. That is to say, it is clear, for example, that the recent incipient tensing of æ in *planet* (but not *Janet*) among younger speakers in Philadelphia could not possibly be the result of borrowing from another social or regional dialect, simply because no other dialect has this pronunciation of *planet*. Historically, the neogrammarian principle was sometimes supported by resort

to explanations by way of internal linguistic causation – in which one set of linguistic changes creates the opportunity for a linguistic change in an entirely different dimension. This, for example, is how Gilliéron explained the fact that in only one region of France (Gascogne) is the word for ‘cock’ not descendent from the Latin word *gallus*: in Gascogne and Gascogne alone, normal sound changes would have converted *gallus* to **cattus*, a word already preempted for ‘cat’. An etymologically unrelated term was therefore adopted in Gascogne for ‘cock’ (Gerritsen 1988). Again, however, it is not apparent what internal linguistic causes – even pragmatic ones – could have brought about the lexical diffusion of tensed /æ/ in *planet* but not *Janet* among younger speakers in Philadelphia – or could have inhibited the lexical diffusion of tensed /æ/ in *mad*, *bad*, and *glad* while promoting it in other words.

Above, it was noted that even the earliest concepts of area diffusion implied inherent variability, certainly within transitional regions but also within the transitional speakers themselves. One of the fundamental discoveries of sociolinguistics has been the immense importance of the patterned nature of linguistic variability within individuals and small groups. Gerritsen (1988), citing Dees (1980), offers an illustrative areal example from historical French syntax, presenting a set of data for the frequency of subject-verb-object order in relative clauses introduced by *qui* in northern France in the thirteenth century. All of the geographical areas represented in the study recorded the SVO order; however, the rate at which SVO was found varied tremendously and was distributed in a pattern ranging from a low of 9% in the very north and 7% in the southwest to 92% in the southeast of the represented area. Since SVO is the innovative form (SOV being the Vulgar Latin form), examination of the percentages of distribution of SVO after *qui* indicate that the change began in (or to the south of) the 92% region and diffused outwards from there. In some real sense, all of the areas represented are transitional areas with respect to this particular syntactic feature of medieval French, since the alternants are distributed variably, not categorically, throughout the region under study.

Perhaps the greatest insight of sociolinguistics concerning variable diffusion, how-

ever, comes about through the study of the variable spread of linguistic alternants not through geographical space but throughout society. As we noted above, linguistic variables typically diffuse in social space by manifesting themselves in certain linguistic environments before others and among certain socially defined speaker-groups before others. However, it is also the case (as might be expected) that groups of speakers – and even individuals speakers – do not categorically shift from one old variable to another new one, even taking Lexical Diffusion Theory into account. Rather, speakers alternate between variables only a certain percentage of the time. Hence, in charting the sociological diffusion of linguistic variables, sociolinguists concern themselves to a great extent with counting the percentages of usage of variants in the various relevant social and linguistic environments.

4. Relocation and cultural diffusion

Historically, geographical diffusion has been divided into two main types, *relocation* (sometimes called *demic diffusion* and *cultural* (or *expansion*) *diffusion* (Gerritsen 1988, Cavalli-Sforza 2000). *Relocation diffusion* occurs when a people actually leave a focal area in large numbers and move elsewhere. For example, the dialect makeup of many large American northern cities underwent complex changes as the result of the great migration of African Americans from the southern United States throughout much of the twentieth century. Likewise, the change from earlier /u/ to sixteenth-century /y/ in De Bildt (a region of the Frisian coast) appears to have been the result of the migration of large numbers of settlers from Holland who brought the /y/ pronunciations with them (Kloeke 1927; Gerritsen 1988). An example of the relocation diffusion of an entire language is Hungarian, the language of the Magyar nomads who brought their language with them from Russia when they invaded in large numbers in the ninth-century, displacing the indigenous Romance language, Avarian (Cavalli-Sforza 2000, 151). In *cultural diffusion*, on the other hand, no significant number of speakers relocates permanently, but the political and economic power and social prestige of the dialect or language spoken (and written) in the focal area brings forth new linguistic features in borrower regions. Classically, the speech

patterns of important urban areas such as London, Paris, and Berlin influence the language of surrounding areas or even the entire nation in which the prestigious cities are located (though there are important modern exceptions to this rule, e.g., New York City). For example, the loss of postvocalic /r/ in some coastal varieties of American English is generally attributed to cultural diffusion which took place after the United States had achieved independence, owing largely to the high prestige of British varieties of English among Americans in the large port cities. Similarly, the substitution of uvular /r/ for trilled /r/ in several European languages is a feature that most certainly spread by cultural diffusion, based on the prestige value of the varieties of the regional dialects in which uvular /r/ began, spreading regionally from Paris, Berlin, Cologne, and Copenhagen and socially from educated speech to general (Chambers and Trudgill 1980). According to Cavalli-Sforza (2000, 116–117), who bases his conclusion on the results of comparative genetics, the ancestral form of the modern Finnish and Estonian languages must have been the result of the overwhelming influence upon a small band of non-Uralic speakers (originally from the south or east) of a far more numerous group of neighboring Uralic-speaking peoples – the ancestors of the modern Saami (better known by the unfortunately derogatory term *Lapp*).

As Gerritsen (1988) notes, relocation diffusion and cultural diffusion often go hand-in-hand. Even the relocation-diffusion change of /u/ to /y/ in De Bildt (cited above) involved some cultural diffusion as well, for the original inhabitants of the region also replaced their original /u/ with the /y/ of the Hollandish migrants. And of course for the Finns to have learned proto-Finnish from the Saami, they would have had to migrate into what is now Finland. Similarly, some American linguists have hypothesized that the loss of post-vocalic /r/ in the American South was only partly the result of cultural diffusion based on the prestige of British varieties and partly also the result of the influence of relocation diffusion instituted by the forced immigration of large numbers of Caribbean and African slaves whose varieties of English lacked post-vocalic /r/. In this view, European-Americans learned the /r/-less variety of English as children, through African-American nurses and playmates who were the children of slaves.

To the extent that this hypothesis may be correct, it serves to point out one other important aspect of the processes that promote diffusion: the innovative, diffusing forms need not always be associated with high prestige in the sense of education and political and economic power. In fact, one frequently seen model of the social diffusion of linguistic change shows a progression from traditionally less prestigious groups to more prestigious groups. For example, at least in Western cultures, phonological diffusion frequently begins with working-class men, spreads to working-class women, and then moves on to upper-middle-class speech, reaching completion among lower-middle-classes. Why this typical pattern? One might suppose that a form that originates among working-class men and then spreads to working-class women follows this path because of the greater power of men in working-class culture. However, the fact that such changes frequently begin with men rather than women may just as well be seen as resulting from the greater importance that working-class women place on conservative linguistic usage; that is to say, if working-class women value “niceness” in language more than do their male counterparts, then one could expect them to resist linguistic innovation longer than the men do. Conversely, if “roughness” of talk is valued in particular among working-class males, then a certain amount of linguistic innovation could arise simply as an expression of virility. Another complexity arises in the fact that lower-middle-class persons frequently resist change more than upper-middle-class speakers do. This phenomenon is generally explained as a matter of the greater linguistic insecurity of the lower middle classes stemming from their concomitant economic and educational insecurity.

Throughout most of human history, the physical geography of the region in which a language was spoken was one of the most important shaping forces in both cultural and relocation diffusion. Before the twentieth century, people tended to migrate primarily along waterways and natural roadways, while mountain ranges, swamps, and large bodies of water inhibited resettlement. By the same token, natural barriers minimized the social and political influence that encouraged cultural diffusion, whereas natural transportation routes encouraged diffusion. Even so, political considerations

frequently override geography: Rome spread Latin well beyond a number of natural barriers, heavily diffusing (especially vocabulary items) into the Celtic, Slavic, and Germanic languages with which the Empire came into contact and in some cases even replacing the host languages. Similarly, although the Mississippi river has been a major north-south artery of trade and commerce within the United States for two centuries, its influence as a vehicle for cultural diffusion of dialect forms in American English has been minimal, owing partly to the overwhelming importance of east-west relocation diffusion, which follows the predominant early settlement patterns of the USA, but owing also to the social and political differences in identity between North and South. Similarly, political boundaries may themselves inhibit cultural diffusion, even when they are entirely arbitrary with respect to geophysical barriers. A prime example of this is the Canadian-United States border, which for a large portion of its immense length is simply a straight line drawn on the map to conform to the 54th parallel. While in places it passes through relatively unpopulated areas, it also passes through heavily populated areas. And while there is considerable linguistic similarity in the immediate transitional areas, Canadian English and United States English are nonetheless identifiably different, especially in their written forms, a difference that surely owes considerably to the political and social allegiances of the speakers who reside on either side of the border.

Today, of course, modern means of transportation have tended to reduce – though not entirely eliminate – geographical and political barriers; indeed, in the case of highways, there is some evidence that major automobile routes have themselves become sources of area diffusion. On the other hand, in modern societies the social and political forces emerge as paramount in both relocation and cultural diffusion, and electronic communications and education facilitate diffusion, at least with respect to vocabulary items.

5. Final remarks

One final question that confronts the student of diffusion is whether or not a feature that is found to be variable in time, space, and society is really a matter of diffusion at

all, or simply a question of the same linguistic change taking place independently in more than one location. For example, McMahon (1994, 218–20) notes a number of surprisingly similar grammatical features among the Balkan languages (e.g., Rumanian, Bulgarian, Albanian, Greek), languages that have historically been in close contact with each other, but which are members of different branches of the Indo-European family. It seems more than coincidence that, e.g., Rumanian, Bulgarian, and Albanian all have postposed definite articles, all have numerals from eleven to nineteen that translate as ‘one on ten’, ‘two on ten’, etc., and all form the future using a verb of volition; Bulgarian, Greek, and Albanian have likewise lost the infinitive, replacing it with a finite subordinate clause. Yet it is difficult to establish a firm cultural source for such widespread “diffusions” – which of course have taken place completely independently as well in languages that are totally isolated from the Balkans (see Joseph 1983). Gerritsen (1988) offers some interesting attempts at applying the statistical methods of dialect geography to resolving the question of diffusion-versus-independent change for phonological variation in the famous case of the Rhenish fan. Gerritsen reports that Hard (1972) concludes that the Rhenish fan is not the result of independent indigenous developments. Gerritsen notes, however, a number of problems with the application of such models to linguistics, particularly that the models themselves are based on the analyst’s intuitions about the relative importance of such factors as geographical barriers.

A more recent attempt at applying methods from another science to questions of linguistic diffusion has already been alluded to: the rapidly developing field of genetic research. The conclusions mentioned above concerning Finnish and Hungarian from the work of Cavalli-Sforza (2000) are a part of a growing body of promising research in which the known history of human languages is compared to the genetic make-up of current populations (occasionally genetic features of neolithic humans are available as well). Cavalli-Sforza tentatively concludes (160–162) that the earliest form of Proto-Indo-European was spoken in what is now Turkey some 10,000 years ago, migrants from which early-on moved westward (founding the roots of the Albanian and

Greek branches) and eastward into Armenia and in southern Russia. From there, beginning some 5,000 years ago, speakers migrated southward and eastward, confronting the indigenous Dravidian speakers and, essentially, founding the Indo-Iranian branch. Successive waves of emigration to the north and west brought, by relocation diffusion, the Celtic, Germanic, Italic, and Slavic branches. Such work would seem to show great promise for future discoveries concerning relocation diffusion.

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32. National Language and Official Language Nationalsprache und Amtssprache

1. Introduction: Language, political structures, and social groups
2. States
3. Nations
4. The official languages of states
5. National languages
6. Nations as creators of languages
7. Conclusions
8. Literature (selected)

1. Introduction: Language, political structures, and social groups

It is a commonplace of sociolinguistic research that language communicates not only referential meaning but also all kinds of social meanings. In the context of the present article the social meanings that are relevant are memberships of specific political units or social groups; I am concerned with the ways in which use of a particular language signals citizenship of a particular state or

membership of a specific nation. Not only do languages signal group membership in this way, they are also used as instruments of power and solidarity; members of a nation signal solidarity with each other by using the same language, and a state, or an élite group within a state, demonstrates its power by enforcing the use of a particular language.

Any human organisation can decide to enforce or promote the use of a particular language, can adopt an official language; a school or a religious organisation may use a specific language, which may or may not be in widespread use in the state in which it operates. For example, in Britain there are Yiddish-medium schools serving the Hassidic Jewish community, and Sikh temples that use Punjabi. In this article, however, I am concerned with languages promoted or enforced by states since states dominate the current world political order, and assume

the right to organise all aspects of their citizens' lives. In many parts of the world, but not all, individuals may decide not to belong to religious communities, and may therefore ignore the languages which these communities use; in many parts of the world individuals have some choice of schooling for their children, and may therefore make a decision whether or not to send a child to a school which uses a particular language. However, virtually everywhere individuals have no choice but to accept the laws and customs of the state in which they live, and may suffer serious disadvantage if they cannot use the official language or languages of that state. I am hence concerned here only with the official languages of states and their institutions, and of international organisations of states, such as the United Nations, I shall say nothing further about the official languages of bodies such as schools or religious organisations, which may be, at least partly, voluntary in character.

2. States

I shall use the term *state*, and not *nation*, for those bodies that form the basis of the current world political order. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the French Republic, the United States of America, the Republic of India, the Russian Federation, the People's Republic of China, and a large number of other similar political units are hence, in my terminology, 'states', or 'sovereign states'. Such a use of the term *state* is widespread in the social sciences, but is not unproblematic, since the political leaders of such states (and indeed many other citizens) frequently describe them as *nations*, but I shall reserve this term for abstractions of a different order, for human groups and not for political structures. A further problem arises since, in some sovereign states, such as the United States of America, Australia, and India, subordinate political units are termed *states*. Given the dominance of the United States of America, other terms for such subordinate units, such as *province*, the term used for example in Canada, and for Northern Ireland within the United Kingdom, are declining in currency; the German *Länder*, for instance, formerly referred to in British English as *provinces*, are now regularly referred to as *states*. While the terminological problems outlined here are problems of the English language, they

have parallels in other languages, specifically in a frequent lack of clear distinction between the equivalents of *state* and *nation*.

3. Nations (cf. art. 45)

By *nation* I mean not a political structure or a state, but rather a group of human beings, inhabiting a recognisable territory, sharing a common sense of identity and with at least an aspiration to some sort of political autonomy or independence (Smith 1991,14). Nations are crucially related to states and to ethnic groups, so I shall now discuss them in relation to these other categories.

3.1. Nations and states

We have already seen that states are often popularly termed *nations*. What, then is the difference? States are sovereign, and control a territory, but are not, as we have seen, human groups. Crucially, there is absolutely no guarantee that the population controlled by a state shares any kind of common sense of identity. The Roman Empire can be seen as an early state, it had a central authority and enforced common laws, but its population was extremely heterogeneous, adhering to numerous different sets of cultural practices and religions, and speaking a whole host of different languages. Many more recent states were similarly heterogeneous, examples being the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire (for some detail on the Austro-Hungarian case see Anderson 1991, 101–111). The states so far mentioned arose simply from the territories which particular dynasties (or, in the Roman case, the Roman Republic or later the Imperial government) conquered or otherwise came to control. Other states, notably in the contemporary world, have arisen from the administrative divisions of former colonial empires; examples are the states of former French West Africa, such as Togo or Burkina Faso.

In the modern world the governments of states wish their populations to become nations, wish these populations to have, as well as independence and sovereignty, a common sense of identity. The reasons for this are many and complex, but perhaps the most important reason is that this may deliver the consent of the governed; without such consent the task of government is much harder under complex modern conditions. A common sense of identity may make the population see itself as a group, and see the

state as belonging to the group, or at least as being acceptable to it. If such a sense of shared identity does arise, then we can say that the population of the state has indeed become a nation. Some states which disintegrated in the twentieth century, such as the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the Ottoman Empire and the Soviet Union, can be seen to have done so because their populations did not come to constitute single nations, did not develop a sufficient sense of shared identity.

3.2. Nations and ethnic groups

At all periods of their development of which we have detailed knowledge, it seems to be the norm for human beings to have formed groups larger than the nuclear family. Frequently too, and overwhelmingly in the contemporary world, they form groups larger than the extended family. In such groups there is nevertheless frequently a belief in common ancestry, that the ancestors of the group formed a family in the biological sense, or even that all members of the group were descended from one woman and one man. I term such a group an *ethnic group* (Smith 1986, 21–119, where, however, the term *ethnie* is used). Apart from a belief in common ancestry, which may or may not be supported by genetic evidence, such groups will share clear cultural characteristics, such as a common religion, and are likely to speak a common language, which may or may not be unique to the group. Where the language used by an ethnic group is shared by others, there may nevertheless be a memory of a group-specific language, or a group-specific language may still be spoken by a section of the group. Thus Native Americans in North America now frequently communicate within their group in English, but languages specific to groups are spoken by sections of the population (see, for example, Drapeau 1998 for the linguistic situation of Native Americans in Canada).

Ethnic groups differ from nations in matters of territory and sovereignty. While a nation occupies a territory, ethnic groups may be widely dispersed across territories shared or even dominated by other groups, although they usually have some concept of a 'homeland'. For example the Roma of Europe can be considered to be a non-territorial ethnic group with shared customs and language and a sense of common identity, but no identifiable territory (Fraser 1992). The Jews of pre-Second-World-War central

and eastern Europe can also be seen as a non-territorial ethnic group. Even if an ethnic group can be seen to occupy a definable territory, it need not have a clear aspiration for autonomy or sovereignty. For example, territories inhabited by the Gaels of Scotland and the North Frisians of Germany can be identified, and we may consider these groups to be linguistically-delimited ethnic groups, but there is currently little aspiration to sovereignty for these territories (Barbour 2000a; 2000b). In these cases, and this is common, the notion of groups 'occupying' territories is problematic, since many inhabitants of these territories do not belong to the groups in question, and the territories have relatively indefinite limits. Generally speaking, though there are exceptions, members of ethnic groups today also have a national identity, which is more inclusive than their ethnic identity, for example Gaels and North Frisians may also have a Scottish or German national identity respectively. If an ethnic group does indeed come clearly to occupy a territory, if other groups within the territory become clearly subordinate to a dominant ethnic group or are even absorbed by it, and if the group achieves sovereignty or develops a clear aspiration to sovereignty, then we can say that it has become a nation (Smith 1986, 129–173).

3.3. A typology of nations

Nations can then develop either through the action of states or of ethnic groups. We can hence speak in English of *civic nations* or *ethnic nations*, terms that owe much to the concepts developed in German of *Staatsnation* and *Kulturnation* (Smith 1991, 79–91; Meinecke 1962, 9–26). Any given nation is unlikely to be purely of the civic or ethnic type, but civic or ethnic factors may nevertheless be seen as predominant in any given case. While every nation has at least an aspiration to autonomy, we can nevertheless also classify nations into those that form the dominant populations of sovereign states, and those that do not, the latter sometimes being referred to as *nationalities*. In a number of western European nations, and in a number of nations which were formerly colonies of European nations, civic factors are dominant; examples here are the United States of America, many South American nations, Australia, New Zealand, France and the Netherlands. In many central and

eastern European nations, whose national identities formed in spite of state structures, ethnic factors predominate; examples are Poland, the Czech Republic, Romania, Bulgaria and Greece, and the nations that were formerly joined together in the Soviet Union and in Yugoslavia. Since the use of a specific language is frequently, though not always, an element in ethnic identity, we find that it is particularly in ethnic nations that the promotion of a national language is accorded great importance. It must be stressed, however, that a national language is also strongly promoted in some nations of a more civic type, France being a good example (Judge 1993).

Nations that form the majority populations of sovereign states are clearly easier to identify than those that do not; the latter may be hard to separate from ethnic groups. With hindsight we would probably not wish to categorise the population of the Soviet Union as a single nation, and we would hence accord the status of nations to the majority populations of the constituent republics of the USSR, such as Ukraine, Georgia and the Russian Federation. In many parts of the world the pattern of nations is complex; there is a case for saying that some nations actually include smaller nations within them. Examples would be Catalonia and the Basque Country within Spain, Wales and Scotland within Britain, and Quebec within Canada. In such cases some individuals may have one national identity superimposed on another, while others may opt for one of the available national identities to the exclusion of the other. It might be assumed that non-independent nations within larger states or nations would almost by definition be of the ethnic type, but even this is not necessarily true; there is a case, for example, for saying that Scotland is a non-independent civic nation since its territory differs from the rest of the United Kingdom in the operation there of a distinct legal system (Smith 1986, 26–28).

4. The official languages of states

All states need official languages in order to function (cf. art. 249). In theory it is possible to imagine a state using a language in a purely functional way without its having any role beyond simple communication, without it forming an element in the identity of any group in the nation. Perhaps this was the

situation in the Austrian Empire before 1790, when its official language was Latin. Usually, however, it will have some role in identity. For example, although Russian was the official language of the Soviet Union, it was also the national language of Russia. In addition to this, despite the theoretically equal or even superior status of the national languages of the Union republics within the republics in question, Russian usually had *de facto* a superior status, this status being perceived by the other nations as an expression of Russian nationalism (Gustavsson 1990). In other states or nations a language may function as an official language within a state and not be the first language of any major group within that state. In such cases we might imagine that the language could serve purely administrative functions, without having a role in matters of identity, but again this seems often not to be the case. For example English has widespread official use in India, simply because citizens of India do not share any other language, but this use of English is not a politically or culturally neutral matter, since, as the language of the former colonial administration, its use has echoes of continuing colonialism for many, and can be seen as detrimental to a sense of Indian identity (for a summary of the position of official languages in India see Das Gupta 1970, 127–196).

5. National languages

I reserve the term *national languages* for languages which, whether they are official languages or not, have a clear role in national identity (cf. art. 50; 154). At first sight it might seem as if a national language would always be the medium of everyday communication for a majority of the nation, and would always be an official language, at least if the nation dominates a sovereign state, but actually the position of national languages in everyday life is extremely varied. I outline some of this variety below.

5.1. National languages as majority languages

Often the national language is the majority language of the nation. This is especially true in Europe, or in areas settled by European colonists such as the Americas and Australia, but is found elsewhere, for example in Japan. The position in such nations varies considerably. In some cases, such as France

and England (which subsequently extended its control over the whole of Britain) civic nations developed within pre-existing states, and the language of a majority or a powerful elite then became the national language. However, even these nations vary in the extent to which imposition of the national language was an element in state policy: it has been a core element of state policy in France over the last two centuries, but has been less vigorously officially pursued in Britain. The states in question also vary in the extent to which the position of the national language is enshrined in law; expressed differently, in some states, such as France, a national language is also absolutely clearly an official language, in others, such as the United Kingdom, its official status may be more a matter of custom than of law, i.e. it may be less clearly an official language. In other cases a sense of national identity developed in a population that shared a language, but only later, if at all, came to dominate an independent or united state. In such cases, ethnic nations or *Kulturnationen*, the national language may not just be an element in national identity, it may actually be a core defining characteristic of the nation. Nations of this kind are found particularly in central and eastern Europe, examples being Germany, the Czech Republic, Greece and Romania (Törnquist-Plewa 2000).

5.2. National languages as minority languages

Where national languages are also majority languages they clearly have a utilitarian value. However, the importance of their symbolic, identity-forming role must not be forgotten. In many contemporary nations with small populations and high levels of formal education, it might make better sense, from a purely utilitarian point of view, to use a language of wider communication, an international language such as English, for many purposes, even within the nation. Indeed, such internal use of English can be seen even in some nations with well-established national languages, such as the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries. But in such nations the national languages are certainly not dying, and this reminds us that national languages may have little to do with utility and everything to do with identity. This identity function is seen with startling clarity in nations where there is clearly a national language, but where it is spoken

only by a minority. Such a case is Ireland, whose national identity seems to have focused first chiefly on religion, on social, economic and regional characteristics, and on cultural factors other than language. Only belatedly was Irish nationalism influenced by those European nationalisms for which language was crucial, and the Irish language assumed the clear role of a national language after it had been restricted as the daily medium of communication to a small minority of the population (Ó Laoire 1995). To give a rather different case, Urdu became the national language of Pakistan, since Pakistan is an expressly Moslem nation, and since Urdu was the language of the South Asian subcontinent that was most closely identified with Islam. Urdu was and is, however, the first language of only a minority of the Pakistani nation (Rahman 1996, 1–11).

5.3. Nations without national languages

Given that European nations, and nations in areas of large-scale European settlement, usually do have national languages, many of their members may assume that this is a natural or normal position. It therefore has to be emphasised that it is largely restricted to these areas, and a relatively small number of other nations. In most nations speakers of no single language are numerically dominant, and no single language has a clear role in forming and maintaining national identity. In these cases it makes no sense to speak of national languages, only of the official languages of the states in question. In many such states the official languages were imposed by former colonial administrations, and may hence even be seen as detrimental to a new post-colonial national identity. The position here is highly varied. In some such post-colonial states, notably in some former French colonies in Africa, there has been government support for the continued use of French (for the highly varied positions in former French Africa see Dumont 1990; art. 193). In others, such as India and Tanzania, attempts have been made to introduce national languages of local origin. In India this has been fraught with difficulty since the language chosen, Hindi, although the Indian language with the largest number of speakers, is spoken only by a minority of the total population. It has hence been seen as bestowing an unfair advantage on those who use it as an everyday language. Resentment

against this has been especially strong among speakers of the Dravidian languages in southern India, whose languages are linguistically remote from Hindi, and for whom English, the established lingua franca of India, is arguably no more alien than Hindi (Das Gupta 1970). In Tanzania the adoption of Kiswahili has been less problematic since, although it is a widespread African lingua franca related to a number of indigenous languages of Tanzania, it is actually the everyday spoken medium of only a small minority within Tanzania, and hence confers little or no noticeable unfair advantage (Mazrui/Mazrui 1998, 125–191).

5.4. Nations with more than one national language

It is possible that a majority of the world's adult population are fluent speakers of more than one language, the view that bilingualism or multilingualism are abnormal conditions is largely restricted to Europe and areas of large-scale European settlement, which actually are peculiarly monolingual (Edwards 1994, 1–14). Many polyglots belong to nations without national languages. However, in areas where there are both bilingualism and national languages, we can find nations with more than one national language. In Luxembourg, for example, where Luxembourgish is the first language of almost the entire indigenous population, but where there is almost universal competence in French among adults, then it could be claimed that both French and Luxembourgish are national languages. Luxembourgish is linguistically close to German (it used to be regarded as a German dialect) and there is widespread use of German in Luxembourg, but German has little role in Luxembourg national identity, indeed the use of French can be seen as defending a non-German Luxembourg national identity. German in Luxembourg could be seen as one of the three official languages of the state, but not as a national language (for detail on the linguistic situation in Luxembourg see Newton 1996).

As well as nations in which a high proportion of the population is fluent in more than one language, there are nations in which different groups have different languages, all of which nevertheless function as national languages. This is the case in Switzerland (cf. art. 172a) where French, (Swiss) German and Italian can all be seen as national languages,

and where many French and (Swiss) German-speakers, are entirely fluent only in the language of their group (Italian speakers are more likely to be fluent in one of the other languages) (Rash 1998, 25–49). The fourth designated national language of Switzerland, Romansh, has a different status, since, for demographic and geographical reasons, its speakers are obliged to function in German for many everyday purposes. In Scotland the two indigenous languages, Scots and Gaelic, both of which constitute factors in national identity, are similarly spoken by different groups, with, however, the difference that both are minority languages whose speakers have to use (Scottish) English for most purposes. The situation is further complicated here by the fact that clearly Scottish varieties of English (as distinct from the related Scots language) also play a role in national identity, and by the fact that Gaelic, chiefly because of its linguistic remoteness from English, is currently being re-evaluated as a national language of the whole of the Scottish nation (Barbour 2000a).

5.5. Coterminous languages and nations

Languages can sometimes be relatively simple markers of national identity; the speakers of the language and the citizens of the nation may, quite simply, be the same people. This is virtually true in the case of Iceland, and nearly true in the cases of Norway and Hungary. In the Norwegian case, however, there are a small number of indigenous inhabitants of the Norwegian state whose first language is Sámi – whether they are members of the nation of Norway who speak another language, or whether they represent a minority within the Norwegian state belonging to a distinct nation, is a vexed and complex question (Vikør 2000, 121–124). The Hungarian case, like many others, is complicated by the fact that considerable numbers of Hungarian-speakers live in adjacent states; given the general eastern European attitude that languages, states and nations should be coterminous, then the popular view throughout the states in question is that these are Hungarian nationals who are somehow in the wrong place (Törnquist-Plewa 2000).

5.6. Shared national languages

A single language can frequently function as a national language in a number of nations. This is, for example, true of English in Brit-

ain (particularly in England), the USA, and English-speaking Canada, of French in France and the French-speaking populations of Canada and Belgium, and of Arabic in a number of nations. In such cases, however, language may not be a strong marker of national identity, and this could be claimed for the English-speaking and Arabic-speaking countries, but then language is highly significant in national identity in the French-speaking nations mentioned (for some of the complexities of the Arabic case see Versteegh 1997, 173–177). In such cases there may be a shared sense of national identity in the entire population which speaks the language in question; this may be true of the Arab world, but seems much less true of the English-speaking and French-speaking nations.

Complications may arise where a single language is an element of several national identities, but where it is more closely identified with one nation than with another. German is significant to national identity in Germany, Austria and German-speaking Switzerland (cf. art. 172), but it is especially closely identified with Germany, partly because this is by far the largest German-speaking nation, partly because Germany lacks unambiguous markers of national identity other than the language, and partly because the name of this nation (*die Deutschen*) is, historically, intimately connected with the name of the language (*Deutsch*). The closer identification of the language with just one of the nations in question has led to the view, even among the Swiss and Austrians, that the German of Germany is somehow more authentic or more ‘correct’, a view with little linguistic or historical foundation. The connections between the name of the language and the name of the largest German-speaking nation has led the Swiss to believe that even their own unambiguously Swiss variety of standard German is somehow part of a foreign and undesirable national identity, and they have in recent decades drastically reduced their use of it in favour of Swiss-German dialects (for a full account of the complexities of the use of German in these nations see Ammon 1995).

6. Nations as creators of languages

Because many nations do have national languages, even national languages – like Romanian for example – actually unique to the

nations in question, many assume that all national identities have a strong linguistic component, but this is not the case. However, the notion of a national language, even a unique national language, as a vital component of national identity is a strong one, particularly for Europeans, and others in traditions derived from Europe. This has led to strong linguistic revival movements in some nations (cf. art. 245). In Israel, the most striking example, Hebrew, which was almost entirely confined to the domain of religion, has become a functioning national language and official language of the state, despite the resistance of some orthodox groups to its use as a secular language (Spolsky 1995). In Ireland the Irish language has been rescued from a highly marginal position to become the first national language, without, however, becoming the everyday spoken medium of more than a small minority (Ó Laoire 1995).

Nations can even create languages. It is probably true to say that, at the beginning of the 19th century, there was no concept of a distinct Norwegian language. People were aware of distinct regional dialects in the country, but the form used officially, and by the educated middle classes, would not be seen as distinct from Danish. Through conscious political and linguistic action Norway has acquired a distinct language, with two written standardised varieties, *Bokmål* and *Nynorsk* (usage in speech rarely coincides with either of these), the latter at least always being viewed as distinctly and authentically Norwegian (Vikør 2000, 111–117). Croatia is currently acquiring a distinct Croatian language through nationalist political action, where many but not all previously spoke of a Serbo-Croatian language (Carmichael 2000, 236–238).

Nations may not only divide languages in this way, they may unite mutually quite unintelligible varieties and conceptualise them as a single language if their speakers are deemed to constitute a single nation. Perhaps the clearest case where this has happened is in China, where mutual intelligibility between Chinese ‘dialects’ may be very limited indeed. This conceptualisation of a single language has been aided by the shared writing system of Chinese, which, being ideographic in principle, is more independent of the spoken forms than are alphabetic systems, being able to function alongside highly divergent spoken varieties (Ramsey

1987, 3–18). Classic treatments of the role of states and nations in creating languages are Haugen (1976) and Kloss (1967).

7. Conclusions

All human organizations require an agreement upon the use of a particular language or languages in order to function. States are no exception here, and states hence have official languages. In addition to this many human groups invest specific languages or varieties with a significance for group identity (for a picture of the variety of roles language can play in ethnic and national identity, see Fishman 1989). Nations use languages as markers of national identity, and we can hence speak of national languages. In principle national languages may also be the official languages of states, but not necessarily so. They may also be the normal spoken medium of majorities in states, but again this is not necessarily so. Given popular confusion between the concepts of ‘nation’ and ‘state’ a general coincidence between official languages, national languages and majority languages might be assumed, but frequently there is no such simple coincidence. Starting from a clarification of the fundamental distinction between nations and states, this article has attempted to elucidate the distinction between official languages and national languages, and the complex interrelations between the two categories.

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33. Pluricentric Language/Plurizentrische Sprache

1. Definition
2. Types of pluricentricity and markers of distinction
3. Acceptance of pluricentricity
4. Exonormativity and endonormativity
5. Plurinational, pluricentric
6. Textbooks, courses, dictionaries, use in media and computer software
7. Convergence and co-operative planning
8. Literature (selected)

1. Definition

The term *pluricentric* was employed, fairly incidentally, by Kloss (1978, 66–67) to denote languages with several interacting centres, each providing a national variety with at least some of its own (codified) norms. Such national varieties take an intermediate position between national languages and regional varieties (cf. art. 19,30). In pluricentric languages we see both the relation of language to national identity and the relation of language to power. They are both unifiers and dividers of people in that they enable different nations to communicate in the same language but express their distinctiveness within that language. Any national variety of pluricentric language is potentially a separate language. As language status is tantamount to a claim to nationhood, many national varieties of pluricentric languages have been declared to be languages in their own right according to the ausbau principle (cf. art 26) (Hindi/Urdu, Malay/Indonesian, Croatian/ Serbian/Bosnian) National varieties should not be confused with regional varieties in that these are not used in certain functions, e.g. in the German language words such as *Jänner* ‘January’ and constructions such as *ist gesessen* ‘has sat’ which are regional and non-standard in Bavaria (Germany) but standard (and therefore used in newspapers and on TV news broadcasts) in Austria. The term *national variety* has been employed by some (e.g. Muhr 1982) to include all varieties used in a nation and by others (Clyne 1992a; Ammon, see esp. 1995, 69) to cover the more standard and supraregional (as opposed to non-standard regional ones). While earlier literature tended to refer to national varieties as *national variants!* *Nationalvarianten*, *national variants* is now employed for instances of the varieties, e.g. *pavement*,

sidewalk, and *footpath* are instances of the varieties, e.g. national variants employed in the British, U.S. and Australian national varieties of English respectively.

2. Types of pluricentricity and markers of distinction

There are many languages that are pluricentric, not all in the same way. Hindi/Urdu are distinguished on the basis of both religious (Hindu/Muslim) and national (India/Pakistan) criteria (cf. art. 202). Many languages, such as German, Malay/ Indonesian, Spanish, have both regional and national centres of planning, and this applies also to Bosnian/ Croatian/ Serbian. In the case of Arabic (cf. art. 189), planning occurs at the national level and in blocs of nations. Pluricentricity in some languages (Arabic, Armenian, Tamil, and the Swiss variety of German) operates alongside diglossia. ‘Chinese’ (cf. art. 203) is a construct based on assumed cultural unity rather than mutual intelligibility and also operates on the opposite to the ausbau principle, combining different varieties united by a more or less common script under one umbrella instead of separating them. There are distinct and mutually unintelligible *fang yan* (regional varieties) some of which are themselves pluricentric, e.g. Mandarin in the PRC (*putonghua*), Taiwan (*gyoyu*), and Singapore (*huayu*), Cantonese in Hong Kong and the PRC. Some pluricentric languages (e.g. German, Swedish, Arabic) are geographically contiguous; others (e.g. English, French, Chinese) are not. The reasons for a language being pluricentric include colonization (e.g. English, French), immigration (e.g. Spanish, Tamil), historical redrawing of borders (e.g. Dutch, Hungarian), and political division (e.g. Korean, Mandarin Chinese). Apart from immigrant varieties such as Canadian French, Argentinian Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese and New Zealand English, there are the post-colonial varieties such as Singapore and Indian Englishes, Surinam Dutch, Angolan Portuguese, and African French, which are indigenized varieties of the language. These have gained status because of the ongoing need for a lingua franca and external needs for a language of wider communication. Kachru (1986) dif-

ferentiates between the inner circle (native varieties), outer circle (indigenized varieties), and expanding circle of English (English in countries such as the Netherlands and Denmark where it is used in some international domains). It should perhaps be mentioned that in some countries of the expanding circle, English is adopting internal functions (e.g. academic) and it will, in future, be necessary to consider their varieties of English in the pluricentricity of the language.

Pluricentric languages that have been divided are largely distinguished by script that is a marker of a particular religion or culture, e.g. Devangari for Hindi, Perso-Arabic script for Urdu, Cyrillic for Serbian, Latin script for Croatian. (The use of Latin script for Maltese, historically an Arabic variety, and of Hebrew script for Yiddish, historically a German variety, demonstrates further the significance of script in the division of pluricentric languages.) The markers of national varieties are grammatical, lexical, phonological, graphemic, prosodic, and pragmatic (see the articles in Clyne 1992a). Usually such markers are at more than one level but not at all levels of language. The influence of another language on a national variety will also distinguish between national varieties, e.g. Dutch and English colonial influences on the vocabulary of Indonesian and Malaysian respectively, Sanskrit influence on Hindi and Arabic and Iranian influence on Urdu. Netherlands Dutch and South Korean have experienced lexical transference from other languages whereas Flemish Dutch and North Korean have resisted this influence.

3. Acceptance of pluricentricity

The status of national varieties of pluricentric languages is usually asymmetrical (Ammon 1989). For instance, British English and more recently American English have enjoyed a higher status than Australian and Canadian English and especially Singapore and Indian English. Such attitudes are governed by demographic, economic and political factors as well as historical ones (what is the original 'heartland' of the language, whether the nation has a codominant language, and whether the language was originally native to the nation). For instance, Portugal is the original 'heartland' of the Portuguese language but Brazil has a

larger population. This has led to a more symmetrical relationship between those national varieties, similar to that between British and American English, the latter strengthened by the political and economic power of the U.S. But the symmetrical relations do not extend to the indigenized Portuguese varieties of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. The domination of Flemish by French meant that the standardization of the Dutch language in Belgium was not advanced, hence an asymmetrical relation between Standard Dutch in the Netherlands and Belgium until recently (Deprez 1997). The asymmetrical relation between D(ominant) and O(ther) varieties can be summed up as follows: (1) The nation(s) using the D variety(ies) have difficulty in understanding that even a small number of differences between the national varieties can be significant in that they play an important part in marking national identity. (2) The D nations tend to confuse national and regional variation because of overlapping linguistic indices without considering the function, status and symbolic character of these indices in the national variety. (3) The D nations generally consider their national variety to be the standard and the varieties of the O nations as deviant, non-standard, exotic, cute and somewhat archaic. (4) In the O nations, cultural élites tend to defer to the D norms since the more distinctive D varieties are dialectally and sociolectally marked. (5) In both D and O nations, it is believed that norms are less rigid in D nations than in O nations. (6) Convergence in communication between participants from D and O nations is generally towards the D variety. (7) D nations have better resources to export their variety in language teaching programs. (8) D nations have better resources to codify their language since the publishers of grammars and dictionaries tend to be located in those countries. (9) There is a prevalent belief especially in D nations that variation exists only in the spoken norms. (10) In some cases, members of D nations are not even familiar with or do not understand (all or some) O varieties. Not all of these apply in all pluricentric languages (see 4.). It would appear that all national varieties go through the phase of non-acceptance from within and without which sooner or later requires a breakthrough. In almost all relevant languages, there has been increased acceptance of and

preoccupation with pluricentricity. This applies even to French (Lüdi 1992), where there is a kind of mystique surrounding its indivisibility (supporting the Parisian domination). Where there still is widespread controversy about the validity of pluricentricity, it is related to more general problems of identity or interpretation. So, for instance, the issue of Austrian German has become one of ideological debate (see e.g. Wiesinger 1996). The three issues of concern among the sceptics are the ones that have characterized the debate on all pluricentric languages at some stage:– (1) Will the acceptance of national variation threaten the language as an instrument of cohesion in the language community? (2) Will it undermine the recognition of regional variation, in the Austrian case especially where a region employs a form that links it with German Standard German and not with Austrian Standard German? (3) Since the higher sociolects are the ones that vary least across nations, will it lower the standards of the language to non-standard forms that are nationally more marked? Sometimes it reflects uncertainty about the status of the nation. – An important development in the official recognition of pluricentricity occurred when Austria made it part of the negotiations for entry into the European Union that 23 Austrian German words, mainly from the culinary domain, be given the same status as their German German equivalents. It is the first time such arrangements have been made, the Belgians having not emphasized the distinctiveness of either their Dutch or their French.

4. Exonormativity and endonormativity

Ammon (1989) differentiates between exonormative and endonormative standards. Full centres of a pluricentric language (e.g. Britain, Germany) have their own (endonormative) standards, whereas semi-centres (e.g. Australia, Austria) follow some exonormative and some endonormative standards. There are some rudimentary centres (e.g. Liechtenstein) which take all their norms from outside. Norms can be determined by codices such as dictionaries, grammars, and pronunciation guides, and/or model speakers and writers, such as teachers, ministers of religion, and broadcasters (Ammon 1989). Some broadcasting

corporations produce normative guidelines (in the case of Quebec, for instance, ‘français bien chez nous’). The role of norm authorities and language experts is worked into the codex vs. model framework in Ammon (1995, 80).

5. Plurinational, pluricentric

Ammon (1995) employs the term *plurinational* in relation to German. It is true that *pluricentric* often relates to a nation and allows for only one centre per nation. However, the use of *plurinational* begs the question of nationhood. Armenian had two different (supraregional) varieties, an eastern and a western one (Cowe 1992), during the time when Armenia was part of the Soviet Union and Russian was its official language. There is considerable evidence that during the division of Germany, the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR each had a different variety but the question of separate nationhood (rather than statehood) was a contentious issue. The same may be said for North and South Korea today.

While the position of *native* English varieties is now more secure, the same debate based on a cultural cringe is waging for the indigenized varieties. For instance, there is a discrepancy between the Singaporeans’ hankering after British Standard English and their distaste for Singapore English and their tendency to employ it. This has parallels with Austrian German (Muhr (1982, who contrasts the *Standard nach außen* with the *Standard nach innen*), with Australian English in the 1940s and 50s, and with indigenized varieties of other languages, such as Surinam Dutch (Van Donselaar 1977; Geerts 1992, 75). As with other O varieties of any language, the emerging standard national variety is often confused with non-standard varieties. – Due to post-World War One treaty arrangements, about one third of the Hungarian-speaking core (i.e. non-immigrant) population of Europe now live outside Hungary. They form ethnic minorities in neighbouring countries. The notion of the pluricentric language has been seized as an appropriate means to describe the language situation where the Hungarian has its own terms (Lanstyák/Szabomihály 1996). – The advent of co-operative satellite TV in pluricentric languages has meant that people are more exposed to one another’s

national (and other) varieties. TV 5 (Belgium, France, Switzerland, and Quebec) and SAT 3 (Germany, Austria, and Switzerland) receive different amounts of input (financial and programs) from the various countries, with France and Germany predominating.

6. Textbooks, courses, dictionaries, use in media and computer software

The number of national varieties of pluricentric languages of which there are dictionaries is constantly increasing. There are now dictionaries of German in Austria and Switzerland, of English in Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand (the latter albeit a historical one), as well as one of French in Canada. Previously the unmarked entries of dictionaries referred to a D variety (e.g. British English, German German, French French) and the marked ones to the O varieties (sometimes mentioned on a par with regional and non-standard varieties). This tendency was strongest in French dictionaries, which regarded O variants as non-standard (Willemyns 1990). The new dictionaries produced in O nations present their own items as unmarked and the D items as unmarked. Work is in progress on a pluricentric dictionary of German initiated by Ulrich Ammon with teams of collaborators in Austria and Switzerland as well as Germany.

A challenge is the development of computer software to cope with orthographic variation. Many software companies differentiate between national varieties, and it is possible to purchase, for instance, a Swiss version of German software or a British or American version of English software. – In addition to the German Diploma of German as a Foreign Language, there is now also an Austrian Diploma of German as a Foreign Language, with particular appeal in central and eastern Europe. The Austrian Government provides *Lektoren* (native speaker lecturers), for universities in Hungary, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Poland. Textbook and tape material for German as a pluricentric language has been developed in Austria to emphasize the pluricentric nature of German, with juxtaposition of the Austrian, German and Swiss national varieties of the language (Muhr 1993b;

Nagy 1993). This is a challenge that should also be taken up for other pluricentric languages.

7. Convergence and co-operative planning

The issue of convergence between national varieties in third country encounters (e.g. Argentinians and Spaniards communicating in Spanish in Canada) has, to my knowledge, been the subject of only one study (Clyne/Fernandez/Muhr 2003), otherwise the nearest study has been the convergence of British or American English towards Australian English in immigrants in Australia (Trudgill 1986; Clyne 1992b).

The main issue on which there is a need for co-operative planning between the nations employing the same pluricentric language is orthographic reform. The past decade has seen the outcome of three such processes, in Portuguese, Dutch, and German. The Portuguese reform, the Luso-Brazilian Orthographic Accord (1990) involved collaboration between seven Portuguese-speaking countries. Despite this, the implementation occurred gradually and reluctantly in Portugal. The rather minimal German orthographic reform, ratified by the various German-speaking countries in 1996, was the result of many years of discussion and negotiation. Some of the earlier plans, focussing on minisculization of nouns, were originally held back by Switzerland and, to a lesser extent, Austria. On the other hand, Switzerland had already replaced <ß> by <ss>. The Netherlands and Flanders have a joint organization, the Taalunie, which coordinates matters relating to the Dutch language. This facilitated the latest spelling change, which was limited and actually dropped some of the alternatives. Another pluricentric language community with an umbrella organization are the French speakers. However, they are still to a large extent under French 'leadership'. – To conclude, many languages are pluricentric. Each of their national varieties reflect identity in much the same way as a national language does. While the status of the varieties is not symmetrical, for demographic, economic, political and/or historical reasons, many of the 'less powerful' varieties are now being emancipated through codification and through generally more positive attitudes to variation in language.

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34. Pidgin Language and Creole Language Pidginsprache und Kreolsprache

1. Introduction
2. The creole continuum
3. The sociolinguistic continuum
4. Social identities
5. Language prestige
6. Outlook
7. Literature (selected)

1. Introduction

The study on pidgins and creoles has focused on a variety of issues such as their genesis, their grammar, their relation to each other and other languages, their sociolin-

guistics, their patterns of change, their social prestige, their role in formal education (cf. art. 86). These issues have been investigated from a variety of theoretical perspectives employing a variety of methodologies. Creole genesis, for example, has been investigated from a sociohistorical, a contact linguistics, and a diachronic perspective using the methodological approaches current in these areas at the time. This argues that this area of study involves the same heterogeneity of subject matters, theoretical orientations, and methodological approaches as

the research on any language (group). The present article focuses on sociolinguistic research on creoles.

2. The creole continuum

In discussions of creole-speaking communities the notion of the *creole continuum*, popularized by DeCamp (1971) and Bickerton (1973; 1975), has figured prominently. It assumes that such communities were initially characterized by the co-existence of two homogeneous varieties, the so-called *acrolect* typically of European affiliation, e.g. (Standard) English, and the *basilect*, e.g. the local English-lexified creole. During slavery, the creole was spoken by everyone while English was only available to a small minority. Following abolition, the speakers of the basilect were, however, increasingly attempting to acquire English as a means for social advancement. This gave rise to various (idio)lects which shared varying numbers and kinds of linguistic features with the local creole and English, the so-called *mesolects*, because speakers were borrowing features from English into the creole. This is referred to as *decreolization*. Linguistic evidence consisted of *implicational scales* (cf. art. 119) which arranged (idio)lects according to their linguistic properties. Each of the lects differed from neighboring lects by at least one rule change in the same or different subsystems of grammar. There may be a rule change in the verbal system between lects A and B but a rule change in the nominal system between lects B and C. Based on this evidence, supporters argue that the different lects of the continuum are not sharply differentiated but make up a continuous or seamless spectrum.

Among the various criticisms leveled at this notion of the creole continuum (cf. Rickford 1987a), two appear to be particularly important. First, the proposed genesis of the creole continuum is not supported by the social history of the respective communities. Second, its structure is at variance with evidence from sociolinguistic investigations (see below). Notwithstanding local differences, research on Jamaica by Alleyne (1980) and LePage (1960), on Guyana by Rickford (1987a), and on Trinidad by Winford (1997a) suggests that the synchronic linguistic situation in these communities emerged in three stages. During the early settlement period, the varieties of English

spoken by the British settlers functioned as one of the linguistic models for the slaves. Some slaves (servants, overseers etc.) were acquiring and using L2 varieties of English in their relatively close interactions with the Europeans. Slaves who had little contact with the elite slaves and the Europeans continued to use their native languages and forged varieties which were primarily characterized by lexical features from English and structural features derived from their native African languages. During the plantation era, the varieties spoken by this group and the L2 varieties of English spoken by the former slave group (and the Europeans) each became more focused. The varieties of the slave elite and the Europeans also continued to be spread to slaves who came in close contact with the Europeans. At the same time, varieties intermediate between those spoken by the slave elite, the majority of the slaves, and the L1 varieties of English emerged in the developing urban centers among the urban and freed slaves and the mulatto population. Finally, during the post-emancipation period, the urban population of African descent who was in close contact with Europeans and people of mixed background continued to adopt L1 English and maintained the intermediate varieties used by the slave elite and those current in the urban centers. The population of African descent in rural areas maintained the varieties spoken by the majority of the plantation slaves. They were, however, increasingly influenced by intermediate rural and urban varieties (Winford 1997a, 233–36).

This historically informed model suggests that varieties intermediate between the “deep” creole and English have from the beginning existed in these communities and new ones have continued to emerge throughout their history. They did not emerge due to a unidirectional process of language change in which the local creole underwent varying degrees of contact-induced change from L1 English. The social history shows that complex patterns of interaction have always existed between the different varieties present in each period, due to multiplex patterns of contact that obtained between their users. Finally, intermediate varieties also did not only emerge due to the replacement of creole features with more English features (borrowing). Such varieties also arose due to interference through shift. In their acquisition of varieties closer to English, speakers of the

“deep” creole, for example, replaced English features with features from the “deep” creole. The contact mechanisms that operated, the kinds of structural and sociolinguistic changes that took place, and the kinds of varieties that emerged and became established depended on the social make-up and development of each community.

3. The sociolinguistic continuum

The view that contemporary creole-speaking communities consist of two (Jamaica, Belize) or three (Guyana) co-existing linguistic systems bound together in a common sociolinguistic structure emerged from structural investigations (cf. Alleyne 1980; Bailey 1971; Edwards 1980; Winford 1988) and from quantitative sociolinguistic studies (cf. Edwards 1983; Escure 1982; Patrick 1999; Rickford 1987a; Winford 1993; Young 1973). The Guyanese setting, for example, includes a “deep” or rural creole, an urban creole, and English. As discussed in detail by Winford (1997a), each of these varieties is a self-contained linguistic system but it is not completely discrete from the other varieties. It shares with them function and content words, and structural principles. Each system is also characterized by socially and stylistically determined language-internal variation originating either from contact with the other systems or from language-internal innovation. As in all bi- and multilingual settings, each variety is closely associated with an existing social group and its members maintain it as their primary language. The members of each group, however, also have varying degrees of competence in the other variety(s) since each variety is closely associated with certain types of social settings. The (rural) creole, for example, is associated with informal encounters while the local English is associated with formal out-group interactions. Depending on their proficiency, members of these communities partially or fully shift between the different varieties in response to common social factors such as the nature of the social setting, the social characteristics of the interlocutors, and their proficiency in the respective varieties. These patterns of language use give rise to complex patterns of interaction between the different focal varieties or systems producing a rich *sociolinguistic continuum*, i.e. a continuum of performance.

While the basic tenets of this sociolinguistic view of creole speech communities has gained considerable prominence in recent years, various aspects of the studies on which it is based have been criticized. Rickford (1986) argues that the investigated social categories, e.g. social class, and their definitive properties, e.g. income, occupation, education, are not always socially salient in the local context. Other important social dimensions, e.g. age and gender, are often not considered at all or dealt with in an inappropriate manner, as when “gender” is assumed to be equal to “sex” (Sidnell 1999, 367–370). In addition, their data are not entirely socially representative since they are often drawn only from men and involve only few speech styles whose significance within the repertoire of the community is not clear. Finally, the exclusive focus on linguistic aspects of variation has led to a relative neglect of its socio-cultural correlates. This line of research has provided few insights into how language choices create and reproduce social identities and relationships, and socio-cultural ideologies in creole-speaking communities (cf. Winford 1997b, 312; Sidnell 1999).

4. Social identities

LePage and Tabouret-Keller’s (1985) *acts of identity* theory was the first which argued that linguistic practices in creole-speaking communities are conditioned by the social identities assumed or approximated by their members (cf. art. 50). Drawing on a detailed investigation of the social, historical, and linguistic factors influencing language use in the creole-speaking communities of Belize and St. Lucia, they showed that people are targeting different linguistic models, e.g. Creole or English, in each setting but their patterns of language use cannot be arranged on a linear scale from Creole to English. Each individual occupies a unique position in the multidimensional linguistic space of the community. This position is conditioned by the individual’s wish to (temporarily) be identified with or to be distinguished from a currently existing social identity. These processes of social identification result in the *focusing*, i.e. homogenization, or *diffusion*, i.e. differentiation of the linguistic practices of the members of the community. They are, in turn, constrained by individuals’ abilities to identify available social identities, their

relative access to them and their constituting features, and their individual motivations.

Recent studies have shifted their focus to the social functions of linguistic practices in creole-speaking communities. Shields-Brodber (1992; 1997), investigating code-switching between Creole and English in call-in shows on Jamaican radio, for example, demonstrates that switching serves important communicative functions such as supporting or chastising people, reinforcing particular issues, and pursuing particular lines of argumentation.

Other studies (cf. Sidnell 1998a; 1998b; 1999; Meyerhoff 1999) demonstrate that linguistic practices in creole-speaking societies are indexically linked to specific social practices, gendered social identities, and local social values and norms, and play an important role in negotiating them. Sidnell (1998a; 1998b) exploring the social distribution, function, and structure of speech styles in an Indo-Guyanese village, shows that gender and the social division of spaces do not only invoke linguistic practices but the latter also actively shape perceptions of gender through complex processes of association and projection.

Investigating the social (e.g. gender) and pragmatic (e.g. deictic functions) factors determining the distribution of *sore* “sorry” in Bislama and of Creole and English first and third person singular pronouns in the speech of Indo-Guyanese villagers, Meyerhoff (1999) and Sidnell (1999), respectively, demonstrate that the complex interaction between these two dimensions is reflected in (and negotiated through) local linguistic practices. Sidnell, for example, shows that while men and women use English and Creole pronouns to the same overall extent, they contrast in their use of particular forms. Women, in contrast to men, avoid the use of the first person singular English pronoun *ai* since *ai* foregrounds a local speaker identity (e.g. “worldly sophistication”) which is difficult to sustain for rural women. In the case of the referent-oriented third person singular pronouns, women avoid the Creole variant *am*, however, since for them it indexes lack of education rather than local solidarity as among men.

5. Language prestige

A small group of studies discuss the changes that occurred in the *socio-political standing* and the *macro-social functions* of creoles

such as Tok Pisin (Romaine 1991) and Melanesian Pidgin English (Mühlhäusler 1991), and Hellinger (1991) compares such changes for different creoles. In relation to the socio-political standing or rank of a creole within a country or region, they investigated issues such as the numerical strength of its speakers, including its L2 speakers, their geographical distribution, and its institutional support. With respect to their social functions, these studies established the social contexts or domains (e.g. home versus school) and the macro-social purposes (e.g. writing, informal discussion) for which a creole is employed by its speakers. These studies show that socio-demographic and legal changes lead to significant changes in the status and macro-social functions of creoles. Their official recognition spurs their standardization (cf. art. 240) which in turn results in their use in new social domains (e.g. schools).

A second cluster of studies investigates speakers’ *social evaluation* of their native creole. Employing a matched-guise method (cf. Rickford 1985), a structured interview method (cf. Beckford Wassink 1999), and a written questionnaires format (cf. Winford 1976; Mühleisen 2001), these studies explore the beliefs and attitudes people hold about the creole, its speakers, the contexts of its usage, and their emotions and actions toward them. They attest that the local creole is attributed low prestige in official settings but high prestige in informal and in-group encounters. Viewed from a diachronic perspective, however, they also reveal on-going changes in native beliefs about, and feelings and behavioral patterns towards creoles. Mühleisen (2001), for example, shows that in 1993 Trinidadian teachers no longer rate Trinidadian Creole (TC) and their own speech as “bad English”, a common rating in Winford’s (1976) study, but affirm TC as an integral part of their post-colonial social identity. While the official function and status differentiation of TC and English have remained largely unaltered in Trinidad between 1976 and 1993, the 1993 informants state an increase in their overall use of TC and responses reveal that TC is employed in a greater range of settings and for a wider range of social purposes.

While these studies provide important insights into the prestige of creoles, Mühleisen (2001; 2002) identifies various shortcomings: First, most studies are only descriptive

and do not analyze the reasons for prestige changes. Second, they do not fully capture the interrelationship between the different components that contribute to the prestige of a language. Third, the methods employed are based on static models of society and can only reflect categorical macro-social changes. Her study on language prestige among West Indians in Britain shows that a comprehensive analysis of language prestige needs to take both a socio-historical and a micro-social discourse analytical approach. On the one hand, this requires exploring the socio-historical forces involved in the discursive construction of the language (group), its prestige and that of its speakers. On the other, it involves investigating the various communicative functions of the language in the different social discourses since these discursive negotiations are at the heart of prestige formation, affirmation, and change.

6. Outlook

The growing body of sociolinguistic research on creole-speaking societies demonstrates that these speech communities involve two or three highly conventionalized varieties indexically linked to current social identities. Their speakers alternate between these varieties, responding to common social factors, in order to perform important social functions. The research has so far focused primarily on a relatively small number of Caribbean and Oceanic Creoles employing mainly quantitative and descriptive methods. A comprehensive understanding of such speech communities, however, necessitates the exploration of a greater variety of such speech communities and experimentation with a variety of qualitative research methods.

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35. Erstsprache – Muttersprache/First Language – Mother Tongue

1. Inhalt und Aufbau des Artikels
2. Erstsprache und Muttersprache beim Individuum
3. Erstsprache und Muttersprache in der Gesellschaft
4. Zusammenfassung
5. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Inhalt und Aufbau des Artikels

Sprache ist das zentrale Medium der menschlichen Kommunikation. Im Miteinander-Sprechen verständigen sich Menschen über ihre Gedanken, Gefühle und Absichten. Das Individuum verfügt über Sprache als Bestandteil seines in der Kindheit erworbenen Wissens und dieses umfasst Wissen über die Form und die Bedeutung der Wörter (lexikalisches Wissen) und über die Zusammensetzung komplexer Ausdrücke aus einfachen

(grammatisches Wissen). Der Spracherwerb ist ein kognitiver Vorgang. Die soziolinguistisch relevante Seite stellen die sprachlich kodierten Konzepte dar und diese beruhen auf den Kategorisierungen, die die Mitglieder der Sprachgemeinschaft im Umgang mit der natürlichen und sozialen Umwelt entwickelt haben und laufend verändern. In der Kommunikation wählt der Sprecher diejenigen sprachlichen Ausdrücke seines sprachlichen Repertoires, die aus seiner Sicht in der gegebenen Situation geeignet sind, aus und der Hörer ist beim Verstehen von den entsprechenden Inhalten seines sprachlichen Wissens geleitet. Eine Folge der Vielfalt natürlicher, sozialer und individueller Lebensbedingungen ist, dass sich die Menschen, sozialen Gruppen und Sprachgemeinschaften hinsichtlich ihres sprachlichen Wissens und seiner Verwendung in der Kommunikation

unterscheiden. Das tritt besonders dort ins Bewusstsein, wo unterschiedliche soziale Strukturen und Funktionen mit der Verwendung verschiedener Sprachen einhergehen, wie etwa unter Bewohnern von Grenzgebieten, zwischen Immigranten und Einheimischen und zwischen Angehörigen mehrsprachiger Nationen. In diesem Artikel werden diejenigen sprachlichen Merkmale sprachlichen Wissens und sprachlicher Kommunikation dargestellt, die mit den Begriffen Erstsprache und Muttersprache – und ihren Entsprechungen in anderen Sprachen – gefasst werden. Die Begriffe werden in der soziolinguistischen Forschung nicht einheitlich verwendet und sie sind nicht präzise definiert. Auch bezeichnen die beiden Termini in der psycholinguistischen und soziolinguistischen Anwendung nicht dasselbe. Deshalb werden individuelles sprachliches Wissen und der Sprachbestand von Gemeinschaften zunächst getrennt behandelt und dann in einem zusammenfassenden Abschnitt miteinander verglichen.

2. Erstsprache und Muttersprache beim Individuum

Das sprachliche Wissen eines Menschen wird unter verschiedenen Perspektiven untersucht und die Perspektive ergibt sich aus dem jeweils betrachteten Erklärungszusammenhang. Als Erstsprache wird zunächst einmal die Sprache bezeichnet, die ein Mensch als erste gelernt hat. Der Erwerb der Erstsprache beginnt mit dem Beginn des Lebens. Wenn keine Störung vorliegt, ist der Erwerb des grammatischen Wissens im Alter von etwa fünf Jahren abgeschlossen. An lexikalischem Wissen verfügt das Kind in seiner Erstsprache dann über einen Wortschatz von etwa 3000 Wörtern aktiv und bis zu 14000 Wörtern passiv (vgl. Aitchison 1997, 22). Die Fähigkeit zu partnerorientierter Kommunikation geht mit der sozialen Entwicklung der Persönlichkeit einher und ist im Normalfall mit Beginn des Jugendalters erreicht. Die Fähigkeit, eine natürliche Sprache zu erwerben, ist artspezifisch für den Menschen. Die Erstsprache ist die Sprache der Bezugsperson von Säugling und Kleinkind. Dass der Spracherwerb mit dem Beginn des Lebens beginnt, führt dazu, dass der Mensch schon sehr früh eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit für Stimme und Sprechen der Bezugsperson entwickelt, für die Stimme und das Sprechen der Mutter schon

vor der Geburt (vgl. Fifer/Moon 1989 und die Überblicksdarstellung von Hennon/Hirsch-Pazek/Golinkoff 2000). Bedeutsamer als die mechanisch-akustische Seite der Muttersprache ist für den Spracherwerb die kommunikative Interaktion mit dem Kind. Schon in den ersten Lebenswochen entwickelt der Säugling das Vermögen, zwischen zwei Registern sprachlicher Interaktion in seiner Umgebung zu unterscheiden. Das ID-Register (infant directed) enthält kürzere Sätze, deutlichere intonatorische Konturen und Markierungen von Akzenten und Pausen. Das andere, das AD-Register (adult directed) trägt alle Merkmale des Sprachverhaltens von Erwachsenen untereinander. Dass Erwachsene mit dem Kind im ID-Register interagieren, zeigt, dass die Registerunterscheidung auch zu ihrer kommunikativen Kompetenz gehört. Der ID-Input bewirkt eine Steigerung der Aufmerksamkeit des Kindes und beeinflusst so den Erwerb der Muttersprache stärker als AD-Input (vgl. Cooper/Aslin 1990).

In Abgrenzung zu Zweitsprache steht die Erstsprache unter den von einem Menschen gelernten Sprachen in einem besonderen Verhältnis zu seinem Denken. Ihre lexikalische und grammatische Gliederung wirkt sich in besonderer Weise auf den Aufbau des begrifflichen Wissens und Denkens aus. Das enge Zusammenwirken von sprachlicher und begrifflicher Entwicklung des Menschen im Säuglingsalter und in der Kindheit führe, so die generelle Annahme, zu einer sprachlichen Determiniertheit außersprachlicher kognitiver Prozesse; siehe auch Art. 140. Alle heute noch diskutierten Konzeptionen vom Zusammenhang zwischen Sprache und Denken gehen auf einen Entwurf von Wilhelm von Humboldt zurück; er ist in einer Reihe von Traktaten zwischen 1820 und 1835 dargestellt; die hier relevanten Behauptungen finden sich in Humboldt (1827–29 und 1830–35). Ausgehend von einer idealistischen philosophischen Versteherlehre, postuliert Humboldt die Existenz einer geistigen Kraft. Sie ist außerhalb des Individuums, beeinflusst aber den Aufbau des individuellen begrifflichen Wissens und wird ihrerseits von den Ergebnissen der individuellen Geistestätigkeit beeinflusst. Unter dem Einfluss natürlicher und sozialer Lebensbedingungen von Angehörigen einer Nation entstehen im Laufe der Völkergeschichte national eigentümliche Ausprägungen der Geisteskraft. Die Sprache, ebenfalls

eine Idealisierung, ist ein Organismus, der durch die semantische Gliederung dem geistigen Stoff Form gibt. Diese Form bildet in ihrer Gesamtheit das Wesen der Sprache überhaupt und – als Einzelsprache – zugleich das Wesen eben dieser spezifischen Sprache. Die geistige Form einer Sprache prägt schließlich jenseits aller Subjektivität der Verarbeitung von Wahrgenommenem den Aufbau von begrifflichem Wissen des Individuums und so folgt aus der Zugehörigkeit zu einer Sprachgemeinschaft, dass sich in einem Individuum eine jeweils sprachspezifische Weltansicht ausprägt (vgl. Humboldt 1830–35, 433 – 435). In der Frage, wie weitgehend die sprachlich induzierte Weltansicht der Erstsprache die Geistestätigkeit des Menschen determiniert, gehen die Behauptungen in der jüngeren Forschung zur sprachlichen Relativität auseinander. Whorf (1956) hat die Gliederungen amerikanischer Indianersprachen einerseits und europäischer Sprachen andererseits mit begrifflichen Kategorien von Gegenständen, Zeiteinteilungen und anderen Gliederungen realer Phänomene der jeweiligen Sprechergruppen verglichen und aus den Analysen die Erkenntnis gewonnen, die Struktur des sprachlichen Wissens wirke wie ein geistiger Hintergrund, der die Begriffsbildung und das Denken generell kanalisiert; Whorf bezeichnet die Erstsprache im Hinblick auf diese kognitive Funktion als ‘native language’, was in der dtsh. Ausgabe (1963, 12) mit *Muttersprache* wiedergegeben ist. Dieser Gebrauch des Terminus ‘Muttersprache’ ist sonst eher unüblich, wie im nächsten Abschnitt dargelegt wird. Eine Folge der sprachlichen Determiniertheit des Denkens durch die Erstsprache ist die sog. sprachliche Relativität, der Effekt, dass Systeme begrifflicher Unterscheidungen von Sprachgemeinschaft zu Sprachgemeinschaft verschieden sind. Die jüngste Variante dieser Konzeption ist aus Raum- und Farbkategorisierungen bei Sprechern verschiedener Sprachen abgeleitet und experimentell überprüft worden, die sog. ‘vantage theory’ von MacLaury, zusammenhängend präsentiert in MacLaury (1995). Whorfs Behauptung über die Reichweite der sprachlichen Determiniertheit des Denkens durch die Erstsprache bis hin zur Wahrnehmung ist nachhaltig bezweifelt worden. Schon Kay/Kempton (1984) haben in Farbdiskriminierungs- und Farbbezeichnungsexperimenten beobachtet, dass zwischen sprachbezogenen kognitiven

Prozessen und nicht sprachbezogenen zu unterscheiden ist. Eine aspektreiche Diskussion des sprachlichen Relativitätseffekts findet sich in Cooper/Spolsky (1991). Neuerdings wird angenommen, dass das sprachliche Wissen nur mit denjenigen kognitiven Systemen interagiert, in denen die äußerungsvorbereitende gedankliche Planung stattfindet, den sog. Makro- und Mikroplanungsmodulen des Produktionssystems. Als Ergebnis dieser Interaktion wird eine sog. Perspektivierung der sprachlich zu kodierenden gedanklichen Struktur einer Äußerung (message) behauptet (vgl. Levelt/Roelofs/Meyer 1999 und Levelt 1989, 103 ff, sowie Klein/Stutterheim 2001). Über die neueren Befunde berichten die Beiträge in Gumperz/Levinson (1996), im Überblick Gumperz/Levinson (1996), Lucy (1996) und Slobin (1996) sowie die ausführliche ergänzende Rezension von Hickmann (2000).

Die Fähigkeit, eine Erstsprache zu erwerben ist, so die Behauptung der sog. nativistischen Spracherwerbtheorie, eine besondere artspezifische Ausstattung, nämlich ein genetisch verankertes, sprachliches Modul des menschlichen Geistes, die Universalgrammatik (UG – vgl. Chomsky 1995, Kap. 1). Ihren Inhalt bilden generelle Prinzipien des Aufbaus von Phrasen aus lexikalischen und grammatischen Elementareinheiten, also Wörtern und grammatischen Kategorien. Die Prinzipien sind in allen Sprachen nachzuweisen und ihnen folgt das Kind bei der Verarbeitung der sprachlichen Äußerungen seiner Umgebung und dem Aufbau seines sprachlichen Wissens. Der Erwerb der Erstsprache ist demnach der schrittweise Aufbau sprachlichen Wissens, ausgehend von dem Ausgangszustand (initial state), gebildet durch die UG, hin zu dem differenzierten, reichhaltigen lexikalischen und grammatischen Wissen, das seiner Umgebungssprache zu Grunde liegt, eben dem erstsprachlichen Wissen, der sog. I-language. Die nativistische Konzeption der Erstsprache, obwohl die am weitesten ausgearbeitete Erwerbtheorie, ist nicht unwidersprochen (vgl. dazu Klein vs. Hyams in Eubank 1991), und weit weniger sicher ist, ob der Erwerb der Zweitsprache ebenfalls vom universalgrammatischen Modul geprägt wird (vgl. dazu Art. 36). Zusammenfassend lässt sich also sagen, dass als Erstsprache diejenige bezeichnet wird, die von Beginn des Lebens an gelernt wird und die sich mehr oder weniger weitgehend auf Inhalte und Prozeduren

seiner außersprachlichen Kognition auswirkt, mehr auf die sprachbezogenen Prozesse als auf die nicht-sprachbezogenen. Der gleichzeitige Erwerb zweier Erstsprachen heißt bilingualer Erstspracherwerb.

Als *Muttersprache* wird die Sprache eines Individuums bezeichnet, die es mit Mitgliedern einer kulturell homogenen Gemeinschaft als Erstsprache gemeinsam hat und zu der es auf dieser Grundlage eine spezifische, auch affektive Bindung empfindet. Diese ist in Qualität und Intensität verschieden: individuell, national und je nach Lebensumständen des Einzelnen; so ist sie etwa in Sprachkontaktsituationen salienter im Bewusstsein als in der homogenen muttersprachlichen Umgebung 'zu Hause', und in der Emigration tendenziell noch einmal ausgeprägter. Der Begriff der Muttersprache wird viel verwendet, ist aber nicht präzise bestimmt. Einen aussichtsreichen Zugang bieten Befunde der Anthropologie und der Spracherwerbsforschung. Demnach kann die soziale und affektive Bindung des Menschen an die Muttersprache zum einen auf eine artspezifische Disposition und zum zweiten auf frühkindliche Erfahrungen im Spracherwerb zurückgeführt werden. Im Unterschied zu allen anderen Lebewesen, so die Annahme, ist der Mensch mit einem spezifischen sozialen Instinkt ausgestattet; der menschliche Organismus ist biologisch motiviert, mit Menschen eine soziale und emotionale Bindung herzustellen, eigene Gedanken und emotionale Regungen kund zu tun, diejenigen von Menschen seiner Umgebung aufzunehmen und auf Ablehnungs- und Akzeptanzsignale hin zu bewerten. Als Evidenz für die Existenz dieser Disposition werden die schon beim Säugling vorhandene Fokussierung der Aufmerksamkeit und Gedächtnistätigkeit auf seine soziale Umgebung (Schaffer 1984; Lethmate 1994) und die lustgeleitete Imitation von Erwachsenenverhalten (Donald 1991) angesehen. Die aus dieser Disposition motivierten Aktivitäten des Kindes, Nachahmung und Fokussierung von Aufmerksamkeit, werden von der Bezugsperson, in den meisten Kulturen die Mutter, verstanden, positiv beantwortet und verstärkt. Das effizienteste Verfahren für diesen Informationsaustausch stellt die sprachliche Interaktion dar (vgl. Hennon/Hirsh-Pasek/Golnikoff 2000, 80 ff; Keller 2000 und – zur Deutung des imitativen Verhaltens – Trevarthen/Kokkinaki/Fiamenghi 1999). Die artspezifische soziale Disposition

des Menschen und die frühkindliche Kommunikationserfahrung führen im Verbund zu der herausgehobenen Bindung des Erwachsenen an die Muttersprache und an die soziale Gruppe, mit der die Muttersprache geteilt wird. Bestätigt wird der besondere Status der Muttersprache u.a. durch die Tatsache, dass die Fähigkeit, emotionale Signale in fremdsprachlichem Input zu erkennen, nicht in gleicher Weise erworben werden kann wie die eher kognitiv basierten lexikalischen und grammatischen Kenntnisse der Fremdsprache (vgl. Graham/Hamblin/Feldstein 2001). In der Konsequenz des besonderen Status der Muttersprache für das Individuum und die soziale Ökologie der muttersprachlichen Gemeinschaft wird ihm im Erziehungswesen und in der Sprachpolitik der Nationen besonderes Augenmerk geschenkt (vgl. dazu auch Art. 36). Gerade die deutsche Geschichte zeigt aber auch, dass dieser besondere Status und damit den Begriff der 'Muttersprache' ideologisiert und zu Zwecken nationaler Propaganda reklamiert werden kann (vgl. dazu Ahlzweig 1994, Kap. 5 und 6).

3. Erstsprache und Muttersprache in der Gesellschaft

Bei der Analyse und Beschreibung sprachlicher Verhältnisse in Gesellschaften und Nationen wird ein abstrakter Begriff von Sprache zu Grunde gelegt. Vom sprachlichen Wissen als Bestandteil des Wissens- und Denksystems von Personen wird abstrahiert auf ein Konzept von Sprache als einem Zeichensystem, indem gewissermaßen über die Individuen hinweg auf das von ihnen benutzte sprachliche Ausdruckssystem generalisiert wird, eben 'die Sprache'. In diesem Sinne spricht man von dem Japanischen, Spanischen, Deutschen oder Chinesischen und bei Generalisierung über eine regionale, kulturelle oder soziale Gruppe vom Marokkanischen, Mandarin-Chinesischen oder vom Schwäbischen. Eine Sprache umfasst bekanntlich zwei Teilsysteme, das lexikalische und das grammatische, beide jeweils mehr oder weniger vollständig dokumentiert im Lexikon bzw. in der Grammatik einer Sprache. Im Folgenden werden mit dem Ausdruck *Sprache* nur natürliche Sprachen bezeichnet, nicht geplante Weltsprachen wie Esperanto oder Mischsprachen wie die Lingua Franca oder das Russenorsk (Schuchardt 1907 bzw. Broch 1927). Der Begriff

der natürlichen Sprache ist nicht scharf, aber für unsere Zwecke brauchbar, wenn man ihn durch ein Erwerbskriterium parametrisiert. Es ist üblich und effizient, als natürliche Sprache eine zu zählen, die von mindestens einer Generation einer Sprachgemeinschaft als Erstsprache erworben worden ist (siehe dazu auch die Art. 14; 19; 30; 34).

In der Soziolinguistik werden die Begriffe Erstsprache und Muttersprache vornehmlich zur Charakterisierung der Sprachverhältnisse in einer mehrsprachigen Gesellschaft verwendet. Dabei fällt unter Mehrsprachigkeit zum einen die Eigenschaft von Menschen, in mehr als in einer Sprache kommunizieren zu können, zum zweiten die Existenz von mehr als einer natürlichen Sprache in einer Nation, Gesellschaft oder sozialen Gruppe (vgl. Art. 15). Es gibt individuelle Mehrsprachigkeit in nicht-mehrsprachigen Gesellschaften und einsprachige Personen in mehrsprachigen Gesellschaften. So gilt die Bundesrepublik Deutschland nach allgemeinem Verständnis zwar als Einwanderungsland, aber nicht als mehrsprachig, obwohl im Jahr 2000 rund fünf Millionen Menschen nicht-deutscher Herkunftssprache waren. Umgekehrt gibt es in mehrsprachigen Ländern Konstellationen, die es mit sich bringen, dass große Gruppen von Bewohnern eben nicht mehrsprachig sind, etwa die rein frankophonen und die rein anglophonen Bewohner Kanadas (zu Einzelheiten siehe die entsprechenden Art. 172; 209 oder andere in Kap. IX dieses Handbuchs). Anders als bei individueller Mehrsprachigkeit ist bei der Beschreibung der gesellschaftlichen Mehrsprachigkeit die zeitliche Reihenfolge, in der die beteiligten Sprachen auftreten, kein begriffsbildendes Merkmal. Wo die historische Entwicklung angesprochen wird, geschieht dies nicht mit dem Terminus *Erstsprache*, sondern unter Bezug auf soziale oder politische Begleitumstände der Entstehung der Mehrsprachigkeit, z. B. mit Begriffen wie 'Immigrantensprache', 'Landessprache', 'Kolonialsprache' und 'Eingeborenen-sprache'. Der Ausdruck *Erstsprache* steht in zwei Dichotomien, Erstsprache vs. Zweitsprache, und Erstsprache vs. Muttersprache. Die erste Dichotomie bezieht sich auf den sozialen und politischen Status einer Sprache; die Erstsprache ist die mit dem höchsten Status in einer Gesellschaft. Status ist in diesem Zusammenhang eine Funktion aus im Wesentlichen zwei Eigenschaften einer Sprache, dem Anteil ihrer Sprecher an der Gesamtbevölkerung einer Gesellschaft, wo-

bei interessanterweise der Beherrschung dieser Sprache als Zweitsprache ein besonderes Gewicht zukommt, und dem sozialen Prestige, das sich seinerseits nach dem sozialen Rang derjenigen bestimmt, die die Sprache als Erstsprache – im Sinne von Abschnitt 2 oben – beherrschen; siehe dazu Fergusons (1956) klassische Kategorien L(=low)-, M(=mid)- und H(=high)-Statussprachen. In diesem Sinne ist Englisch die Erstsprache in Australien und Spanisch die Erstsprache in Peru und anderen lateinamerikanischen Ländern.

Der Ausdruck *Muttersprache* als Bezeichnung einer besonderen Sprache von mehreren in einer Nation oder Gesellschaft ist in der europäischen Literatur seit dem Hochmittelalter belegt und er ist in mehreren Bedeutungen verwendet worden. Haugen (1991) weist drei zeitlich aufeinander folgende Muttersprachenbegriffe nach. Im Mittelalter wurde als *Muttersprache* im Kontrast zu den Bildungssprachen einer Gemeinschaft die Sprache des Volkes bezeichnet, mangels Bildungschancen der Frauen meist deren einzige. Mit der Übersetzung der Bibel und anderer religiöser Texte in diese Volkssprachen, also seit der Renaissance, verlor der Begriff seine pejorative Bedeutung, allerdings nur in diesem kirchlich-religiösen Kontext. Seit dem späten 18. Jhd. wird *Muttersprache* auch zur Bezeichnung der Sprache einer Kulturnation oder -region verwendet. Dieser Begriff ist bis heute in der Soziolinguistik gebräuchlich. Als Muttersprache wird in einem Mehrsprachigkeitskontext mit mehrsprachiger Bevölkerung die Sprache bezeichnet, die nicht die Erstsprache der Gesellschaft ist und zugleich von Teilen der Bevölkerung oder der Bevölkerung insgesamt als Muttersprache erworben worden ist. Infolge der besonderen Rolle als Träger und Bestandteil von Kultur und vermöge der affektiven Beziehung der Sprecher zu ihrer Muttersprache kommt ihr ein besonderes Gewicht bei der Bewahrung ethnischer Identität der jeweiligen Bevölkerungsteile eines Landes zu. Entsprechend hohe Aufmerksamkeit wird der Existenz von Muttersprachen in mehrsprachigen Nationen von politischer Seite entgegen gebracht, sei es im Verfolg stärkender oder aber auch hemmender Absichten (siehe dazu die Beiträge in Teil 2 von Fishman 1999). Hauptsächlich Nicht-Regierungsorganisationen bemühen sich, rechtliche Regelungen gegen die Vernachlässigung oder gar Unterdrückung sprachlicher Selbstverwirklichung

von Angehörigen sprachlicher Minoritäten durch nationale Einsprachigkeitspolitik international durchzusetzen. So hat unter Bezug auf die Charta der Menschenrechte von 1945 die Vollversammlung der Vereinten Nationen 1989 ein Übereinkommen über die Rechte des Kindes beschlossen. Art. 30 bestimmt: „In Staaten, in denen es [...] sprachliche Minderheiten oder Ureinwohner gibt, darf einem Kind, das einer solchen Minderheit angehört oder Ureinwohner ist, nicht das Recht vorenthalten werden, [...] seine eigene Sprache zu verwenden.“ (vgl. Simma 1992, 217; zu soziolinguistischen Argumenten für solche Bemühungen siehe Skutnabb-Kangas/Phillipson 1989).

4. Zusammenfassung

Die Ausdrücke *Erstsprache* und *Muttersprache* bezeichnen Begriffe der Soziolinguistik der Mehrsprachigkeit. Sie sind alle nicht strikt definiert, z. B. im Rahmen von Theorien und werden auch nicht einheitlich verwendet, ebenso nicht ihre die entsprechenden Ausdrücke in anderen Sprachen. Es lassen sich aber aus ihrem Gebrauch grob vier begriffliche Profile ableiten.

Die *Erstsprache* eines Menschen ist die zuerst gelernte; ihre lexikalische und grammatische Gliederung wirkt sich auf die Entwicklung sprachbezogener, außersprachlicher kognitiver Teilsysteme des Menschen, besonders die sprachvorbereitende kognitive Planung von Äußerung und Text aus. Als *Muttersprache* eines Menschen wird die Sprache bezeichnet, die er mit Mitgliedern derselben Kulturgemeinschaft als *Erstsprache* gemeinsam hat und zu der eine affektive Bindung besteht. In der Beschreibung von gesellschaftlichen Mehrsprachigkeitssituationen wird als *Erstsprache* diejenige bezeichnet, die von den meisten Mitgliedern als Erst- oder Zweitsprache beherrscht wird und die den höchsten sozialen Status hat. Als *Muttersprache* wird diejenige Sprache einer mehrsprachigen Bevölkerung oder eines Bevölkerungsteils bezeichnet, die von ihren Sprechern als *Erstsprache* erworben worden ist und die damit die oben genannte *Muttersprachenrolle* inne hat.

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36. Zweitsprache – Fremdsprache/Second Language – Foreign Language

1. Inhalt und Aufbau des Artikels
2. Zweitsprache – Erstsprache
3. Zweitsprache – Fremdsprache
4. Zusammenfassung
5. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Inhalt und Aufbau des Artikels

Sprache ist Ausdruck und Mittel der sozialen Organisation der Menschen in allen Lebensbereichen. Besonders profiliert tritt dies hervor, wo unterschiedliche soziale Strukturen mit der Verwendung verschiedener Sprachen einhergehen, wie etwa unter Bewohnern von Grenzgebieten, zwischen Immigranten und Einheimischen und zwischen Angehörigen mehrsprachiger Nationen. Für die Beteiligten entstehen in solchen Situationen beson-

dere Bedürfnisse des Spracherwerbs, der alltäglichen Kommunikation und der Erziehung und Ausbildung. Es ist deshalb bemerkenswert, wie wenig es normalerweise wahrgenommen wird, dass es auf der Erde mehr Mehrsprachige als Einsprachige gibt; der Grund ist vielleicht gerade der, dass, wie es in Klein (2000) heißt, Mehrsprachigkeit das Normale ist. In der Betrachtung solcher Sprachkontaktsituationen sind Begriffe wie Erstsprache, Fremdsprache, Muttersprache und Zweitsprache bzw. ihre Entsprechungen in anderen Sprachen entstanden. Ziel dieses Artikels ist, die Verwendungsbereiche der Termini *Zweitsprache* und *Fremdsprache* darzustellen, die mit ihnen verbundenen Sachfragen zu gruppieren und so die Konturen ihrer Bedeutung in der Soziolinguistik

aufzuzeigen. Der Ort dieser Begriffe (wie auch der in Art. Nr. 35 behandelten) ist die Soziolinguistik der Mehrsprachigkeit.

Die Ausdrücke *Zweitsprache* und *Fremdsprache* bezeichnen Begriffe, die je nach Dichotomie, in der sie definiert sind und verwendet werden, verschiedene Facetten der individuellen Mehrsprachigkeit im weiteren Sinne fassen. So lassen sie sich auch am besten profiliert darstellen, indem man diese Dichotomien zu Grunde legt.

2. Zweitsprache – Erstsprache

Als *Zweitsprache* wird die Sprache bezeichnet, die ein Mensch nach Abschluss des Erwerbs seiner ersten Sprache, also ab dem Alter von ca. 5 Jahren, erwirbt (siehe dazu Art. 35, Abschnitt 2). Erst- und Zweitspracherwerb weisen Gemeinsamkeiten und charakteristische Unterschiede auf. Gemeinsam ist beiden zunächst einmal, dass das erst- wie das zweitsprachliche Wissen in Sprachverwendungssituationen im Alltag erworben werden. Daraus ergibt sich eine klare Priorität der mündlichen Verwendungsmodalität vor der schriftlichen in beiden Erwerbstypen. Zweitsprachliche Kompetenz umfasst immer die mündliche Kommunikationsfähigkeit, Schreib- und Lesefähigkeit können enthalten sein. Im Zweitspracherwerb spielen – wie im Erstspracherwerb – systematische unterrichtliche Maßnahmen keine Rolle beim Aufbau des sprachlichen Wissens; sie können zwar begleitend gegeben sein wie etwa in politisch geforderten und geförderten Ausbildungsmaßnahmen für ausländische Arbeitsmigranten. Sie wirken sich aber in der Regel auf den Erwerb nicht oder nicht wesentlich aus, am wenigsten im Zweitspracherwerb Erwachsener; siehe dazu Perdue (1994) die Kapitel über den Französischerwerb von Spanischsprachigen und den Deutscherwerb von Türkischsprachigen. Natürlich kommt dem Erwerbssalter eine nicht unwesentliche Bedeutung als Faktor zur Erklärung der beträchtlichen Variation innerhalb des L2-Erwerbs zu. Einen Überblick über die einschlägige Forschung gibt Long (1993).

Mehr als die Gemeinsamkeiten fallen die Unterschiede zwischen Erst- und Zweitspracherwerb ins Gewicht. Da sind zunächst einmal die Unterschiede in den Erwerbsvoraussetzungen. Zweitsprachenlerner verfügen über ein voll entwickeltes Artikulationsorgan, über begriffliches Wissen, über Wissen und Routinen bezüglich der Funktio-

nen und Mechanismen der sprachlichen Kommunikation, über lexikalisches und grammatisches Wissen und über Kommunikationsfähigkeit in der ersten Sprache. Sie sind außerdem schließlich in einer ersten Sprache sozialisiert und verfügen damit über eine muttersprachliche Bindung an diese. Aus den Unterschieden in den Voraussetzungen ergeben sich Unterschiede in den kognitiven Prozeduren und Strategien des Erwerbs und im Erwerbserfolg. L2-Lerner sind von Beginn an kommunikationsfähig und verarbeiten den sprachlichen Input der Umgebungssprache eher nach semantisch-pragmatischen Analyseprinzipien als nach formbezogenen, wie es das Kind beim Erstspracherwerb tut. Infolge des geringeren Anpassungsdrucks führt der Zweitspracherwerb in den allermeisten Fällen nicht zu demselben Ergebnis vollständiger Sprachbeherrschung wie es im Erstspracherwerb der Fall ist. Ob und wie weit der Zweitspracherwerb ebenso wie der Erstspracherwerb von universalem sprachlichem Wissen – dessen Existenz einmal angenommen – geprägt ist, ist anhand der bisherigen Erkenntnisse nicht zu entscheiden. Die Evidenz ist kontrovers, auch innerhalb der UG-bezogenen Theorie. Das Spektrum der Annahmen und Behauptungen findet sich in den Beiträgen zu Schwartz/Eubank (1996) und Jordens (1997). Bemerkenswert ist im Zusammenhang mit dieser Problematik die Beobachtung, dass die von Chomsky (1995) als Interface-Repräsentationen bezeichneten Ebenen des sprachlichen Wissens, die konzeptuelle und die artikulatorisch/auditive im Prozess des L2-Erwerbs allem Anschein nach am ehesten und am längsten unter dem Einfluss des erstsprachlichen Wissens stehen (zum konzeptuellen L1-Bias von Zweitsprachensprechern siehe Klein/Stutterheim 2001, zum artikulatorisch/auditiven Flege 1995).

3. Zweitsprache – Fremdsprache

Mit dem Begriffspaar *Zweitsprache/Fremdsprache* wird in erster Linie auf Unterschiede in Inputbedingungen beim Erwerb Bezug genommen. Als *Zweitsprache* wird die Sprache bezeichnet, die ungesteuert erworben, als *Fremdsprache* diejenige, die ausschließlich oder überwiegend im Klassenzimmer gelernt worden ist. Da weltweit weniger Sprachen unterrichtet vermittelt als zu Zwecken der Kommunikation im Alltag erworben werden, ist das Spektrum der

Fremdsprachen entsprechend kleiner als das der Zweitsprachen. Die als Zweit- und Fremdsprache zusammengenommen häufigste Sprache ist nach Crystal (1997) Englisch. Ob den Konzepten Zweit- bzw. Fremdsprache neben den verschiedenen Erwerbsumständen auch sonstige Unterschiede entsprechen und welche, ist Gegenstand der aktuellen Forschung. Im Mittelpunkt steht die Frage, ob das Lernen (learning) einer Fremdsprache ein anderer kognitiver Vorgang ist als das Erwerben (acquisition) einer Zweitsprache. Einen Ausgangspunkt der darauf gerichteten Untersuchungen bildet die Beobachtung von Krashen (1981), dass fremdsprachlicher Unterricht zu einem besonderen Typ von linguistischem Wissen führt, mit dem – je nach Gewicht, das der Lerner ihm beim Sprechen zuschreibt – eine mehr oder weniger starke Kontrolle über die aktuelle Äußerungsproduktion ausgeübt wird. Die Kontrolle nennt Krashen die *Monitorfunktion*, das dazu eingesetzte und eben im Unterricht gelernte Wissen den *Monitor*. Übergebrauch des Monitors führt zu stockendem Redefluss, besonders vielen Selbstkorrekturen und zu Äußerungen, die keine lernersprachliche Systematik erkennen lassen. Krashen schreibt dem Monitor keine wesentliche Rolle bei der Äußerungsproduktion zu. Mit Monitorwissen alleine sei die normale kommunikative Verwendung der zweitsprachlichen Mittel nicht möglich; dazu sei das Vorhandensein automatisierten, unbewussten Sprachwissens (acquired knowledge of the second language) unabdingbar. Erfahrungen, die mit dieser Behauptung im Einklang stehen, gehören zum Alltag des klassischen Latein- oder Griechischunterrichts.

4. Zusammenfassung

Die Termini *Zweitsprache* und *Fremdsprache* bezeichnen Begriffe, die in verschiedenen Dichotomien verschiedene Facetten sprachlichen Wissens akzentuieren. Zweitsprache (L2) im Unterschied zur Erstsprache (L1) ist die Sprache, die nach Abschluss des Erstspracherwerbs gelernt wird. Der Erwerb der L2 hat andere Ausgangsvoraussetzungen als der L1-Erwerb, er weist dementsprechend andere kognitive Prozeduren auf, eher semantisch und pragmatisch orientierte Analyse des Inputs beim L2-Erwerb, eher formorientierte Analyse des Inputs beim L1-Erwerb. Der L2-Erwerb führt im Unterschied zum L1-Erwerb in den meisten Fällen

nicht zur vollständigen Beherrschung der Zielsprache und in aller Regel nicht zu der selben sozialen und emotionalen Bindung.

Mit den Begriffen Fremdsprache und Zweitsprache sind Unterschiede in den Erwerbsumständen gefasst. Fremdsprache ist diejenige, die ein Mensch vermittelt Unterricht lernt, Zweitsprache diejenige, die ohne spezifische unterrichtliche Maßnahmen wie die Erstsprache in der alltäglichen Kommunikation erworben wird. Es wird angenommen, dass das unterrichtlich vermittelte, explizite linguistische Wissen über die Sprache von dem automatisierten, unbewussten Wissen, das im kommunikativen Erwerb aufgebaut wird, wesentlich verschieden ist und in der Sprachverwendung eine andere Funktion hat als dieses, nämlich die sog. Monitorfunktion. Monitorwissen alleine befähigt nicht zur spontanen kommunikativen Verwendung der Fremdsprache.

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37. Classical Language – Dead Language Klassische Sprache – Tote Sprache

1. General definition
2. ‘Classical’ in sociolinguistics. Type and functions of a classical language
3. Classical languages vs. dead languages
4. Diffusion
5. Discontinuation
6. Revivals
7. List of classical languages
8. The influence of classical languages on the other languages in the repertoire. ‘Classical’ functions in modern languages
9. Conclusions
10. Literature (selected)

1. General definition

A ‘classical’ language has been defined in sociolinguistics as “a Standard which has died out as a native language” (Ferguson 1966, 311) and nevertheless continues to be used – mainly in writing – in a more or less large number of upper domains of language usage. The qualification ‘classical’ applied to languages/literatures/authors harks back to two possible meanings of the Latin adjective *classicus*, namely ‘belonging to the uppermost social class’ and ‘suitable to study in school classes’. Indeed, a classical language has two important properties: its usage by the elites and transmission through formal instruction. *Classicus* is derived from *classis*, originally meaning ‘call up [to the army], enrolment’, but afterwards it became associated with upper social classes because they were the first to be enrolled and with school classes because the word was also extended to denote ‘an ordered group of people’.

In sociolinguistics, this label is not applied, as in literary criticism, just to a group of authors – or to the language variety used by them – who are considered as being above a threshold of excellence and, therefore, worthy of admiration, study and imitation (Eliot 1944). This only holds true if that variety has been adopted as a standard in a subsequent period and has therefore conditioned the structures of the language (and not only its styles or contents) of the community concerned.

2. ‘Classical’ in sociolinguistics. Type and functions of a classical language

2.1. ‘Classical’ as language type

Stewart (1968) offers several criteria for defining language types. In his opinion, a ‘clas-

sical’ language has the properties of standardization, autonomy and historicity, but is deprived of vitality. We will comment upon these in turn.

(a) *Standardisation*. Classical languages usually display a high degree of written standardisation as they are often identified with a restricted list of authors belonging to a more or less delimited time span. Many classical languages have been the object of grammatical codification, either contemporary or subsequent, mainly with a prescriptive rather than descriptive bias. Partial revivals contribute to periodically reinstating an approximation of the model. Special care is also dedicated to the improvement of writing systems in order to preserve the original phonology and prosody. E.g., diacritics, vocalisations, and punctuation have often been introduced in the classical languages through subsequent rather than contemporary grammatical reflection and explicit standardization. Therefore classical languages are fixed and blocked rather than stable. They share with living standards some of the functions we will deal with below, with a few differences: living standards are primarily spoken, less stable as models, and not unquestioned as to their prestige (Auburger 1987, 360–361).

(b) *Autonomy*. Classical languages are usually felt as distinctive and separate from the languages spoken in the same territory, even if the latter are their natural continuation. They are defended against interference from spoken varieties in order to keep them ‘pure’ (Wexler 1971).

In some instances, the chronological gap between a classical language and spoken vernaculars was not even perceived. E.g., Dante in his *De vulgari eloquentia* (‘The popular way of speaking’, 1305) considers Latin (which he calls *gramatica*) and the Italian vernaculars of his time in a synchronical way, i.e. as languages coexisting within the same repertoire, without mentioning (and probably not even realising) the fact that these vernaculars are the continuation of (spoken) Latin and the two languages have different chronological depth.

(c) *Historicity*. “What gives a language historicity is its association with some national or ethnic tradition” (Stewart 1968, 536). Classical languages have high sym-

bolic and functional value, as opposed to lesser valued spoken languages. This even holds true when a very high structural distance divides the classical language from the other languages in the repertoire. E.g., as Latin was the expression of a cultural and religious tradition accepted throughout Western and Central Europe, it was also accepted by speakers of languages belonging to other branches of Indoeuropean (Germanic, Western Slavic and some Southern Slavic languages) and to other families (Hungarian, Finnish, Estonian).

(d) *Vitality*; “I.e., use of the linguistic system by an unisolated community of speakers” (Stewart 1968, 436). This dimension, by definition, does not apply to classical languages. It can only be recouped through an oral revival (e.g., Modern Hebrew).

2.2. Functions

Most of the ten (sociolinguistic) language functions proposed by Stewart (1968, 540–541) also apply to classical languages:

(1) *Official* and (2) *provincial*. They must have enjoyed, at least during part of their history, the approval and explicit support of some political authority (more often national than local), which adopted them as languages of the administration, the army and the school.

(3) *Wider communication*, (4) *international*, and (5) *used in the capital*. Classical languages always have a wide communicative reach, supralocal and supradialectal. These functions are particularly evident for some languages which were the expressions of great empires or religious and cultural movements: Latin (Roman Empire), Greek (Alexander the Great’s Empire), Arabic (Islam), Sanskrit (Hinduism), and Classical Chinese (throughout South-Eastern Asia) have all become classical languages. The same cannot be said of Aramaic (though it was used as a language of wider communication in the Persian Empire) and Classical Modern Persian (in India under the Moghuls and at the beginning of the British Raj). Very often the standard was based on the language spoken in the capital of the empire.

(6) *Group*. This function only applies to classical languages used by minorities or by a small religious body, e.g., to classical languages of religious minorities (such as Hebrew in the diaspora, Coptic or Syriac).

(7) *Educational*, and (8) *school subject*. A classical language can be either the sole

medium of instruction or a high valued compulsory subject at least in higher education.

(9) *Literary*. They have a large body of literary work; but this tradition might also be discontinued.

(10) *Religious*. A classical language can be supported by a religious body which uses it in its rituals and contributes to its expansion or survival. The language associated with a religion, even if it originated from a popular vernacular, tends to become autonomous from it and remain stable (as against the evolution of normal spoken varieties).

Further properties of classical languages might be added to Stewart’s list:

(11) *Media involved*: the “diamesic” varieties (i.e. along the written vs. spoken language dimension, Mioni 1973, 510–511) of a classical language are mainly written or “written to be read as if they were written” (Gregory 1967, 189); in some communities they can be the only written variety (the High language in a diglossic relationship; cf. art.) as long as all the Low varieties are only spoken.

(12) Their intergenerational transmission is not natural but depends on some kind of formal education.

(13) They are very influential on the other varieties in the repertoire and often provide them with the lexical basis for the formation of intellectual, scientific and technical terminology.

3. Classical languages vs. dead languages

In order to better define classical languages, it is also important to have some criteria for distinguishing them both from living languages occupying the status of High languages in some kind of strict or broad diglossic repertoires and from totally dead languages. The difference between a living and a dead language is far from clear-cut. For instance, it is still open to discussion whether Classical Arabic and Hebrew ever died (Hagège 2000, 67–91). Classical Arabic is not only continued by modern dialects, but also by Modern Standard Arabic, only slightly different from the Classical variety. Modern Arabic is not only used in writing; it is also fluently spoken by some millions of educated Arabs. With the increase in the educational standard, it might even acquire native speakers once again. In this case, the

label 'classical' would only be applied to the older stages of the language. We are faced with similar problems in classifying Hebrew before and after its revival.

To examine this in more detail, let us imagine and describe four possible stages in the status of a high-prestige language.

Stage 1: Increased distance between spoken and written language. In a continuum of language evolution, the written standard can diverge from spoken varieties by not accepting innovations. This is either because the (overt or covert) written standard already had some distance from the spoken varieties, or because the change is accelerated by external causes, such as immigration. In this instance a written language loses the domains of everyday communication and its oral reflexes are limited to formal situations, giving us an instance of incipient diglossia, with the written language assuming the function of High language. In order to decide whether this High language is already dead and therefore a potential candidate as a classical language, we have to consider (i) the amount of structural distance between the oral and written language and (ii) the opportunities available in the community for learning the High language. We are not yet faced with a classical language as long as it can not be learnt only through some formal education and cultivation.

In situations of broad diglossia, where the languages involved belong to different language (sub)families, such a language might already be considered dead, at least in such communities; but even in this case bilingualism and easy access to the High language can be fostered if large numbers of competent speakers of it are present in the community. This language, furthermore, can be defended by the usual agencies protecting classical languages (school and higher learning, administration, religion, etc.).

Stage 2: Incipient classical language. High language mainly written, Low language dialectalised. The distance between spoken and written varieties has become so big that a major effort is required in order to master the High language; a relevant discontinuity between the two languages begins to be felt, thus requiring more effort and formal study to satisfactorily master it: but schools are only available to the upper classes or to clerics. High language comes to be employed

only in the upper grades of administration, while in everyday contacts Low languages are used. However the High language remains as the unique variety for wider communication because of the dialectalisation of Low varieties. We are now at the threshold of a classical language.

Stage 3: Typical classical language. Some Low language used in upper domains. Some of the local vernaculars begin to occupy domains previously reserved for the High language, thus giving way to triglossic situations (High – Mid (the new supralocal vernaculars) – Low (the local vernaculars)). The High language gradually loses its status as the medium of education, its function is lowered to being a school subject of the medium of higher education only. It also might lose ground in religion. Sometimes revivals may improve the quality of High language with the recovery of older and purer variants, but this only affects its written and highly ceremonial oral usages, and in no way helps to recover an active competence in it. On the contrary, the reduction of internal variation due to the imitation of old classic authors contributes to increasing their nature as frozen rather than living languages. This is the typical situation of a classical language, still praised and associated with the upper classes, but it can be upset by any change in the leadership.

Stage 4: Classical language's total death. Some external cause – e. g., political and social revolutions, educational and religious reforms – may oust the classical language from its last strongholds (education, state administration, religion). Its study becomes the activity of a very limited and specialised body of scholars who are fond of history and antiquities, and its usage may be occasionally reinstated for very high ceremonial purposes or for inscriptions on monuments. We are now confronted with a totally dead language, even if it can still be felt as a precious legacy of the past.

This description is very idealised and uniformitarian. The effects of possible catastrophic events ousting a classical language or lowering its prestige have been reduced to a minimum here. We did not mention any possible macrocauses (wars, invasions, migrations, epidemics; Mioni 2000) that could condition or alter this supposed gradual development, accelerating the decay of a classical language or even producing its abrupt death.

In the last decade the problem of endangered and dying languages has aroused much discussion and proposals for intervention (Nettle/Romaine 2000, Hagège 2000, Grenoble/Whaley 1998). The death of such languages with very few speakers, however, requires different considerations from the ones we have been developing here. The funeral of such small languages will be attended by a few destitute last speakers and perhaps a couple of linguists and anthropologists, whereas the one marking the final death of a former classical language would have as attendants a small host of distinguished scholars willing to preserve its memory.

4. Diffusion

Normally, a large and complex political unit will include people who speak different languages from the start. Indeed, even a community that was monolingual at the time of its origin sooner or later becomes at least diglossic if it is founded on some kind of social stratification, or if the division of labour produces different communication networks depending on social or professional class, thus leading to prestige being attached to some varieties (diglossia between a High and a Low language; or multiglossia with a plurality of class and professional varieties). The most notable example is the Indian caste system, accompanied by linguistic differences, be it in monolingual or multilingual repertoires; this is still the case in many present-day Indian communities (Masica 1991, 55–60).

The very beginning of linguistic differences among social classes can be enhanced by the adoption of writing, which in the past was only known to upper classes or to (religious or lay) professionals. At least at the beginning, writing usually transcribes the high varieties of the local languages and with time a *scripta* acquires a certain degree of autonomy and distance from the spoken varieties from which it originated.

Such a gap can be perpetuated by social differences both in informal and formal education. The access to higher learning can be either only allowed to certain classes or severely limited to individuals aspiring to social advancement. Classical languages or archaic variants of the local languages have been the medium of education in many countries all over the world. Think, e.g., to the weight accorded to Latin in European

schools: Grammar Schools were for many centuries schools held in and based on Latin, so that metalinguistic reflection was not applied to the spoken languages but only to a classical one.

5. Discontinuation

The ‘language question’ is so strictly tied up with the overall organisation of a state or community that every change in the latter can have important consequences for the former. The status of classical languages will usually be affected, too. A classical language will continue to be vested with its functions as long as it succeeds in preserving either a high symbolic value or some degree of usefulness for the community which uses it. If it is involved in a diglossic situation (see art. XXX Diglossia), every kind of promotion of the Low language is potentially a menace to it. Any (dis)solution of a diglossic relationship can radically limit its role. Some historical examples are helpful here. The rise of the bourgeoisie in the Middle Ages in Europe brought with it the vindication for popular languages to be used in domains (even written ones) previously reserved for Latin. Peter the Great’s reforms paved the way for Russian as a substitute to Old Church Slavonic. The same can be said for Japanese, starting with the Meiji era renewal (from 1867 on), or Greek (in 1974) with the return of democracy. This is also the case of Classical Chinese, the replacement of which has been advocated since the beginning of 20th century and implemented by the People’s Republic.

The domains of a classical language can be limited to secondary or higher education. In this case, its role can be further restricted by school reforms prescribing its presence only in the humanities. E.g., when the access to education was gradually broadened in Europe, educational curricula based on Latin and Greek decreased in favour of scientific and vocational ones.

Religious reforms can also involve a change in language policy, as happened to Latin in Catholic countries after the 2nd Vatican Council, and to Arabic in Turkey after Atatürk’s reforms in 1928.

6. Revivals

Some classical languages have undergone revival attempts, in terms of both *corpus* and *status planning* (Cooper 1989). As an

example of the first case, classical languages have been the object of periodic interventions – aiming to make them conform to the language of a given list of authors or a specific period, freeing them from ‘deviations’ produced by the influence of spoken varieties. This happened at least three times to Latin:

- At the end of the Roman Empire (4th–5th c. AD), with literary and scientific work and grammatical reflection trying to revive Classical Latin.
- During the Carolingian Renaissance (8th–9th c. AD), among scholars there was an increased interest in the study and usage of Latin, both in its lay classical form and its church variant which was closer to the language spoken in the first centuries AD. The gap existing between Latin and Vulgar languages began to be neatly perceived (remember that in 842 the Strasbourg Oaths were not sworn in Latin, but in a variety of Old French and of Rhine Frankish Old German).
- the Italian Humanists of the 14th c. AD and the Renaissance rejected Medieval Latin in favour of the Classical Latin of fourteen centuries earlier.

As an example of the second scenario (status planning), we have attempts to reinstate the knowledge and usage of a classical language that had been marginalized or discontinued. This is the case, e.g., of the rediscovery of Ancient Greek in the Renaissance and its reinstatement as a school subject in higher education.

A paradoxical case is the revival of Irish Gaelic (Erse) as a spoken language (Hindley 1990). This revival has been unsuccessful, so far. Indeed after Home Rule (1922), Modern Standard Irish was promoted as being based on rural dialects and introduced in schools and administration. The result is that although all literate people in Éire have learned Gaelic at school, the number of mother-tongue speakers has been steadily and constantly decreasing (latest figure: 80,000 native speakers, i.e. less than 3% of the total population of the Republic). If no reversal of the trend occurs, Modern Irish might become a new classical language.

6.1. Orthographic revivals

A recent case of a partial revival is the reintroduction of Mongolian script in Mongolia, replacing a Cyrillic-based orthography. It is too early to foresee whether this also

implies a revival of Classical Mongolian or simply represents the traditional choice for the orthography of Modern Khalkha Mongolian, hopefully with the graphic adaptations needed for noting all the new phonemes of this language (Daniels/Bright 1996, 545–550; Coulmas 1996, Cardona 1986). Similar, though minor, revivals involve attempts to nullify some minor rationalising reforms of the Communist Era, thus reverting to historical orthographic habits: this point has been raised in Romania and Latvia, it might also be in Armenia (Mioni 2000, 154). Another instance of graphic revival is the sporadic and fashionable usage of traditional non-reformed Chinese logograms in continental China. They are considered a token of modernity. This trend is a consequence of the integration of Hong Kong and Macao and increased contacts with Japan, Taiwan and Singapore.

7. List of classical languages

At different times in human history there have been languages that enjoyed the status of official/administrative or religious languages for large communities. Most of them, when they were left without native speakers, became classical languages. Only a few became dead languages, having no place in language repertoires and being only accessed and accessible to scholars specialising in history, religion, philosophy or linguistics. Here we shall provide a list of such languages and give some indications of their sociolinguistic history (but cf. Hagège 2000, 67–91).

7.1 Europe

Latin. We already hinted at the different statuses of this language over the course of its history (major stages: Archaic, Classical, Vulgate, Medieval, Humanistic, Modern Scientific).

Greek. The history of this language includes different periods in which some of its varieties had classical functions. The most important of those varieties are:

- Classical Greek (5th–4th c. BC), having the dialect of Athens and Attica as a reference variety (also revived in the 4th–5th c. AD);
- Hellenistic Greek (koiné), starting from the 3rd c. BC, also being the language of the *Septuaginta* translation of the Old Testament, and of the New Testament;

– Medieval Greek: the written forms of the koiné gradually became the High language (called *katharévousa* ‘pure (language)’) in a diglossic relationship, with the popular language (*dhimotiki* ‘popular’) as the Low language (Ferguson 1959). The diglossic situation was resolved in 1974 in favour of the former Low language when Greece returned to democracy. However, the popular language is now striving to adequately cover the domains that till then had been entrusted to the High language (e.g., adaptation of scientific lexicon, acquisition of a written textuality, etc.).

Besides Greek and Latin, the only other European classical language is *Old (Church) Slavonic*: originating as a Bulgaro-Macedonian variety (from the 5th c. AD), it has been employed – in slightly localised varieties – by all the Orthodox Slav populations, till the rise of single national languages that replaced it in non-religious domains. E.g., for Russian this happened in the 17th c. The differences between Old Norse and the modern Scandinavian languages (especially in the case of Icelandic) is not so big as to endanger comprehension; but this language does not have classical status. Gothic, Old English (in its Alfredian *scripta*), Middle High German, Old Provençal and Ancien Français only enjoyed the status of literary koinés that did not last enough to become real classical languages.

7.2. The Middle East

Sumeric. This was the first attested written language in the world (3500 BC); it gradually disappeared after the fall of the empire that had spread it and was extinct by 2000 BC. Sumeric was supplanted by Akkadic and acted, between 2000 and 1000 BC, and as a Classical language for Akkadic, especially in writing conventions (Sumero-grams). However Akkadic (the language of the Assyro-Babylonian Empire; spoken between 3000 BC and the 1st c. AD) was probably supplanted by Aramaic before it had the time to become a classical language.

Hebrew. Hebrew was already a dead language around the 4th c. BC, as a consequence of the Jews’ deportation to Babylon, but the religious and cultural values attached to it and the high literacy rate among Jews favoured its preservation as a classical language till the revival promoted by Eliezer ben Yehuda and other scholars that turned it into the spoken language of the new state

of Israel. This revival, however, was not as sudden as one might suppose, since Hebrew had always been used, in an oral form, in theological and scientific debates within the Jewish communities (Fellman 1973, Hadas-Label 1992).

Arabic. The history of Arabic is only one instance of the progressive distancing between a written language and spoken dialects. Classical Arabic – though acquired through formal learning, as opposed to natural acquisition – gave way to Modern Standard Arabic (very moderately different from Classical Arabic). This language is mainly written but is also spoken on formal occasions and is used as a tool for intercommunication among Arabs. In non-Arabic Islamic countries it is both a classical and religious language. However, only learned clerics are fluent in it.

Aramaic. Though this language had an official status in the Persian Empire (Old Persian being limited to its region of origin), it did not become a classical language in the form of Empire Aramaic but rather in later Western variants adopted as religious languages by some Christian churches and other religious groups. Thus, *Western Syriac* and Eastern Syriac or *Chaldean* had (and partially still have, alongside Arabic) the status of classical languages among the Christians of Syria – Lebanon and Iraq – Iran, respectively. The same can be said of *Coptic* (spoken from the 2nd–14th c. AD, but still in use for ritual purposes among Egyptian Christians). Also Old Ethiopian (*Géez*, the language of the Axum Empire), spoken between the 1st and 10th c. AD, is now a classical and religious language.

The break between Classical Armenian and Georgian (both from the 5th c. AD) and their modern written forms is not to pinpoint: the discontinuity did not become clear before the 19th c. The same can be said for Classical (Modern) Persian (from the 13th c.).

7.3. Asia

In countries where Turkic languages are spoken, classical varieties lasted till the reforms of the beginning of the 20th c. (Comrie 1981; 1987): *Osmanli Turkish* in Turkey was discontinued in 1928, Soviet reforms led to the modernisation of *Azeri* in Azerbaijan and to the rise of new national languages in Central Asia (Uzbek, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Karakalpak, Trukmen),

thus supplanting *Chaghatay* (“Old Uzbek”, originally the language of the Chaghatai Khanate, 1227–1405).

Sanskrit. This language had two slightly different literary variants, Vedic and *Classical Sanskrit*, belonging not only to a different diachrony (viz., 12th–6th c. vs. 5th–4th c. BC) but also showing diatopic differences (Vedic originated in a western area of the Gange’s Valley, Sanskrit in an eastern one). Only the latter became a classical literary and religious language, to the point that, in Indian censuses, Sanskrit is still claimed as their mother tongue (sic!) by a few thousand people. After a few centuries when Persian and English were favoured because of foreign domination, the study of Sanskrit – once limited to religious circles and to unofficial educational agencies – is part of the humanities curricula in present-day India.

Pāli. The most famous of the Prakrits (Indian vernaculars) was the principal language of the earliest Buddhist texts; it is still a classical and religious language in Hinayana Buddhist countries (Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia).

Many languages of India, Indonesia and Malay(sia) have classical varieties which are part of diglossic or polyglossic continua (e.g. Bengali, Hindi, Tamil and Telegu in India and Bangladesh; Malay, Javanese and Balinese in Indonesia). But while in Indonesia the situation seems to have changed since independence, in India the coexistence of modern and archaic language varieties is still the case. The possibility of considering such High varieties as classical crucially depends on the absence of native speakers and on the structural distance from the Low varieties (Masica 1991, 55–60).

Mongolian and *Tibetan* have both classical and modern varieties.

In China, *Classical Chinese* has been replaced with the common language (Putonghua) of the north, especially after the language reforms promoted by the People’s Republic. In *Japan* the archaic written language has been supplanted by the modern spoken variety starting from the Meiji Era (1867).

7.4. America

In contrast, the label ‘classical’ appended to the forms of Nahuatl (Aztec; central Mexico), Maya (southern Mexico and Guatemala) and Quechua (Perú and Bolivia) refers to documents in Latin writing dating back to the time of the Conquistadors. However,

even if these languages still have living (and not very different) modern offspring, their written usage has been discontinued because of the strong pressure from Spanish.

8. The influence of classical languages on the other languages in the repertoire. ‘Classical’ functions in modern languages

8.1. Effects on various grammatical levels

A typical effect of the presence of a classical language is its influence on the other languages in the repertoire. This can affect all language components.

Writing systems. When a language is reduced to writing, usually both the choice of the writing system and its graphemic conventions are based on those of classical language of the area. The Ancient World can thus be divided into regions dominated by different families of writing systems (Daniels/Bright 1996), depending on political, cultural and religious influences: Greco-Latin, Cuneiform, Semitic writing systems and their offshoots in India and Indochina, Chinese, etc.

Graphic conventions very often mirror those of the classical language, thus introducing from the start in the derived systems some historical features, that can be eventually increased by further phonological evolution if no reform intervenes. E.g., the word *philosophia* in Latin shows the solution of transcribing as <ph> the Greek φ (*phi*, aspirated [p]). This notation was not only preserved in Latin even after the pronunciation evolved to [f], but was also transmitted to all European languages. Only some of them eventually renounced the historical notation in favour of a phonetic one: Spanish *filosofía*, Italian and Portuguese *filosofia*, but French and German *Philosophie* and English *philosophy*.

Phonology. Loans from a classical language – borrowed at different times – very often have either different phonemes or different phonotactics from those in the borrowing language. Graeco-Latin and Romance loanwords have anomalous vowels in German (Meinhold/Stock 1982, 89–90). E.g., in a word like *Revolution* all the unstressed vowels are high, tense and half-long. Such vowels in true native words only appear as long in stressed position.

In English most of the (morpho)phonological rules deal with loanwords. Therefore

Chomsky/Halle (1968, 173) propose to append the diacritic feature [-deri(ative)] to native lexical items to which many rules do not apply. E.g. *kill* is a true native word (hence [-deriv]) and does not undergo the rule changing /k/ to /s/ before a front vowel as happens to /k/ in Latinate words such as *re[s]ipro[k]al* and *re[s]ipro[s]ity*.

Inflectional morphology and syntax. Though morphology is quite resistant to interference, some languages keep traces of the inflections of the classical language, as in English *alumnus/-il/-al/-ae* and German *vor/nach Christi Geburt* ‘BC/AD’.

Sometimes word order can be influenced by a classical language. E.g., when word order in Italian had already shifted to subject – verb – object and also auxiliary – verb, some Italian writers of the 14th c. – Boccaccio being the most important of them – reverted to the Latinate orders subject – object – verb and verb – auxiliary. However, this trend was short-lived (Mioni 2000, 158).

Lexicon. This is the most relevant area for interference from a classical language. Typically, each cultural region of the world has a common stock of learned words derived from its classical language(s): Greco-Latin in Europe, Arabic in the Islamic world, Sanskrit in India, Pali in Indochina, Chinese in East Asia, etc.

Romance languages are influenced by Latin in many ways. They have loanwords directly taken from Latin (usually with a different meaning) alongside or instead of words which have undergone normal evolution. E.g., in Italian *vezzo* (with normal evolution from Latin *vitium*) means ‘habit, mannerism’, while *vizio* (direct adaptation from Latin) means ‘vice’; *foia* ‘sexual excitement (in animals)’ and *furia* ‘fury’ (both < Latin *furia*); *podere* ‘field’ and *potere* ‘power’. In addition, in high literature words can regain their original Latin meaning alongside the current one. E.g., in Italian *cura* means ‘care’ but in poetry also ‘worry’, as in Latin; or *invidiare* ‘envy’, in poetry ‘wish’.

In European languages neologisms (philosophical, technical and scientific, etc.) are often constructed by compounding Greek or Latin bases; they can be all Greek (as in *polygon*), all Latin (*multivariate*) or mixed (*polyvalent*). This leads to lexical suppletivism, with typical sets such as:

French: *oeuil* – *oculaire* – *opticien* and
English: *eye* – *ocular* – *optician*

to be compared with the more transparent German:

Auge – *Augen-* (in compounds) – *Optiker*.

In compounding processes, the order of the components (head and modifier) in the classical language can be different from the one that applies in the borrowing languages, thus leading to structural inconsistencies. Greek and Latin mainly have the order modifier + head in compounds: the same as Germanic and Slavic languages, but different from the Romance ones. Chinese loanwords (modifier + head) are compatible with Japanese and Korean, but less so with Thai or Vietnamese, which have the opposite order (head + modifier; Sanskrit and Pali loans have modifier + head, too), thus introducing into such languages contradictory structural principles, further enhanced by the use of linguistically mixed bases (Germanic-Romance, Sino-Thai, Sino-Vietnamese compounds, etc.).

8.2. ‘Classical’ functions in modern languages

It can also happen that a modern language takes on properties and functions that are usually specific to classical languages, e.g., when the language of a canon of authors of a given period in the past comes to be consensually considered as embodying a literary standard. This is what occurred when the Italian Accademia della Crusca promoted to literary standard the language of 14th c. Tuscan authors, with the significant exception of Dante, who was considered too eclectic in his linguistic choices.

More relevant here is the influence of Bible translations in Protestant countries during the Reformation. The *Authorised Version* acted as a model for English poetry and higher prose for three centuries. Luther’s Bible, grounded on central rather than southern German, was instrumental in the formation of the German Standard. It also supplanted the translation in Low German and the one in Alemannic by Zwingli. The beginning of the modern periods in the histories of all the Scandinavian languages is also marked by the appearance of Bible translation due to the reformation.

All such cases might also be defined as normal cases of a standard that eventually becomes archaic and thus is a possible candidate for the status of the High language in diglossic repertoires. However, as long as it does not acquire enough distance from the spoken language, it can not be considered a true classical language.

The property of being the source of loan-words for other languages that we have attributed to classical languages is also shared by some modern languages, starting at the time of exploration and of imperialism/colonialism. Imperialistic powers spread their writing systems, influenced the phonology of the local languages, and contributed to most of their scientific, technical and abstract lexicon: this holds true for Western European languages as well as for Russian, Chinese and Japanese. Very often these loan words are the ones that European languages constructed using Greco-Latin bases. This source function can be discontinued by the fall of their empires. E.g., will Central Asian Turkic and Iranian languages still look to Russian for such a classical role, or will they resort to Arabic or Turkish or English? Even if most of such languages now have Latin orthographies based on the conventions of Turkish (thus favouring ethnic criteria over religious ones), it is not difficult to foresee the prominence of the language of globalisation.

9. Conclusions

Classical languages are instances of language survival even after the total disappearance of true native speakers. This only happens when cultural hegemony preserves for them, in the repertoire they are embedded in, some domain or niche where they can still function. However, their survival is conditional on the enduring support or acquiescence of ruling classes or religious and cultural elites. Radical changes in the balance of political or religious power, when they occur, can lead to further restriction of such domains and niches, and can eventually leave their exquisite remains to the laborious scrutiny of increasingly restricted intellectual communities.

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38. Ritualsprache/Ritual Language

1. Begriffserklärung
2. Vergleich mit Alltagssprache
3. Funktion rituelsprachlicher Handlungen
4. Logik ritueller Kommunikation an Beispielen
5. Funktionale Unverständlichkeit
6. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Begriffserklärung

In der linguistischen Forschungsliteratur werden zahlreiche – auch verschiedenartige – Phänomene als „Ritual“ bezeichnet. Das Spektrum der diskutierten und untersuchten Ritualformen umfasst, geordnet nach der Komplexität des Gegenstandes, rituelle Handlungen bzw. „Ritualia“ (Hindelang 1978), indirekte Sprechhandlungen (Werlen 1984), Formen des schematisierten und stereotypisierten Sprachgebrauchs (Lüger 1980), Begrüßungen und Begrüßungsrituale (Hartmann 1973), Interaktionsrituale und Techniken der Imagepflege im Gespräch (Goffman 1971; Holly 1979), interkulturelle ritualisierte Kommunikation (Knuf/Schmitz 1980), ritualisierte Handlungsmuster (Rauch 1992) und religiöse Rituale (Gülich/Paul 1983; Werlen 1984; Paul 1990). Die Heterogenität des Forschungsgebietes spiegelt sich in der Heterogenität der Begriffsbestimmungen und Definitionen, mit denen der Gegenstand im Einzelfall vorgestellt wird. Zur Konzeptualisierung und zur Begriffsbildung haben insbesondere die Religionssoziologie („profan“ und „heilig“, vgl. Durkheim 1981, 62), die Sprechhandlungstheorie („ritual phrases“, vgl. Austin 1962), die Verhaltensforschung („Ritualisierung“, vgl. Huxley 1966) und die Idiomatik („Routine“, „Formelhaftigkeit“) beigetragen. Die zweifellos notwendige Interdisziplinarität des Forschungsgebietes schafft zugleich eine Reihe von terminologischen und methodologischen Problemen. Die Rezeption disziplinübergreifender Theorien hat z.T. zu erheblichen begrifflichen Irritationen geführt: Während an Goffmans (1971) Ritualbegriff die Engführung von ethologischer und religionssoziologischer Konzeptualisierung kritisiert wurde, steht eine kritische Lektüre derjenigen Arbeiten noch aus, in denen ethologische und anthropologische Konzepte „theologisch“ rezipiert werden. Dies betrifft z.B. das sprechakttheoretische Konzept der „Performativität“ von Sprechakten,

das mit dem „Vollzugscharakter“ von liturgische, Ordnungen in Verbindung gebracht wurde (vgl. Ladrière 1973; Schloz 1977). Die Formulierung eines einheitlichen Konzeptes, auf das nicht zuletzt empirische Untersuchungen der Ritualsprache – seien sie semiotisch, semantisch, sprechakttheoretisch, sprachgeschichtlich, textlinguistisch oder gesprächsanalytisch begründet – angewiesen sind, bleibt vorläufig ein Desiderat an die soziolinguistische Ritualforschung.

Wir vermeiden an dieser Stelle eine Diskussion weiter und enger, integrativer und exklusiver, formaler und funktionaler Ritualbegriffe (vgl. dazu u.a. Werlen 1984, 21–89; Paul 1990, 41–117; Rauch 1992, 13–38; Braungart 1996, 41–118). Stattdessen folgen wir in unserer komprimierten Darstellung einer übergreifenden, vergleichsweise neutralen und aktuellen Definition des amerikanischen Anthropologen Rappaport (1999, 24): „I take the term ‘ritual’ to denote the performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances not entirely encoded by the performers“. Die spezifische „Ritualität“ eines Kommunikationsereignisses ergibt sich demnach nicht aus einem bestimmten formalen oder inhaltlichen Kriterium, sondern aus dem Zusammenwirken einiger typischer Merkmale, die zusammengenommen so etwas wie die universelle Struktur des Rituals bilden (Rappaport 1999, 3ff). Zu den konstitutiven Merkmalen des Rituals gehören: Vorgeformtheit („encoding by others than performers“), Formalisierung („formality“), Unveränderlichkeit der Agenda bzw. der liturgischen Ordnung („invariance of liturgical order“), Performativität („performance“), Autokommunikation („Auto-communication“), selbstreferentielle und kanonische Botschaften („Self-referential and canonical messages“).

2. Vergleich mit Alltagssprache

Ein Vergleich mit grundlegenden Eigenschaften der Alltagskommunikation mag dazu dienen, die Eigenschaften des Rituals ex negativo zu erläutern (zur Abgrenzung von Ritual und Alltag vgl. u.a. Josuttis 1974, 186; Jetter 1978, 218; Babcock 1978; Ehlich/Rehbein 1980, 342; Berger/Luckmann 1980, 25). Zwar kann es in spontanen Kommunikationsereignissen auch „rituelle

Elemente“ in Form von Gruß- und Abschiedsformeln, stereotypen Wendungen oder hochgradig erwartbaren Sequenzen geben, aber grundsätzlich ist weder der Ablauf noch der Inhalt eines Alltagsgesprächs vorgegeben und vorhersagbar. Verständigung ist von Fall zu Fall nicht nur in einer bestimmten Weise, sondern in vielfältiger Form möglich, es existiert in der Regel kein Bewusstsein davon, dass ein Gespräch seinen Zweck in einer bestimmten Form und nur in dieser Form erfüllen kann. Auf der anderen Seite kommt die besondere Botschaft ritueller Kommunikation nur dadurch zustande, dass eine vorgegebene, wiedererkennbare Form vollzogen wird, wobei die Rigidität des Handlungsmusters durchaus variieren kann. Während für die Alltagskommunikation konstitutiv ist, dass Informationsdefizite aufgefüllt oder Interessenkonflikte reguliert werden, kann der Informationsgehalt ritueller Kommunikation, soweit eine liturgische Ordnung zugrundegelegt ist, für den Beobachter gegen Null gehen. Im Vergleich zu anderen komplexen Kommunikationsereignissen ist ein Ritual auf die aktive Teilnahme des anwesenden Kollektivs angewiesen. Die Botschaft des Rituals wird – in Rappaports Terminologie – „performativ“ hergestellt, d. h., sie resultiert nicht aus der Rezeption eines geschriebenen, mehr oder weniger sakralen Textes, sondern aus dem Vollzug eines kanonischen Textes im Ritual. Für sich genommen lässt sich ein Text, der im rituellen Vollzug eine kanonische Botschaft transportiert, nicht von einem anderen Text unterscheiden: ein moderner Text kann ebenso wie ein Bibelzitat zu einem rituellen Text werden, weil er im Ritual eingesetzt wird. Zu den besonderen Eigenschaften ritueller Kommunikation gehört schließlich die Verschmelzung von Sender und Adressat. Diejenigen, die als Teilnehmer eines Rituals gemeinsam singen, beten und rezitieren, sind demzufolge selbst die wichtigsten Empfänger der übermittelten Botschaft (zur „Autokommunikation“ vgl. Rappaport 1974, 10; Leach 1978, 59; Werlen 1984, 29; Rappaport 1999, 51).

Das Interesse der Linguistik ist naturgemäß weniger auf die universelle Struktur komplexer ritueller Handlungsmuster oder auf die theoretische Fundierung des Ritualbegriffs um ihrer selbst willen gerichtet als auf die sprachlichen Eigenschaften von Texten und Äußerungen, die zur Ritualität konkreter Kommunikationsereignisse beitragen.

Ein umfassendes Konzept des Rituals bleibt gleichwohl notwendig, um empirisch isolierbare Eigenschaften ritueller Texte wie Stereotypie, Vorformuliertheit, Symbolik, Verdichtung usw. in ihrer Bedeutung und Funktion systematisch erklären zu können. Besonders markierte Eigenschaften ritueller Kommunikation wie das Reden durch Eingebung (Glossolie), die Verwendung „symbolischer“ und archaisierender Texte oder die Anrede von Verstorbenen, werden transparenter, wenn man sich die „Logik des Rituals“ (vgl. Werlen 1987) vergegenwärtigt.

3. Funktion ritualsprachlicher Handlungen

Aus funktionaler Sicht dienen sprachliche Handlungen im rituellen Kontext vor allem der Fixierung und Reproduktion von Grundsätzen, Glaubensinhalten, Gesetzen usw., die für das rituelle Kollektiv den Status eines kanonischen Wissens erlangt haben. Die Sprachproblematik ist in sogenannten „intellektuellen“ Ritualen (Lang 1984), die vom rituellen Kollektiv eine spezifisch sprachbezogene oder sprachvermittelte Verstehens- und Vollzugskompetenz verlangen, besonders gut zu beobachten. Trotzdem kann die linguistische Analyse des Rituals, selbst bei einer umfassenden integrativen Herangehensweise nur den sprachlich expliziten und beobachtbaren Teil des rituellen Vollzugs beschreiben. Andere Aspekte, die für das Ritual ebenso konstitutiv sein mögen, bleiben aus der Analyse ausgeschlossen.

4. Logik ritueller Kommunikation an Beispielen

An einigen repräsentativen Beispielen aus der rituellen Praxis soll im folgenden die Logik ritueller Kommunikation in ihren Konsequenzen für eine ritualspezifische Verwendung der Sprache erläutert werden.

Beispiel 1 Liturgische Ordnung und ritueller Vollzug:

(1) „*pl im Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes Amen.*“

(2) *Die Gnade des Herrn währet von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit über denen, die ihn fürchten, und seine Gerechtigkeit auf Kindeskind bei denen, die seinen Bund halten und gedenken an seine Gebote, daß sie danach tun.*

(3) *Laßt uns beten:*

(4) *Allmächtiger Gott und Vater, du hast den Ehestand gestiftet und deinen Segen verheißen denen, die in diesem Stande gehorsam leben. So bitten wir dich, erleuchte dieses Paar durch den Heiligen Geist, daß sie deinen Willen erkennen und ihre Ehe in deinem Namen führen – durch Jesus Christus, unsern Herrn. Amen!+*“ (Beginn einer kirchlichen Trauung. Quelle: Agende III, 115ff)

Der Pastor spricht am Anfang einer kirchlichen Trauung zu der versammelten Gemeinde. Er folgt dabei exakt der liturgischen Ordnung wie sie in der Agende für kirchliche Amtshandlungen festgelegt ist. Eine Ausnahme bildet allein die liturgische Begrüßungsformel (1), mit der die rituelle Kommunikation eröffnet wird (zur Rolle der Überleitungen und „Marker“ vgl. Werlen 1984, 227ff). Die Reproduktion des vorformulierten Textes setzt unter bestimmten Kontextbedingungen (zu den sogenannten „Glückensbedingungen“, Austin 1962) die rituelle Kommunikation bzw. die „rituelle Mechanik“ (Paul 1990) in Gang. Das Eingangsvotum (2), das aufgrund äußerer Merkmale (biblische Sprache, pastoraler Tonfall, Plazierung) als Bestandteil des kanonischen Wissens erkennbar ist, bereitet die Gemeinde auch inhaltlich auf eine ritualgemäße Kommunikationshaltung („Hingabe“) vor, denn das Gnadenversprechen, von dem die Rede ist, gilt für diejenigen, die sich Gott aktiv zuwenden bzw. die „seinen Bund halten“. Anschließend wird die Gemeinde zum gemeinsamen Gebet aufgefordert (3). Während zu Beginn des Abschnitts Kanonisches Wissen (2) und Gebet (3) als konstitutive Elemente ritueller Kommunikation nacheinander vollzogen bzw. präsentiert werden, sind sie im anschließenden Gebet (4) miteinander verschmolzen. Im Vollzug des Gebetes, das der Ritualleiter stellvertretend für die Gemeinde spricht, wird das kanonische Wissen von der Gemeinde betend mitvollzogen (zur Kondensation ritueller Texte vgl. Leach 1966, 407). Obwohl bestimmte Merkmale der liturgischen Texte für die Verwendung im rituellen Kontext typisch sind, zeigt das Beispiel, dass es zur Bestimmung der Ritualität eines Textes nicht ausreicht, seine sprachlichen Eigenschaften kontextfrei zu analysieren, da die Ritualität eines Textes im Vollzug hervorgebracht wird: durch seine Verwendung in einem klar definierten Kontext, durch die Evozierung einer ritualtypischen Kommuni-

kationshaltung und durch die Verdichtung der konstitutiven Elemente ritueller Kommunikation. Sprechakttheoretisch führt diese Verdichtung zu einer „Metaperformativität“ (Rappaport 1999, 124ff) der sprachlichen Äußerungen: die in vertikaler Kommunikationshaltung vorgetragene Bitte um Erleuchtung (direktiver Sprechakt) erhöht auto-kommunikativ die Selbstverpflichtung der Brautleute, eine Ehe im Sinne des kanonischen Wissens zu führen (kommissiver Sprechakt).

Beispiel 2 Sprachliche Vermittlung des Rituals

(1) *Pastor: „gutn Morgen‘ ... liebe Gemeinde ... (vereinzelte Reaktionen der Gemeinde) ... herzlich willkommen, ... zu unserem Gottesdienst an diesem zweiten Adventssonntag, ... den wir beginnen und feiern wolln*

(2) *im Namen Gottes des Vaters- ... und des Sohnes- ... und des Heiligen Geistes- ... Amen, ...*

(3) *wir wolln in diesem Gottesdienst‘ ... ein Kind ... (leiser) schon etwas größeres Kind‘+ ... Michael taufn‘ ... und ... neunzehn Konfirmandinnen ... und Konfirmandn, ... außerdem ... wolln wir ... zwei Konfirmandn unseres letzten Jahrganges ... heute (gedehnt) konfirmieren+ ... und wir wolln alle gemeinsam, ... Abendmal feiern, ... es is vielleicht. aufs erste hin eine ganze Menge ... und der eine oder andre guckt schon auf die Uhr ... wir haben ... (Wort für Wort) im letzten Jahr genau am zweitn Advent+ auch ... Taufen ... Konfirmationen ... und Abendmahl ... gefeiert. und ... das war nicht nur ... ein schönes Erlebnis diese drei ... Dinge die doch irgendwo zusammengehören ... vom Inhalt her ... (schnell) auch einmal zusammen zu feiern und ich denke+ (leiser werdend) wir werd’n uns mit der Zeit ... nicht so sehr ... verzögern,+ ...*

(4) *nun ... wolln wir beginnen‘ ... mit dem ... erstn ... (gedehnt) Lied+ ... auf unserem Liedblatt ich hoffe Sie haben das Programm ... des Gottesdienstes ... alle in Händen*

(5) *Gemeinde(singt) „Mit Ernst oh Menschenkinder, das Herz in euch bestellt, bald wird das Heil der Sünder, der wunderstarke Held, den Gott aus Gnad allein der Welt zum Licht und Leben versprochen hat zu geben, bei allen kehren ein. Bereitet doch fein tüchtig, den Weg dem großen Gast, macht seine Steige richtig, laßt alles was er haßt, macht alle Bahnen recht, die Tal laßt sein erhöht, macht*

niedrig, was hoch stehet, was krumm ist, gleich und schlicht.

Ein Herz, das Demut liebet, bei Gott am höchsten steht, ein Herz, das Hochmut übet, mit Angst zugrunde geht, ein Herz, das richtig ist, und folget Gottes Leiten, das kann sich recht bereiten, zu dem kommt Jesus Christ. Ach mache du mich Armen zu dieser heiligen Zeit aus Güte und Erbarmen, Herr Jesu, selbst bereit. Zeuch in mein Herz hinein vom Stall und von der Krippen, so werden Herz und Lippen dir allzeit dankbar sein.,+

(6) *Pastor: „pl (bedeutend langsamer, Dehnung der Endsilben, gerolltes ‘r’) wir wollen stille werden und beten ...*

(7) *lieber Herr ... Vater im Himmel, ... wir sind heute morgen zusammengekommen, ... um miteinander Gottesdienst zu feiern, ... wir wollen junge Menschen unserer Gemeinde ... taufen ... konfirmieren ... und wir wollen gemeinsam Abendmahl feiern, ... viele von uns sind voller Spannung ... und vielleicht auch etwas aufgeregt, ... (...)*

(Beginn eines Kasualgottesdienstes. Quelle: Paul 1990)

Das Beispiel dokumentiert die Besonderheiten ritueller Sprache im Kontrast zur Alltagssprache. Schritt für Schritt organisiert der Pastor in seiner Eigenschaft als Ritualleiter am Anfang eines Hauptgottesdienstes den Übergang aus der Sinnwelt des Alltags in die Sinnwelt des Rituals. Die diskursive Steuerung des Rituals verdeutlicht zum einen die kommunikationslogischen Eigenschaften des Rituals, zum anderen werden die wichtigsten sprachlichen Mittel, mit denen Ritualität von den Teilnehmern hergestellt wird, sichtbar. Jedes Ritual erfordert eine spezifische Kompetenz von den Teilnehmern. Der pastorale Diskurs stellt die Voraussetzungen für das Gelingen des Rituals her, indem er den Teilnehmern eine entsprechende Verstehens- und Vollzugskompetenz vermittelt (vgl. den Hinweis auf das „Programm“ des Rituals, Abschnitt 5). Vor allem letztere ist wichtig, damit das Ritual nicht nur vor Zuschauern inszeniert, sondern im Sinne des Performanzkriteriums vollzogen wird. Der Vollzug des Rituals folgt nach Form und Inhalt einem Zyklus, der in der Wahrnehmung des rituellen Kollektivs nicht ad hoc geändert werden kann („encoding by others than performers“). Jede Veränderung der liturgischen Ordnung ist prinzipiell erklärungsbedürftig; ritualtypisch ist daher die Logik: „Das Neue ist

eigentlich das Alte“. Autokommunikative Äußerungen verlangen einen logisch disparaten Adressaten. Die Informationen, die die Gemeinde am Anfang in horizontaler Ausrichtung verarbeitet (3 und 4), werden nach dem gemeinsamen Lied (5) noch einmal in vertikaler Richtung vollzogen (8). Der Wechsel des Adressaten, der zugleich den Schritt von der Alltagskommunikation zur rituellen Kommunikation „kontextualisiert“ (nach Auer 1986), wird durch einen markanten Wechsel des Tonfalls angezeigt und vollzogen (7). Im gemeinsamen Gesang (6) reproduziert die Gemeinde einen kanonischen Text, der seinerseits eine äußerst komplexe Kommunikationsstruktur aufweist: Der Dichter des Liedes wendet sich an einen fiktiven Leser oder an eine Gemeinde: „mit Ernst oh Menschenkinder ...“, der Prophet Jesaja spricht zum Volk Israel: „bereitet doch fein tüchtig ...“ und der Apostel Petrus spricht zu seiner Gemeinde: „ein Herz, das Demut liebet ...“. Die Ritualität des Liedtextes folgt aber – wie in Beispiel 1 – nicht zwingend aus dem Textinhalt, sondern aus dem gemeinsamen Vollzug. Obwohl das Lied nicht zufällig an dieser Stelle gesungen wird, könnte prinzipiell auch ein anderer Liedtext dieselbe Funktion übernehmen. Bemerkenswert ist, dass das Lied nicht nur in der Reproduktion vorgegebener Kommunikationssituationen eine bestimmte Haltung evoziert, sondern auch durch einige formale Merkmale, die für diese Textsorte kennzeichnend sind: ungebräuchliche Wörter („fein tüchtig“, „Steige“, „zeuch“), poetisierende Ausdrücke („wunderstark“, „Licht und Leben“, „Herz und Lippen“), Ausdrücke mit religiösen Konnotationen („das Herz bestellen“, „Heil der Sünder“, „ins Herz hinein zeuchen“) und Abweichungen von der Grammatik bzw. der Wortbildung („die Tal laßt sein erhöht, macht niedrig was hoch stehet“) schaffen insgesamt einen für poetische ebenso wie für sakrale Texte typischen Verstehenswiderstand, der aufgrund seiner eindeutigen Kontextualisierungs- und Orientierungsfunktion entscheidend zur Konstitution ritueller Bedeutung durch das rituelle Kollektiv beiträgt.

5. Funktionale Unverständlichkeit

In der rituellen Praxis der großen Wortreligionen wird das Heilige mit sprachlichen Mitteln vom Profanen abgegrenzt. In fast allen Kulturen gibt es spezielle Sprachen für

rituelle Anlässe, die sich markant von der Umgangssprache unterscheiden. Die logische Konsequenz ist ein Phänomen, das man als *funktionale Unverständlichkeit* der Ritualsprache bezeichnen könnte. Während im Christentum und im Buddhismus ein deutliches Bemühen um Aktualisierung und Übersetzung zu beobachten ist, halten der Islam und das Judentum strikt an der sprachlichen Form der heiligen Schriften fest. Zur Auslegung, zum Verständnis und selbst zum Vollzug der kanonischen Texte ist ein besonderes Expertentum erforderlich. Da z. B. in Kasachstan viele Muslime kein Arabisch können, werden Spezialisten mit geringen Arabischkenntnissen bei rituellen Feiern eingestellt (Privratsky 2001). Die Übersetzung sakraler Texte in modernere, verständlichere Sprachstufen steht vor anderen Problemen als die Übertragung vergleichbarer ästhetisch anspruchsvoller Texte, da eine Veränderung der sprachlichen Form bereits als solche den rituellen Vollzug tangiert und da im Einzelfall religiöse Überzeugungen geklärt werden müssen (muss die Gottheit mit „thou“ angesprochen werden oder kann man „you“ sagen?). Konstitutive Eigenschaften religiös motivierter Rituale prägen die Wahrnehmung der Ritualsprache durch die Gläubigen: Verantwortlich für die Einstellung zur sprachlichen Form sind die „Performativität“ der Liturgiesprache (Ladrière 1973), die symbolische Dimension ritueller Zeichen (Jetter 1978) einschließlich ihrer „Selbstmächtigkeit“ (Tillich 1962) und ihrer Beziehung zum „Unsagbaren“ (Ott 1974). Die praktische Theologie unterscheidet in diesem Zusammenhang den „Kältestrom analytischer Kritik“ vom „Wärmestrom religiöser Ermutigung“ (Cornehl 1974, 461). Kommunikationswissenschaftlich und sprachsoziologisch bleiben Rituale im Spannungsverhältnis von Verstehen und Vollziehen (Paul 1990): Eine größere Nähe zur Alltagskommunikation, die im Interesse eines notwendigen Verstehens – etwa für die Tradierung des kanonischen Wissens – wünschenswert erscheint, gerät systematisch in Konflikt mit anderen Aufgaben des Rituals.

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39. Lingua Franca and International Language Verkehrssprache und Internationale Sprache

1. Introduction
2. A historical typology
3. The present situation
4. Literature (selected)

1. Introduction

International language is a modern term which presupposes the existence of “national languages” and thus of nations. To gain historical depth, we shall interpret the concept more widely to designate languages for use across language boundaries. Such boundaries were and are normally based on some non-linguistic criterion, today often on nationality, but a more universal criterion formerly was and even today is ethnicity – although this concept in itself needs clarification; it does not mean the same in all historical circumstances and cultural spheres. We cannot go into this here, but we shall interpret the term under discussion as a special instance of what may more aptly be

called inter-ethnic languages. That does not mean that there is a one-to-one relationship between ethnicity and language; there are many cases of different ethnicities (and different nations) speaking the same language, such as Bosnians, Croatians and Serbs; Hutus and Tutsis; Americans, Britons and Australians. The opposite case – speakers of different languages having the same ethnicity – is probably much rarer, and in such cases, the need for a common means of communication of the kind we shall discuss here is in any case apparent.

The need for inter-ethnic communication has probably existed since time immemorial. One possible solution to this need was to use one of the languages involved, the one belonging to the most powerful group. But often there was no clear-cut dominance pattern, and both parties had the same interest in successful communication, e.g. for trade purposes or in multi-ethnic settings when no single ethnic language was dominant enough

to be accepted as a common language. In such cases, some compromise language often was developed. In all cases, the language concerned would have had to be the second (or third or more) language for some, most often for many. The institutionalization of such languages belongs to a relatively late stage, the age of literacy and language planning.

The term often used for inter-ethnic languages is *lingua franca* (Samarin 1968; 1987). The origin of this term is not established, but *franca* means 'Frankish' or 'French', and the term must have originated somewhere in the Mediterranean cultural area. One theory is that it dates from medieval times, and that *franca* referred to the language of the Portuguese or Italians, both leaders in maritime activities in and far beyond this area. It is well known that the term 'Franks' was generally used by Arabs and other Muslim peoples to designate several Romance-speaking Mediterranean peoples. But there are also those who think that the term *lingua franca* is younger, dating from the 17th and 18th centuries, when France was a leading imperialist power. In either case, the term seems to have been used for pidginized varieties of one or more Romance languages which functioned in inter-ethnic communication and later became a generic term for this kind of language. An alternative theory is that *franca* is understood in the sense of 'free', i.e. free of connections with particular countries and ethnicities. But this may be colored by a modern view on the desirability of freedom and equality between languages and their users and this view should not be ascribed to traders from former centuries without the greatest caution.

In section 2, we shall give a historical survey of different types of lingua francas, and in section 3 we take a look at the current international languages and their present position.

2. A historical typology

There are several types of lingua franca. Some have spread in a formalized version, attached to some kind of "high culture", often based on a religion; typical examples are medieval Latin, Arabic and Sanskrit, and also Greek and Chinese. Others are based on empire building, such as Classical Latin, and in more modern times English, French, Spanish and Portuguese. Both of these groups are power-based, and the dividing line between them is not always clear. A

third type has developed spontaneously among travelling people, mainly traders and labor migrants; among these, pidgin languages occupy a prominent place. Finally, we have the modern artificial languages designed to function as auxiliary contact languages, with Esperanto as the most prominent example. We shall discuss these types more thoroughly below.

2.1. Languages of religion and culture

The earliest civilizations on earth developed during the fourth and third millennia BC, and they seem to have exerted linguistic and cultural dominance upon other ethnic groups very early. Geographically, they were concentrated in West Asia, India and China; in all these areas writing systems appeared and became very efficient instruments for the spread of dominant languages. Sumerian may have been the oldest of all written languages, and its usefulness as a lingua franca is shown clearly by the fact that its use continued after the collapse of the Sumerian empire and its replacement by Babylonia. The Babylonians, speaking the Semitic language Accadian, nevertheless continued to use Sumerian as their written language and probably also as a ritual oral language. The language, freed from all ethnic ties, became a true lingua franca for the societal elite. This procedure repeated itself several times later in history: Sanskrit became the holy language of Hinduism about 1000 BC, and it was fixed in a stable form through remarkably efficient language planning, aided by its strong ritual position. While the Indo-Aryan spoken language continued to develop and split into a multitude of different languages, Sanskrit remained a dominant language of high culture throughout India, and gradually it spread beyond India along with Hinduism and Buddhism. The Buddha or his followers adopted a younger form of Indo-Aryan, Pali, as their ritual language, and the story repeated itself, but on a smaller scale: Pali is now used in Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka as the holy language of Theravada Buddhism while nobody learns it as a mother tongue. Arabic, Latin and Chinese are examples of the same phenomenon but are still somewhat different in character, since military conquest and (initial) ethnic dominance has played a more important role for these. Arabic was the language of Muhammad, which was carried to the whole of West Asia and North Africa,

even to Spain, by Arabic armies armed with the belief in Islam. The language was adopted by the native peoples in a large part of these areas, who developed it into many different dialects or even languages, while the classical standard form remained in use as an elite *lingua franca*. Other peoples retained their own languages but still adopted Arabic as a ritual and cultural language, although its dominance weakens with increasing distance from the Arab world. Other “Islamic” languages, such as Persian and Malay, have acquired a *lingua franca* status in their respective regions.

Latin was for many centuries the dominant elite *lingua franca* in Europe. Its history resembles that of Arabic, although it spread at a slower pace. Latin was spread by the Roman armies and the subsequent administration throughout the empire. Like Arabic, it was adopted as a spoken language in many parts of the empire and developed into the modern Romance languages, which, unlike the Arabic dialects, developed into separate standard languages. But like Arabic, it was used as the language of high culture far beyond the Romance area, because it was adopted as the official language of the Catholic Church. It even survived the religious split after the Reformation by functioning as the international language of science and learning well into the modern age – until German and finally English took over this function. In Eastern Europe, Church Slavonic played a similar role in the Slavonic area, but its base was more narrowly religious and ecclesiastical than that of Latin. In Southeastern Europe, Greek had a similar function; initially it spread with the Greek colonies throughout the Mediterranean area. Later Hellenistic cultural integration made it the leading cultural language of the inner Mediterranean, a situation which continued with the rise of the Byzantine Empire and the Greek Orthodox Church. We see that for these elite *lingua francas*, the religious and the political (empire-based) foundations behind their rise combined, often with one being dominant in certain historical periods and the other in others. In East Asia, Chinese was dominant among the elites of the neighboring countries for many centuries both because of political and cultural supremacy, although based less on religion than were the other languages mentioned above. One might also include German in this group, because it

managed to spread and become a dominant elite *lingua franca* in Europe (particularly central, eastern and northern Europe) without the support of a strong empire, but based on cultural supremacy, mass emigration during the Middle Ages, and commercial strength. The rise of Prussia and Germany as hegemonic powers in Europe from the 18th century on only strengthened and consolidated this dominance of German – it did not cause it.

2.2. Imperial languages

As we have already stated, several of the languages treated in the previous section might just as well be grouped here, such as Latin, Chinese and Arabic. But in more modern times, the imperial languages have spread through a mainly secular process, and the Western imperialist powers that started conquering the world from the 16th century on have thoroughly shaped the linguistic situation of the world today. The earliest of these languages were Spanish and Portuguese, both being at the height of their power in the 16th century. In 1494, the Pope divided the “uncivilized” parts of the globe between Spain and Portugal, giving Spain most of America (except Brazil), while Portugal was allotted Africa and South and Southeast Asia. Spanish and Portuguese have exerted linguistic hegemony in quite different ways. Spanish spread throughout Central and South America through emigration and harsh suppression of indigenous cultures, so that Spanish became the dominant mother tongue in most of the Spanish Empire. After independence, the Latin American states continued to be “naturally” Spanish-speaking. Portuguese conquered Brazil in the same manner, but in the rest of the Portuguese Empire, the native peoples retained their numerical dominance and, thus, their languages. Portuguese became a *lingua franca* there, which in its “pure” form became the road to “civilization” and to a position in the elite and the cultured upper class – particularly through the church – while pidginized varieties soon spread widely in the tropical colonies. Portuguese became one of the leading *lingua francas* in Southeast Asia, for a while rivalling Malay, and remained in this position until the 18th century, long after the Portuguese Empire had eroded.

The next “generation” of imperial languages began to have an impact during the

17th century, viz. English, French and Dutch. Dutch was initially the most successful, as the Netherlands were the leading maritime power during that century, but it was eclipsed by English and French. In the only large colony retained by the Dutch, present-day Indonesia, the language never became a lingua franca for people outside the elite, since the Dutch colonizers did not want to encourage their subjects to learn this language and thereby possibly gain access to power. Malay remained the lingua franca of Indonesia. Even French and English were, in their “pure” forms, reserved for the educated elite, but the languages soon spread as dialectal and pidginized varieties. France was the dominant power in the 18th century, and French was the leading international language of culture and diplomacy at the time. After 1800, the rise of English began, first through the supremacy of the British Empire and later gradually through the rise of the United States of America as a leading industrial world power. As we know, this development has continued at an accelerating pace in the 20th century, despite the dismantling of the British Empire. The United States, as the world’s leading superpower, has imprinted its language upon the world as the undisputedly leading international language; we shall return to this in Section 3.1. of this article.

2.3. Pidgin languages

Not only the social and cultural elites needed lingua francas. Traders, often without higher education and with mostly practical knowledge, also needed to communicate across language boundaries. Even more humble layers of society, such as migrant workers, had and still have these same needs. They have developed countless spontaneous, new languages, which are often accommodated varieties of existing languages, but this presupposes a minimum of “common ground” between the languages in question. Compromise varieties, developed to unite one single, but dialectally split, speech area, are called *koinés*, after the most well-known variety: the “unified Greek” developed during the Hellenistic Age when Greek culture dominated most of the Mediterranean area. If the distance between the languages involved is too great, reduced languages of the type we usually call *pidgins* appear. They are characterized by a rudimentary grammatical structure and a restricted lexicon which

often involves a mixture from the diverse mother tongues of the interlocutors. The nature and content of the vocabulary is determined by the concrete, practical needs of the communicating parties. If the relation between the groups remains stable through several generations, the pidgin might also become stabilized, e.g. if the trade concerned took place during a certain season every year in a way that grew into a tradition. If the relations between the groups change substantially, the language also changes in order to be adapted to the new situation. If a community of migrant laborers becomes stabilized and integrated, new generations internalize the pidgin as a mother tongue and expand it until it becomes rich and flexible enough to serve as such; this is what we call *creolization*, and the product, a *creole language*, will grow into a new mother tongue and give rise to a new ethnicity, and from then on function as a completely “normal” language. At the same time, it may of course remain a lingua franca between users of different mother tongues. Pidgins and creoles are treated in depth in chapter 34; see also Romaine 1988.

2.4. Artificial languages

The term *artificial languages* has been disputed, since all written and standardized languages are “artificial”, at least in origin. Alternative terms like *planned languages* or *constructed languages* are often used, but the same counter-argument applies to these terms, too. We therefore stick to the term *artificial languages* here, meaning languages which are deliberately and freely constructed by individuals without being limited by restrictions inherent in the actual collection of speech varieties within a particular “natural” language community. However, there are two distinct kinds of artificial languages (see Sakaguchi 1987 for a more elaborate typology). One, called *a priori language*, is constructed on a purely abstract logical basis, without resemblance to natural languages. The other, *a posteriori languages*, is modelled on natural languages, containing a phonological, a morphological, a syntactic and a lexical level, using normal alphabetic letters, often taking words and forms from known natural languages. In principle, artificial languages of the *a posteriori* type can grow into natural languages if they are adopted by a community and acquired as the first language by new gener-

ations within that community (the way pidgins grow into creoles).

As early as the seventeenth century, some philosophers (e.g. G. J. Leibniz) tried to construct *a priori* artificial languages, based on purely logical principles, realizing the inadequacy of natural language to portray and reflect reality accurately. The idea that artificial contact languages might be employed as *lingua franca*s in practical life, however, appeared only in the late nineteenth century. This was a direct consequence of the accelerating internationalization, indeed globalization, of the modern economy and technology and the increasing destructiveness of modern war. The peace movement was strong around 1900, and this strengthened the idea of an international *lingua franca* that might unite the world without giving any existing national languages and, thus, their mother-tongue speakers undue privileges. To this end, the *a posteriori* approach was the only practicable one. The first attempt which met with a certain success was *Volapük*, constructed by a German priest, R. Schleyer, in 1880. It gave rise to a powerful, but short-lived international movement. *Volapük* was *a posteriori* but still very detached from the actual forms of known languages (although it ultimately drew its forms and words from English, French and German: its name is derived from English *world speech*). In 1887, the Jewish-Polish-Lithuanian doctor L. L. Zamenhof made a new attempt, called *Esperanto* (which actually was a pseudonym for its creator: *Doktoro Esperanto*, ‘a hoping doctor’, but which was soon transferred to the language itself). It had the advantage of being much more closely modelled on existing European languages (particularly Latin and Italian, but also with elements from English, German, French, Russian, Polish and others). Zamenhof constructed the words and forms of his language in such a way that they should be easily recognizable for speakers of the major natural languages, thus easing the learning process. He made the morphology, phonology and spelling completely regular and simple, using categories which people knew from their own languages (mostly). *Esperanto* became the most successful artificial contact language in terms of acquiring followers, but it never was taken into official use by any international bodies. It was criticized early on for various linguistic inadequacies, and new attempts were made in the

twentieth century, partly based on Esperanto (*Ido*, *Novial*), partly on a simplified Latin (*Interlingua*), partly on English (*Basic English*). None of these has met with success.

3. The present situation

When we look at the present situation against this historical background, we may discern three kinds or levels of international language: 1) Global languages, of which there is, in fact, only one – English, 2) regional international languages, 3) artificially constructed “candidates” for the position of official auxiliary international language, with Esperanto as the most prominent case. We shall discuss the contemporary status of each of these groups.

3.1. English as a global language

Today English is the dominant mother tongue in Great Britain, Ireland and those countries where British colonization led to mass emigration, viz. the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. In the other “developed” countries, it is the first foreign language of the elite and a substantial proportion of the population at large. In the rest of the world, there are strong endeavors to achieve this level of competence, too, although the knowledge of English is often overestimated. Many multilingual ex-British colonies use English as an official language for internal use, partly in competition with an indigenous language. Those parts of the world where English is the least entrenched are probably the former communist world, parts of the Islamic world and those regions that were subject to colonial masters other than the British. But the ex-communist countries and most Islamic countries, too, use English as their foremost international contact language today, and an academic education without proficiency in English is rapidly becoming unthinkable anywhere.

The position of English as a *lingua franca* is entrenched in all internationalized sectors: economy and business, science and technology, politics and diplomacy, popular culture, mass media and tourism. In many societies, there is a feeling that English invades even the “national” and sub-national sphere, posing a threat to the long-time survival of other languages – based on the observation that other languages lose certain domains to English, for instance, in scientific and academic life, where rapid develop-

ments nowadays largely or often even exclusively take place through English, so that other languages simply cannot keep pace. English, therefore, is more and more preferred even as an instructional language in higher education in non-English-speaking countries. In business one sees the same thing: Since one can, in principle, reach a global market through English, the gain in efficiency which English offers is so great that the use of other languages is perceived as irrational. Another reason that English is seen as a threat is the influx of English loanwords, phrases and other kinds of linguistic interference in other languages, especially in the speech of young people, who in many societies seem to have adopted English as their second mother tongue (although this factor, again, is probably often overestimated). Therefore, the position of English as a global lingua franca is regarded as a mixed blessing by many and with total enthusiasm by many others (see the discussions in Crystal 1997; Pennycook 1994; Phillipson 1992).

There is also movement in the opposite direction, viz. the rise of many different regional varieties of English. The language is flexible enough to be easily adapted to non-British accents, but educated British English (or rather "English English") has traditionally been viewed as the standard form. With the ascent of the United States as the dominant world power, General American Pronunciation is now probably regarded as an equally valid standard, even the most prestigious one. But a more liberal climate for linguistic variation combined with the need for national assertiveness in post-colonial societies has given rise to a number of "Englishes" based on different substrata: Indian, Chinese (in Singapore and Malaysia), various African ones, besides "native" varieties like Irish and Australian, which existed before, but are now used much more freely than before, even in formal contexts. This might be interpreted as the first stage in the formation of new languages, as happened to Latin after it had spread throughout southwestern Europe. But in educated speech, these varieties are still mutually intelligible, and there are powerful unifying forces (the mass media, intensive international contacts) which counter the fragmentation.

3.2. Regional international languages

After global English, we may call this second group "international languages of the

second order". They cover either a certain geographic area or a group of related countries in different areas, most often united by a common colonial past. I shall treat the most important ones briefly (see Ammon 1994 for a discussion of their relative importance based on a number of criteria, and Clyne 1992 for a more elaborate treatment of a number of these languages, including English, particularly on questions relating to linguistic variation and corpus planning).

French is nowadays mostly the property of the so-called "Francophone" countries, which includes France itself, some neighboring European countries with French as one of their official languages (Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland), the French-speaking community in Quebec, and many former French colonies where French is not an indigenous language, mostly in Northwest, West and Central Africa (including former Belgian Congo) and the Middle East (at least Lebanon), to a lesser extent in the Caribbean (Haiti and some small island colonies), the Pacific, and in former French Indo-China (where French is being superseded by English). In parts of southeastern Europe, particularly Romania, but also Greece, French still enjoys its former role as a major external contact language. French is one of the official working languages of the United Nations together with English, Russian, Spanish, Arabic and Chinese, but English dominates in practice. In the European Union, English and French are the two dominant working languages, but even here, French struggles to defend its equal position with English, although the central bodies of the EU are located in French-speaking areas, and this struggle will become more difficult the more members the Union admits (about the language situation in the European Union, see e.g. Ammon 1996).

Spanish is a major international language since it is used as the official and dominant language in the whole of Latin America (except Brazil, Haiti, Guyana and Surinam) as well as in Spain, of course, but it is different from English and French insofar as it is only used in countries where it is the dominant mother tongue. In the most important Spanish ex-colony outside America, the Philippines, Spanish exists as a learned and religious language only.

German is used as a mother tongue and official language in Germany, Switzerland and Austria, and it has a dominant role as

an external contact language in Eastern Europe; in the west and north of Europe, it has clearly been eclipsed by English, which also exerts a pressure on it in the east. German probably still suffers from the effects of World War II, which led to a disruption in its use as a dominant cultural language in continental Europe.

Arabic is the dominant contact language of all the Arab world from Morocco to Iraq, and it functions as a real international language insofar as the spoken varieties in these countries have developed into widely divergent dialects, while the common Standard Arabic is only used by the elite, although most people will understand it passively. In the non-Arab Islamic world, it functions as a religious language, but it is not much used in the secular sphere.

Portuguese is used in the so-called Lusophone world, the old Portuguese Colonial Empire: Portugal itself and Brazil, where it is the dominant mother tongue, and as an auxiliary language in the African countries Guinea-Bissau, Cabo Verde, Angola and Mozambique (where it is threatened by English).

Swahili has served as an East African trade lingua franca during several centuries, and it was made an official language in Tanzania and Kenya after their independence; it is also used as an ethnic language in Uganda and parts of Congo-Kinshasa. Swahili has been propagated as a pan-African standard language, particularly in Tanzania, but now it has mostly a symbolic value besides being an auxiliary contact language for those who do not master or prefer English, the dominant lingua franca in the area.

Malay is the national standard language of Indonesia (in a variety called “Indonesian”) and Malaysia (there called “Malaysian”), and it also has official status in Singapore and Brunei. It has been a trade lingua franca in all of insular Southeast Asia (except the Philippines) for at least 500 years.

Russian functioned as an international language in Eastern Europe during the period of Soviet hegemony. While most East European countries now prefer English and to a lesser extent other Western languages, the new independent republics which emerged after the fall of the Soviet Union to a large extent still use Russian for external contacts, especially the Slavonic-speaking ones and those in the Caucasus and Central Asia. But it remains to be seen how long this

will last; it will depend very much on the development of power relations in the region.

Chinese is an important international language in East and Southeast Asia, but it is still used mainly in the ethnic Chinese communities where one of the Chinese languages is the mother tongue (the Beijing variety of “Mandarin” functioning as a lingua franca across the internal Chinese language boundaries). It has official status in China, Taiwan and Singapore (in the latter state on a par with English, Malay and Tamil) – nations dominated by ethnic Chinese. Although it was a traditional language of culture in many non-Chinese countries in the region, it seems to have retained this position only to a very limited extent.

Serbo-Croatian was one of the national languages of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, encompassing the states of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro. After the break-up of Yugoslavia, the language has been standardized in three varieties (Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian), but they are still mutually intelligible, and the language thus (under three names) has acquired the function of “international language” in parts of southeastern Europe.

Scandinavian actually consists of three mutually (semi-)intelligible languages, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish. They are a clear borderline case, but since they are all quite freely used in inter-Scandinavian contacts and in pan-Scandinavian organizations, also including Finland and Iceland (who use Swedish and Danish, respectively, as pan-Scandinavian contact languages), together they may be called three branches of a regional international language.

3.3. The artificial languages

The artificial languages play a modest role in present international relations. The only really visible one is *Esperanto*, around which a large organized movement, active in many parts of the world, has developed. Its strongest areas seem to have been Eastern Europe and East Asia, and it has also often been regarded a positive alternative by representatives of smaller Western languages and minority languages who would prefer a non-ethnic international counterweight to the dominant empire-based languages like English, French and Russian. The Esperanto movement is still very much alive, but the language has remained largely movement-internal. It has a modest place in some

international organizations but is always secondary to the “natural” international languages. Besides Esperanto with its global pretensions, we have the more unilaterally Latin-based *Interlingua*, which is propagated as a solution to the specifically European language problem, i.e. the multi-lingualism of the European Union, but it has so far met with no success.

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40. Domäne/Domain

1. Definition des Begriffes
2. Die Einführung und Entwicklung des Begriffes bei J. A. Fishman
3. Domäne und verwandte Begriffe
4. Der Begriff in der Diskussion
5. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Definition des Begriffes

Domänen (engl. *domains*) des Sprachgebrauchs oder der Sprachwahl sind definiert als abstrakte Konstrukte, die durch zu einander passende Orte, Rollenbeziehungen und Themen bestimmt sind (vgl. Art. 142); sie bestimmen die Wahl einer Sprache oder einer Variante in einer mehrsprachigen Sprachgemeinschaft mit. Beispiele für Domänen sind *Familie*, *Nachbarschaft*, *Arbeitsplatz*, *Kirche* und *staatliche Verwaltung*. Art und Anzahl der Domänen können je nach Sprachgemeinschaft und Kultur variieren. In diglossischen Situationen (vgl. Art. 15) sind es Domänen, welche die Wahl von H-Varietät und L-Varietät bestimmen (nach Ferguson 1959, der jedoch von *Funktionen*

spricht). Domänen sind abstrakte Konstrukte, d.h. sie werden von Forschenden aus konkret stattfindenden Interaktionen erschlossen. Zugleich wird aber unterstellt, dass Domänen für die Mitglieder einer Sprachgemeinschaft relevant sind und dass sie bei der Sprachenwahl eine entscheidende Rolle spielen. Deswegen muss das Konstrukt der Forschenden durch geeignete Methoden bei den Sprechenden validiert werden. Domänen vermitteln zwischen Mikro- und Makroebene der Analyse: sie sind nicht unmittelbarer Bestandteil von Sprechsituationen, aber auch nicht unabhängige soziologische Kategorien. Wenn Gesprächsthemen zur Definition von Domänen zählen, sind Domänen wesentlich soziolinguistische Konstrukte, nicht bloß soziologische. Die hier gegebene Begriffsbestimmung geht auf J. A. Fishman (1964) zurück. Heute wird Domäne häufig in einem allgemeineren Sinn verwendet als “cluster of social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioral rules” (Milroy / Muysken 1995, 5f) – eine verkürzte Wiedergabe aus Fishman (1972, 263).

2. Die Einführung und Entwicklung des Begriffes bei J. A. Fishman

Den Begriff „domain“ führt Joshua A. Fishman ab 1964 in mehreren Publikationen in Zusammenhang mit der Studie „Bilingualism in the Barrio“ (Fishman/Cooper/Ma [1970], 1975) ein, in der die Zweisprachigkeit von puertorikanischen Immigrantinnen und Immigranten in New York und New Jersey untersucht wird. Die Verwendung des Terminus schwankt anfänglich etwas: von „domain of language choice“, „domains of maintenance or displacement“, „domain of language use“, „domain of language behavior“ bis zu „domain of social interaction“ (auch „societal interaction“). Anfänglich verwendet Fishman (1964, 32) auch die Alternative „type of language use“. Sie geht auf G. Schmidt-Rohr (1933, 179) zurück, den Fishman (1964; 1965 und auch später) selbst als Vorgänger nennt. Schmidt-Rohr spricht an der Stelle von „Typen von Mehrsprachigkeit“ und beschreibt die Sprachverwendung in Kontexten wie *Familie, Spielplatz/Straße, Schule, Kirche, Literatur, Zeitung, Heer, Gericht* und *Verwaltung*, also zumeist Kategorien, die Fishman als Domänen bezeichnen würde.

Fishmans Begriffsbildung (in Fishman 1965, vor Fishman 1964 geschrieben) lässt sich zuerst als idealisierte Sprachwahlsituation verstehen: er unterstellt eine stabile gesellschaftliche Mehrsprachigkeitssituation, in der (idealiter) alle Individuen zwei Sprachen sprechen und daher die Wahl der Sprache nicht durch die Sprachkompetenz beeinflusst wird, sondern durch die situative Angemessenheit der Sprachwahl. In „Bilingualism in the Barrio“ wird diese Annahme den Untersuchten in einzelnen Befragungen vorgegeben: „When you answer these questions, we would like you to imagine that you and all of the people mentioned in these conversations are Puerto Ricans who can speak Spanish and English equally well“ (Fishman/Cooper/Ma 1975, 630, zit. ohne Hervorhebung). Fishman sieht in einer solchen Situation die Domäne als entscheidende Kategorie für die Angemessenheit einer Sprache. Diese *intra-group* – Dimension wird zu einer *inter-group* – Dimension (so in Fishman 1964) ausgeweitet: Es sind mehrere verschiedene Sprachgemeinschaften beteiligt, von denen nicht alle über bilinguale Mitglieder verfügen. Damit ändert sich die Ausgangssituation: In manchen Kontaktsituationen müssen

Angehörige der mehrsprachigen Sprachgemeinschaft notwendigerweise in die Sprache der anderen (einsprachigen) Sprachgemeinschaft wechseln. Hier würde sich dann das Problem der unterschiedlichen Machtverhältnisse stellen. Dieser Aspekt wird von Fishman jedoch nicht thematisiert. Die Ausweitung des Konzepts Domäne vom *intra-group*- zum *inter-group*-Verhalten trägt nicht zur Klarheit bei: Das Konzept kann dort am meisten erklären, wo Kompetenzunterschiede keine Rolle spielen. Entsprechend ist das Konzept der Domäne vor allem in der Untersuchung diglossischer Gesellschaften mit verbreitetem Bilingualismus angewandt worden.

Für Fishman (1964) ist die Domänenvarianz nur einer der Faktoren zur Erklärung der Sprachenwahl. Daneben führt er drei Typen von Faktoren auf: den medialen Faktor (Schreiben und Leseverstehen, Sprechen und Hörverstehen), die Rollen im Sprechakt (Sprechende, Hörende, also *role-relationship*; später nennt er das *overtness*) und Aspekte der Situation vom Typ *formal – informal, öffentlich – privat* und so weiter. Diese insgesamt vier Typen von Varianzquellen bilden „Dominanzkonfigurationen“. Der Terminus meint, dass die verschiedenen Faktoren in unterschiedlichen Kulturen unterschiedliches Wahlverhalten auslösen können. So bestimmt die Wahl des Mediums Schrift in vielen multilingualen Situationen die Wahl jener Sprache, welche die Personen in der Schule als Schriftsprache erlernt haben. Fishman versteht Domäne genauer so, dass bestimmte Orte/Zeiten (1964 spricht er von „locale“), bestimmte Rollenbeziehungen („role relationships“) und bestimmte Themen („topics“) zueinander passen („kongruent“) sind. Ein Beispiel ist die Domäne *Familie*: Der typische Ort ist die *familiäre Wohnung*, die typischen Rollenbeziehungen sind *Mutter – Tochter, Vater – Sohn, Schwester – Bruder* etc., und rekurrente Themen beziehen sich auf *familiäre Inhalte* (z. B. *was ist eine gute Tochter?*). Dieser Domäne ist in der untersuchte Kultur der Puerto-Ricaner (Fishman/Cooper/Ma 1975) Spanisch zugeordnet. Ort – Rollenbeziehungen – Thema kristallisieren sich als Definitionsstücke erst im Lauf der Zeit heraus. In Fishman/Cooper/Ma (1975, 568) werden auch „times“ genannt, und an anderer Stelle ist die Rede von Domänen als „an institutionalized sphere of activity in which language behavior occurs“ (Fishman/Cooper/Ma 1975,

337). Fishman (1964) spricht mehrfach von „location“. Es geht hier also um einen institutionell geprägten Ort, oder eine sozial interpretierte raumzeitliche Größe (so ist eben die *Schule* als Ort ein Gebäude mit einem institutionellen Zweck). Bei Fishman ist das nicht reflektiert; dies wirkt sich in der Rezeption aus: Der Begriff wird verallgemeinert.

Nach den ersten Publikationen verallgemeinert auch Fishman den Begriff. Er lässt den Bezug auf mehrsprachige Situationen weg. Er akzeptiert auch Varietäten der gleichen Sprache und sieht die Domäne als entscheidenden Faktor für die Wahl einer Variante: „a number of behaviorally separate domains (behaviorally separate in that they are derived from discontinuous social situations), all of which are commonly associated with a particular variety or language“ (Fishman 1970, 51; ähnlich auch in Fishman 1972). Bei „domain of language use“ geht es also nicht um unmittelbar beobachtbare Faktoren des Sprechereignisses, auch sind Domänen nicht klassische soziologische Kategorien wie Alter, Geschlecht und sozio-ökonomische Schicht. Sie müssen vielmehr rekonstruiert werden: „domain is a socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a culture“ (Fishman 1965, 75). – „Domäne“ als Konstrukt ist zuerst einmal eine Kategorie der Forschenden (eine *etische* Kategorie, wie Fishman sagt: „As with all constructs (including situations, role relationships, and speech events), domains originate in the integrative intuition of the investigator“ (Fishman 1970, 52)). Ist diese Kategorie auch eine *emische* Kategorie, eine der Angehörigen der Sprachgemeinschaft? Fishmans Antwort: Wenn Forschende beobachten, dass vom Kindergarten bis zur Universität überall die gleiche Sprache im Bildungssystem beobachtet wird, können Forschende eine Domäne *Schule* postulieren: „Finally, if informants tell him that the predicted language or variety would be appropriate in all of the examples he can think of that derive from his notion of the educational domain, whereas they proclaim that it would not be appropriate for examples that he draws from a contrasted domain, then the construct is as usefully validated as is that of situation or event“ (Fishman 1970, 53).

Fishman berichtet von mehreren Validierungsversuchen für Domänen im Kontext von Fishman/Cooper/Ma (1975; besonders Greenfeld/Fishman 1971). Ein Beispiel: Wenn „Schulhaus“, „Lehrer“, „Bildungsinhalt“ kongruent zur Domäne „Schule“ gehören, dann lassen sich Angehörige der untersuchten Kultur fragen, worüber sie mit einem Lehrer im Schulhaus in welcher Sprache sprechen würden („You are talking to your teacher in school. 1. About what would you most probably be talking? 2. How much Spanish and English would you most probably use?“ (Fishman/Cooper/Ma 1975)). Zwei Faktoren der Domäne („Schulhaus“, „Lehrer“) sind so vorgegeben, die Befragten sollen den dritten Faktor („Bildungsinhalte“) nennen und gleichzeitig ihre Sprachenwahl angeben. Fishman berichtet, dass bei einer solchen Vorgabe hochsignifikante Ergebnisse in Bezug auf den jeweils dritten Faktor und die jeweilige Sprache erzielt wurden (Fishman 1972, 256f). Die Untersuchungsanordnung kann variiert werden, indem inkongruente Bestandteile vorgegeben sind (also z.B. „Schulhaus“ und „Priester“). Die Befragten müssten wiederum die dritte Dimension (Thema) und die gewählte Sprache angeben. Die Antworten zeigen zugleich, welcher der Faktoren die Sprachwahl stärker bestimmt (Fishman 1972, 257).

Einflussreich für die Rezeption wurde eine Grafik aus dem Sammelband Fishman (1972, 263), die ursprünglich auf Robert L. Cooper (1969) (Mitarbeiter Fishmans im Barrio-Projekt) zurückgeht. Die Grafik muss als Ganze gelesen werden, weil sonst die Einbettung von *domain* zwischen *cultural values* und *social situation* und damit die Trias Ort, Rollenbeziehung, Topic verloren gehen.

3. Domäne und verwandte Begriffe

3.1. Domäne und Funktion

Fishman (1964, 37, 11, 41 ff) verweist auf die Verwendung von „function“ bei Haugen (1956, 87ff), Ferguson (1959, 329) und andern, verzichtet aber auf diesen Terminus, weil er seit Bühler (1934) und Jakobson (1960, 257) anders verwendet wurde. Auch Mackey (1962, 55ff) verwendet (*externe*) *Funktion* und spricht von „community language“, wobei er die Funktion im Rahmen von Nachbarschaft, ethnischer Gruppe, kirchlicher Gruppe, Berufsgruppe und Freizeitgruppe berücksichtigt; die Bereiche

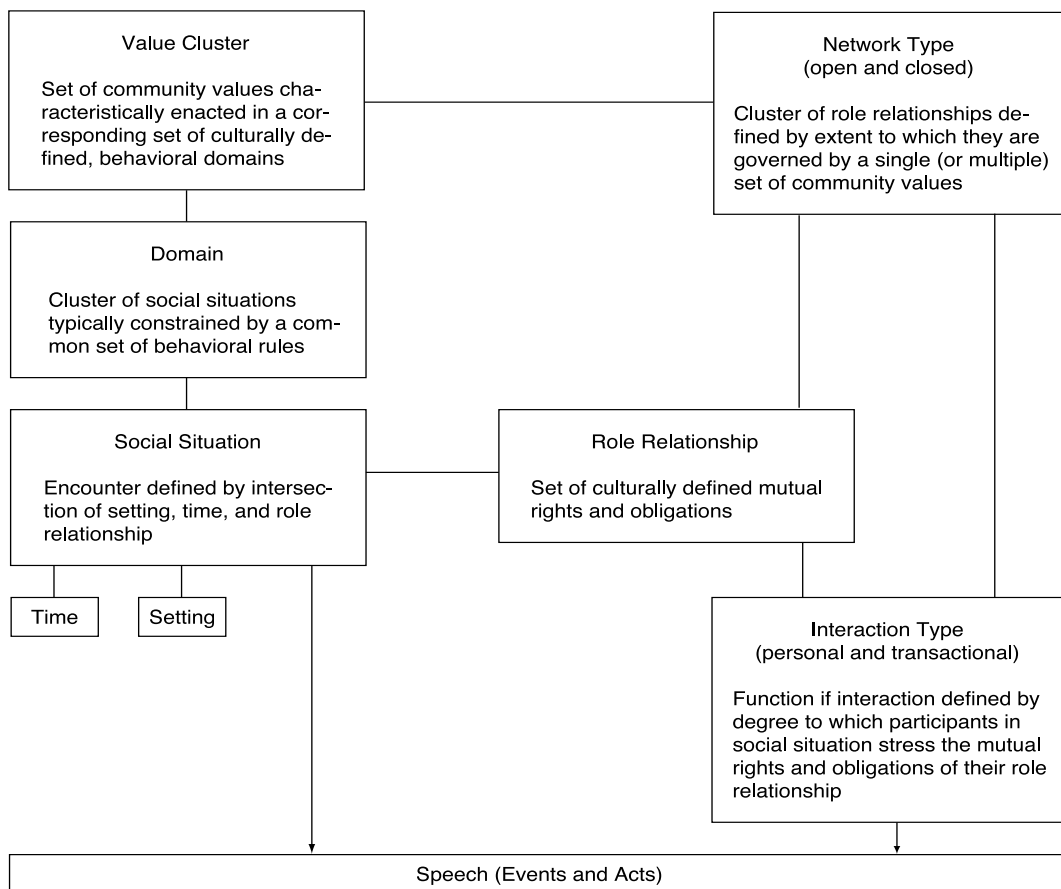


Abb. 40.1: Relationship among some constructs employed in sociolinguistic analysis

Schule und Familie werden gesondert behandelt. Der Terminus *Funktion* ist im übrigen notorisch vieldeutig (vgl. Art. 18), während „domain“ im Bereich Soziolinguistik damals noch nicht besetzt ist.

3.2. Domäne und Diglossie

Diglossie wurde von Ferguson (1959) eingeführt zur Beschreibung eines bestimmten Typs von gesellschaftlicher Zweisprachigkeit, bei dem eine H-Varietät und eine L-Varietät in einer Gesellschaft unterschiedlich gebraucht werden. Fishman (1967; 1972) verallgemeinert den Begriff zu einer beliebigen Form der gesellschaftlichen Zweisprachigkeit (Britto 1986; Art. 15). Domänen können in diesem Modell für die Wahl einer der beiden Varianten verantwortlich sein. Fishman selbst sieht hier einen engen Zusammenhang: „Domains are particularly useful constructs for the macrolevel (i.e., community-wide) functional description of

societally patterned variation in ‚talk‘ within large and complex diglossic speech communities“ (Fishman 1970, 52). Kremnitz (1990, 30 ff) hat – ausgehend von der katalanischen Linguistik – betont, dass diglossische Situationen auch Sprachkonfliktsituationen sein können, in denen Domänen aufgrund von politischen Machtverhältnissen bestimmt sind. Diese Überlegung spielt bei Fishman keine Rolle.

3.3. Domäne und Sprechsituation

Fishman (1965, 69) nimmt Bezug auf den Begriff der „situation“, wie er etwa in der Ethnographie des Sprechens verwendet wird (Hymes 1972; Art. 54). Er wendet dagegen ein, dass Situationen die Variation bei „habitual language choice“ (Fishman 1965, 70) nicht erklären könnten. Fishman (1965, 71) will das Thema miteinbeziehen. Dies begründet er damit, dass bestimmte Themen in der einen Sprache adäquater behandelt wer-

den können als in der anderen. Dabei geht es ihm nicht um individuelle, zufällige Variation, sondern um habituelle, und das heißt: gesellschaftlich geregelte. Das Konzept der Sprechsituation kann deswegen nicht erklären, warum bestimmte Themen gesellschaftlich geregelt nur in der einen Sprache, nicht aber in der andern behandelt werden können. Hier treten die „spheres of activity“ (Fishman 1965, 72) ein, die kulturell mit einer bestimmten Sprache verbunden sind.

3.4. Domäne und Code-Switching (vgl. Art. 41; 44)

Fishman sieht, dass Menschen sich in Domänen (a) „inkongruent“ verhalten können (wenn Priester und Gläubige sich auf einem Rennplatz zur Gottesdienstzeit treffen, passt der Ort nicht zur Domäne „Kirche“, und das Sprachverhalten wird vermutlich anders sein als in der Kirche), und (b) dass Menschen sich auch in einer passenden Situation sprachlich anders verhalten können, als es die Domäne verlangt. Das führt zum Problem des Code-Switching, insbesondere dem sogenannten metaphorischen Code-Switching (Fishman 1970, 47ff, mit Bezug auf Blom/Gumperz 1972). Code-Switching ist in den letzten Jahren ausführlich erforscht worden, doch spielen Domänen dabei nur eine marginale Rolle (vgl. Milroy/Muysken 1995). Nur in Fishman (1965) wird „domain“ in diesem Zusammenhang erwähnt. Zu berücksichtigen wäre weiter der Begriff des *Sprachrepertoires*, das den Sprecherinnen und Sprechern für das Code-Switching zur Verfügung steht (Art. 24). Generell weisen die Studien zu Code-Switching darauf hin, dass der Begriff der Domäne zu grob ist, um dessen lokale Bedingungen zu erfassen (z. B. Auer 1991).

3.5. Domänen und Einheiten der Makroanalyse

Es fällt auf, dass Domänen von Fishman zwar auf einer Ebene zwischen Mikro- und Makroanalyse angesiedelt, aber die makroanalytischen Kategorien nur ansatzweise diskutiert werden. In Fishman/Cooper/Ma (1975) sind die zentralen übergeordneten Begriffe „kulturelle Werte“ und „Netzwerke“. Aus der späteren Domänendiskussion wird der „kulturelle Wert“ ausgeschaltet. Auch Netzwerke (Art. 55; 143) finden bei Fishman relativ wenig Aufmerksamkeit. An mehreren Stellen hingegen verweist er auf den Begriff der sozialen Institution (Art. 58;

156) als makrosoziologischer Größe: „Domain analysis attempts to relate social structure to social process by deriving domains – in themselves conceptually linked to societal institutions or structures – from obviously congruent social situations“ (Fishman/Cooper/Ma 1975, 513). Eine Institution im hier gemeinten Sinne ist z. B. die Familie als Einrichtung einer Gesellschaft zur Sicherung der Reproduktion.

3.6. Verwandte Begriffsbildung

Von anderen Autoren, die Begriffe zur Beschreibung von soziokulturellen Konstrukten vorgeschlagen haben, ist vor allem M. A. K. Halliday zu erwähnen, der sich (1978, 125) explizit auf Fishman bezieht, dessen Konzept er mit B. Malinowskis *context of situation* vergleicht. Halliday selbst nimmt *situation types of social contexts* an, für die er die *Trias field* (als Typ der Aktivität), *tenor* (als Rollenbeziehung zwischen den Beteiligten) und *mode* (Zeichenmodus und rhetorische Kanäle) ansetzt. Auch wenn im Einzelnen hier Unterschiede bestehen, ist die Ähnlichkeit zu Domäne erkennbar.

4. Der Begriff in der Diskussion

Fishmans verschiedene Definitionsvorschläge führen dazu, dass die Kategorie in der soziolinguistischen Literatur sehr allgemein verwendet wird (siehe oben unter 1.). M. Heller (1988) etwa spricht von „separation (...) of domains of language use, be it the home, the public arena, rural vs. urban life, or anything else“ (80) – hier ist Domäne letztlich nicht mehr im technischen Sinn Fishmans, sondern im allgemeinen Sinn von „Bereichen des Sprachgebrauchs“ verwendet. Man kann hier von einer Soziologisierung des Begriffs sprechen, weil insbesondere der Bestandteil Thema der Fishmanschen Definition vollständig verschwindet. Anders dagegen etwa die Darstellung bei Spolsky (1998, 34), der die Trias zwar anführt, sie aber vor allem in Hinblick auf Rollenkonflikte interpretiert. Eine ausführlichere Kritik des Begriffs findet sich bei Breitborde (1983, 22), der „domain“ im Kontext der drei Begriffe „network“, „social situation“ und „code switching“ diskutiert. Breitbordes Argument: Domänen können nicht erklären, wie Personen ihre Sprachwahl in Situationen treffen, können aber als abstrakte Einheiten einer Sprachwahl Sinn geben. Als abstrakte Einheiten lassen sich Domänen

nicht beobachten; beobachtbar sind nur empirisch stattfindende Kommunikationen. Von der Trias Ort, Rollenbeziehung und Thema stellt Breitborde die Rollenbeziehung (bei ihm „social status“) in den Vordergrund. Wer ein Thema in einer bestimmten Domäne einführt, kann damit seine Position, seinen Status ausdrücken. Damit bleibt die Verbindung von Domäne und kommunikativer Mikroebene weiter offen. Entsprechend verwendet Breitborde (1998) das Konstrukt Domäne nicht, sondern folgt einer Analyse in sozialen Situationen, die auf die übergeordneten kulturellen und politischen Machtverhältnisse Bezug nimmt. Reaktionen auf Breitborde (1983) sind im gleichen Heft des *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 39, abgedruckt. Sie lassen sich auf zwei Hauptpositionen zurückführen: Aus mikrosoziolinguistischer Sicht, wie sie etwa von Gumperz (1982) vertreten wird, ist das Konzept der Domäne zu statisch und zu grob; aus makroanalytischer Sicht nimmt es zu wenig auf das Problem von Macht und sozialer Ungleichheit Bezug. Fishmans Versuch, mit der Domäne eine Vermittlung zwischen Makro- und Mikrolevel herzustellen, wird von Cooper (1983) aus dem soziologischen Hintergrund Fishmans erklärt, womit aber die grundsätzlichen Probleme nicht behoben sind. Trotz der theoretischen Einwände ist das Konzept Domäne in verschiedenen empirischen Forschungen verwendet worden (Rindler Schjerve 1996; vgl. Art. 142; 156).

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41. Code-Switching/Sprachwechsel

1. Introduction
2. Code-switching as one form of translinguistic markers
3. Grammar of code-switching
4. Lexical code-switching vs. borrowing
5. Functions of code-switching
6. Can learners code-switch?
7. Perspectives
8. Literature (selected)

1. Introduction

Code-switching is a form of behaviour frequently observed in many bi- and pluriling-

ual speakers (cf. art. 144). In other words, these speakers “jump” spontaneously back and forth from one language of their repertoire to another. Most researchers agree that this process is rule-governed, i.e. it performs distinct functions and follows grammatical rules. In many cases it is said to mark a strong plurilingual competence and a valued plurilingual and pluricultural identity. However, this positive evaluation is far from being generally accepted. Prejudices against bilingualism like the one found in a late 19th century textbook: “If it were possible for a

child to live in two languages at once equally well, so much the worse. His intellectual and spiritual growth would not thereby be doubled, but halved. Unity of mind and character would have great difficulty in asserting itself in such circumstances" (Laurie 1890), still determine many reactions of bilinguals – and more frequently of monolinguals – to "bilingual speech". Negatively connotated terms like *Mischmasch*, *mescolanza*, *métissage* and comments like "She doesn't know either language properly" or "I thought you were bilingual" display a puristic, monolingual ideology along the same lines. In addition, they reflect the popular belief that a plurilingual person should have learnt all of his or her languages simultaneously in early childhood and have a "perfect", native-like oral and written competence in all of them (cf. Bloomfield 1933, 56). Today, this mythical conception of bilingualism is being replaced by a broader definition. Accordingly, a person may be called plurilingual if s/he uses his or her languages on a regular basis and is able to switch from one to another when necessary, regardless of the symmetry of his/her command of the languages, of the modalities of acquisition, and of the distance between the varieties (cf. Oksaar 1980; Grosjean 1982). But is *code-switching* an appropriate term when describing a person with very asymmetric competences, or even a beginner, who mixes his or her languages out of necessity, because of insufficient lexical knowledge? Are there "good" and "bad" forms of language mixture (Kielhöfer 1987)? And where is the borderline between online switching to another language and the emergence of a new "mixed" language? These are the questions we will have to discuss. Before doing so, we will argue that code-switching is rule-governed, that there is a kind of grammar of code-switching, and that its functions are conventional. This leads us to the question of where the borderlines between code-switching and other forms of translinguistic phenomena (e.g. borrowing and translinguistic wording) are to be drawn. In this respect, terminological debates must be separated from content-related issues.

2. Code-switching as one form of translinguistic markers

Monolingual and norm-oriented observers of natural discourse in plurilingual settings

are often struck by the fact that utterances/conversations in a given language (La) are interwoven with phonetic, morpho-syntactic and lexical elements they perceive as belonging to another language or variety (Lb). Regardless of their origin and nature, we may call them *translinguistic markers* in order to avoid ambiguous terms like *interferences* (Weinreich [1953]1968) or *code-mixing* (Muysken 2000). Code-switching, i.e. "on line"-switching between two languages or varieties which are both also used in their "pure" form by the same speakers, sometimes even in the same situation, is just one type of translinguistic markers. Apart from code-switching, this term comprises loans from other languages that are not recognizable as such, like *bank* (from French *banque* < Italian *banca* 'moneychanger's table' < Old High German *bank* 'bench') or *tennis* (borrowed around 1400, from Old French *tenetz*), socially accepted borrowings that are phonetically or graphically marked, such as French *weekend* or English *ersatz*, nonce borrowings, but also interferences in learner languages (e.g. the construction *he laughs me* produced by a Japanese learner), translinguistic wording by bilinguals with asymmetrical competences (see below), etc.

3. Grammar of code-switching

Though most specialists of bilingualism agree that code-switching is rule-governed, i.e. grammatical, their opinions on the grammatical models for describing these rules diverge. Belonging to different linguistic paradigms, these models are frequently incompatible. An important part of the scientific literature offers examples and counter-examples that are supposed to supply evidence in favour of or against one or the other explanation; they lead, at best, to amendments in the details of the underlying theories. The following models are just a few of those most commonly discussed:

- In the late 70s, Sankoff and Poplack established the basis of a first "grammar of code-switching". They proposed the "Equivalence Constraint" (EC) and the "Free Morpheme Constraint" (FMC) (e.g. Sankoff/Poplack 1981). Both dealt with the linear order of morphemes in an utterance rather than with its underlying grammatical structure. The EC stated that around the switching point, the order of the constituents must be gram-

matically correct in both languages. Along with the FMC, code-switching would only be possible between free morphemes and not, for instance, between a lexeme and an affix (see Poplack/Meechan 1998 for the recent state of the model). Animated discussions about counter-examples, mainly in agglutinative languages, lead to the development of alternative models.

- In 1986, Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh proposed the Government Constraint (GC). Within the framework of the theory of government and binding, they claimed that code-switching between a category and the elements it governs was not grammatical; the language of the lexical head would determine the language of the elements it dominates. Code-switching would therefore not be possible inside the VP in “I went to Rome” (Di Sciullo/Muysken/Singh 1986, 8ff), more generally, it would not be possible between a verb and its complements or between prepositions and nouns. However, it would be grammatical between Det and N.
- The Functional Head Constraint (FHC) was put forward by Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994); it claims that code-switching is not grammatical between a functional head and its complement, whereas switching is allowed after a lexical head: “we assume that a functional head requires that the language features of its complement match its own language feature.” (Belazi/Rubin/Toribio 228) This leads to predictions that are significantly different from the GC; for instance, FHC is more restrictive in relation with conjunctions or between articles and nouns.
- In 1993, Carol Myers-Scotton ([1993] 1997) developed her convincing Matrix Language-Frame model (MLF), which was later enlarged by the 4-M model. Along with the MLF, “one of the languages involved in code-switching [CS] plays a more dominant role. This language is labelled the Matrix Language [ML], and its grammar sets the morpho-syntactic frame for two of the three types of constituents contained in sentences showing intrasentential CS, ML+EL constituents (those showing morphemes from the two or more participating languages) and ML islands (constituents

composed entirely of ML morphemes). The third type of constituent, the EL island, is entirely in the EL.” (Myers-Scotton [1993] 1997, 6) The dominant language determines the morpho-syntactical frame of mixed utterances in that the syntactic rules and the grammatical morphemes must belong to the ML (“system morpheme principle”), whereas the lexemes can be chosen in both languages. Unlike the GC and the FHC, the constraints appear at a functional level ([1993] 1997, 116f). A key role is played by the lexicon, more precisely by the lemmata, which contain an item’s lexical information including semantic, syntactic, and sometimes aspects of morphological information. A matching procedure determines whether or not a lexical item from EL is compatible with the morpho-syntactical frame provided by ML; in cases of lack of congruence, an EL-island is produced. In order to account for disturbing cases of “double morphemes” (e.g. double articles, plural marks etc.) Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000) amended the system morpheme principle by introducing four subcategories of morphemes: content morphemes, early system morphemes, bridge late system morphemes and outsider late system morphemes (Myers-Scotton/Jake 2000, 1062).

“In the original statement of the model [MLF Modell], the system-morpheme principle states that all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent (...) will come from the ML (...). Under the new 4-M model, this class of system morphemes is more explicitly identified as the late outsider system morpheme. While other types of system morphemes may come from the embedded language (EL), in fact, almost all – not just those required by the system-morpheme principle – come from the matrix language.” (Myers-Scotton/Jake 2000, 1070f)

“Double morphology” is thus explained by the fact that early system morphemes are activated in the EL mental lexicon in the same way as content morphemes while the grammatically relevant system morphemes are provided in addition by the ML.

- Recently, MacSwan (1997; 1999) presented a minimalist approach to intrasentential code-switching. He claims that “nothing constrains code switching apart from the requirements of the mixed

grammars”, a claim that doesn’t entail a theory about which principles of grammar are relevant to code switching, but “leaves open any and all independently motivated considerations in linguistic theory to the analysis of code-switching data”. His approach is lexicalist. Using the example of numeration within the syntactic component of grammar, he assumes “that lexical items may be drawn from the lexicon of either language to introduce features into the numeration which must be checked for convergence in just the same way as monolingual features must be checked (or must not “mismatch”), with no special mechanisms permitted. (...) No “control structure” is required to mediate contradictory requirements of the mixed systems. The requirements are simply carried along with the lexical items of the respective systems.” This approach is particularly interesting because there is no need for a kind of third grammar nor for specific universal principles for code-switching. A theory of a plurilingual competence should thus be identical with any linguistic theory in general.

All these models apply to code-switching within a sentence or proposition. Switching between sentences or turns doesn’t present formal problems (except in cases of collaborative formulation where an utterance is produced by two speakers interactively).

4. Lexical code-switching vs. borrowing

But can isolated content words, embedded in the syntax of another language, be described as code-switching? This is an important issue because they constitute by far the majority of translinguistic markers (e.g. Nortier 1989; Poplack / Sankoff / Miller 1988; Treffers-Daller 1994), and because their status is, as Poplack and Meechan rightly observe, “at the heart of a fundamental disagreement among researchers about (...) how types of language mixture should be classified.” The widely debated question is, whether they are “integrated into the grammatical system in which they are embedded (i.e. borrowed) or conditioned by some interaction between grammars (code-switches)” (Poplack/Meechan 1998). The claim that nouns, verbs and adjectives are to be considered as borrowings goes back at

least to Haugen (1950). Code-switching would thus require at least a “multiword fragment”, i.e. an EL island, whilst lone lexical elements would be consequently treated as borrowings. In this view, the distinction between instant or nonce borrowings and traditional loan words is merely statistical. In favour of this hypothesis, Adalar/Tagliamonte (1998, 156) argue that

“when a lone noun, of either English or Turkish origin, appears in contexts in which it is surrounded by the other language, it patterns systematically in accordance with its counterparts in that other language. (...) On the other hand, when a lone noun, either English or Turkish, appears within a multiword fragment of English or Turkish, it patterns overwhelmingly with the language of its etymology.”

The point is that empirical investigation can disambiguate the community-specific status of language contact phenomena. But even if we strongly support this claim (see 6.), it is not clear that the theoretical conclusions are correct. Firstly, an important part of this contextual behaviour is explained by the MLF model. This includes the choice of a grammatical gender in the target language and the respective binding phenomena. Secondly, the hypothesis of “interaction between grammars” has been questioned by the claim of a unique variational system, namely as far as the lexicon is concerned. The question would then rather be, which types of interaction take place between rules and lexical items belonging to different subsystems of co-variancy. Thirdly, there are cases of non-integrated loan words evidently used as code-switchings. This happens in the following example:

Pendant ... que j’installe LE disque ... vous essayez vous deux de téléphoner ... vous ne devez pas parler de cette boum. c’est un coup de fil + **Telefongespräch** (*lowering his voice*) c’est un coup de téléphone absolument normal (corpus Christine Zürcher)

While I’m installing the disk, you try, both of you, to make a phone call; don’t speak about this party, it’s a phone call phone call (in German) it’s a quite normal phone call

We are in a French as foreign language classroom. In the sequence “un coup de fil → Telefongespräch → un coup de téléphone” we find two techniques of word explanation: the interlingual equivalence and the paraphrase in the same language. “Telefongespräch” cannot be a borrowing, but must

have the status of a German word (lexical code-switching) in order to perform the explanatory function.

Fourth, the way members of the community treat translinguistic markers:

- (a) is not necessarily homogeneous throughout the different components of the grammar; phonetical or prosodical integration, for example, doesn't impede pragmatical functions we normally associate with code-switching;
- (b) depends on the way the items are treated in interaction. It may thus be that the status of a phonologically and morphologically fully integrated translinguistic marker oscillates between "foreign element" and "accepted loan" as in the case of Swiss German *Ich han en Effort gmacht* ('I made an effort'): While the speaker considered it as a Swiss German word, the hearer explicitly contested this status and asked for a proper reformulation: *Ich han an Aaschträngig gmacht*. – We will argue later on in favour of the hypothesis that the status of code-switching is, in fact, a collaborative achievement.

Let us conclude for the time being, that the classification of an item as borrowing or code-switching is possibly not a question of grammar alone. Whether or not one considers borrowing, that is introducing a new stem into the lexicon (MacSwan 2000), as a purely linguistic operation or as an operation with socio-cognitive dimensions, will have a considerable impact on the definition of the categories. In our view, there is no formal argument excluding loan words from the category of code-switching (= lexical code-switching).

5. Functions of code-switching

The next point is about the sociolinguistic and pragmatic functions of code-switching. There is general agreement on the fact that code-switching is functional. However, as far as the types of functionality are concerned, and the question whether or not the presence/absence of certain types of function can or must be used to distinguish different types of translinguistic markers independently of their grammatical form, opinions diverge. Between bilinguals, a speaker's choice of language is meaningful in the sense that it contributes to the negotiation of social identity. The issue isn't simply one of language choice;

in a bilingual mode (Grosjean 2001) where both languages are socially possible and psycholinguistically activated, a third way of speaking, often called *bilingual speech*, is frequently observed. This entails a less stable choice of language, which is constantly renegotiated, but also frequent code-switching. In a study based on observation in Africa, Myers-Scotton (1993) proposed to distinguish between (a) code-switching as an unmarked, i.e. expected choice, where code-switching in itself is meaningful, (b) code-switching as a marked or unexpected choice, where every particular switch fulfils a specific function (e.g. represents an attempt to change the relationship from commercial to familiar), and (c) code-switching as an exploratory choice in cases of uncertainty about relationships, where identities are to be negotiated. – This theory is commonly known as "markedness model".

Meaning results from the contrast between two varieties that "can be interpreted by participants, as indexing (contextualizing) either some aspects of the situation (discourse-related switching), or some feature of the code-switching speaker (participant-related switching)." (Auer 1999) This way of interpreting code-switching has its roots in seminal work by Gumperz (1967; 1982) and has been taken up and integrated into more sophisticated systems, namely by Auer himself (see Auer 1998 for an overview).

"The prototypical case of (discourse-related) code-switching can be portrayed as follows: (a) it occurs in a sociolinguistic context in which speakers orient towards a preference for one language at a time; i.e., it is usually possible to identify the language-of-interaction which is valid at a given moment, and until code-switching occurs; (b) through its departure from this established language-of-interaction, code-switching signals 'otherness' of the upcoming contextual frame and thereby achieves a change of 'footing'. The precise interpretation of this new footing needs to be 'filled in' in each individual case, although previous episodes may also be brought to bear on the interpretation of the case at hand; (c) it seems possible to describe the mechanisms by which code-switching relates to the two codes and to the context in which it occurs in very general ways." (Auer 1999)

Even if the precise meaning of an instance of code-switching results from a local interactional discourse achievement, a number of recurrent functions of code-switching have been identified in many communities (and some also across communities), as for

example stressing the fact of belonging to the same bilingual community, specifying the addressee and the original speaker in reported speech, marking a metalinguistic comment, widening the referential potential of the language, exploiting specific advantages of one or the other variety (e.g. opaque vs. transparent words), signalling that an experience belongs to a specific domain or location (“deictic function”), facilitating lexical access (for the speaker or the hearer), etc. (cf. Lüdi/Py 2002) But do all these functions apply to code-switching? Or, to ask the question the other way round, are there functional criteria for distinguishing code-switching from other translanguistic markers? This is the approach proposed by Auer (1999). He argues in favour of a continuum of phenomena “which spans out between three well-documented cases (conceived as prototypes) (...) with code-switching and fused lects representing the polar extremes of the continuum and language mixing a point inbetween.” The term *code-switching* is reserved for cases in which the juxtaposition of two languages is perceived and interpreted by participants as a locally meaningful event. Where the use of two languages is meaningful to participants not in a local but in a more global sense, as a recurrent pattern, Auer speaks of *language mixing*. Stabilized mixed varieties are called *fused lects*. The distinction between code-switching and language mixing is thus to be determined by interpretative sociolinguistics or conversational analysis, the one between language mixing and fused lects is a matter of grammatical research: “essential ingredients of this transition are a reduction of variation and an increase of rule-governed, non-variable structural regularities” (Auer 1999).

It is obviously very useful to distinguish, in a diachronic perspective, between cases in which there is a dynamic juxtaposition of elements of two languages, and cases in which the combination is more grammaticalized. For example, several authors have put forward the hypothesis that Chiac, a contact variety resulting from an extensive cohabitation of French and English speakers in the region of Moncton (New Brunswick, Canada), represents an autonomous variety aside English and French (for example Gerin/Philippeau 1984; Perrot 1994; Boudreau/Perrot 1994; see Lüdi 2002 for some counter-arguments). The term *code-switching* indeed implies the existence of clearly separated linguistic systems between which switching

takes place. For Myers-Scotton “well-formedness” of the constituents either in the matrix language or in the embedded language is an obvious premise of her model, even in the case of code-switching between a standard variety and a dialect or between dialects, styles and registers (Myers-Scotton [1993] 1997). Mixed varieties or fused lects stand for another type of phenomena. However, one may ask the question whether the premise that there must be two distinct varieties hasn’t been given too much importance. Let’s assume that the principle of variation is constitutive for all languages (e.g. Berrendonner 1983) and that single *lects* (languages, sociolects, dialects, chronolects, styles etc.) exploit in different ways an existing variational space. Within such a variational space, the existence of clearly separated varieties result not from a law of nature, but from an important focussing effort of the speakers, as suggested by Le Page/Tabouret-Keller (1985). Linguistic norms are the result of such an effort, i.e. of a repeated coherent selection of variables, by the individual as well as by the group. But there are also speakers and groups using “diffuse, or non focussed linguistic systems” (Le Page/Tabouret-Keller 1985, 181f), where variables co-occur that are otherwise clearly assigned to two different lects. When Tabouret-Keller was asked to re-analyse her Belize materials for the Neuchâtel symposium on languages in contact in 1987, her conclusion was that the term *translinguistic marker* defined as trace of a language A in utterances in language B didn’t apply. Because there were no discrete systems in contact, but rather a kind of variational continuum (Tabouret-Keller 1987, 237). For similar reasons, Gardner-Chloros (1995,70) argues “that what has been called code-switching in fact merges into various other interlingual phenomena, and that drawing clear lines between these phenomena is an ideological rather than an objective linguistic activity”. For her, even the term code-switching is misleading as it evokes the “myth of the discreteness of linguistic systems”. Interpretation of what “a language” is – and where the boundaries between different “languages” lie – is indeed highly ideologically biased. Franceschini (1998b; 1999) argues that the single speaker’s linguistic repertoire is not composed of various single language systems, but represents, in fact, one holistic system. It “consists of his/her linguistic abil-

ities, which s/he has acquired through interaction in the course of her/his biography". In this model, monolingual speech corresponds to a focussing effort on the norms of a single language. Franceschini coined the term of "monofocus of attention" (1998a). In bilingual mode, focus lies on two varieties simultaneously: "CS can now be represented as a *dual focus*" (Franceschini 1998a, 64). In this perspective, one might argue that loss of local functions and predominance of global functions correspond to a movement towards a more diffuse focus of attention. Grammaticalisation and the emergence of *fused lects* are steps in direction of a new focus of attention.

In conclusion, it is evident that certain translinguistic markers perform local conversational functions, but that bilingual speech as such can be the normal, *unmarked* choice for bilingual communities in bilingual situations. Single switches do not necessarily seem, then, to perform identifiable local functions. In addition, the same translinguistic marker can convey very different social meanings in different situations of languages in contact. Consequently, the English-French bilinguals in Ottawa *flag* their translinguistic markers, i.e. they indicate they are consciously passing from one language to the other. The Spanish-English bilingual Puertoricans in New York prefer smooth forms of code-switching. Probably because mixing phenomena are negatively marked in the first case (flagging is then a way of preserving one's face) but positively valued as an emblem of bilingual identity in the second. It is doubtful, however, whether the absence of local conversational functions alone is sufficient for excluding all other instances of translinguistic markers from the category *code-switching*; the definition presented above is a broader one.

6. Can learners code-switch?

In the preceding paragraphs, we concentrated on fluent bilinguals. At the same time, we criticized a mythical conception of bilingualism such as the one conveyed by Bloomfield (1933). But what about learners? They too make use of other languages, but apparently for a different reason, as in the following utterance by a Swiss German learner of French:

et il y a un petit moteur (...) qui tire le cocon il y a la *vorrichtung* il y a de grands *mast* de *stahl*

*and there is a little motor (...) that pulls the cocoon
and there is the device [n. fem.] there are tall masts
[n. masc] of steel*

The communicative strategy for getting oneself out of a predicament caused by limited lexical resources in L2 that consists in the conscious use of single words or longer sequences in L1 (or in any other language likely to be understood by the native speaker of L2) as a kind of rescue device like in the example above may be called *translinguistic wording*. This strategy characterizes *exolingual* situations between speakers with asymmetrical competences in contrast to code-switching which has been identified as a *bilingual* form of speaking.

It is true that a broad definition of plurilingualism seriously challenges the distinction between code-switching and translinguistic wording. In fact, most plurilinguals have gaps of some sort in their (lexical) knowledge of all their languages. Even in rather monolingual situations, they might have a faster access to a word in the *other* language. Shall we call this phenomenon *code-switching* (because they are bilinguals) or translinguistic wording (because of their lexical gaps)? And from which stage in their learning do we accept the use of L1 (or any other language) by learners as code-switching? – Firstly, the hypothesis that there are formal criteria for this distinction can be rejected. Jake and Myers-Scotton (1997; Jake 1998) argue convincingly that the rules for combining elements from different languages do not have to be learnt separately, after having built up a plurilingual repertoire, but are universal, present from the very beginning of language learning. Along with a minimalistic position, these rules are not "of a third kind", but part of the grammatical competence itself. The entwining of a grammatical frame in French and lexical elements furnished by German in our example is totally compatible with the general rules for code-switching: The matrix language is French; the rule for a compound word (object + de + material) is French, even when most of the technical terms are in German. – Secondly, Vasseur (1990) observed a continuity between the functions of Spanish (L1) words by Latin-American women in Paris from the very first stages of learning until more advanced levels of competence: they tend to switch to French when speaking about their

children's school experiences, and mark the reference to experiences back in Chile or Columbia by the use of Spanish. For Wode (1990, 37): "[code-switching] is not limited to any specific level of competence, nor to any specific stage of development provided the languages between which switching is to occur are developed in the individual speaker to such an extent that s/he can be said to have two linguistic codes at her/his disposal." This leads to the conclusion that learners *can* code-switch. But this conclusion does not entail of course that *every use* of material of L1 or any other than the target language is functional in the sense of code-switching. We claim, on the contrary, that balanced bilinguals make use of translinguistic wording, too. If there is no clear formal distinction, and if the criterion of language competence doesn't hold: how can we then make the difference between code-switching and translinguistic wording? The answer of the native speaker to our example sheds some light on our question. In fact, he reacts to the turn "il y a la *vorrichtung* ... il y a de grands *mast de stahl*" with a positive minimal feedback ("oui donc" [yes]). There is neither the slightest sign of hesitation in the non native speakers code-switching behaviour nor any indication that the native speaker doesn't accept it as an appropriate form of speech. In other words, they interactively define the utterance as a stretch of bilingual speech – and the situation as appropriate to the bilingual mode of speaking despite the inequality of competences both are well aware of. Of course, external conditions exert an influence on the speakers' behaviour. Interaction takes place in a social environment only partially controlled by the affected persons. In the present case for example, code-switching is possible only because the French native speaker has a rather good competence of German as well. Similarly, long term Swiss experiences in language use in French – German intercommunity communication ('everyone speaks his or her language and understands the other') contributed to the construction of a communication culture which certainly entails a higher acceptance of "mixed" speech than in neighbouring countries. Thus, an existing system of linguistic values determines which *linguistic capital* the knowledge and use of one or the other variety convey (Gumperz 1982; Bourdieu 1982). But despite these facts, we are

not simply determined by the way we use our repertoires.

In the following example, the status of *pick up truck* is negotiated openly between W (American, learner of French and German), L (native French speaker) and S (trilingual French, English and German):

- W J'ai une chambre ehm en Washington.
I have an apartment in Washington
- L mhm
Minimal positive feed-back
- W encore ... ehm [dans] une ehm workst/ workst/
werkstatt eh [*pour menuisier*]
still, in a workshop [chooses the German word][hesitation] for carpenter
- S pas d'atelier XXX
not a work-room
- W pas une atelier oui ... une chambre ... un
bureau ehm
not a work-room, yes, an apartment, an office
- L mhm
- S un mini bureau [laughing]
a very small office
- W et un pickup truck>
and a pickup truck
- S [and a] pickup truck [laughing] oui>
- L ehm ... un camion< [quoi] une camionette<
a truck, a light truck
- S je pense que là il faut vraiment dire pickup
truck parce que camion ça fait différent
*I think here you must really say pickup truck be-
cause truck gives a different idea*
- L mhm ... ça fait ... les camionettes des films
américains
I see, these light trucks in the American movies

While L believes that W is searching for the right French word by way of a translinguistic wording (as was the case in the preceding turn), S insists in interpreting *pickup truck* as the orthonym. L accepts this view and will, later on, use the expression *pickup truck* himself. The status of code-switching is, thus, an interactional discourse achievement.

Schematically, these phenomena can be represented as following.

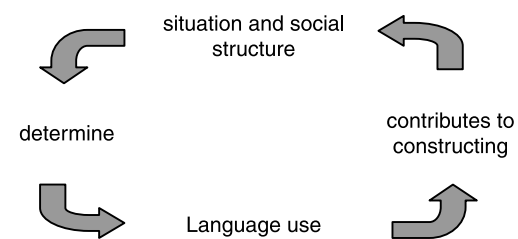


Fig. 41.1: Schema of code-switching among learners

In a similar way, we may interpret the evolution from lexical code-switching to borrowing as a change in the interpretation of the status of the lexical form in the sense that it is considered an orthonym not only in bilingual settings ('the right word comes from the other language and therefore I code-switch'), but also in monolingual ones ('there is a proper word in another language and therefore I propose to introduce it as a "guest word" in the respective monolingual lexicon'). In other terms, a "foreign" element can be a borrowing from its very first occurrence if it is intended and interactively accepted as the orthonym in a monolingual setting. Conversely, in a bilingual setting with frequent code-switching, many occurrences of a lone embedded language word do not impede its interpretation as lexical code-switching. We assume this to be the case in the next example.

- P: Non mais moi j'vais aller demain ... demain soir
No, but I will go [sc. to the Carnival] tomorrow, tomorrow evening
- L: c'est bien sûr demain soir le mardi c'est plutôt les les *Guggemusig*
tomorrow evening Tuesday it's rather the Guggemusig [= brass band playing in a rather disharmonic way]
- B: oui mais dans les *Gässli*
yes but in the streets [affective diminutive]
- P: dans les *Gässli* ... ouais
in the streets, yes
- L: oui ... les *Gässli*
yes, the streets

The discussants are a mixed couple and their friends in Basle; B. originally comes from the French speaking Bas-Valais, L. from the German speaking Haut-Valais; P. and M. are from the French speaking canton du Jura. They are talking about the carnival, an important event of the year in Basle. The frequent use of the Swiss German word *Gässli* by all the speakers does not, in our eyes, entail that it is considered as borrowed in the French vocabulary. It keeps the status of lexical code-switching despite its frequency.

7. Perspectives

Comparing different strands of research on code-switching reveals many difficulties. Starting out from different premises, linguistic, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic and interactional models produce results which are not always inter-compatible. In my syn-

thesis of a workshop on code-switching in November 1990, I wrote: "As it is, code-switching has in fact provided to represent a litmus test for different interfaces between linguistic, psychological and sociological theories". I argued in favour of one single model "which would allow an integration of linguistic constraints (formal properties of linguistic systems), psychological constraints (properties of the human brain) and socio-pragmatic constraints (social and interactional properties of social systems in general and/or of specific social systems in particular)" (Lüdi 1991). The participants at the colloquium questioned whether such a model could be developed in the next decade. In 2002, it still remains to be established.

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III. Sociological Concepts Soziologische Begriffe

42. Religion/Religion

1. Religion and spirituality as language dependent activities
2. Linguistic variation in religious expression
3. Language as a marker of religious belonging and difference
4. Language use and conversion
5. Language choice and the perpetuation and change of social structure
6. Linguistics, discourse analysis and religion
7. Language as preserver of religion
8. Religion as preserver of language
9. Literature (selected)

1. Religion and spirituality as language dependent activities

Religion and Spirituality are among the most language dependent of human activities. Prayer, meditation, expression of belief in creed, articulation of meaning in interaction with others, assertion of trust, or discussion of the implications of faith all require language. Even the solitary contemplative monastic communicates with self and the object of devotion in language, a language requiring a social and cultural context to be learned and understood. While mystical contemplation may transcend all capacity to communicate, most mystics resort to language in an attempt to give some impression of their encounters with the numinous. The use of language gives expression to religious experience and faith and in so doing shapes, reproduces and changes religious and spiritual life.

Sociolinguists study the complex interplay between language and society. Critical issues include discerning what socio-cultural factors shape language use, clarifying choices speakers make among the options culturally available to them, and examining the consequences of patterns of language use for groups and societies. Differences in language use among religious groups provide linguistic markers of the boundaries of each group, estimates of the influence of

each group, and learning to use the language peculiar to a group forms a key element in the processes by which people become a part of the group. Because there has not been very much linguistic research addressing these issues, an exploratory approach is more appropriate than a summary of the literature. Religion and spirituality have been under-researched in the past few decades as many were convinced that secularization was about to sweep away their last trace. However, even a cursory awareness of the news headlines dominating the media at the turn of the millennium indicates the abiding importance of religion and spirituality to people and in both public and private life. However, religious observance is much more diverse at both individual and societal levels as persons negotiate meaning using a variety of spiritualities and religions (see Wuthnow 1994; 1998) and as religion re-enters public policy debates through revitalized forms of the religions of the world. Religion and spirituality refer to those activities and behaviors people employ to relate to that which is more than the ordinary, more than the transitory, more than the mundane. People report encountering this transcendent dimension within themselves, for example through meditation, and as being alongside and beyond themselves as they pray, contemplate nature, or participate in religious communities.

While earlier analyses of religion, language and society could focus entirely on religion, current analyses are quick to identify spirituality as well as religion as a critical site for research (see Roof 1998). Religion refers to the more socially organized aspects of spiritual life often expressed in churches, temples, mosques, synagogues, shrines. While participation in religion and highly organized forms of spirituality declines, there is a rise in informal, highly diverse and non-exclusive forms of spirituality.

2. Linguistic variation in religious expression

As religious life becomes more diverse and varieties of spirituality increase (Bouma 1995) the more distinctive linguistic registers associated with denominations of Christianity, or with varieties of Buddhism and Islam may be heard alongside those of New Age groups, astrology, earth based spiritualities and witchcraft. Whereas in much of the 20th century most people had one religious identity expressed through language patterns common to that group, it is now becoming clear that a person may well draw on a variety of spiritualities, express meaning through a diversity of religious registers and move among them with ease.

Code switching among religious registers is complemented by code switching between religious and secular registers. It has been observed that religious people speak differently than secular people, but it is probably more accurate to report that people speak differently when being religious than when being secular. Like religious identity, the use of religious language is less likely to be pervasive than situational (Bouma 1997). For example, Clyne and Bouma (1994; 1995) report that among Western Christians describing life experiences religious registers are characterized by the use of direct references to *God*, *Jesus*, and *The Spirit* as active in some event. Other Western Christians use a more secular register to refer to the transcendent. This register is characterized by the use of agentless passives, and selections from the more secular end of the lexical field, for example *I was lucky* rather than *God blessed me*. The selection of religious or secular register was influenced by the religious status of the partner in the conversation and the location of the conversation.

Religious groups and sub-groups within religious groups differed in the extent to which they used religious registers to describe the role of the transcendent in their lives, or used religious schemata when describing the course of their lives (Bouma and Clyne 1994; 1995). Women were also more likely to use religious registers than men.

3. Language as a marker of religious belonging and difference

Any group that interacts over a period of time will develop its own form of the language

used. Particular words, phrases or schemata will characterize the interactions of a group. For example, while most Catholics say *mass*, some Anglicans say *Eucharist*, others *the Lord's Supper* and others *Holy Communion*; Presbyterians say *The Lord's Supper*, or *communion*, while Pentecostals are more likely to refer to a *Remembering Service*. Evangelical Christians are likely to use schemata such as a story of conversion, *I once was ... and now I am ...* The differences in the word selected to refer to a key Christian rite, or the schemata selected to describe a faith journey reflect theological and liturgical differences as well as indicating the boundaries among religious groups and between the religious and the secular. Similar linguistic markers indicate the boundaries between sub-groups within a larger religious group. Language choice is shaped by social location and correct language use is critical in making a claim to be part of certain religious groups and sub-groups.

4. Language use and conversion

Once it is clear that different religious groups are characterized by the use of different registers and schemata, the role of language learning in conversion emerges. Becoming part of a religious group entails learning the language of the group. Some groups require a distinct language such as Hebrew for Jews, Arabic for Muslims, or, in the recent past, Latin for Catholics. For other groups language learning as part of conversion and induction into the group will require learning the particular word use, phrases, or schemata that characterize membership in the group. Glossolalia, speaking in tongues, provides clear boundaries of membership, advancement and achievement in some groups (see Samarin 1972). Recruits will be praised for picking up the linguistic nuances particular to the group along with learning other practices essential to acceptance in the group. As recruits hear themselves using the distinctive registers and schemata of the group their group identity is formed and they learn the ways of the group.

5. Language choice and the perpetuation and change of social structure

Language choices not only reflect the culture and place in the social structure of

speakers; they are essential activities in the production and reproduction of culture and social structure. One of the key domains of contention in religion and linguistics is that of the use of gendered language in reference to persons and to God. Referring to God as male and taking masculine references to people as normative reproduces a social structure of patriarchy. The use of inclusive language on the other hand actively undermines this social structure.

The use of special language to refer to deities or to those superior in a hierarchy serves to express the felt relationship and to reinforce the structure of the relationship. Such language is often used in prayer. The choice of language used in prayer reflects the position the praying person seeks to adopt. Informal language, such as *Jesus, we just ...* suggests intimacy; or *Our Father in heaven ...* a form of dependency; while loftier language a feeling of distance from the transcendent. In England the metaphoric and analogous relationship between God and Kings has structured political rhetoric (Nicholls 1993). Petitionary prayer and civil petitions have taken the same form thereby creating political practice through politically structured religious language.

How religion interacts with secular society tout court is demonstrated by Witten's (1993) analysis of how preachers in American churches have structured their sermons in a climate of increasing secularization to either embrace secular society or in some measure resist it.

6. Linguistics, discourse analysis and religion

Discourse analysis examines the meaning and context of language (see art. 71). Its relevance to sociolinguistics lies in the analysis of social and cultural structuring of conversation and the ways in which language use structures social and cultural life. Through the use of language, spoken and written, we construct the meanings of our religious life and in the process construct and re-construct religion. Yamane (2000, 173) argues that "when we study religious experience we cannot study 'religious experiencing' – experience in real time and its physical, mental and emotional constituents – and therefore must study retrospective accounts – lin-

guistic representations – of religious experiences." What is true of the study of religion and spirituality is also true of any attempt to communicate with others about the nature and content of religious and spiritual experiences. Without appropriate language we find it impossible to communicate with others or ourselves about such experiences. On the other hand, if we are provided appropriate language, we may be enabled to experience something we had not noticed before. The example of 'near death' experience is apt in this case. Once the language of 'near death' experience became available reports of its incidence increased substantially. Language is a critical mediating frame between having an experience, identifying the experience and communicating about the experience.

Discourse analysis reveals the various social and cultural locales in which language is employed as to communicate religious experience and meaning. Religious language is used to define, spiritualize and legitimate experiences other than those of orthodox religious practice or belief, thereby extending the boundaries of what constitutes religion and spirituality. An example is the god and cult status afforded to figures in popular culture such as Elvis Presley (Frow 1998) and Diana Princess of Wales (Carroll 1998). Athletes and musicians are often described as *Gods* and adored by *devotees*. Religious language is used to express and define the experience of such figures to legitimate their extraordinary status in social life and memory. Religion and spirituality expressed in the new age movement, parapsychology, and 'anomalous human experiences' have been studied through discourse analysis to explore the socially organized system of language exchanges related to paranormal cognition (Wooffitt 2000).

7. Language as a preserver of religion

Given the critical role of language in identifying and communicating about experiences, including religious and spiritual experiences it is clear that language will also play a role in the preservation of religion. Where language states and defines the relationship to the religious and spiritual, these pronunciations and definitions are preserved by their utterance, writing, and ritualistic recital, in short by language. Religious language is essential for the expression

and experience of religion. One consequence of the comparative secularity of much of the last century may be the decline in the ability to be religious due to the decline of the availability of religious language. Moreover dismissive use of religious language may undermine its ability to enable religious expression. Carter (1993) argues that in American political discourse the loose and casual employment of the Bible dislocates the meaning of the scripture for politically expedient purposes, trivializes religious institutions, and alienates those that practice religion within them.

8. Religion as preserver of language

Religious activity also preserves language. Some Roman Catholics still prefer to hear the mass said in Latin, claiming that it is a more beautiful language and authentic to tradition. The Greek Orthodox Church conducts its services in ancient Greek, Islam favors a strict adherence to the classical Koranic Arabic of the 6th century C.E., and Hinduism conducts many rituals in Sanskrit. In doing this some religions preserve distinctive scripts such as Yiddish, a form of Germanic language in Hebrew script.

In multicultural/multifaith societies such as Australia, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada, language for many migrants provides a crucial connection to their country of origin and code switching is common as migrants interact within familiar and non-familiar social worlds. Religion is one of the few institutions that carries a migrant community's home language, or language of origin, into a host nation. One of the commonly heard expressions among migrants is that even as they speak endearingly to their spouse in the language they learned as children; so too, they find it more appropriate to speak to God in that language. The language of birth appears for some to be better suited to expressing and negotiating special relationships of intimacy, dependency and wonder. Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000, 385–430) provide rich ethnographic descriptions of the complex formal and informal, domestic and public ways immigrant religious communities produce and reproduce ethnicity through language maintenance in religious rituals.

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43. Ethnicity/Ethnizität

1. What is ethnicity?
2. Language and ethnicity: maintenance and loss
3. Ethnicity and linguistic change: variationist perspectives
4. Contact and creolization: new ethnicities
5. Conclusion: the ubiquity of ethnicity
6. Literature (selected)

1. What is ethnicity?

Definitions of ethnicity are often ambiguous. In everyday as well as scientific usage there exists considerable overlap between the terms 'ethnicity', 'nationality', 'race' and 'culture'. Etymologically, the Greek noun 'ethnos' was used to describe groups of individuals who live in demarcated geographical areas and are distinguished from others by specific cultural and linguistic practices; 'demos', on the other hand, referred to the citizens of a polity which need not be ethnically homogenous. Fishman (1977), who assumes a "sociohistorical progression from ethnicity to nationality", presents a similar distinction in his definitions of 'nationalism' (i.e. attitudes and sentiments that support the collective identity of national communities as culturally distinct units; e.g. European nation states) and 'nationism' (i.e. behaviours and beliefs pertaining to the development and maintenance of political-territorial autonomy; e.g. the post-colonial multiethnic nations of Africa and Asia).

The relationship between ethnic and racial categories is complex and controversial. Although the biodeterminist construct of 'race' has been shown to be scientifically unsound (cf. Templeton 1998), racial categorizations (as social constructs rather than biological realities) continue to play an important role in the structuring of social relations as well as in popular discourse. By imposing social meaning on physical variation (i.e. beliefs of moral, intellectual and/or cultural superiority or inferiority) racial categories contribute to the creation and reproduction of relationships of power and domination (Hill 1998; Smedley 1999). Notions of heredity, biological relationship and phenotypical similarities which are central aspects of the concept of 'race' play an ambivalent role in theories of ethnicity which

emphasize cultural (e.g. shared history, traditions and language) rather than biological differentiation. Racial and ethnic categorizations can sometimes overlap, however, there are many cases in which they do not coincide, e.g. African Americans and Jamaicans are ethnically (i.e. historically and culturally) distinct, while the Hispanic group, although culturally relatively homogenous, is 'racially' differentiated (cf. Sollors 1996: xxix-xxxv). Although groups which share cultural traditions are frequently also of biological kin and practice some kind of endogamy, sentiments of ethnic belonging are a matter of subjective identification rather than an ascription on the basis of seemingly objective criteria. Max Weber's definition of ethnicity (in 'Economy and Society', 1922) emphasizes this subjective dimension: "We shall call 'ethnic group' those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists. Ethnic membership ('Gemeinsamkeit') differs from the kinship group precisely by being presumed identity" (cited in Sollors 1996, 56). In other words, ethnic identity, although it is not created *ex nihilo* but is based on an experience of cultural and historical communality, is not a primordial or immutable category of human identity but a matter of interpretation and social construction drawing on perceived communalities and assumed traditions, an "act of identity" (LePage/Tabouret-Keller 1985) which is validated by members of the in-group and the out-group. Processes of ethnicization are frequently concerned with boundary creation and maintenance (rather than cultural content and the internal constitution of the within-group culture; cf. Barth 1969, 15: "[it is] the ethnic boundary that defines the group rather than the stuff it encloses"). A focus on boundaries has proved particularly useful for the analysis of modern ethnic groups in Western immigrant societies, which often exhibit relatively little cultural differentiation from the majority culture (e.g. second and third-generation

Italians, Greeks and Irish in the United States), but nevertheless mark ethnic boundaries symbolically and thus define conditions for membership and exclusion (e.g. through markers such as food, language, music, religion, festivals, 'rites de passage', clothing, as well as so-called 'basic value orientations', i.e. the standards of morality and excellence by which performance is judged; Barth 1969: 14).

2. Language and ethnicity: maintenance and loss

Language is often seen as a central aspect of ethnicity. The use of a specific language is a salient group characteristic and can serve as a shorthand for a group's cultural uniqueness. Moreover, the ethnic language also carries cultural content, e.g. religious rituals and rhetorical performances, traditional stories, songs and historical-genealogical narratives. It is through language that individuals name the world around them and their experiences are – at least to some extent – shaped by the lexico-semantic and grammatical structures of their language. However, the salience and symbolic significance of language as a means of expressing and encoding ethnic identity is historically contingent and ethnic groups' differ in the importance they assign to language as a marker of ethnicity. While language is a 'core value' to some groups and is intentionally cultivated in intergroup contexts, it is of little importance to other groups (cf. Smolicz 1981). Giles and his colleagues (1977) introduced the concept of 'ethnolinguistic vitality' to describe the conditions under which an ethnic group will maintain its language as a symbol of a distinctive and collective ethnic identity in an intergroup setting. Ethnolinguistic vitality as defined by Giles et al. is measured as a function of (a) the group's collective mentality or belief system with respect to language as a symbolic marker of ethnic identity (as measured, for example, by the "Subjective Vitality Questionnaire", Bourhis et al. 1981), and (b) the presence or absence of a number of socio-structural factors: the groups economic, political and social status, its demographic strength (i.e. numbers, concentrations, birth rates, migration, etc.) and the institutional support given to the ethnic language (i.e. education, church, government, media, etc.). A comparison between the Italian and Greek communities in Australia illustrates the im-

portance of attitudinal as well as structural factors in language maintenance. First generation language shift is considerably higher for Italian (11–12%) than for Greek (4%; see Clyne/Kipp 1997). In the case of Italian, extreme dialectal diversification of the spoken language and lack of an independent institutional base (i.e. few ethnic schools and few exclusive religious organizations) interact with the fact that Italian ethnic identity is centred on participation in family networks rather than language use. For members of the Greek community language is a core cultural value and maintenance of Greek is supported by the existence of autonomous orthodox churches and ethnic (supplementary) schools. Language also constitutes a core value in the American Deaf community, which has been described by Baker (1999) as an ethnic minority group. Kinship (i.e. being born to Deaf parents) and audiological status (medical deafness), on the other hand, are not sufficient conditions for membership in the Deaf community. Membership is first and foremost a result of a conscious choice based on a positive attitude towards Deafness ('attitudinal Deafness'), active participation in Deaf social life and organizational networks and, most importantly, the use of American Sign Language (ASL; rather than oral skills/lip-reading or the use of signed English) as one's primary vernacular. Use of sign language is the main symbolic boundary marker to the majority hearing group and it is through ASL that shared values, meanings and understandings as well as a sense of a common history of discrimination and educational marginalization are expressed. The example of the Deaf community illustrates the often fuzzy distinction between (sub-) cultural groups (e.g. punks or bikers, the youth, professional groupings, etc.) and ethnic communities in particular. The latter are characterized not only by shared cultural practices but also by a (real or imagined) shared history which reaches back over several generations (i.e. the collective communality of ethnic groups is based on a belief in a "historically continuous authenticity"; Fishman 1983, 128).

Although language has been shown to be a central marker of ethnicity in many cases, the use of a common vernacular is not a necessary condition for the development and maintenance of a separate ethnic identity. The role of language in the demarcation of Jewish ethnicity in nineteenth century East-

ern Europe was limited to the use of Hebrew as the language of religious ritual. However, in their everyday linguistic practices members of the Jewish community showed socially divergent linguistic behaviour: assimilated middle-class Jews typically spoke the majority language of the country (i.e. Polish, Russian, etc.), working-class Jews employed Yiddish as their vernacular language. Today Yiddish is still maintained as a primary vernacular and identity marker in Orthodox Jewish communities, while non-Orthodox Jews use the national language of their country of residence (Isaacs 1999). In the case of Ireland, the rapid language shift from Irish Gaelic to English did not lead to the disappearance of Irish identity and although attitudes towards Irish Gaelic are still positive, knowledge of the ancestral language is no longer a condition for group membership. Religion has become the main marker of ethnic identity (McCafferty 2001).

3. Ethnicity and linguistic change: variationist perspectives

In variation studies ethnicity has been used as an independent social variable alongside other aspects of social structure (i.e. age, gender, class, neighbourhood). Horvath (1985), for example, included speakers from different ethnic groups (Australians of English, Italian and Greek background) into her study of English in Sydney. She found that first generation migrants from Italy and Greece formed a peripheral speech community which was clearly separated from the core of the Sydney speech community. Second generation migrants, on the other hand, were full members of the English speech community. Although many of them still made use of their ethnic language in certain domains (e.g. family), their social networks had become increasingly non-ethnic and they had assimilated to the majority culture (cf. also Nahirny/Fishman 1965 for a discussion of second generation ethnicity). In the third generation use of and proficiency in the ethnic language is often severely compromised and loss seems often inevitable. However, ethnographic studies of second-, third- and fourth-generation 'ethnics' have shown that symbolic transformation of the ethnolinguistic heritage rather than straightforward loss and assimilation appear to be the long-term result of this process (cf.

Gans' 1979 notion of 'symbolic ethnicity'). Clyne et al. (2001) investigated the use of ethnic accent among second- and third-generation Greek and Jewish migrants in Melbourne. Although most of them no longer spoke the ancestral language, they were found to strategically employ ethnolectal features in their English, especially in within-group communication (e.g. habitual use of uvular [R] and extensive lexical transfers in the Yiddish-speaking Ultra-Orthodox Jewish community; /ə/ to /ɛ/ in closed syllables, voicing of voiceless stops, heavy aspiration of /k/ and syntactic marking, e.g. 'how you know?', 'we'll go movies', in the Greek community). Thus, despite diminishing use of the ancestral language ethnic identity is still indexed linguistically; according to Clyne et al. (2001, 226): 'An ethnolect, like a community language, offers a means of expressing linguistic identity, of demonstrating solidarity with one's ethnic group. Importantly, it provides a means for those who may no longer be fluent in their ethnic language to continue to express their identification with, and sense of belonging to, their ethnic group.' A related phenomenon is the use of stylized pan-ethnic varieties as identity markers which Warren (1999) discussed under the label 'wogspeak' for Australia ('wog' is a derogatory term for a foreigner which has been reclaimed by migrants to designate their bicultural identity). 'Wogspeak' is characterized by a range of pan-ethnic vernacular linguistic features: phonetic variants such as, for example, replacement of /th/ by /d/ and the avoidance of reduced vowels as well as syntactic features such as the extensive use of double negatives. Similar ethnolectal phenomena have been reported for other migrant societies, e.g. the United Kingdom (Rampton 1995) and Sweden (Kotsinas 1981). Under conditions of social segregation and intergroup conflict, ethnolectal developments can lead to long-term processes of linguistic divergence (cf. Bateson's 1972 notion of schizmogogenesis, and Bailey/Maynor 1989 on the divergence of Black and White vernaculars in the United States) and oppositional linguistic (sub-) cultures. Although the existence of ethnolectal varieties is a common characteristic of multi-ethnic societies, the effect of ethnicity on long-term linguistic change appears to be marginal and unsystematic: 'If there is a general principle to be extracted from the study of ethnicity ...

it is a negative one. Despite the fact that ethnicity is logically linked to the differentiation of language behaviour through use and knowledge of the immigrant language, it has proved to be weaker and less general in its effects than gender, age, and social class' (Labov 2001, 259; but see McCafferty 2001 for a re-evaluation of ethnicity as a factor in language change in Northern Ireland). Labov (*ibid.*) illustrates the general unpredictability of ethnicity as a regular mechanism in language change with a number of examples in which language use clearly differs across ethnic groups but nevertheless resists an interpretation based on substratum effects. In the Italian community of South Philadelphia neutralization of the distinction between 'make' and 'let' has been observed (e.g. 'how could you make your husband dance with all those women?', 'It would let Jesus cry.'). This lexical neutralization has no parallel in Italian (which distinguishes 'fare' and 'lasciare'), but appears to have emerged independently in the Italian community. Similarly, the merger of /oh/ and /o/ which has been observed in coal-mining towns in Eastern Pennsylvania after the arrival of large numbers of Slavic-speaking migrants cannot be explained in terms of L1 effects. Moreover, since ethnolectal features are strong symbols of in-group membership, diffusion out of the ethnic community into the general speech community is rare.

4. Contact and creolization: new ethnicities

Essentialist conceptions of ethnicity and notions of cultural purity, stability and exclusivity, which are leitmotifs of European ethnic nationalism, are particularly misplaced in complex multicultural societies where the negotiation of identities is characterized by flexibility, personal choice and an openness of boundaries. Fraser Gupta (2000) introduced the term 'cosmopolis' to refer to those multilingual urban settings in which there exists no single dominant ethnolinguistic group and where the individuals' linguistic and cultural repertoires are characterized by a multiplicity of registers, languages and cultural traditions (e.g. Singapore, Bombay, Jerusalem, Malacca, Dar es Salaam). Such complex intergroup contexts support the formation of new ethnic identities through processes of cultural creolization, i.e. the mixing of two or more formerly discrete

traditions or cultures and the emergence of new shared cultural forms (cf. Hannerz 1992). Linguistically these processes are reflected in extensive code-switching practices as well as the formation of various types of 'mixed' languages. Muysken's (1997) description of *Media Lengua* (literally 'half-way language'; spoken in Ecuador) shows how cultural creolization (without biological 'mixing') can give rise to the formation of new stable linguistic practices. *Media Lengua* uses Spanish lexicon and Quechua grammar and is spoken by a group called 'Obreros' ('workers') who live in villages near the town of San Miquel de Salcedo. The villages are geographically and culturally situated between the 'blanco' world of the town (Spanish culture and language) and the Indian villages higher up on the mountain slopes (Quechua culture and language). Although the speakers of *Media Lengua* are Quechua, their cultural identity has been transformed by regular contact with the urban centre. According to Muysken the 'Obreros' articulate their sense of cultural identity – 'an identity which cannot be fitted into the traditional strict equations Quechua = Indian and Spanish = White, which the caste society of the Ecuadorian Andes has provided' (Muysken 1997, 377) – through the use of *Media Lengua* as their primary vernacular for in-group communication. Language contact does not necessarily lead to either loss, maintenance or mixing of the ethnic heritage, but it can also result in compartmentalization and partial maintenance. The Elmolo, a fishing community in Kenya, came into contact with the Samburu, a high-status pastoralist society, around 1900. Although the Elmolo soon shifted to the Samburu language and adopted many of the Samburu's customs, they still maintained Elmolo vocabulary and culture in the context of fishing, their traditional means of subsistence (Dorian 1999, 29).

5. Conclusion: the ubiquity of ethnicity

Ethnicity is a key analytical concept of anthropological, sociological and sociolinguistic research. Following Eriksen (1993) we can distinguish three main research areas of ethnicity studies:

- (a) Urban ethnic minorities, primarily migrants to industrial urban areas (e.g. Turks in Germany, Italians in America

and Australia, Mozambican mine workers in South Africa). Questions of integration, discrimination and racism, cultural and linguistic change, intercultural communication as well as identity management and maintenance of ethnic boundaries have been prominent in the literature.

- (b) Indigenous peoples, i.e. the original inhabitants of a given territory who are only partially integrated into the structures of the dominant nation-state (e.g. the Australian aborigines, the Sami of Scandinavia, the Khoesaaan of Southern Africa). Research has largely concentrated on the description of the cultural universe characteristic of these groups, on questions of cultural and linguistic loss as a result of globalization pressures as well as (if applicable) programmes for language revival (cf. Fishman 1989).
- (c) Proto-nations ('ethnonationalist' movements) which are in conflict with a politically dominant group and whose efforts are directed at the institution of an independent nation state (e.g. Kurds, Sri Lankan Tamils, Corsicans). A focus on language (in particular the development of an ethnic standard language which can fulfill H functions in the nation state) is typical for such movements.

As a result of these research traditions, ethnicity has sometimes been seen as an ephemeral, and even irrational and politically disruptive phenomenon, characteristic of indigenous minorities, immigrants and other marginalized groups, while the majority culture is presented as 'nonethnic', i.e. unmarked, universal, parochial, defined by shared norms and standards. However, in New York City the majority group of White Anglo Saxon Protestants (WASPs) constitutes an ethnic group just as much as Hispanics and African Americans, and Boston baked beans is as much a type of ethnic food as Mexican enchiladas.

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44. Region/Region

1. Begriffsklärung
2. Region als ganzheitliche Raumeinheit
3. Region als formaler raumbezogener Klassifikationsbegriff
4. Region als Typus gesellschaftlicher Strukturbildung
5. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Begriffsklärung

Das Wort „Region“ wurde im 15. Jahrhundert aus dem lateinischen *regio* (Gebiet, Gegend, Richtung) entlehnt und wird seitdem in meist wenig bestimmter Weise zur Bezeichnung eines Gebiets, vor allem im geographischen Sinne, aber auch metaphorisch, verwendet. Im wissenschaftlichen Sprachgebrauch erscheinen seit dem ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert das französische *région* und vor allem das englische *region* häufiger zur Bezeichnung geographisch abgegrenzter Raumausschnitte, während die ältere deutsche Geographie dafür die Begriffe „Land“ und „Landschaft“ bevorzugte. Dies änderte sich nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, als „Region“ vor allem in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren zu einem wichtigen Fachterminus von Geographie, Ökonomie und Raumordnung (Regionalplanung und Regionalpolitik) wurde. Seit den 1980er Jahren ist „Region“ zu einem Modewort in der Öffentlichkeit und Politik, aber auch in vielen Wissenschaften geworden. In den Gesellschafts- und teilweise auch in den

Kulturwissenschaften wurde „Region“ zu einem Schlüsselbegriff, der in unterschiedlichen Theoriekontexten ein facettenreiches Bedeutungsspektrum entwickelt hat, der als Modebegriff aber auch einem gewissen Verschleißprozess ausgesetzt ist. In den raumbezogenen Wissenschaften (insbesondere Geographie, Raumplanung, aber auch Soziologie, Ökonomie usw.) lassen sich drei (zeitlich aufeinander folgende) Begriffsfassungen von „Region“ unterscheiden: 1) Region als ganzheitliche Raumeinheit, 2) Region als formaler raumbezogener Klassifikationsbegriff, 3) Region als Typus gesellschaftlicher Strukturbildung.

2. Region als ganzheitliche Raumeinheit

Die traditionelle, bis in die 1960er Jahre dominierende Auffassung verstand Regionen als konkrete Ausschnitte der dinglich erfüllten Erdoberfläche. Die Aufgabe der Geographie wurde vor allem darin gesehen, die individuellen Züge der einzelnen Regionen zu erfassen und darzustellen sowie die Regionen sachgerecht räumlich abzugrenzen und zu gliedern. Aufgrund der Parallelen zwischen dem Historismus der historischen Kulturwissenschaften nach Wilhelm Dilthey und dem „Regionalismus“ der Landes- und Länderkunde kann man dieses Wissenschaftsprogramm als tendenziell hermeneu-

tisch, wengleich mit unübersehbaren naturalistischen Zügen, bezeichnen. Für die Verwendung des Regionsbegriffs in der älteren Geographie des deutschen, französischen und englischen Sprachraums ist bedeutsam, dass sich als Äquivalente der deutschen Landes- und Länderkunde im französischen Sprachraum *géographie régionale* und im englischen Sprachraum *regional geography* durchsetzten. Hingegen erhielten in der deutschsprachigen Geographie die Termini „Land“ und „Landschaft“ eine prominente Stellung als zentraler Forschungsgegenstand, während in Frankreich *pays* und *région* und in der englischsprachigen Geographie *region* im Mittelpunkt standen. Aus dem traditionellen Regionskonzept entwickelten sich zwei divergierende Richtungen: Zum einen orientierte sich die idiographische landes- und länderkundliche Geographie an dem Programm der individualisierenden Kulturwissenschaften und versuchte, Regionen als ganzheitliche singuläre Realitäten zu erfassen und historisch-genetisch zu deuten. Zum andern entwickelte sich, vor allem in engerem Kontakt zu den benachbarten Naturwissenschaften, eine regionale Systemforschung, die nicht nur Fakten sammeln und ordnen, sondern vor allem das Netz funktionaler Verbindungen aufdecken wollte. Zu diesem Entwicklungsstrang gehören der Ansatz der „Landwirtschaftsformation“ nach L. Waibel und G. Pfeifer sowie vor allem das Konzept der Landschaftsökologie nach C. Troll und E. Neef.

3. Region als formaler raumbezogener Klassifikationsbegriff

Im Zuge der Hinwendung der Geographie zur empirisch-analytischen Methodologie (logischer Empirismus, kritischer Rationalismus) in den 1960er Jahren wurde versucht, dem Regionsbegriff eine präzisere Fassung zu geben. Im Mittelpunkt der damaligen methodologischen Debatten standen die Fragen, ob Regionen „einzigartig“ sind, ob sie „real existent“ sind und ob sich der Regionsbegriff klassenlogisch präzisieren und systematisieren lässt. Die These von der Einzigartigkeit der einzelnen Regionen, die in der älteren idiographischen Landes- und Länderkunde der zentrale Ausgangspunkt für deren methodologisches Programm war, geriet nun unter einen erheblichen Argumentationsdruck von Seiten der neopositivistischen analytischen Wissen-

schaftstheorie. Demnach ist die Individualität von Regionen nicht zur Begründung eines gesonderten wissenschaftlichen Programms geeignet, sondern insofern ein Scheinproblem, als alle realen Gegenstände in einem trivialen Sinne „einzig“ sind und die Aufgabe der Wissenschaft darin besteht, nicht das „Wesen“ bestimmter singulärer Objekte zu erfassen, sondern bestimmte Merkmale dieser Objekte zu beschreiben und zu erklären.

Mit dem Individualitäts-Argument oft eng verknüpft war in der älteren Landes- und Länderkunde die Vorstellung, Regionen seien real existente Ganzheiten. Nachdem bereits A. Hettner zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts eine vorsichtige nominalistische Wende angedeutet hatte, setzte sich erst in den 1960er und 1970er weitgehend die nominalistische Auffassung durch, dass Regionen als analytische Konstrukte zur räumlichen Ordnung von Objekten aufzufassen sind. Dementsprechend wurde der ältere Begriffsrealismus mit seiner Suche nach real vorhandenen „natürlichen Regionen“ als unfruchtbar abgelehnt und statt dessen argumentiert, die Bildung von Regionen hänge von den jeweiligen Zwecken und den daraufhin auszuwählenden Regionalisierungsmerkmalen ab. Insofern gebe es auch nicht eine einzige „wahre“ Regionsgliederung der Erdoberfläche, sondern eine prinzipiell unbegrenzte Vielzahl von mehr oder weniger zweckmäßigen bzw. empirisch mehr oder weniger gehaltvollen „Regionalisierungen“ (analytischen Regionbildungen).

Um die logische Struktur von Regionen, Regionssystemen und Regionalisierungen jenseits idiographisch-holistischer Traditionen zu klären, entspann sich seit den 1950er Jahren in der angloamerikanischen und seit den 1960er Jahren auch in der deutschsprachigen Geographie eine lebhafte Diskussion, die beispielsweise bei P. Sedlacek 1978 dokumentiert ist. Einen viel beachteten Beitrag leistete D. Bartels (1968, 74ff.), indem er vorschlug, den Regionsbegriff als klassenlogisch (mengentheoretisch) definierten Ordnungsbegriff der Geographie aufzufassen und systematisch auszudifferenzieren. „Regionalisierung“ ist insofern ein auf den Raum angewandtes formales klassenlogisches Verfahren, bei dem nicht sachlich, sondern formal definierte Gebiets-einheiten unter der Bedingung „räumlicher Kontingenz“ (gemeinsame Grenze) nach bestimmten sachlichen Merkmalen (Prädikate im Sinne der formalen Prädikatenlogik) klas-

sifiziert werden. Wichtig ist in diesem Zusammenhang die Unterscheidung in einwertige Prädikate (Attribute, Strukturmerkmale) und zweiwertige Prädikate (Verflechtungsmerkmale). Ausschließlich durch einwertige Prädikate gebildete Regionen bezeichnet man als Strukturregionen (auch: homogene Regionen), während Regionen, die anhand von Verflechtungsmerkmalen gebildet wurden, als Funktionalregionen bezeichnet werden. Beispiele des ersten Typs sind Industriestrukturregionen, Verdichtungsregionen und Hochgebirgsregionen. Beispiele des zweiten Typs sind Verkehrsregionen, Marktgebiete und Kommunikationsregionen. Eine weitere Unterscheidung lässt sich vornehmen, wenn Regionen anhand nur eines Prädikats oder anhand mehrerer Prädikate gebildet werden. Im ersten Fall spricht man auch von „Arealen“ (Verbreitungsgebiet eines Merkmals wie z.B. Waldbedeckung), im zweiten Fall auch von Systemregionen, wenn zwischen den verwendeten Prädikaten ein systemischer Zusammenhang besteht.

Die jüngere Entwicklung der Diskussion fassen u. a. M. Fischer 1982 und W. Gaebe 1987 zusammen. Letzterer verweist allerdings auch zu Recht darauf, dass sich die strenge klassenlogisch definierte Begriffssystematik von Bartels in der Praxis nicht durchgesetzt hat und dass der Regionsbegriff insbesondere nicht klar von verwandten Begriffen wie Areal und Feld unterschieden wird. Beispielsweise entwickelte M. Boesch 1989 eine etwas andere Begriffssystematik: Er versteht Areale als „Gebiete mit invarianter Ausstattung“, unabhängig von der Zahl der zugrunde liegenden Merkmale, während er Funktionalregionen als „Bereiche“ bezeichnet. Den Begriff „Region“ möchte Boesch hingegen ausschließlich *normativ* im Sinne von „Gestaltungsraum“ oder „Planungsregion“ auffassen. Dieser Vorschlag hat sich zwar nicht durchgesetzt, er verweist jedoch darauf, dass neben den analytisch-deskriptiven Regionsbegriffen der Terminus „Region“ heute zunehmend in normativ-politischen Kontexten verwendet wird. Einen weithin akzeptierten Minimalkonsens der divergierenden Begriffsdefinitionen schlug K. Lange im Handwörterbuch der Raumforschung und Raumordnung (1970, Sp. 2705) vor: „Eine Region ist ein geographisch bestimmter Raum mittlerer Größenordnung, der als zusammengehörig angesehen wird.“ In ähnlicher Weise definiert M. Sinz im „Handwörterbuch der Raumordnung“

den Begriff Region als „einen durch bestimmte Merkmale gekennzeichneten, zusammenhängenden Teilraum mittlerer Größenordnung in einem Gesamttraum“ (1995, S. 805). In Anbetracht der seit 1970 stattgefundenen Ausdifferenzierung des Regionsbegriffs verweist M. Sinz dann jedoch ausdrücklich auf die unterschiedlichen wissenschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Kontexte der Begriffsverwendung.

4. Region als Typus gesellschaftlicher Strukturbildung

Seit den 1980er Jahren ist dieses formale Regionsverständnis zugunsten eines gesellschaftswissenschaftlichen Regionsverständnisses in den Hintergrund getreten. Deutlich wird diese Begriffsverschiebung, wenn man die drei zentralen Aspekte der formalen Definition gesellschaftswissenschaftlich problematisiert: a) den *Raumbezug* („geographisch bestimmter Raum“), b) den *Maßstabsbezug* („Raum mittlerer Größenordnung“) sowie c) den *Sachbezug* („als zusammengehörig angesehen“).

4.1. Der Raumbezug

In der traditionellen Geographie verstand man unter Raum einen Ausschnitt der dinglich erfüllten Erdoberfläche. Diese triviale Raumauffassung wird in der neueren Kultur-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeographie erweitert um subjektive und gesellschaftliche Raumkonzepte wie Wahrnehmungsraum, politischer Raum (Territorium), Wirtschaftsraum, Verkehrsraum, Sozialraum, Kulturraum usw. Diese Raumkonzepte klammern zwar das materielle Substrat des (Erd-)Raumes nicht aus; konstitutiv für sie sind jedoch die nichtmateriellen politischen, ökonomischen, sozialen und kulturellen Bedeutungsgehalte. Die Auffassung von Region als Raumkategorie impliziert aber keineswegs, dass Regionen stets flächenhaft, homogen und linear abgrenzbar sein müssen, so wie es beispielsweise politische Territorien (in der Regel) sind. Es ist gerade ein Charakteristikum gesellschaftlicher Regionalisierungen, dass die entstehenden Gebilde eher diskontinuierlich, heterogen und unscharf abgrenzbar sind. Wenn im Englischen hier von *fuzzy sets* die Rede ist, so wird damit zum Ausdruck gebracht, dass gesellschaftliche Regionalisierungen sich vielfach überlagern und gerade nicht dem Modell eines die Erd-

oberfläche bedeckenden wohlgeordneten Mosaiks entsprechen.

4.2. Der Maßstabsbezug

Der Definitionsbezug auf einen „Raum mittlerer Größenordnung“ stellt im üblichen Sprachgebrauch auf einen Maßstabsbereich oberhalb der lokalen/kommunalen Ebene und unterhalb der staatlichen/nationalen Ebene ab. Diese mittlere Dimensionierung enthält einige wesentliche inhaltliche Implikationen:

a) *Politisch*: Region bezeichnet nicht nur eine neutrale räumlich definierte Zwischenebene (oder mehrere Zwischenebenen) zwischen Gemeinde und Staat, sondern signalisiert in der Regel ein *politisches Spannungsverhältnis* zur kommunalen Ebene einerseits sowie zur staatlichen Ebene andererseits. An der lokal-regionalen Nahtstelle zeigt sich dies an den aktuellen Diskussionen über interkommunale Kooperation und die Bildung von transkommunalen Gebietskörperschaften (z.B. für Stadtregionen). Das staatlich-regionale Spannungsverhältnis zeigt sich beispielhaft an Kompetenzstreitigkeiten zwischen Bundesstaat und Ländern in föderalen Staaten sowie an der Forderung regionalistischer Bewegungen nach regionaler Autonomie.

b) *Sozialkulturell*: Das soziale Leben ist auf den verschiedenen Maßstabsebenen unterschiedlich strukturiert, da sich die Formen der sozialen Kommunikation nach Maßstabsebenen unterscheiden: Im Unterschied zur Face-to-face-Kommunikation im lokalen Nahraum bedarf die soziale Kommunikation auf der regionalen (und nationalen) Ebene einer Vermittlung durch technische Medien (Massenmedien, Telekommunikation). Andererseits gibt es auch einen 'qualitativen Sprung' zwischen der regionalen und lokalen Ebene (vertrauter Nahraum, häufig emotional als 'Heimat' besetzt) sowie der nationalen Ebene (wirkungsmächtiges Konstrukt des Nationalstaats).

Als Typus gesellschaftlicher Strukturbildung zwischen der lokal-kommunalen Ebene einerseits und der national-staatlichen Ebene andererseits ist der Regionsbegriff prinzipiell offen, so dass sich häufig mehrere Regionskonstrukte überlagern. Beispielsweise überlagern sich häufig historische, oft auf die Territorien des Alten Reiches zurückgehende Regionen mit modernen Verwaltungsräumen sowie sozioökonomischen Struktur- und Funktionalregionen. Solche

Regionskonzepte stehen keineswegs immer in friedlicher Koexistenz nebeneinander, wie sich vielfach in der Geschichte zeigen lässt und wie sich in den aktuellen Diskussionen um Verwaltungsreformen gerade auf der mittleren Ebene wieder herausstellt.

Neben der mittleren Maßstäblichkeit wird der Regionsbegriff in der Ökonomie, Politikwissenschaft und Geographie heute zunehmend auch in einem ganz anderen Sinne verwendet: als Zusammenfassung mehrerer Staaten im kontinentalen Maßstab. So spricht man von einem Trend zur „Regionalisierung“ der Weltwirtschaft und meint damit die Bildung von regionalen Freihandelszonen und Wirtschaftsblöcken wie EU, NAFTA (*North American Free Trade Area*) oder APEC (*Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation*). Abgesehen von der Gemeinsamkeit, dass sowohl die subnationale als auch die supranationale Regionalisierung in einem Spannungsverhältnis zur nationalstaatlichen Ebene stehen, handelt es sich hier um ganz unterschiedliche Phänomene. Natürlich trägt diese Begriffsverwendung nicht gerade zur terminologischen Klarheit und Eindeutigkeit bei, allerdings dürfte aus dem jeweiligen Kontext zumeist klar hervorgehen, dass es sich hier um Diskurse auf ganz unterschiedlichen Maßstabsebenen handelt.

4.3. Der sachliche Bezug

Als drittes Definitionsmerkmal von „Region“ formuliert Lange schließlich: „*als zusammengehörig angesehener Raum*“. Diese Formulierung enthält zwei zentrale offene Fragen: a) Hinsichtlich welcher *inhaltlicher Kriterien* wird ein Raum als zusammengehörig angesehen? Und: b) *Wer* sieht (mit welchen Interessen, mit welchen Zwecken und mit welcher Wirkung) einen Raum als zusammengehörig an? Die erste Frage ist in der bisherigen Literatur naturgemäß am ausführlichsten diskutiert worden, da Regionalisierungsverfahren zu den elementaren Arbeitsmethoden der raumbezogenen Disziplinen gehören.

Eine inhaltliche Typologie von Regionskonzepten hat H. Blotvogel (1996, 2000) vorgeschlagen. Er unterscheidet zwischen a) Analyse- und Beschreibungsregionen, b) Tätigkeitsregionen sowie c) Wahrnehmungs- und Identitätsregionen. Bei den „*Beschreibungs- und Analyseregionen*“ geht es i.d.R. um erdräumlich eindeutig lokalisierbare Eigenschaften der dinglich erfüllten Erdoberfläche, beispielsweise wenn nach Vegetationsregio-

nen, Wassereinzugsbereichen usw. gefragt wird. Hier besteht eine enge Verbindung zu den oben beschriebenen formalen Regionskonzepten. Allerdings kommen spätestens bei den sog. Funktionalregionen bereits relationale gesellschaftliche Raumkonzepte ins Spiel, und bei den systemaren Regionskonstrukten wie „Wirtschaftsraum“, „Landschaft“, „Stadtregion“ usw. handelt es sich um theoretische Modelle über die Strukturierung der Erdoberfläche.

Bei den Regionsklassen der *Tätigkeitsregionen* und der *Wahrnehmungs- und Identitätsregionen* sind die Raumbezüge noch komplexer. In der neueren theoretischen Diskussion wird das tradierte Raumverständnis des materiellen (Behälter-)Raums der Erdoberfläche zunehmend abgelehnt und statt dessen ein relationales gesellschaftliches Raumverständnis favorisiert. *Beschreibungs- und Analyseregionen* sind empirisch mehr oder weniger gut fundierte Konstrukte von Wissenschaftlern zur Ordnung der Realität. Allerdings wird in den empirisch arbeitenden Wissenschaften gegenüber dem radikalen Konstruktivismus i. d. R. darauf beharrt, dass die *realen* Eigenschaften des Erdraums ein Erkenntnisobjekt der Wissenschaft sind und als empirische Prüfinstanz der wissenschaftlichen Begriffs- und Hypothesenbildung dienen. Die darauf basierenden Regionsbildungen sind stets theorie- bzw. zweckgeleitete Konstrukte. *Tätigkeitsregionen* werden durch das Handeln von Menschen (Individuen und Gruppen) sowie von gesellschaftlichen Organisationen (z. B. Unternehmen, Verbände, Gebietskörperschaften) gebildet. Für den speziellen Typ der *Tätigkeitsregionen* von Organisationen hat H. Klüter 1986 den Terminus „Programmregion“ vorgeschlagen; hierzu gehören selbstverständlich auch Planungsregionen (Bartels 1975). Durch das triviale, aber vielleicht deswegen auch häufig vernachlässigte Faktum, dass Menschen ebenso wie Organisationen in Zeit und Raum existieren und agieren, konstituieren sie eine Vielzahl von Regionen, und zwar i. d. R. nicht im Sinne eines wohl gegliederten räumlichen Mosaiks, sondern mit überaus komplexen wechselseitigen Überlappungen und Konflikten.

Wahrnehmungs- und Identitätsregionen werden durch soziale Kommunikation (Face-to-face-Kommunikation, Massenmedien, Politik, Kultur) konstituiert. Raum und Region sind hier selbstverständlich nicht im materiellen erdräumlichen Sinne gemeint,

sondern als Element der sozialen Kommunikation. Bei genauerer Prüfung ergeben sich hier allerdings zwei Raumbezüge von ganz unterschiedlicher Art: Primär ist Region hier ein mentales und soziales Konstrukt, ein Aspekt der personalen und sozialen Identitätsbildung, aber auch ein Vehikel von Zweckrationalität und Macht. Auf der anderen Seite findet soziale Kommunikation nie im luftleeren Raum statt. Der besonders wichtige Typus der Face-to-face-Kommunikation setzt physische Nähe voraus und verweist damit letztlich auf die Leiblichkeit der handelnden Menschen. Die technisch vermittelte Kommunikation (per Telefon, Massenmedien, Internet usw.) ermöglicht zwar die Überwindung des physischen Raums, doch ist dies noch längst keine hinreichende Bedingungen für die Auflösung jeglicher Regionalität der sozialen Kommunikation. Regionalisierend wirken nicht nur die Sprachbarrieren, sondern auch die Verbreitungsgebiete von Print- und Funkmedien sowie die territorialen Bezüge von Politik, Kultur usw. Unbestritten findet im Zuge von Transnationalisierung und Globalisierung auch eine tendenzielle Entregionalisierung der sozialen Kommunikation statt. Dies bedeutet jedoch nicht eine einfache Enträumlichung und globale Homogenisierung. Vielmehr lassen sich vielfältige Prozesse der Re-Regionalisierung beobachten, freilich nicht im Sinne einer Bewahrung oder Wiederherstellung traditioneller Regionen, sondern im Sinne einer Bildung neuer, sich vielfältig überlappender und unscharf begrenzter Regionalisierungen.

Die oben genannte zweite Frage verweist auf den *Konstruktcharakter* von Regionen. Regionen sind nicht „geographisch gegeben“, sondern in einem doppelten Sinne Konstrukte: Als analytische Werkzeuge des Wissenschaftlers zur Ordnung der Realität sind sie erstens gedankliche Konstrukte der Wissenschaft (epistemologischer Konstruktcharakter). Darüber hinaus sind Regionen aber auch (intendierte und nicht intendierte) Folge menschlichen Handelns und insofern historische und gesellschaftliche Konstrukte (historisch-sozialer Konstruktcharakter). In der jüngeren Literatur findet sich vielfach die These, dass „das Regionale“ in ganz unterschiedlichen Bereichen der Gesellschaft einen neuen Stellenwert erhalten habe (z. B. Lindner 1994, Stiens 1997). Es ist aber umstritten, ob es sich dabei lediglich um eine relativ folgenlose Diskurskon-

junktur handelt oder ob die „regionale Ebene“ tatsächlich an Bedeutung gewinnt. Zwei mögliche Thesen mögen die Spannweite der dazu vertretenen Auffassungen andeuten.

Erstens wird argumentiert, dass in der gegenwärtigen Ära der Internationalisierung und Globalisierung von Ökonomie, Medien, Kultur usw. räumliche Bindungen und Differenzierungen an Bedeutung verlören. Regionen seien nur noch verblässende historische Reminiszenzen im Vergleich zu den real dominierenden Trends zur Weltwirtschaft, Weltkultur und Weltpolitik. Im Unterschied zu vormodernen traditionellen Gesellschaften, die durch räumliche Segmentierungen in Stämme, Regionen usw. charakterisiert waren, seien spätmoderne Gesellschaften „räumlich entankert“ (Werlen 1993). Neue Technologien und Medien machten den Raum als Strukturprinzip der Gesellschaft obsolet, denn „räumliche Grenzen haben nur einen (sozialen) Sinn, wenn und solange sie auch Informationsgrenzen sind“ (Guggenberger 1994). Nach dieser These hat die Diskurskonjunktur um Region, Regionalisierung usw. allenfalls eine symbolische Funktion, und zwar primär in einem kompensatorischen Sinne. Das Argument lässt sich etwa wie folgt formulieren: Die fortschreitende Globalisierung führt zu einem objektiven Verlust der regionalen und nationalen Autonomie und Steuerungsfähigkeit. Aber gerade dadurch wächst die Sehnsucht nach eben dieser regionalen Autonomie und Steuerungsfähigkeit. In dieser Situation greifen regionale Akteure der Politik und Verwaltung zu einer verstärkten Regionsrhetorik, um ihre Machtlosigkeit symbolisch zu kompensieren. Auch die Wissenschaft sei durch Regionalforschung zu Diensten, um an dieser Rhetorikarbeit mitzuwirken. Auch auf der lebensweltlichen Ebene führe die objektive Enträumlichung zu einer soziokulturellen Gegenbewegung, denn „die Welt als ungegliederte Ganzheit kann man nicht lieben, wohl nicht einmal bewohnen“ (Guggenberger 1994). Die in der Spätmoderne nicht mehr erfüllten sozialen Nahweltbedürfnisse provozierten einen Abwehrkampf gegen die Entgrenzungen und seien nichts anderes als „der verzweifelte Versuch, den gegliederten und begrenzten Raum zu behaupten oder zurückzuerobern“ (Guggenberger 1994). Das Programm einer sozialen Re-Regionalisierung wäre demnach eine Form der Modernisierungsverweigerung, deren leere Regions- und Heimatrhe-

torik letztlich in „Ausländer raus“-Parolen münde.

Die Gegenthese verweist auf das dialektische Wechselverhältnis zwischen der globalen Ebene einerseits sowie der lokal-regionalen Ebene andererseits. Zwar seien Regionen weder politisch autonome Einheiten noch ökonomisch und kulturell isolierte Inseln, sie seien aber auch nicht notwendig nur ein „passiver Resonanzboden“ des Globalen (bzw. Nationalen). Regionen könnten vielmehr zugleich politische Handlungs- und Gestaltungsräume sein, wenn auch in überregionaler, globaler Verflechtung und damit immer nur in *relativer* Autonomie. Die These einer relativen Handlungs- und Gestaltungsautonomie lässt sich durch (mindestens) zwei Argumentationsstränge begründen. Das erste Argument ist im Wesentlichen staats- bzw. organisationstheoretisch. Demnach stoßen hierarchisch organisierte unitarische Staaten zunehmend an die Grenzen ihrer Kapazität zur Bewältigung der immer komplexer werdenden Aufgaben und zur Verarbeitung der immer zahlreicher werdenden Konflikte. Gegenüber rigiden hierarchischen Systemen hätten dezentrale Organisationen mit teilautonomen (regionalen) Entscheidungseinheiten den Vorzug einer größeren Flexibilität. Dieses abstrakte organisationstheoretische Argument ist im Hinblick auf einen dezentralen Staatsaufbau insofern besonders relevant, als eine politisch-administrative Dezentralisierung eine größere Problemnähe und eine direktere Rückkoppelung der politischen Willensbildung mit der Exekutive ermögliche. Das zweite, eher sozialökonomische Argument verweist auf die zunehmende Zahl neuerer Untersuchungen, die den unterschiedlichen wirtschaftlichen Erfolg von Regionen für nicht allein ökonomisch erklärbar halten, sondern die Bedeutung der „territorialen Einbettung“ hervorheben (u. a. Amin u. Thrift 1994, Grabher 1994). Damit sind das komplexe Wirkungsgeflecht des sozialen und kulturellen Milieus und speziell die „institutionelle Dichte“ einer Region als wesentliche Determinanten für die Flexibilität und Innovationsfähigkeit der regionalen Ökonomien angesprochen. Die These von der umfassenden Entregionalisierung des sozialen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Lebens vermag zumindest in dieser Pauschalität einer kritischen Überprüfung nicht standzuhalten. Die unbestritten weit reichenden Globalisierungs- und Homogeni-

sierungsprozesse sind nur die eine Seite der Medaille, die eben dadurch ausgelösten Re-Regionalisierungs- und Lokalisierungs-tendenzen die andere. Regionalität, d. h. die auf (wie immer definierte) „Regionen“ bezogene Strukturbildung des sozialen, ökonomischen und kulturellen Lebens, ist keineswegs ein Relikt der Vormoderne, sondern ein Strukturprinzip spät- bzw. postmoderner Gesellschaften. Da „moderne“ Konzepte wie Nationalstaat, Europäische Union usw. keine hinreichende Integrationskraft mehr zu entfalten vermögen, erhält die Region als symbolisches Medium der sozialen Integration eine neue Funktion.

Allerdings ist die Warnung von D. Fürst 1993 vor einer Überschätzung der Region als gesellschaftliches Strukturprinzip und politische Handlungsebene ernst zu nehmen. Die „Wiederentdeckung des Raumes“ und speziell die Renaissance der Region im regulationstheoretischen Erklärungskontext sind häufig mit zwei typischen Deutungsfehlern verbunden: Erstens wird Region oft als materielles erdräumliches Phänomen bzw. als erdräumlich abgrenzbares Territorium hypostasiert, obwohl sie in erster Linie durch das gemeinsame Handeln von Akteuren, ihren Interaktionen, Intentionen, Einstellungen und Überzeugungen konstituiert wird. Zweitens werden die tatsächlich verfügbare politische und kulturelle Definitions- und Gestaltungsmacht und erst recht der wirtschaftspolitische Handlungsspielraum auf der (wie immer definierten) regionalen Ebene häufig überschätzt. Tatsächlich sind viele Probleme, die auf der regionalen Ebene akut werden, wie beispielsweise regionale Arbeitsmarktungleichgewichte, weder primär regional verursacht noch regionalpolitisch lösbar. Insofern mahnt Fürst zu Recht an, die regionale Ebene nicht zu überschätzen und sie vor allem immer nur in einer engen Verflechtung mit anderen Ebenen im Sinne eines Mehr-Ebenen-Systems zu sehen.

Der Begriff der Region hat in der neueren gesellschaftswissenschaftlichen Diskussion eine weit reichende Neubewertung erfahren. „Region“ wird heute nicht mehr nur als ein formaler, d. h. sachneutraler Klassifikationsbegriff, sondern auch als ein konstitutives Element der wirtschafts- und sozial-räumlichen Strukturbildung aufgefasst. Region ist nicht ein formaler „Container“ für Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, sondern ein auf institutioneller und räumlicher Nähe basierender Verflechtungszusammenhang und

Handlungskontext. Auf dieser Grundlage erhält die Region auch für die Politik und Planung einen neuen Stellenwert.

Bekanntlich sind Wissen und Lernen zwei Schlüsselkategorien der herausziehenden Wissensökonomie und Wissensgesellschaft. Sicherlich ist deren „Geographie“ nicht mehr diejenige der traditionellen Industrie- und einfachen Dienstleistungsgesellschaft; allerdings zeichnen sich ihre neuen Konturen erst in groben Umrissen ab. Von entscheidender Bedeutung sind das *lokalisierte* (regional gebundene) *Wissen* und das *lokalisierte Lernen*. Lokalisiert sind vor allem das implizite, stille Wissen (*tacit knowledge*) und dessen Erwerb, Akkumulation und Anwendung (Lernen), weniger das explizite, kodifizierte Wissen, das prinzipiell handel- und interregional transferierbar ist. Die Interaktionen eines Unternehmens mit seiner Umwelt von Ressourcen, Zulieferern, Kunden usw. bilden ein System der Zirkulation von Gütern, Informationen und Wissen. Die räumliche Dimension wird nicht mehr als Transportkostenfaktor relevant, sondern als *institutionelle Nähe*, für die die zuverlässige und eingespielte Zirkulation von Gütern und Informationen sowie die effiziente Mobilisierung externer nicht-handelbarer Ressourcen wesentlich sind. Die lokal-regionale Einbettung (*embedding*) von Betrieben in regionale Netzwerke in der Form der „losen Kopplung“ gewinnt eine strategische Bedeutung: Sie senkt die Transaktionskosten, erlaubt kollektive Lernprozesse und reduziert die Unsicherheit.

Die Geographie der Wissensökonomie und Wissensgesellschaft wird einerseits durch die Entgrenzung und weltweite Integration der Güter- und Faktormärkte („Globalisierung“), andererseits durch eine *Regionalisierung spezialisierter Produktions-Cluster* geprägt. Diese „Regionen“ sind nicht immer räumlich eindeutig abgrenzbar, da sie nicht als Ausschnitte der Erdoberfläche, sondern als dynamischer sozio-ökonomischer Verflechtungszusammenhang zu verstehen sind. In der Regel korreliert allerdings die für den intraregionalen Verflechtungszusammenhang wesentliche institutionelle Nähe der Akteure mit der räumlichen Nähe, da Face-to-face-Kommunikation bisher nur teilweise durch technische Medien substituiert werden kann. Dies ist – neben der historischen Persistenz des lokalisierten Real-, Human- und Sozialkapitals – die theoretische Begründung für die Ausbildung

„regionaler Produktionswelten“ (Storper 1997). Die Innovationsfähigkeit der Regionen hängt nicht nur von „harten“ Ausstattungsfaktoren wie Betriebe, Infrastruktur usw. ab, sondern ganz wesentlich vom *lokalisierten Human- und Sozialkapital*. Dazu gehören die regionale Bildungs- und Qualifikationsstruktur ebenso wie spezifische institutionelle Arrangements (Amin u. Thrift 1995) und „weiche“ soziokulturelle Faktoren wie gemeinsame Überzeugungen, Werte, Kommunikations- und Lebensstile.

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45. Nation/Nation

1. Wort und Begriff
2. Historische Entwicklung des Nationsbegriffs in Deutschland
3. Sprache und politische, kulturelle, ethnische Identität
4. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Wort und Begriff

Wortgeschichtlich geht *Nation* auf lat. *natio* zurück, mit dem in Antike und Mittelalter vorwiegend die regionale und stammesspezifische Zugehörigkeit von Menschen bezeichnet wurde. Während *natio* in einem semantischen Feld, zu dem auch *gens, populus, civitas, patria, plebs* u. a. gehören, noch eine vergleichsweise eng umrissene Position besetzt, werden zur näheren Bestimmung von *Nation* in deutschsprachigen Texten z. T. seit Jahrhunderten Ausdrücke herangezogen, die in sehr unterschiedlicher Gewichtung der Sphäre des Politischen, des Ethnischen, des Kulturellen und des Voluntativen angehören:

- *Staat, Reich, Land, geschlossener Siedlungsraum, Gemeinschaft des Territoriums, Garantie von (Bürger-)Rechten/ Rechtsgleichheit der Bürger, politische Unabhängigkeit/Souveränität* etc.
- *Volk, Stamm/Stammesgemeinschaft, Landsmannschaft, Gemeinsamkeit von Abstammung, Ursprung, Rasse, Geburt* etc.
- *Gemeinsamkeit von Kultur, Sprache, Tradition, Geschichte, Mythologien, Sitten und Gebräuchen, Religion; Gemeinschaft des wirtschaftlichen Lebens, gemeinsame Organisationsformen, kulturelle Eigenständigkeit* etc.
- *Wille, Bekenntnis, Loyalität, gemeinsames Wollen und Handeln, Solidarität* etc.

Als zentral erweist sich dabei immer mehr das politische Moment, das zumindest in

der Gegenwart *Nation* von dem ihm semantisch verwandten *Volk* abhebt. In der Vergangenheit wurden die beiden Ausdrücke entweder nahezu synonym verwendet oder *Nation* wurde eher als die vorpolitische, Abstammung und kulturelle Tradition beinhaltende Größe verstanden, *Volk* dagegen als die eigentlich politische. Die Entwicklung von einer Verwendung von *Nation*, die noch die Tradition des lat. *natio* erkennen lässt, zu einer modernen Begriffsbestimmung illustrieren diese Definitionen aus dem „Brockhaus“ von 1898 bzw. 1991: *Nation* als „die erbliche Stammes-, Sprach-, Sitten- und Kulturgemeinschaft, welche bestimmten Menschenmassen und Familien ein eigentümliches Rassegepräge aufdrückt“ vs. *Nation* als „Rahmen [...], innerhalb dessen sich Menschen neben kultureller Eigenständigkeit v. a. polit. Selbständigkeit (Souveränität) unter Verweis auf eine als gemeinsam angenommene Geschichte, Tradition, Kultur, Sprache zumessen.“

Wie *Nation* so haben auch die darauf basierenden Wortbildungen nur ansatzweise terminologischen Charakter. Der *Nationalstaat* kann insofern als politische ‚Verwirklichung‘ (Dann 1993, 11ff) der Nation gelten, als der Traditions-, Interessen- und Solidargemeinschaft dann ein administratives Gebilde auf höchster Ebene entspricht. Gängig ist auch die Unterscheidung in *Staatsnation* und *Kulturnation*; sie wird zwar mit dem Namen Friedrich Meineckes (erstmalig 1908) verbunden, begegnet jedoch bereits zuvor. Danach basiert eine *Kulturnation* auf der Teilhabe an gemeinsamen Traditionen, Gebräuchen (darunter einer jeweiligen Religion) und Kulturgütern (etwa der Künste), vor allem aber auf einer gemeinsamen Sprache (daher auch *Sprachnation* oder in der Doppelform *Sprach- und Kulturnation*). Die

Staatsnation dagegen beruht „vorzugsweise auf der vereinigenden Kraft einer gemeinsamen politischen Geschichte und Verfassung“ (Meinecke 1922, 3), kann dementsprechend Bevölkerungsgruppen umfassen, die sich in kultureller Hinsicht deutlich voneinander unterscheiden. Letzteres ist z. B. bei afrikanischen Staaten der Fall, die in der Folge der Kolonialisierung entstanden sind und z. T. sehr divergente sprachliche, kulturelle und ethnische Gruppen in sich vereinigen, und gilt in Europa etwa für die mehrsprachige Schweiz (daher auch *Nationalitätenstaat*). Während bei der Bestimmung dessen, was eine *Staatsnation* ausmacht, das Moment der willentlichen Entscheidung, des gezielten Bekenntnisses zur Nation im Vordergrund steht, wird in Argumentationen, die die Existenz einer *Kulturnation* für einen jeweiligen historischen Fall behaupten, aufgrund der (angenommenen oder tatsächlichen) langen und tiefgreifenden Traditionsbindung von Bevölkerungsgruppen häufig ein nahezu natürliches und damit nicht sinnvoll hinterfragbares Begründetsein der Nation angenommen. In partikularistischen politischen Gebilden – wie in Deutschland bis in das späte 19. Jahrhundert – kann so die Berufung auf die *Nation*, als *Kulturnation* verstanden, trotz mangelnder staatlicher Einheit die Zusammengehörigkeit der Mitglieder der Gemeinschaft argumentativ legitimieren.

Bei den historischen Versuchen, den Begriff der Nation auf einen konkreten Fall anzuwenden, lassen sich zwei Pole unterscheiden, in deren Spannungsfeld die meisten Argumentationen angesiedelt sind. Auf der einen Seite gilt die Nation als eine mehr oder weniger naturgesetzlich gegebene Größe, als stimmige und zwangsläufige Folge kultureller bis – bei ethnischer Begründung – biologischer Gegebenheiten (Nation als Abstammungsgemeinschaft, gelegentl. auch: *Volksnation*), als Manifestation eines *Volkswillens*, der sich seinerseits aus eben diesen Vorgaben speist. Darstellungen dieser Art neigen in ihren extremeren Ausprägungen dazu, einen *Ursprung* der Nation (zumindest ihre *Wurzeln*) zeitlich weit zurückzulegen, tendieren zu Mythologisierungen, auch zu einem Ausgreifen ins Weihevoll-Pathetische, insgesamt zu ahistorischen Argumentationen, in denen die Gestaltung der Nation weniger als rational-willentlicher Akt der beteiligten historischen Subjekte denn als geschichtsnotwendiger Vollzug vorgegebe-

ner Bedingungen erscheint. Wird in solchen Argumentationen auch die Sprache einbezogen, dann dient sie sowohl der Begründung für die Existenzberechtigung und -notwendigkeit der Nation (Konzept der *Sprachnation*) als auch als Ausdruck und Garant nationaler Identität (im Einzelnen dazu s. u.).

Die Alternative zu dieser Position ergibt sich spiegelbildlich: An die Stelle des Bezugs auf politisch, kulturell und ethnisch tatsächlich oder vermeintlich vorgegebenes tritt die dezidierte Willensentscheidung für die Nation. Dabei muss das Fehlen einer einheitlichen, überdachenden Kultur als Begründung für die Nation keineswegs als negativ empfunden werden, wie z. B. die Erklärung der kanadischen Regierung von 1971 zur Frage des politischen Umgangs mit der Zweisprachigkeit und Multikulturalität des Landes zeigt: Die Einheit der Nation („national unity“) basiere auf dem Identitätsbewusstsein der Einzelnen, das nur durch eine Politik der Multikulturalität zu gewährleisten sei. Dabei gelte: „adherence to one's ethnic group is influenced not so much by one's origin or mother tongue as by one's sense of belonging to the group, and by what the commission calls the group's 'collective will to exist'“ (Premierminister Pierre Trudeau im „House of Commons“, 8. Oktober 1971). Auch voluntative Bekenntnisse zur Nation berufen sich auf Werte unterschiedlicher Art, sei es die Ablehnung ständischer Bindungen, die Freiheit der Einzelnen und ihre Gleichheit vor dem Recht, wie etwa im Fall des französischen Nationsbegriffs zur Zeit der Französischen Revolution, sei es die Verfassung selbst, die den Bezugspunkt nationalpatriotischer Empfindungen bildet: „Wenn unsere dermalige gesetzmäßige Constitution das einzige ist, was uns Deutsche zu einer Nation macht, und wenn sie augenscheinlich der Grund unsrer wesentlichsten Vorteile ist: was kann denn also deutscher Patriotismus anders sein, als Liebe der gegenwärtigen Verfassung [...]“ (Wieland 1780, 367). In ausgeprägt voluntativen Argumentationen finden sich naturgemäß weniger mythologisierende Konstruktionen eines Überzeitlich-Eigenen der Nation, das mit gemeinsamer Abstammung und/oder der Existenz eines Volkstums begründet wird, welches in weit zurückreichenden Traditionen wurzele. Dennoch beinhalten auch diese Argumentationen stets mehr als bloß rationale Begründungen. Vor allem in Tex-

ten wie politischen Reden oder Manifesten tragen sie appellative Züge, da dort die Funktion des Nationsbegriffs, als Integrationsbegriff eine kollektive Identität zu signalisieren und auf dieser Basis handlungsleitend zu wirken, besonders deutlich zum Tragen kommt. Von frühester Zeit bis in die Gegenwart ist daher die politische Verwendung des Nationsbegriffs von Zuspitzungen, Hypostasierungen, argumentativen Glättungen und einer getragenen Sprache nicht frei. Das ist appellativen Begriffen allerdings grundsätzlich eigen und erscheint erst in dem Maße fragwürdig, in dem die politische Argumentation ideologischen Charakter annimmt, eine politische Position etwa vom Patriotismus – verstanden als emphatische Wertschätzung des Eigenen, jedoch ohne Abwertung des Fremden – in den Nationalismus (der eben diese Abwertung betreibt) übergeht.

In der wissenschaftlichen Forschung ist in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten ein deutlicher Wandel im Umgang mit dem Begriff der *Nation* zu erkennen. In älteren Darstellungen erscheint die Nation tendenziell als objektiv gegebene Größe, die bestimmte Eigenschaften in sich vereint und in ihrem Vorhandensein die faktische historische Plattform für das Agieren der Individuen liefert. So gilt z. B. im „Deutschen Staatswörterbuch“ von 1862 der Begriff der Nation zwar als „beweglich und veränderlich“, doch ist andererseits, die Nation vergegenständlichend, die Rede von „höher begabten und gereiften Nationen“, die „geistige und sittliche Ueberlegenheit im Verhältnis zu den roheren und niedrigeren Nationen“ besitzen und daher „die Erziehung derselben“ übernehmen sollten. Neuere und neueste Darstellungen dagegen sind ausgesprochen zurückhaltend in Bezug auf ontologisierende und hypostasierende Begrifflichkeit und charakterisieren die Nation als soziales Konstrukt, als Projektionsfläche gesellschaftlicher Interessen und Bedürfnisse. Danach gilt die Nation als „genuin historisch und kulturell bestimmte Betrachtungs-, Interpretations- und Zurechnungskategorie“ (Brockhaus 1991), die ihr zugrunde gelegte Tradition ist „erfunden“ (Hobsbawm/Ranger 1983; ähnlich Anderson 1996, der die Nation als „imagined community“, als in der Vorstellung entworfene Gemeinschaft fasst). Nicht Tatsachen, deren Natur objektiv und zweifelsfrei ist, liegen ihr also zugrunde, sondern eine „soziale Konstruktion der Vergangen-

heit“, die in einem kollektiven kulturellen Gedächtnis niedergelegt ist (Jan Assmann 1992, 34, im Rückgriff auf Maurice Halbwachs): „Person bin ich nur in dem Maße, wie ich mich als Person weiß, und ebenso ist eine Gruppe ‘Stamm’, ‘Volk’ oder ‘Nation’ nur in dem Maße, wie sie sich im Rahmen solcher Begriffe versteht, vorstellt und darstellt“ (Assmann 1992, 130).

2. Historische Entwicklung des Nationsbegriffs in Deutschland

Von *Nationen* im modernen Sinne des Wortes kann erst ab der Wende zum 19. Jahrhundert gesprochen werden. Erst dann wird die Nation für die Gemeinschaft zum Bezugspunkt, der die Bedeutung anderer Bezugspunkte – des Standes, der Konfession, der Landschaft, des Territoriums, des Stammes, der regierenden Dynastie etc. – überlagert (vgl. Alter 1985, 14f). Ein Nationalbewusstsein lässt sich allerdings bereits für das Mittelalter erkennen (z. B. Ehlers 1989), dem aber die Orientierung der Gemeinschaft als ganzer, nicht nur einzelner Gruppen, an der Nation als „Höchstwert“ (dazu und zum Folgenden Langewiesche 2000) fehlt. Unter den gesellschaftlichen Rahmenbedingungen für die Herausbildung der modernen Nationen sind von besonderer Bedeutung die Industrialisierung und die Entstehung größerer Wirtschaftsräume, die zunehmende Verstaatlichung von Lebensbereichen (Ausbau der Verwaltungen und Institutionen) und die Ermöglichung großräumiger Kommunikation, die sämtliche sozialen Schichten erreichen und die Bildung und Verbreitung nationaler Vorstellungen und Mythen befördern kann.

In Darstellungen der Geschichte des Konzeptes der *Nation* in Europa wird häufig ein deutscher und osteuropäischer Nationsbegriff von einem westlich geprägten unterschieden. Während die Begründungen für ersteren zu weiten Teilen kulturell-ethnisch sind, dominiert in Frankreich, England oder den Vereinigten Staaten ein voluntatives Moment. Charakteristisch für die Entwicklung in Deutschland ist die über Jahrhunderte andauernde Spannung zwischen den identitätsstiftenden Eigenschaften einer übergeordneten politischen Einheit – dem *deutschen Reich* oder *Deutschland* (der Ausdruck setzt sich endgültig erst im 16. Jahrhundert durch, zuvor ist *deutsche Lande* o. ä. üblich) – und dem Identitätsangebot, das

durch eine Einheit geringerer Größe gewährleistet wird, etwa durch einen Territorialstaat. Die unterschiedlichen Bezugspunkte machen die Identifizierung mit einem einzigen politischen Gebilde kaum möglich, sodass noch 1813 Ernst Moritz Arndt in seinem Lied „Des Deutschen Vaterland“ fragen konnte: „Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland? Ist's Preußenland, ist's Schwabenland?“ Tatsächliche oder vermutete kulturelle und ethnische Gemeinsamkeiten unterschiedlicher Bevölkerungsgruppen dienen dann dazu, diese Gruppen trotz ihrer Verteilung auf verschiedene politische Territorien argumentativ zusammenzubinden. Wo sich umgekehrt die Gesamtbevölkerung bereits in einem einzelnen Territorium vereinigt sieht, wie dies etwa im nachrevolutionären Frankreich des 19. Jahrhunderts oder in England der Fall ist, spielen Behauptungen vor allem der ethnischen Zusammengehörigkeit eine geringere Rolle, wenn sie sich nicht gar – wie im Falle der multiethnisch und multikulturell strukturierten Vereinigten Staaten – als argumentativ unmöglich erweisen.

Die ersten neuzeitlichen Äußerungen patriotischer Art werden in Deutschland von humanistischen Gelehrten im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert vorgebracht (vgl. Knappe 2000). Der zeitgenössische Reichspatriotismus (Sebastian Brant, Ulrich von Hutten u. a.), dessen Reichsbegriff im Gegensatz zur mittelalterlich-universalen Reichsvorstellung auch ethnisch und kulturell begründet ist, sieht noch die Möglichkeit, die Deutschen in einer Art Reichsnation zusammenzuführen. Zunehmend stehen dem Reich allerdings – seit dem späten 15. Jahrhundert in der Bezeichnung *Heiliges Römisches Reich deutscher Nation* (dazu Thomas 2000) – weitgehend autarke fürstliche, städtische und kirchliche Territorien gegenüber, sodass es aufgrund seiner relativen politischen Schwäche immer weniger als reale denn als ideale und idealisierte Größe erscheint: „Wenn man die Europäischen Landschaften / samt den enderungen / so denselbigen vielfältiglich zugehungen / überdenken / und das Sprachwesen zugleich mit beobachten wird / alsdann sol sich das freye uhralte grosse Teutschland wol allein finden / welches von frömder Macht gänzlich unbezwungen / und von frömden Sprachen unverworren geblieben“ (Schottelius 1663, 123). In ahistorischer Sicht gilt, dass „das jtzige Teutschland annoch dasselbe Teutschland ist / welches vor etzlichen tau-

send Jahren gewesen“ (ebd., 48), im besten Falle zu regieren von einem Kaiser wie Karl dem Großen, der die Einheit und Stärke des Reichs zu garantieren wüsste. In der Folge der Wiederentdeckung der „Germania“ des Tacitus im späten 15. Jahrhundert wird den Deutschen eine gemeinsame germanische Abstammung zugesprochen, wobei sich der mit verstärkender Intensität betriebene Germanenmythos auch auf Charaktermerkmale, kulturelle Traditionen und vor allem die Sprache als „gemeinsames Band“ erstreckt (vgl. 3). Neben diesem ethnisch-kulturell begründeten Patriotismus, der im 17. Jahrhundert nur noch mit Einschränkungen als Reichspatriotismus bezeichnet werden kann, weil das Reich den nationalen Ansprüchen nicht gerecht werden konnte, steht der am Territorium orientierte, auf der Loyalität gegenüber dem regierenden Fürsten basierende Landespatriotismus. Ein Ausdruck wie *Vaterland*, wird er in den zeitgenössischen Texten verwendet, ist in dieser Hinsicht inhaltlich oft schwer zu bestimmen. Wenn ein Autor wie August Buchner als Mitglied einer barocken Sprachgesellschaft Fürst Ludwig von Anhalt-Köthen gegenüber feststellt, dass die „Pflicht“ gegenüber dem Vaterland, „welches alle freund und verwandtschaft zusammen faßt, und in sich helt“, noch über dem „Band des Geblüthes“, also über den Familienbeziehungen anzusiedeln sei, dann ist mit *Vaterland* möglicherweise gerade jene in der Tradition des humanistischen Gelehrtentums konzipierte, staatlich noch nicht realisierte, ethnisch-kulturell verstandene Größe gemeint. Dass Buchner unter allen möglichen Diensten am *Vaterland* die Pflege der „Muttersprache“ hervorhebt, ist für diese Konzeption charakteristisch (Buchner 1641, 239). Mit der weiteren Schwächung des Reichs als eines eigenständigen Machtfaktors nach dem Westfälischen Frieden von 1648 verlagert sich die Entwicklung der Staatlichkeit in Deutschland immer nachhaltiger auf die Territorien (dazu Gschnitzer/Koselleck/Schönemann u. a. 1992, 282f; 302ff). Wird in den zeitgenössischen Texten ein Aspekt hervorgehoben, der über die Grenzen einzelner Territorien hinausweist und nationalen, gesamtdeutschen Charakters ist, so wird er vorwiegend in der germanischen Abstammung sowie in gemeinsamer Geschichte, Tradition und Charakterbildung gesehen, dabei stets unter Einbeziehung der Sprache. Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts schreibt Fried-

rich Schiller (1797, 431): „Deutsches Reich und deutsche Nation sind zweierlei Dinge. Die Majestät des Deutschen ruhte nie auf dem Haupt [seiner] Fürsten. Abgesondert von dem politischen hat der Deutsche sich einen eigenen Werth gegründet und wenn auch das Imperium unterginge, so bliebe die deutsche Würde unangefochten. Sie ist eine sittliche Größe, sie wohnt in der Kultur u[nd] im Character der Nation, der von ihren politischen Schicksalen unabhängig ist.“ Im Verweis auf Kultur und Charakter der Deutschen wird versucht, den Mangel an staatlicher Einheit argumentativ auszugleichen. Der Rekurs auf ein vor- und überstaatliches *Wesen* der Deutschen und ihrer Nation bietet sich freilich zu spekulativ-mystifizierenden Deutungen an, wie die Darstellung Ludwig Jahns zeigt, der die Identität der Deutschen mit einem organischen, in romantischer Tradition stehenden Volksbegriff begründet (Jahn 1810, zit. nach Gschnitzer/Koselleck/Schönemann u. a. 1992, 332; zum romantischen Nationsbegriff vgl. Bär 2000): „Es ist das Gemeinsame des Volks, sein inwohnendes Wesen, sein Regen und Leben, seine Wiedererzeugungskraft, seine Fortpflanzungsfähigkeit. Dadurch waltet in allen Volksgliedern ein volkstümliches Denken und Fühlen, [...] Leiden und Handeln, [...] Ahnen und Glauben. Das bringt alle die einzelnen Menschen des Volks [...] in der Viel- und Allverbindung mit den übrigen zu einer schönverbundenen Gemeinde.“ Die Begriffe von Volk und Nation waren im 19. und 20. Jh. zum einen bedeutende Verfassungsbegriffe, erfuhren zugleich bis 1945 eine zum Teil extreme ideologische Aufladung. Dabei wurde der Volksbegriff von der politischen Linken durch den der *Klasse* ergänzt, von der politischen Rechten durch den der *Rasse* (Gschnitzer/Koselleck/Schönemann u. a. 1992, 390). Während der Nationalismus des 19. und frühen 20. Jhs. vorwiegend gegen Frankreich gerichtet war, wird er in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus geradezu zu einem universalen Prinzip. Hitlers Rede von der „Nationalisierung der bewußt antinationalen Masse“ (in „Mein Kampf“, zit. nach Gschnitzer/Koselleck/Schönemann u. a. 1992, 401) bedeutet ihre konsequente Ideologisierung. Die *Nation*, vor allem aber das *Volk*, erscheint in vitalistischer und organischer Begrifflichkeit als eine vorstaatliche Größe, deren *Wesen* sich dem nur rationalen Zugriff entzieht. Die Unterfütterung dieses

Volksbegriffs mit scheinbar biologischen Daten versucht den damit einhergehenden Rassismus wissenschaftlich zu legitimieren. Während die einzelnen Motive dieser Argumentation (Korrelierung von Volk und Rasse, Mystifizierung des Volksbegriffs etc.) bereits im 19. Jh. begegnen, ist die Radikalität und Ausschließlichkeit der nun formulierten Positionen neu. Der damit entstehende Volks- und Nationsbegriff ist jedem aufklärerischen Denken diametral entgegengesetzt.

Der nach 1945 für die Bundesrepublik zutreffende Nationsbegriff lässt sich am ehesten als der einer *Staatsbürgernation* charakterisieren (dazu u. a. Lepsius 1993), die seitens der Bürger idealiter durch einen *Verfassungspatriotismus* (zum Begriff Sternberger 1982) gestützt wird. Kennzeichen der Staatsbürgernation sind die Garantie individueller Gleichheits- und Bürgerrechte und die demokratische Legitimation der Regierenden durch die Staatsbürger. Aufgrund der historischen Erfahrungen war die sog. nationale Frage in der Bundesrepublik kaum Gegenstand eines öffentlichen Diskurses. Die Ausblendung des Nationalen als Gegenstand der Diskussion wurde durch die Wiedervereinigung von 1990 eingeschränkt, da nicht zuletzt die damit einhergehende veränderte internationale Stellung Deutschlands ein neues Nachdenken über diese Fragen nahelegte.

Die DDR verstand sich zunächst als „sozialistischer Staat deutscher Nation“ (Präambel der DDR-Verfassung vom 6. 4. 1968). Vor allem seit dem Grundlagenvertrag von 1972, der die Existenz zweier deutscher Staaten anerkannte, war die DDR allerdings bestrebt, einen beide deutsche Staaten überdachenden Nationsbegriff aufzugeben. Während die Regierungen der Bundesrepublik die Einheit der Nation betonten, wurde von der DDR – mit Hinweis auf die Spezifik des eigenen politischen, wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Systems, auch einer so definierten „sozialistischen Nationalkultur“ – eine Politik der Abgrenzung betrieben, die auch den Bereich des Sprachlichen erfasste.

3. Sprache und politische, kulturelle, ethnische Identität

Bei der Bestimmung politischer, kultureller und ethnischer Identität von Gemeinschaften spielt Sprache seit jeher eine bedeutende

Rolle. Dass Sprache dazu beiträgt, Identität zu bilden, steht ausser Frage (vgl. Art. 50). Die Identifizierung eines Volkes bzw. einer Nation mit einer einzelnen Sprache jedoch – das Deutsche ist die Sprache der Deutschen, das Spanische die der Spanier, das Dänische die der Dänen, und umgekehrt: Deutscher ist, wer Deutsch spricht, Spanier, wer Spanisch spricht etc. – mag intuitiv naheliegen, ist sachlich aber zumindest fragwürdig, meist schlicht falsch. Die mangelnde Deckung politischer und sprachlicher Grenzen, die Schwierigkeit der Abgrenzung von Ethnien und Kulturen, die Auswirkungen von Sprachwandel und Sprachkontakten und die Varietätenvielfalt der Sprachen machen definitive Zuordnungen in aller Regel unmöglich. Eben solche klaren und eindeutigen Zuordnungen sind in identitätsbezogenen Argumentationen aber oft gewünscht: Soll eine Sprache die Solidarität der Gemeinschaft nach innen stärken und nach außen dokumentieren, muss sie selbst – nach der Logik dieser Argumentation – strukturell homogen, auf ihre Sprecher eindeutig beziehbar und zumindest raschem Wandel entzogen sein. Der praktische Umgang mit dem Begriff einer *Nationalsprache*, etwa in politischen Texten deklarativen oder agitatorischen Charakters, unterscheidet sich vor allem in dieser Hinsicht von ihrer wissenschaftlichen Beschreibung, die in den letzten Jahrzehnten zunehmend den Anteil der Sprecher bei der Konstituierung einer Nationalsprache betont: Wie die Nation selbst ist auch die Nationalsprache nichts irgendwie zwingend Gegebenes, sondern gewinnt erst dadurch ihren Status, dass ihre Sprecher sie zu einer Nationalsprache erklären (dazu Reichmann 2000). Dabei sind letztlich nicht sprachstrukturelle Faktoren ausschlaggebend (auch wenn sie in den einschlägigen Argumentationen als Beleg herangezogen werden), sondern historisch-politische, wie zahlreiche Beispiele illustrieren, von den postkolonialen afrikanischen Nationalsprachen bis zum Lëtzebuergesch, das zuvor lediglich als eine in Luxemburg verwendete Variante des Moselfränkischen, eines deutschen Dialekts also, gesehen wurde.

Kennzeichnend für Argumentationen, deren Gegenstand die identitätsbildende Funktion von Sprache ist, ist die Überblendung der Bereiche des Sprachlichen mit denen des Politischen, des Kulturellen und gelegentlich auch des Ethnischen. Für das Deutsche lässt sich das seit dem Humanis-

mus, massiv seit dem 17. Jahrhundert nachweisen. Einige Belege: 1612 legt der Pädagoge Wolfgang Ratke (Ratichius) einen Plan vor, „Wie Jm Gantzen Reich ein einträchtige Sprache, ein einträchtige Regierung, vnd Endlich Auch ein einträchtige Religion [...] zu erhalten sey“ (Ratke 1612, 24); Carl Gustav von Hille, Chronist einer Sprachgesellschaft des Barock, fordert alle Deutschen dazu auf, „unseres Vaterlands / und unserer Sprache Freyheit“ zu bewahren (Hille 1647, 78*); der Frühaufklärer Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz stellt fest, dass sich die Menschen über das Glück „ihres Landes und ihrer Nation“ freuen, weil sie Teil derselben sind: „Das band der sprache, der sitten [...] vereinigt die Menschen auf eine sehr kräftige wiewohl unsichtbare weise“ (Leibniz 1679, 798); Johann Gottfried Herder definiert die *Nationalsprache* als „Gedankenschatz eines ganzen Volkes“ (Herder 1768, 13); für Wilhelm von Humboldt sind „die verschiedenen Sprachen die Organe der eigenthümlichen Denk- und Empfindungsarten der Nationen“ (Humboldt 1821[?], 26); August Schleicher sieht die flektierenden Sprachen und „die sie redenden Nationen“ als „Träger der Weltgeschichte“ (Schleicher 1850, 37); 1854 beschließt Jacob Grimm das Vorwort zum „Deutschen Wörterbuch“ mit den Worten: „Deutsche geliebte landsleute, welches reichs, welches glaubens ihr seiet, tretet ein in die euch allen aufgethane halle eurer angestammten, uralten sprache, lernet und heiligt sie und haltet an ihr, eure volkskraft und dauer hängt in ihr“ (Grimm 1854, LXVII); 1914 führt Friedrich Kluge *Sprache, Kultur und Volk* zusammen: „Das ganze Volk arbeitet an seiner Kultur und zugleich an seiner Sprache und jeder Fortschritt der Gesellschaft bedeutet einen Fortschritt der Sprache. Die Geschichte eines Volkes ist zugleich die Geschichte seiner Sprache und umgekehrt“ (Kluge 1914, 132); Thomas Mann erkennt 1937 die Verantwortung für die Sprache auch als „die Verantwortung für das eigene Volk, Reinerhaltung seines Bildes vorm Angesichte der Menschheit“ (Mann 1937, 11) etc.

Argumentationen dieser Art können neutral beschreibend oder auch mit patriotischem oder nationalistischem Impetus vorgebracht werden (zum Folgenden Gardt 1999a). Kennzeichen sprachpatriotischer und -nationalistischer Darstellungen sind die meist assoziative, sachlich unspezifische Verbindung von Sprache mit den Größen

Nation, Reich, Staat, Land, Kultur, Sitte, Volk, Rasse etc., unter Verwendung von Bildungen wie *Nationalkultur, Volksgeist, Sprachgeist, Nationalcharakter, Sprachcharakter, Sprachnatur, Sprachwesen, Volkswesen, Volksseele, arteigene Sprache, rassegemäße Sprache* etc., nicht selten unter Ausgriff ins Sakrale und Mythologische. Sprache und Sprechern (Volk, Nation etc.) werden dabei vergleichbare Eigenschaften zugesprochen, einem *Sprachcharakter* entspricht ein *Nationalcharakter* (in der Folge des Germanenmythos gilt z. B. das Deutsche als *markant, klar, natürlich, unaffektiert*, ebenso werden seine Sprecher beschrieben als *natürlich, aufrichtig, redlich, würdevoll* etc.). In hypostasierender biologischer Begrifflichkeit wird die Sprache dabei häufig als organische Wesenheit dargestellt, die *reift, blüht, verblühen* kann, deren Wörter *Früchte* oder *Knospen* sind, die ein eigentümliches *Wesen* besitzt, einen *Geist* (*génie de la langue, genius of the language*) etc. An Güteeigenschaften der Sprache werden genannt (bei unterschiedlicher Akzentuierung): hohes Alter und genealogische Reinheit (d. h. Unvermischtheit mit anderen Sprachen), bestimmte strukturelle und semantische Qualitäten (gesetzmäßig-stimmiger Aufbau, ontologisch-referentielle Zuverlässigkeit etc.), bestimmte stilistische Qualitäten (Eleganz, Prägnanz etc.). Sprachnationalistische Darstellungen gehen über das patriotische Lob des Eigenen deutlich hinaus, indem sie die eigene Sprache (und, in der Folge, die eigene politische, kulturelle und ethnische Gemeinschaft) als einer fremden Sprache überlegen beschreiben, zugleich das sprachlich und kulturell Fremde pointiert bis aggressiv abwerten und eine Gefährdung der Identität und der (moralischen und sittlichen) Integrität der eigenen Sprach-, Volks- und Kulturgemeinschaft durch das Fremde (z. B. durch Fremdwörter) behaupten. Sowohl für sprachpatriotische wie für sprachnationalistische Äußerungen gilt, dass sie nicht notwendigerweise Ausdruck und damit Folge einer Nationsbildung sein müssen, sondern ihr vielmehr vorangehen können. Ebenso kann auch der Nationalismus selbst als ein Motor der Nationsbildung verstanden werden (in weitreichender Formulierung Gellner 1991, 87: „Es ist der Nationalismus, der die Nationen hervorbringt, und nicht umgekehrt“).

Die Bezüge zwischen Nation und Sprache werden in den deutschsprachigen Ländern seit 1945 mit unterschiedlicher Akzentuierung

diskutiert (im Überblick von Polenz 1999; Ammon 2000). Bei der Beschreibung der verschiedenen Erscheinungsformen des Deutschen in der Bundesrepublik, der DDR, der Schweiz und Österreich (zu den anderen deutschsprachigen Gebieten in Europa s. im Überblick Ammon 1995) wird – je nach Position des Beschreibenden – entweder die Eigenständigkeit einer jeweiligen Erscheinungsform betont (und damit ihr potentieller Charakter als ‘Nationalsprache’) oder aber ihre Nähe zu den jeweils anderen, was ihre Funktion der Identitätsstiftung wiederum einschränkt. Das in der Bundesrepublik verwendete Deutsch wurde bzw. wird dabei meist als übergeordneter Bezugspunkt verstanden (etwa von Verlagen), von dem aus gesehen anders gestaltete Sprachformen aus Österreich und der Schweiz – seit der Wiedervereinigung ist die Diskussion über einen zunehmenden sprachlichen Eigenweg der DDR hinfällig geworden (zur Entwicklung bis 1989 vgl. Lerchner 2000) – als regionale (dialektale) Abweichungen galten bzw. gelten. Die Unzufriedenheit mit dieser Praxis führte z. B. in Österreich dazu, dass 1994 im Protokoll 10 der Beitrittsverhandlungen über die Aufnahme Österreichs in die Europäische Union 22 Austriazismen des gastronomischen Bereichs als gleichberechtigt vermerkt wurden (z. B. *Erdäpfel* für *Kartoffeln*, *Karfiol* für *Blumenkohl*, *Powidl* für *Pflaumenmus*; dazu Muhr/Schrodt/Wiesinger 1995). Umfragen seit den sechziger Jahren belegen, dass die Österreicher ihrem Land mittlerweile eindeutig den Status einer Nation zuerkennen (80% im Jahre 1993 gegenüber 47% im Jahre 1964, nach Wiesinger 2000, 556) und auch mehrheitlich der Ansicht sind (53,5% im Jahre 1991), dass man ihre Sprache statt *Deutsch* auch *Österreichisch* nennen könnte.

Als Möglichkeit, das Verhältnis zwischen den unterschiedlichen Erscheinungsformen des Deutschen begrifflich zu erfassen, wurde das Konzept der plurizentrischen, mehrere „nationale Varietäten“ umfassenden Sprache in die Diskussion gebracht (u. a. Clyne 1995, im Rückgriff auf Kloss 1978; zur terminologischen Klärung auch Ammon 2000). Danach ist asymmetrische Plurizentrität dort gegeben, wo einzelne Nationen die Festlegung einer übergeordneten Norm bestimmen können, wie dies für das Englische gelte (USA und Großbritannien als „dominante Nationen“, im Gegensatz z. B. zu Australien und Kanada) oder auch für

das Deutsche (Deutschland als „dominante Nation“ gegenüber Österreich und der Schweiz). Die Diskussion über den Status der Erscheinungsformen des Deutschen als nationalen Varietäten ist damit aber nicht beendet (zur unterschiedlichen Bewertung s. Wiesinger 2000, 553ff).

Die Bezüge zwischen Sprache und Identität spielen auch eine Rolle in der Diskussion über den Einfluss des Englischen auf das Deutsche. Seit den neunziger Jahren wird verstärkt darauf hingewiesen, dass das Englische das Deutsche in einzelnen Diskursbereichen (z. B. in bestimmten wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen) ansatzweise verdrängt und dass zugleich die Zahl der Anglizismen in der Alltagssprache zunimmt (zu den Anglizismen im Deutschen der Gegenwart vgl. Stickel 2000). Das Spektrum der kritischen Positionen ist vor allem in der Anglizismen-Debatte, an der auch führende Politiker teilnehmen, breit; es umfasst eine stilistisch-ästhetisch argumentierende Sprachkritik ebenso wie eine um den kommunikativen Austausch besorgte (Fremdwörter als Sprachbarrieren), eine kulturbezogen wertkonservative und eine deutschtümelnde. Auch im letzteren Fall ist diese Sprachkritik aber in keiner Weise mit früheren sprachnationalistischen Auffassungen vergleichbar, in ihrer Kritik an den US-amerikanischen Einflüssen insgesamt auch nicht mit Positionen in Frankreich, wo gesetzgeberische Maßnahmen gegen Fremdwörter sehr offen mit der Besorgnis vor einer zunehmenden ‚Amerikanisierung‘ des öffentlichen Lebens begründet werden (zur französischen Sprachpolitik s. Schmitt 2000 und Trabandt 1995).

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46. Schicht/Class

1. Begriffsbestimmung
2. Entstehung des Schichtmodells
3. Kritik am Schichtmodell
4. Ergänzungen des Schichtmodells: Milieu und Lebensstil
5. Zusammenfassung
6. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Begriffsbestimmung

Der Begriff der *Schicht* ist eine der zentralen Kategorien der Sozialstrukturanalyse und dient zur Beschreibung des Ungleichheitsgefüges einer Gesellschaft. Unter sozialer Ungleichheit wird der für verschiedene Gruppen unterschiedliche Zugang zu erstrebenswerten Gütern oder Dienstleistungen verstanden. Diese nach Zugangschancen unterscheidbaren Gruppen werden soziale Schichten genannt. Der Begriff der *Schicht* nimmt eine Metapher aus der Geologie auf und unterscheidet hierarchisch übereinanderliegende Formationen.

2. Entstehung des Schichtmodells

Die dem Schichtungsmodell zu Grunde liegende Vorstellung geht davon aus, dass die Bildung und die ökonomische (Berufs-)Position von Menschen über ihr Einkommen und Prestige in der Gesellschaft entscheidet und somit ihre Lebenschancen zentral beeinflusst. Eines der ersten und heute noch komplexesten Schichtungsmodelle stammt von Theodor Geiger (1932). Auf der Grundlage der Volkszählung von 1926 beschreibt Geiger die deutsche Gesellschaft der Weimarer Republik im Sinne einer pyramidenförmigen Klassengesellschaft mit fünf sozialen Lagen: an der Spitze der Pyramide befanden sich die Kapitalisten mit ca. 1% der Bevölkerung, gefolgt von dem Alten (Handwerker etc.) und Neuen (Angestellte und Beamte) Mittelstand, der jeweils etwa 18% der Erwerbstätigen ausmachte. Die „Proletaroiden“ (Tagewerker für eigene Rechnung oder Heimarbeiter) umfassen etwa 13% der Schichtungspyramide und das Proletariat stellt mit 51% die größte Gruppe. Geiger betont jedoch, dass die rein statistisch darstellbare soziale Lage nicht identisch mit einer Schicht ist, denn diese besteht aus dem Zusammenspiel der objektiven sozialen Lage mit der rein statistisch nicht

erfassbaren Schichtungsmentalität. Er verwendet Schichtung als Oberbegriff für unterschiedliche Teilungsdimensionen der Gesellschaft, seien es Stände, die nach der Geburt und Herkunft differenziert sind oder Klassen, die sich nach der beruflichen Stellung unterscheiden, wie etwa in der Weimarer Republik. Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg wandelte sich im Rahmen einer Amerikanisierung der deutschen Soziologie das Schichtungskonzept. Zwar führten Autoren wie Karl Martin Bolte in der Tradition der amerikanischen Gemeindestudien („Middletown“) auch Untersuchungen durch, die soziale Netzwerke und Interaktions- und Machtstrukturen in deutschen Kommunen untersuchten, jedoch entwickelte sich das Schichtungskonzept im Verlauf der 50er und 60er Jahre weg von einer interaktions- und mentalitätsbezogenen Kategorie und hin zu einer „objektiven“ Klassifikationsgröße der Bevölkerung. Das „Zwiebelmodell“ der Schichtung der 60er Jahre, wie es von Bolte/Kappe/Neidhardt (1966) entwickelt wurde, zeichnete von der zeitgenössischen Gesellschaft nicht mehr das Bild einer pyramidenförmigen Klassengesellschaft, sondern ein prosperierendes Nachkriegsdeutschland mit breitem „Mittelstandsbauch“. An diesem Beispiel lässt sich verdeutlichen, dass Schichtungsmodelle nicht die „objektive“ Beschreibung einer Gesellschaft darstellen, sondern in sie auch Ideologien und normative Vorstellungen über den Gesellschaftsaufbau einfließen. Im Gefolge des Bildungsnotstandes der 60er Jahre und des sog. *Sputnikschocks*, der die Überlegenheit des Westens im Bereich der Forschung in Frage stellte, gerieten schichtungsbezogene Ungleichheiten im Bildungssystem in das Zentrum des Interesses. Forscher wie Basil Bernstein und Ulrich Oevermann entdeckten unterschiedliche Formen der Sprachverwendung in Unter- und Mittelschicht und konstatierten eine schichtspezifische Benachteiligung von Arbeiterkindern im Bildungssystem. Die beginnenden siebziger Jahre waren die Zeit der Erforschung schichtspezifischer Unterschiede im Erziehungsverhalten (Kohn 1969) und in subkulturellen Gesellungsformen der Jugendlichen (Clarke et al. 1979). In den Vereinigten Staaten entstand etwa zur gleichen Zeit ein Standardwerk zur Untersuchung

der Schichtungsstruktur: „The American Occupational Structure“ von Blau und Duncan (1967). Mit Hilfe komplexer statistischer Modelle wurde der Einfluss des Elternhauses (operationalisiert über den Berufsstatus des Vaters) auf die Schulbildung des Sohnes und wiederum deren Einfluss auf den Status des ersten Berufs untersucht. Im Rahmen dieses Modells, das in vielen Ländern repliziert wurde, konnte der Umfang der Weitergabe des sozialen Status zwischen zwei Generationen bzw. die Leistungsabhängigkeit des Berufsstatus untersucht werden. In ähnlicher Weise wurden mit Hilfe sog. Mobilitätstabellen die inter- und intragenerationalen Aufstiegschancen im internationalen Vergleich analysiert.

3. Kritik am Schichtmodell

Zu Beginn der 80er Jahre geriet das Schichtmodell in der bundesrepublikanischen Sozialstrukturanalyse (in anderen Ländern wurde diese Diskussion in dieser Form nicht geführt) in die Kritik. Ulrich Beck formulierte im Jahr 1986 erstmalig seine Individualisierungsthese, die ein Ende lebensweltlich existierender Schichtungsstrukturen unterstellte. Ausgangspunkt dieses Theorems waren soziale Wandlungsprozesse, die seit Mitte der 60er Jahre einsetzten. Die Wohlfahrtsentwicklung führte nach Beck zu verbesserten Lebensbedingungen auch für Arbeiter, so dass der auf materieller Not basierende Zusammenhalt dieser Schicht erodierte. Mit der Metapher des *Fahrstuhleffekts* unterstellt Beck eine Reproduktion des Schichtungssystems mit gleichen relativen Abständen zwischen den Schichten auf höherer Ebene, so dass Arbeiter nun in den Genuss von Lebensbedingungen kamen, die in früherer Zeit den Angestellten vorbehalten waren. Dieser höhere Wohlstand hatte nach Beck tiefgreifende Auswirkungen auf die tradierte Alltagskultur der Arbeiter und entzog dieser ihre vergemeinschaftende Grundlage. Ergänzt wurde dieser Prozess durch die einsetzende Bildungsexpansion, in deren Rahmen Arbeiterkinder erstmalig in den Genuss einer höheren Bildung kommen konnten, was individuell zwar einen sozialen Aufstieg darstellte, auf der kollektiven Ebene der Arbeiter als sozialer Statusgruppe jedoch ebenfalls klassische Bindungen lockerte. Als dritte Ursache für eine wachsende Individualisierung nennt Beck schließlich die Zunahme sozialer und räum-

licher Mobilität. Kritisiert wurde das Schichtungsmodell jedoch nicht nur wegen seiner nachlassenden lebensweltlichen Wirksamkeit, sondern auch wegen der spezifischen Perspektive, die in seinem Rahmen auf soziale Ungleichheit eingenommen wird. Nach der von Kreckel (1992) so genannten „meritokratischen Triade“ untersucht der Schichtungsansatz soziale Ungleichheit, die auf unterschiedlicher Schulbildung basiert, welche schließlich zu ungleichen Positionen im Bereich beruflicher Stratifikation und somit zu ungleichen Einkommensverteilungen führt; erfasst wird dabei also lediglich die erwerbstätige Bevölkerung und Familienmitglieder werden in der Regel dem Status des Haushaltsvorstandes zugeschlagen. Nun existiert jedoch ein weiterer Bereich sozialer Ungleichheit jenseits der beruflichen Sphäre. So macht der Anteil von Frauen in den Funktionsebenen nur etwa 5% der Bevölkerung aus und in der gleichen Position verdienen Frauen häufig immer noch weniger als ihre männlichen Kollegen. Die ethnische Herkunft ist ebenfalls eine Determinante sozialer Ungleichheit, die häufig mit niedrigerer Schulbildung oder Berufsposition verbunden ist, als dies in der deutschen Bevölkerung der Fall ist. Des weiteren existieren, wie die Vereinigung der beiden deutschen Studien 1990 deutlich gemacht hat, regionale Disparitäten, die einen unterschiedlichen Zugang zu erstrebenswerten Gütern oder Dienstleistungen beinhalten. Die geburtenstarken Jahrgänge haben verdeutlicht, dass etwa Arbeitslosigkeit oder die Erlangung eines der Ausbildung angemessenen Berufs zwischen den Generationen ungleich verteilt sein kann und schließlich zeigen Studien, die soziale Ungleichheit während des Lebenslaufs untersuchen (vgl. Meyer/Blossfeld 1990), dass Einkommen und Berufsstatus während einer Biographie deutlichen Schwankungen unterworfen sind. All diese sog. *horizontalen Ungleichheiten* werden jedoch von klassischen Schichtungsansätzen ausgeblendet.

4. Ergänzungen des Schichtmodells: Milieu und Lebensstil

Um diese „weißen Flecken“ in der Sozialstrukturanalyse zu schließen, wurden während der 80er Jahre des 20. Jh. neue Konzepte diskutiert, die stärker handlungstheoretisch fundiert sein sollten und die Le-

benswelt der Akteure im Feld sozialer Ungleichheit besser abbilden sollten. Einige Autoren schlugen als Ergänzung des Schichtmodells sozio-kulturell fundierte Konzepte sozialer Ungleichheit vor, wie sie etwa in Milieu- und Lebensstilansätzen repräsentiert sind.

Der Begriff des *Milieus* als soziologische Analysekategorie hat eine lange Tradition und diente zunächst dazu, die Gesamtheit der durch die soziale und räumliche Umwelt gegebenen Einflüsse auf das Individuum zu erfassen. Der erste soziologische Klassiker, bei dem der Begriff des *Milieus* explizit als zentraler theoretischer Bestandteil auftaucht, ist Emile Durkheim (1980), der zwischen einem äußeren sozialen Milieu, das sich auf die Gesellschaft im nationalstaatlichen Rahmen bezog, und einem inneren Milieu unterschied, das den Einfluss der lokalen und personalen Umwelt konzeptualisierte. In den 20er Jahren des letzten Jahrhunderts nahm Max Scheler (1933) den Milieubegriff wieder auf und gab ihm, in Abgrenzung zur objektivistischen Begrifflichkeit der Naturwissenschaften, eine Wendung, welche die Symbolisierungsleistungen des Subjekts und die vorbewusste, routinisierte Ordnungsfunktion milieutypischer Wissensbestände in den Vordergrund stellte. Sein Schüler Aaron Gurwitsch (1931; 1977) fasste unter diesem Begriff alle Formen des Zusammenseins mit anderen, wobei er sich insbesondere auf die Partnerschaft, die Zugehörigkeit und die Verschmelzung als typische Dimensionen der Milieubildung bezog. Während des Faschismus und der durch eine Dominanz modernisierungstheoretischer Ansätze charakterisierten Nachkriegsperiode wurde auf den Milieubegriff nur in geringem Umfang Bezug genommen, ein Tatbestand, der sich erst zu Beginn der 70er Jahre des 20. Jh. änderte. Mit der Konjunktur qualitativen sinnrekonstruierender Ansätze gewannen kleinräumige Milieuanalysen, etwa auf der Ebene der Beschreibung von Jugendkulturen, eine zunehmende Bedeutung. Seit den 80er Jahren des 20. Jh. kann man von einer regelrechten Renaissance des Milieubegriffs sprechen, wobei auf der einen Seite phänomenologisch inspirierte Milieuanalysen stehen (Bohnsack 1991, Bohnsack/Wild 1997; Grathoff 1989; Soeffner 1989), andererseits hat, insbesondere durch Stefan Hradil (1987), Gerhard Schulze (1992) und Michael Vester u. a. (1993) initiiert, das Milieu-

konzept Einzug in die Sozialstrukturanalyse gehalten, um einer zunehmenden „Subjektivierung und Kulturalisierung“ sozialer Ungleichheit Rechnung zu tragen. Freilich hat sich hierbei unter der Hand eine Bedeutungsverschiebung des Milieubegriffs seit den oben beschriebenen Anfängen ergeben (Hradil 1992; Schulze 1992), denn jetzt steht statt eines passiven Geprägtwerdens durch ein spezifisches Milieu die aktive Entscheidung für ein Milieu und die mit seiner Konstitution verbundenen Konstruktionsleistungen des Subjekts stärker im Mittelpunkt des Interesses. Zudem wurde, verursacht durch die gegenwärtigen Globalisierungsprozesse, der Milieubegriff zunehmend aus seiner ursprünglichen räumlichen Verankerung gelöst und auf raumübergreifende Milieubildungsprozesse, etwa in Form von dispers angeordneten Szenen, übertragen. Bei einer Übersicht über die zeitgenössischen Milieudefinitionen fällt eine gewisse begriffliche Unschärfe auf, die mit dieser Bedeutungsverschiebung zusammenhängen könnte. Ausgehend von einer Schnittmenge der gegenwärtigen Milieudefinitionen lassen sich jedoch einige gemeinsame Bestimmungsgrößen isolieren. So werden Milieus erstens als Gruppen gefasst, die über gemeinsame Wissensbestände, Muster der Weltdeutung und soziale Praktiken verfügen. Zweitens dienen diese Gemeinsamkeiten einer Feinabstimmung zwischen sozialer und personaler Identität, so dass Milieus als Ort der Gemeinschaftsbildung und Sozialintegration angesehen werden können. Schließlich führt dieser Prozess drittens zu einer erhöhten Binnenkommunikation und Interaktionsdichte innerhalb sozialer Milieus.

Der Begriff des *Lebensstils* stammt aus einer anderen soziologischen Theorietradition, bezieht sich aber zum Teil auf ähnliche soziale Phänomene wie der Milieubegriff. Theoriegeschichtlich sind in diesem Zusammenhang vor allem die Ansätze von Thorstein Veblen (1989), Georg Simmel (1989) und Max Weber (1972) bedeutsam. Veblen untersuchte den auf Prestige und soziale Anerkennung abzielenden Lebensstil der „Mußeklasse“ in der geschichtlichen Entwicklung bis zur Jahrhundertwende. Dabei beschreibt er zwei Entwicklungsstadien dieses Lebensstils, nämlich die demonstrative Muße und den demonstrativen Konsum. Demonstrative Muße verwirklicht sich in Tätigkeiten, die viel Zeit für zweckfreie

Praktiken binden und dadurch anzeigen, dass die entsprechende Person nicht der „niederen“ Tätigkeit des Gelderwerbs nachgehen muss. Demonstrativer Konsum beinhaltet hohe finanzielle Aufwendungen für „nutzlose“, aber dem Prestige des Konsumenten dienende Objekte. Für Georg Simmel war der Lebensstil der Moderne mit seiner zunehmenden Pluralität von Stilen und den damit verbundenen Entscheidungs- und Identitätskosten von Interesse. Die „objektive Kultur“, d.h. die Summe der in einer Gesellschaft zu einem spezifischen Zeitpunkt vorhandenen Wissensbestände und Stilausprägungen gerät in der modernen Gesellschaft nach seiner Auffassung zunehmend in Widerspruch zur „subjektiven Kultur“, d.h. zur subjektiven Aneignungsweise der vorhandenen Kulturinhalte. Bei einer Vielzahl von Stilen ist die Entscheidung für einen spezifischen nur mit einer vergleichsweise schwachen Identitätsverankerung verbunden, so dass der moderne, individualisierte Mensch zwar eine Vielzahl von Wahloptionen hat, die einzelne Wahl ihn aber nur in geringem Umfang in seiner Individualisierung stärkt und bestätigt. Max Weber (1972) schließlich beschreibt mit seinem Ständebegriff soziale Gruppen, die sich nicht durch eine klassenspezifische Erwerbslage unterscheiden, sondern durch eine spezifische Lebensführung, die der Erlangung von „Ehre“ dient. Ständische Lebenspraxis, die sich etwa in Kleidung, Speisen oder der Ausübung von Kunst niederschlägt, ist nach Weber darauf ausgerichtet, soziales Ansehen und Prestige für den jeweiligen Stand zu monopolisieren. In die zeitgenössische soziologische Debatte wurde der Lebensstilbegriff vor allem durch Pierre Bourdieu (1982) wieder eingeführt. In seinem Werk „Die feinen Unterschiede“ analysiert Bourdieu den Zusammenhang zwischen spezifischen sozialen Lagen, die nach Maßgabe kultureller, ökonomischer und sozialer Ressourcen (bei Bourdieu: „Kapitalien“) differenziert werden und ihnen entsprechenden typischen Lebensstilausprägungen. Seine zentrale These ist, dass aufgrund der „Legierung“ dieser drei Ressourcenarten typische Konditionierungsklassen hinsichtlich der Erfahrung der sozialen Welt in der Sozialisation festgelegt werden und die hierdurch erlernten Regeln wiederum zur Hervorbringung eigener Lebensstilpraxis und der Klassifizierung der Praxis anderer Gruppen Anwendung finden. Der von

Bourdieu unterstellte enge Zusammenhang zwischen den „objektiven“ Merkmalen der sozialen Position und ihnen entsprechenden Lebensstilen ist, insbesondere in der deutschen Sozialstrukturanalyse, nicht unwidersprochen geblieben. Autoren wie Ulrich Beck (1986), Gerhard Schulze (1992) und Stefan Hradil (1987) vertraten die These einer zunehmenden Pluralisierung von Lebensstilen, die sich nicht mehr primär entlang sozio-ökonomischer Statusgruppen und Konfliktlinien festmachen ließen. Die Ergebnisse der empirischen Lebensstilforschung (Georg 1998; Spellerberg 1996) konvergieren jedoch zu einer Position zwischen diesen Auffassungen: Lebensstile sind hiernach zwar nicht deterministisch mit der sozialen Lage eines Individuums verknüpft, sie kovariieren jedoch im über-zufälligen Sinn mit spezifischen „objektiven“ sozialstrukturellen Merkmalen. Neben dem Lebensalter, hinter dem sich querschnittlich sowohl Lebenszyklus- als auch Kohortendifferenzierungen verbergen können und das sich durchgängig als die wichtigste Determinante von Lebensstilen erwies, waren insbesondere die Schulbildung, das Geschlecht und die jeweilige Lebensphase am bedeutsamsten für die Differenzierung von Lebensstilen. Versucht man vor dem Hintergrund der unterschiedlichen Lebensstilbegriffe eine verallgemeinerbare Definition zu finden, so wird zunächst deutlich, dass Lebensstile sich auf einen spezifischen Ausschnitt beziehen, der als expressiv-ästhetisches Handeln bezeichnet werden kann. Gemeint sind hiermit alle Handlungsbereiche, in denen wahrnehmbare und klassifizierbare Geschmacksäußerungen eines Individuums anzutreffen sind, wie etwa die Wahl der Wohnungseinrichtung, der Kleidung, des präferierten Musikstils, spezifischer Speisen und Getränke, Freizeitaktivitäten oder Literaturgenres. Der Lebensstil kann als ein ganzheitliches Muster der Wahl dieser Geschmacksäußerungen angesehen werden, mit der Absicht, auf alltagsästhetischer Ebene eine typische Zugehörigkeit zu einer Lebensstilgruppe zu markieren, und, was nur die Außenperspektive dieser Handlung ist, andere Lebensstilgruppen auszugrenzen und sich von ihnen zu distinguieren. Lebensstile sind somit keine „unschuldige“ Äußerung von Geschmack, sondern unterliegen einem symbolischen Kampf um soziale Anerkennung und Devaluierung, einem Kampf, in dem die Mittel zur Durchsetzung der eige-

nen Definition als allgemeinverbindlicher Geschmacksdefinition ungleich verteilt sind (Bourdieu 1982).

Vergleicht man die soziologischen Konzepte *Milieu* und *Lebensstil*, so ist zunächst auffällig, dass eine theoretisch eindeutige Abgrenzung allein deshalb schwierig ist, weil beide unterschiedlichen Theorietraditionen und z.T. auch Forschungsmethodologien entstammen. Der Milieubegriff ist, zumindest im 20. Jh., relativ eng mit wissenssoziologischen oder phänomenologischen Theorieansätzen verbunden, in deren Mittelpunkt die milieutypische Konstruktion der sozialen Welt und die Rekonstruktion der entsprechenden sinnhaften Deutungsmuster und Wissensbestände stand. Das Lebensstilkonzept wiederum hatte insofern primär eine sozialstrukturelle Ausrichtung, als die nach sozialer Anerkennung strebende alltagsästhetische Praxis unterschiedlicher Statusgruppen seinen Fokus bildete. Während Milieuanalysen die Gesamtheit der Sinnstrukturen, Wissensbestände und Vergemeinschaftungspraxis interaktionsdichter Gruppen untersuchen, zielen Lebensstilbeschreibungen zwar auch auf Gruppenbildungsprozesse, jedoch steht hier die alltagsästhetische, prestigebezogene Praxis im Vordergrund. Im Gefolge der empirischen Milieu- und Lebensstilforschung wurden auf der Grundlage unterschiedlicher alltagsästhetischer Dimensionen und Merkmale mehrere Segmentierungsmodelle entwickelt (vgl. etwa Schulze 1992; Spellerberg 1996; Georg 1998), welche in einem zweiten Schritt auf unterschiedliche Merkmale der sozialen Lage bezogen wurden. Im Ergebnis erwies sich in allen angesprochenen Studien das Alter als die wichtigste sozio-demographische Determinante des Lebensstils; von den klassischen ungleichheitsrelevanten Merkmalen erlaubte die Schulbildung die beste Voraussage der Zugehörigkeit zu einem spezifischen Lebensstil. Nach etwa 15 Jahren Lebensstilforschung ist gegenwärtig ein etwas abflauendes Interesse der wissenschaftlichen Öffentlichkeit festzustellen. Dies kann auch damit zusammenhängen, dass die hohen Erwartungen, die in das Lebensstilkonzept als neuer Analysekatégorie der Sozialstrukturanalyse gesetzt wurden, sich nicht in jeder Hinsicht erfüllt haben. Zwar hat sich die Datenbasis verbessert und die sozialstrukturelle Abhängigkeit von Lebensstilen wurde inzwischen genauer untersucht, jedoch haben Milieu- und Lebens-

stilmodelle ihre Stärke vor allem in der kleinräumigen Analyse unterschiedlicher Gesellungsformen (etwa bei Jugendlichen oder in spezifischen Statusgruppen) bewiesen. Eine zufriedenstellende Makro-Perspektive aus sozialstruktureller Sicht, wie diese von Bourdieu (1982) für die französische Gesellschaft geleistet wurde, ist bisher jedoch für die Bundesrepublik ausgeblieben.

5. Zusammenfassung

Was lässt sich nach einer fast zwanzigjährigen Diskussion über die Vor- und Nachteile des Schichtkonzepts als Erkenntnisgewinn festhalten? Aus der Perspektive „objektiv“ diagnostizierbarer sozialer Ungleichheit lassen sich nach wie vor und unverändert schichtspezifische Benachteiligungen feststellen. So besuchten im Studienjahr 1987/88 81,7% aller Kinder von Selbständigen mit Hochschulabschluss eine Universität, aber nur 1,9% aller Söhne und Töchter von Arbeitern ohne Lehrabschluss (Köhler 1992). Becker und Hauser (1994) konnten seit 1983 eine Zunahme der Einkommensungleichheit zu Lasten der unteren Einkommensgruppen feststellen. Seit den 60er Jahren hat sich zwar die soziale Mobilität leicht erhöht, es existieren jedoch nach wie vor deutliche Mobilitätsbarrieren. Für die „härtesten“ Fakten im Leben eines Menschen, Krankheit und Tod lässt sich eine deutliche Benachteiligung der unteren Statusgruppen nachweisen (Geyer/Peter 2000). Vor dem Hintergrund dieser Tatbestände würde eine Verabschiedung vom Schichtungsmodell eine Verschleierung sozialer Ungleichheit bedeuten. Andererseits hatte schon Geiger (1932) betont, dass die Beschreibung sozialer Lagen und ihrer Lebenschancen alleine nicht ausreicht, um von einer sozialen Schichtung zu sprechen. Hinzukommen müsse vielmehr die Analyse schichttypischer Mentalitäten, Lebensstile und Interessenvertretungen. Diese Lücke könnte mit Hilfe von Lebensstil- und Milieumodellen geschlossen werden, jedoch wären diese, im Unterschied zu den existierenden Lebensstilanalysen, auf konkrete Statusgruppen und ihre Positionierung im Schichtungssystem zurückzubeziehen. Insofern hat die Geigersche Forderung nichts an Aktualität verloren und harrt auch heute noch ihrer Verwirklichung.

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47. Rolle/Role

1. Philosophischer Hintergrund
2. Geschichte der Rollentheorie in der Soziologie
3. Typisierungsschema, Interpretation, Handlungssituation
4. Soziolinguistische Themenfelder
5. Methodologische Prämissen
6. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Philosophischer Hintergrund

Die Theorie der sozialen Rolle wurde in den sechziger Jahren zur Arena der Auseinandersetzung zwischen Ansätzen mit unterschiedlichem philosophischen Hintergrund. Diese Auseinandersetzung betraf auch die politische Konzeption, die der für die Moderne angemessenen Soziologie zugrunde liegen soll.

Auf der einen Seite stand die anthropologische Tradition. In der deutschen Diskussion wurde sie vor allem durch die philosophischen Darlegungen zum Verhältnis zwischen Individuum und Gemeinschaft bestimmt, die bei Theodor Litt (1926), Helmuth Plessner (1929) und Arnold Gehlen (1940, 1958) vorgetragen wurden. Diese Diskussion verstand die soziale Rolle als eine festgefügte Funktionseinheit innerhalb einer Institution oder Organisation. Dahinter stand eine Gemeinschaft, die für den Handelnden die Gesellschaft verkörperte. Die Gemeinschaft, so lautete die These, stellte jeweils Handlungspotentiale für die einzelnen in Gestalt sozialer Rollen bereit. Die Rollen dienten der Stabilisierung der Wirkungsbereiche der Person, wobei gegliederte Aufgabenbereiche bestanden. Diese Ordnung der Gemeinschaft bzw. Gesellschaft bedeutete, so wurde angenommen, Entlastung für den wegen seiner anthropologischen Konstitution ('Exteriorisierung') auf Institutionen der Gesellschaft angewiesenen Menschen. Auf der anderen Seite stand die geisteswissenschaftliche Tradition. Deren philosophische Grundlegung war Wilhelm Diltheys *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften* (1883). Ihre hauptsächlichen Denker bei der Begründung der Rollentheorie waren Georg Simmel (1858–1918) und Alfred Schütz (1899–1959). Simmels zweites Hauptwerk *Soziologie* (1908), das auf Diltheys geschichtlich-gesellschaftlich verstehender Erkenntnistheorie aufbaute und dessen Pro-

gramm der 'Kategorien der historischen Vernunft' weiterführte, stellte das Rollentheorem in einen methodologischen Rahmen. Simmels „Exkurs über die Frage: Wie ist Gesellschaft möglich?“ erläuterte ein Apriori der idealtypischen Konstitution des Phänomens 'soziale Rolle'. Schütz' erstes Hauptwerk *Der sinnhafte Aufbau der sozialen Welt* (1932) zog Edmund Husserls Bewusstseinsphilosophie heran, um eine Theorie der Struktur der Sozialwelt zu entwickeln. Schütz zeigte ein Bild der aus idealisierten Typen bestehenden Mitwelt, wobei personale Idealtypen (d.h. soziale Rollen) neben materialen Idealtypen (d.h. Handlungsmustern) standen. Die beiden 'Schulen' der philosophischen Grundlegung des Rollendenkens wurden Hintergrund für die lebhafteste Debatte über begriffliche Fundierung und die gesellschaftliche Bedeutung des Rollenansatzes in der deutschen Soziologie. Diese Debatte wurde durch Ralf Dahrendorfs 1958 erschienenen Traktat *Homo Sociologicus* eröffnet und dauerte bis in die siebziger Jahre an. Dabei wurde die Frage des politischen Auftrages der Soziologie – als Gegenpol zum Postulat der Wertfreiheit – in die Debatte einbezogen. Die Auseinandersetzung fand statt zwischen dem Marxismus (historischen Materialismus) als Begründung für die – auch anthropologisch begründete – Kritik an der Gegenwartsgesellschaft mit Blickpunkt Rollentheorie auf der einen Seite und der geisteswissenschaftlichen Erkenntnistheorie als philosophischer Leitlinie der methodologisch begründeten Rollanalyse auf der anderen Seite. Darin war auch eine Positionsaussage enthalten, nämlich pro oder contra Sozialismus oder Kapitalismus, Diktatur des Proletariats oder repräsentativer Demokratie. In den Strudel dieser Debatte wurde in Deutschland auch die Rezeption der amerikanischen Rollentheorie hineingerissen, die hauptsächlich in der Zeit zwischen den dreißiger und fünfziger Jahren entstanden war.

2. Geschichte der Rollentheorie in der Soziologie

Den Grundstein der Rollentheorie im angelsächsischen Denken legte der Sozialphilosoph George Herbert Mead. Dessen posthum erschienenes Werk *Mind, Self, and*

Society (1934) entwarf eine Bewusstseinsphilosophie der Gesellschaft. Die symbolisch vermittelte Reziprozität zwischen Handelnden, so Mead, geschah mittels „taking the role of the other“. Ebenfalls in den dreißiger Jahren entwickelte der Kulturanthropologe Ralph Linton eine ethnologisch begründete Sozialstrukturanalyse. Sie erfassete die Funktionen in einem System der Gesellschaft als Stellen im Aufbau der Sozialstruktur. Den Statuspositionen, so Linton, entsprachen Rollen, die das jeweilig statusgemäße Handlungsrepertoire bildeten (Linton 1936, 1945). Aus Meads Reflexivitätstheorem und Lintons Sozialstrukturkonzeption entwickelte Talcott Parsons ein gesellschaftstheoretisches Rollenmodell. In seinem 1951 erschienenen Hauptwerk *The Social System* (Parsons 1951a) stellte Parsons dar, dass Rollen sowohl ein Stelle im Struktursystem der Gesellschaft(en) als auch ein Szenario für interaktives Handeln waren. Zum Vorbild für reziprok aufgebaute Rollensysteme diente Parsons die Arzt-Patient-Beziehung. Sie war als soziales System zu denken, das aus zwei komplementären Rollen bestand, die eine gemeinsame und dennoch jeweils eigene Wert- und Normenorientierung verwirklichten (Parsons 1951b). Strukturell waren Rollen kleinste Einheiten gesellschaftlicher Kollektive. Sie bildeten eine Schnittstelle zwischen den Personen als „active, creative, evaluating creatures“ (Parsons 1935, 282) auf der einen Seite und den gesellschaftlichen Systemstrukturen auf der anderen Seite. Die Systemstrukturen waren – je nach dort vorherrschenden ‘Pattern Variables’ – mehr oder minder autoritär oder demokratisch. Strukturell war die Hierarchie Werte – Normen – Kollektive – Rollen als absteigende Abstraktion und zunehmende Kontextkonkretisierung anzusehen. So war die soziale Rolle das ‘kleinste’ Strukturelement, das Handlungsmuster für Individuen bereitstellte, die in das soziale System einer Gesellschaft passten. Zugleich waren Rollen auch die ‘Orte’ der Interaktion zwischen Individuen. Rollen waren indessen für Handelnde keine monolithischen Erwartungsraster. Sondern sie bildeten multiple Recht-Pflicht-Konstellationen. Diesen Gedanken entwickelte Robert Merton (1957) zu einer Konzeption des Rollen-Set. Er sah die Beziehungen zu unterschiedlichen Bezugsgruppen als entscheidend für die Entstehung der tatsächlichen Verhaltensweisen an. Die Bezugsgruppen waren ausschlag-

bend für die Auswahl zwischen möglichen Alternativen des Rollenhandelns. Bezugsgruppen im Einzugsfeld einer Rolle wirkten nebeneinander und konkurrierten hinsichtlich Einfluss auf das tatsächliche Verhalten. Empirische Untersuchungen in den fünfziger Jahren und danach konnten anschaulich zeigen, dass allenthalben Rollenkonflikte auftraten, und zwar sowohl Intra- als auch Inter-Rollen-Konflikte, die durch situativ variables Verhalten aktuell gelöst wurden (Toby 1951, Gross et al. 1958, Kahn et al 1964).

Gegen die amerikanische Rollentheorie richtete Dahrendorf 1958 seine Kritik am scheinbar dort propagierten Menschenbild. Dahrendorf prägte für dieses Menschenbild, das zu reaktiv gesellschaftsbestimmtem Handeln auffordere, die Metapher *Homo sociologicus*. In der Rollentheorie amerikanischer Provenienz, so Dahrendorf, werde ein als Reaktion auf Rollenerwartungen gedachtes Handeln (und entsprechend unfreies Menschsein) entworfen. Daran zeige sich die ‘ärgerliche Tatsache Gesellschaft’ (Dahrendorf 1958/1967). Der Rollentheorie müsse man vorwerfen, dass sie die Konformität des Bürgers gegenüber gesellschaftlichen Zumutungen und Zwängen (Erwartungen) geradezu propagiere. So werde das philosophische Prinzip der Freiheit des Menschen negiert: „Und es ist nur ein Schritt vom entfremdeten Verständnis des Menschen als bloßem, stets bedingten Rollenspieler zu jener entfremdeten Welt von ‘1984’, in der alles Lieben und Hassen, Träumen und Handeln, alle Individualität, die sich dem Zugriff der Rollen entzieht, zum Verbrechen an der zur Gesellschaft hypostasierten Soziologie wird“ (Dahrendorf 1958/1967, 192). Dahrendorfs Streitschrift gegen die angeblich soziologistische Rollentheorie wurde in Deutschland als Traktat über die soziologisch zu analysierende Rollenhaftigkeit der Welt missverstanden. Ein Sturm der Kritik brach los. Aus der Perspektive der Plessner/Gehlen’schen Anthropologie wurde gegen Dahrendorf angeführt, dass eine von Rollen freizuhaltende Natur des Menschen unverzichtbar wäre (Bahrtdt 1961, Plessner 1966). Dagegen wehrte sich Dahrendorf, indem er betonte, allemal bestehe ein Gegensatz zwischen den Rollen, die die ‘ärgerliche Tatsache Gesellschaft’ verkörperten, und der menschlichen Natur, die jenseits von Rollen und Soziologie läge (Dahrendorf 1963). Aus der Perspektive des historischen Materialis-

mus bzw. der Kritischen Theorie der 'Frankfurter Schule' wurde gegen Dahrendorf (und die amerikanische Soziologie, deren Sprachrohr er sei) eingewandt, er sei unwillkürlich Apologet des bürgerlichen Liberalismus. Dabei wurden die sozialen Rollen, also die mutmaßlich autoritativen Erwartungskonstellationen der kapitalistischen Welt, als Instrumente der Macht gedeutet. Die Kritik an Dahrendorfs Rollenbegriff war dabei zugleich Kritik an den Phänomenen der Macht und Herrschaft in der modernen arbeitsteiligen Gesellschaft (z.B. Claessens 1968). Soziale Rollen, die Dahrendorf angeblich schilderte, wurden Maßstab der Entfremdung auch für Jürgen Habermas, dem es um 'kritische' anstatt bloß 'konservative' Funktionen der Soziologie ging. Er schilderte die sozialen Rollen als ein hermetisches Gehäuse der Hörigkeit: „(S)o viel ist jedenfalls gewiss, dass die analytische Fruchtbarkeit der Rollenkategorie nicht unabhängig von dem Entwicklungsstand der Gesellschaft ist, an deren Beziehungen sie sich zunächst einmal bewährt. Wird sie aber in der Anwendung auf gesellschaftliche Verhältnisse schlechthin zu einer universalhistorischen Kategorie verallgemeinert, muss die Rollenanalyse mit ihrer eigenen geschichtlichen Bedingtheit überhaupt gesellschaftliche Entwicklung als eine geschichtliche ignorieren – so, als sei es den Individuen äußerlich, ob sie, wie die Leibeigenen des hohen Mittelalters, einigen wenigen naturwüchsigen Rollen, oder aber, wie etwa der Angestellte in der industriell fortgeschrittenen Zivilisation, vervielfältigten und beschleunigt wechselnden, in gewissem Sinn abgelösten Rollen subsumiert sind“ (Habermas 1963/1971, 239). Schließlich forderten marxistische Stimmen, den Rollenbegriff gänzlich aus der Soziologie zu vertreiben. Rollen, so lautete das Verdikt, wären bloße Vehikel der gesellschaftlichen Entfremdung und negierten zudem jene Humanität, die in der Utopie des Sozialismus läge (Furth 1971, Haug 1972). Damit war der Punkt erreicht, an dem das Pendel der Diskussion zu einer – im Sinne Max Webers – werturteilsfreien Alternative zurück schwingen musste. Die Studie *Rollenanalyse als kritische Soziologie* (Gerhardt 1971) zeigte, wie eine Theorie der sozialen Rollen drei Desideraten genügen konnte – nämlich (1) sich von den ontologischen Prämissen und den politischen Parolen der auf die philosophische Anthropologie oder den Marxismus bauen-

den Begriffsperspektiven zu lösen, (2) auf die Tradition der geisteswissenschaftlich begründeten Soziologie zurückzugreifen und dabei zugleich (3) die Überlegungen der amerikanischen Rollentheorie und der empirischen Forschung einzubeziehen. Die Studie entwickelte die Sozialphilosophie Simmels und Schütz' zu einer Konzeption des idealtypischen Verstehens der Rollenphänomene weiter. Dabei wurden Rollen nicht etwa als – angeblich beliebig zu definierende – Formen des soziologischen Denkens angesehen. Sondern Rollen wurden als Sozialform analysiert, d.h. als Formen der Vergesellschaftung, die per Typisierungsschemata, die interpretiert werden, situativ variabel sind. In den siebziger und achtziger Jahren entstanden weitere Arbeiten zur verstehenden Rollenanalyse (z.B. Gerhardt 1973, 1980, 1988, Winnubst / ter Heine 1985). Aber daneben bürgerte sich ein beschreibender Ansatz ein, der sich mit methodologischer Naivität begnügen zu müssen meinte und die Diskussionen der sechziger und frühen siebziger Jahre überhaupt nicht mehr zur Kenntnis nahm (z.B. Wiswede 1978). In den neunziger Jahren war die Rollentheorie nur noch gelegentlich Gegenstand soziologischer Überlegungen (z.B. Gerhardt 1994), obwohl das Thema nach wie vor aktuell ist. Unverdientermaßen ist die soziale Rolle weithin aus dem Gegenstandsbereich der Soziologie verdrängt worden. Indessen bleibt festzustellen, dass die verstehende Rollenanalyse nicht nur wichtige Einsichten für die Sozialstruktur- und die Handlungstheorie enthält. Sondern darin liegt auch ein bisher wenig beachtetes Feld der Soziolinguistik.

3. Typisierungsschema,

Interpretation, Handlungssituation

„Insofern die soziale Rolle durch typisierende Abstraktion zustandekommt und also ein Schema zur Deutung von Handlungsakten bereitstellt, das den Spielraum akzeptierten Verhaltens für Personen in Interaktionsbeziehungen festlegt, kann folgende Definition gegeben werden: *Rollen sind das Ergebnis einer Abstraktion, welche Haltungen, Eigenschaften, Leistungen und Tätigkeiten für gleichrangige und/oder gleichartige Personen zu einem aus Handlungsregeln bestehenden Typisierungsschema zusammenfasst.*“ (Gerhardt 1971, 226) Aus dieser allgemeinen Bestimmung, die auf Schütz' Überlegungen

zu Synthesis der Rekognition und Reziprozität der Perspektiven beruhen (Schütz 1932), können vier Hypothesen abgeleitet werden, die die gesellschaftliche Konstitution und Verwirklichung sozialer Rollen konkretisieren:

Hypothese 1: *Rollen haben einen strukturellen Kontext*. Das heißt: Rollen sind empirische Formen, die zwar normativ wirken (sollen), aber zugleich einem je besonderen Kontext der Sozialstruktur entsprechen, der aktuell feststeht und über Zeit wandelbar ist.

Hypothese 2: *Die strukturellen Kontexte variieren im Grad der Abstraktion von der unmittelbaren Erlebniswelt sowie im Grad der Generalisierung ihrer Gültigkeit*. Das heißt: Drei Ebenen der Abstraktion von der unmittelbaren Erlebniswelt und zugleich Generalisierung der Gültigkeit bestehen neben- bzw. sozusagen übereinander. Das niedrigste Niveau der Abstraktion und Generalisierung hat die *Situation*; ein mittleres Niveau hat die *Position*; das höchste Niveau hat der *Status* (vgl. Art. 46). Insgesamt gilt: Es gibt Verhalten, das vorwiegend situations-, anderes, das vorwiegend positions- und noch einmal anderes, das hauptsächlich statusbezogen ist bzw. zu sein hat.

Hypothese 3: *Entsprechend ihrem strukturellen Kontext entstehen Rollen von unterschiedlichem Grad der institutionellen Verfestigung in einer Gesellschaft*. Das heißt: Typisierungsschemata mit hoher institutioneller Festigkeit organisieren die Statusstruktur einer Gesellschaft; sie bilden *Statusrollen*. Beispielsweise sind die askriptiven Merkmale Alter, Geschlecht, Rasse (Ethnie), Nationalität etc. als Statusrollen gesellschaftlich geformt; dies gilt ebenso für heutzutage eher selbstbestimmte Merkmale à la Religion, Staatsbürgerschaft etc. Die Typisierungsschema mittlerer Festigkeit institutionalisieren Positionen zu *Positionsrollen*. Beispielsweise sind arbeitsteilige Organisationen in Politik, Wirtschaft etc. und auch private Lebensbereiche (von Parteien über Kirchen bis zu den Familien) durch Positionsrollen arbeitsfähig. Schließlich regeln Typisierungsschemata mit geringer institutioneller Einbindung die situativen Kontexte des gesellschaftlichen Alltags; sie bilden *Situationsrollen*. Beispielsweise sind Lebenssphären à la Reisen (inklusive Straßenverkehr), Essen, Sexualität etc. als Situationsrollen geordnet.

Hypothese 4: *Rollen und strukturelle Kontexte, sofern sie handlungsrelevant werden,*

werden interpretiert. Das heißt: Sowohl kollektive Gepflogenheiten als auch individuelle Gewohnheiten führen zu Deutungsvorgängen, die das Handlungsfeld einer (eigenen oder fremden) Rolle anders als im (normativen) Typisierungsschema definieren (können). So entstehen Perzeptionstendenzen. Die interpretierenden Deutungen variieren entsprechend Status bzw. Statuskonstellation, Position bzw. Positionsverhältnis und auch Situation bzw. situativem Rahmen – also durchaus gesellschaftlich, nicht (nur) individuell. Das Szenario (vgl. Art. 54) wird weiter kompliziert durch die gleichzeitige Performanz von Rollen unterschiedlicher Abstraktion etc. in einer aktuellen Handlungssituation mit einem bestimmten (oder unbestimmten) Gegenüber. Die Handlungssituation, die mindestens zwei Handelnde in ihren Status-, Positions- und Situationsrollen umfasst, enthält teilweise Darstellungen relevanter interpretierter Rollen und teilweise Aushandeln der verschiedenen rollengemäßen Rechte und Pflichten. Der Verhaltensakt ist mithin stets multidimensional. Die Handlungssituation ist überdeterminiert, und sie kann als Vielfalt der multidimensionalen gesellschaftlichen Vernetzungen der Handelnden rollenanalytisch verstanden werden. Allerdings sind die Handelnden, die sich in ihren Status-, Positions- und Situationsrollen aktuell in einer Handlungssituation begegnen, stets *Individuen*. Als Individuen haben sie eine soziale, personale und auch Ich-Identität (Goffman 1963). Damit wird die Rollenhaftigkeit gesellschaftlicher Existenz mit der Individualität der einzelnen vermittelt: „Die Teilhabe an Rollen im Laufe der individuellen Lebensgeschichte wird sozusagen verdichtet zu einem momentanen Gesamt des ‘Rollenrepertoires’. Der Verhaltensakt ist der Schauplatz *gleichzeitiger* Einwirkungen heterogener Status-, Positions- und Situationsrollen auf das Handeln, und deren je aktuelles Zusammenspiel ist ein Moment der individuellen Identität. Die Je-Einmaligkeit sowohl des einzelnen Verhaltensaktes wie auch der Individualität als dem Ausdruck einer besonderen Aggregation von Rollen kann daraus hergeleitet werden.“ (Gerhardt 1971, 296)

4. Soziolinguistische Themenfelder

In der Soziolinguistik bieten sich (mindestens) vier Themenfelder für eine Anwendung der verstehenden Rollenanalyse an:

- (1) Geschlechtsrollen und andere Statusrollen: (a) Die Statusrollen Frau und Mann wurden in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten als Arena geschlechtstypischer Diskursstrategien untersucht. Deborah Tannen verschaulicht die ungleichen Rollenperformanzerwartungen der Geschlechter am Anfang ihres Buches *You Just Don't Understand*: „Many years ago I was married to a man who shouted at me, ‘I do not give you the right to raise your voice to me, because you are a woman and I am a man.’ ... I ascribed his unfairness to his having grown up in a country where few people thought women and men might have equal rights“ (Tannen 1990a, 23). In einem zusätzlich zu männlicher Dominanz ethnisch differenzierten Milieu findet Tannen variierende Stile des Mann-Frau-Diskurses, die beide Statusrollen zusammen darstellen; diese Stile analysiert Tannen als multidimensionale Ausdrucksformen für Kombinationen aus den Statusrollen Geschlecht sowie Nationalität(en) bzw. Kulturzugehörigkeit(en) (Tannen 1982). – (b) Die Statusrolle Nationalität (Kulturzugehörigkeit) wird auch in eigenen Untersuchungen gewürdigt. So beschreibt Rosita Schjerve für Sardinien den ‘instabilen Bilingualismus’ zwischen dem dominanten Italienisch und dem subdominanten – politisch durch bewusste Revitalisierung geförderten – Sardisch; die zwei Sprachen stehen von Stadt zu Stadt in unterschiedlichem Verhältnis zueinander. Insgesamt sind Institutionen wie die öffentliche Verwaltung, die Schule etc. allemal ‘Orte’ der Verwendung des Italienischen, während (fast) alle anderen Lebensbereiche ganz oder teilweise in Sardisch bestritten werden – wobei ein Sechstel der Bevölkerung Analphabeten sind (Schjerve 1987). Ebenfalls auf konkurrierende Statusrollen Nationalität (Kulturzugehörigkeit) richtet sich die Hypothese, dass der Bilingualismus der in das Ruhrgebiet ab ca. 1880 eingewanderten Polen zur ‘Regionalsprache Ruhr’ beigetragen habe (Menge 1985).
- (2) Berufsrollen und andere Positionsrollen: (a) ‘Business Negotiation’: Die Rollensprache in geschäftlichen Verhandlungen, so zeigen die Beiträge im Sammelband *The Discourse of Business Negotiations* (Ehlich/Wagner 1995), sind im allgemeinen am Erfolgsziel der Transaktion Kauf/Verkauf orientiert. Dabei werden neben dem Inhalt der Aussagen auch deren kontextuelle Formen strategisch gestaltet. In den Verhandlungsgesprächen werden ‘Repairs’, Simultanreden, Schnelligkeit, Lautstärke, Pausen etc. reziprozitätsbezogen verwendet (Neu/Graham 1995). Auch zeigt sich, dass Statusrollen à la Nationalität (und damit einhergehender Kulturzugehörigkeit) einen umfassenden Rahmen vorgeben, der in derartigen positionalen Interaktionen wiederum eigene Formen der differentiellen Sprachperformanz herstellt (Villemoes 1995, van der Wijst/Ulijn 1995). – (b) Arzt-Patient-Kommunikation: An der Kommunikation zwischen Arzt und Patient im Krankenhaus, die während der Visite geschieht, wird Asymmetrie der Rollen festgestellt; dabei wird mangelnde Reziprozität – mit Dominanz des Arztes und Chancendefizit des Patienten, die Definition der Situation zu bestimmen – diagnostiziert (Bliesener 1980, Glück et al. 1983). Andere Studien legen dar: Therapeutische Kommunikation sei zwar auf Reziprozität angewiesen, enthalte allerdings oftmals Diskursstrategien, sich gegenüber dem Gesprächspartner, also jeweils Arzt oder Patient, einseitig in Szene zu setzen (Ehlich et al. 1990). Dass Verstehen zum ärztlichen Rollenrepertoire gehört, wird indessen nachdrücklich in der medizinischen Literatur unterstrichen (z. B. Stuhr 1992).
- (3) Essensrollen und andere Situationsrollen: (a) Angela Keppler zeigt in *Tischgespräche: über Formen kommunikativer Vergemeinschaftung am Beispiel der Konversation in Familien*, dass die Rolle des Essenden im Familienkreis, wenn kein Gast anwesend ist, eigene linguistische Formen hat. Keplers Thema sind u. a. Klatsch, Belehrung, Streit etc. sowie auch die Geschlechtsrollen und Familienrollen, die in besonderen Interpretationen in die situative Rollenkonstellation (Gesprächsorganisation) bei Tisch integriert werden (Keppler 1994). – (b) Das sprachliche Handeln zwischen ‘besten Freundinnen’, als Beispiel für die diffuse Situationsrolle Freundschaft, behandelt Tannen (1984, 1990b). Andere Arbeiten zu Situationsrollen thematisieren Gast-Sein eines Ausländers in Mindanao (Frake 1964) oder Hilferufe

bei einer Telefonberatungsstelle für Personen in seelischer Not in Los Angeles (Sacks 1967).

- (4) Die Handlungssituation im Spannungsfeld gleichzeitig verwirklichter Status-, Positions- und Situationsrollen der Beteiligten ist Gegenstand der Diskussion über zwei bekannte Themen der Soziolinguistik: (a) „Code switching“ (vgl. Art. 41): Problem ist der Wechsel zwischen Hochsprache (bzw. einer national verbreiteten Variante) und lokalem Dialekt in einer norwegischen Kleinstadt (Blom/Gumperz 1972, Gumperz 1976). Es zeigt sich, dass nicht etwa situationsbezogen durchweg im einen oder anderen Code kommuniziert wird. Sondern der Wechsel der Codes erfolgt innerhalb der Situation, und die Forschung weist nach, dass die Sprecher dabei ein kunstvoll aufeinander abgestimmtes Hin und Her zwischen Hochsprache und Dialekt inszenieren. Dies erlaubt beispielsweise, eine Berufs- oder Amtshandlung gleichzeitig mit der Aktivierung sowohl von Status- als auch Situationsrollen, die nicht in den positionalen Kontext gehören, auszuführen. Durch „Code switching“ kann ein Sprecher Anspielungen auf Privates oder Lokales einfließen lassen, also die aktuell latenten Rollen beider Beteiligten anklingen lassen, ohne den Rahmen der positionalen Performanz zu sprengen (Breitborde 1983). – (b) „Footing“: Goffman analysiert die offensichtliche Multidimensionalität der linguistischen (inklusive gestischen etc.) Praxis mit dem selbstgewählten Begriff „Footing“. Er modifiziert Gumperz' Modell des „Code switching“, um auch die feineren Unterschiede im aktuellen Situationshandeln zu analysieren, die Gumperz' Sprechermodell nicht fassen könne. Goffman hält fest: „A change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production and reception of an utterance. A change in our footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame of events. This paper is largely concerned with pointing out that participants over the course of their speaking constantly change their footing, these changes being a persistent feature of talk.“ (Goffman 1981, 128).

Die Multidimensionalität sozialer Rollen auf den Strukturniveaus Status, Position und Situation, die in der Handlungssituation simultan im interaktiven Austausch verwirklicht werden (wobei besondere Lösungen für Rollenkonflikte aktuell gefunden werden), kann soziolinguistisch insgesamt als Verhältnis zwischen Mikro- und Makrolinguistik gefasst werden (dazu z.B. Fishman 1972).

5. Methodologische Prämissen

Die Rollenanalyse in der Soziolinguistik, die bisher nur in Anfängen entwickelt ist, verdient stärkere Beachtung als bisher. Dabei kann nur die verstehende Rollenanalyse dem diffizilen Problembewusstsein der Soziolinguistik, das in den letzten dreißig Jahren erreicht wurde, gerecht werden. Die Handlungstheorie, die dem soziolinguistischen Verständnis der sozialen Rollen zugrunde liegen muss, darf nicht mechanistisch sein. Keinesfalls dürfen Rollen als Normenbündel aufgefasst werden, die per deterministischem Wirkungsverhältnis den Individuen vorgeschriebene Verhaltensweisen nahelegen – wobei dann Abweichung vom Erwartungsraster als Rollenkonflikt gedeutet wird, der zu Unsicherheit und Identitätsdefiziten führen könne. Demgegenüber lässt die verstehende Rollenanalyse Raum für die Individualität der Person, und zwar im Medium ihrer Status-, Positions- und Situationsrollen, die in der Handlungssituation interaktiv aufeinander abgestimmt werden. Insgesamt kann man dabei das zweite Apriori Simmels aus „Exkurs über das Problem: Wie ist Gesellschaft möglich?“ in der empirischen Welt vorfinden: Simmels Individualitätsapriori legt nahe, dass die Individuen, die einander verallgemeinert zum Typus Mensch erkennen, dabei jeweils den anderen sehen als ein soziales Wesen und zugleich ein Wesen jenseits der Sozialität, worin Individualität liegt: „Als soziales Apriori wirkt dies, insofern der der Gesellschaft nicht zugewandte oder in ihr nicht aufgehende Teil des Individuums nicht einfach beziehungslos neben seinem sozial bedeutsamen liegt, nicht nur ein Außerhalb der Gesellschaft ist, für das sie, willig oder widerwillig, Raum gibt; sondern dass der Einzelne mit gewissen Seiten nicht Element der Gesellschaft ist, bildet die positive Bedingung dafür, dass er es mit andern Seiten seines Wesens ist: die Art seines Vergesellschaftet-

Seins ist bestimmt oder mitbestimmt durch die Art seines Nicht-Vergesellschaftet-Seins.“ (Simmel 1908/1992: 51)

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48. Norm/Norm

1. 'Norm' und verwandte Begriffe
2. Erläuterungen zur sozialen Norm
3. Der soziolinguistische Normbegriff
4. Methodenprobleme der Normen-Forschung
5. Die Entstehung von Normen
6. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. 'Norm' und verwandte Begriffe

Eine *Norm i.e.S.* ist der intentionale Sachverhalt einer Verpflichtung (Obligation). Das konstitutive Merkmal 'Obligation' bedeutet: eine Norm verkörpert zwar häufig, aber keineswegs ausschliesslich ein Richtigkeits- bzw. Korrektheitsurteil; ihr Verpflichtungscharakter kann z. B. auch das Zweckmässige, das Angemessene, das Legale o. a. betreffen. Das Merkmal 'Intentionalität' bedeutet u. a.: für die Existenz einer Norm ist ihre Formuliertheit (oder gar Statuiertheit) nicht ausschlaggebend. – Normen sind inhaltlich bestimmte Regulative, die sich auf die Ausführung oder Unterlassung bestimmter Handlungen und Handlungssequenzen beziehen können ('Handlungs- und Verfahrens-Normen'), auf die Auswahl und Verwendung bestimmter Mittel, die eine Handlung erst konstituieren bzw. ihren Vollzug ermöglichen ('Instrumental-Normen'), auf die Beschaffenheit eines Handlungsergebnisses ('technische oder Produkt-Normen'), schliesslich auf die Inhalte des Denkens, Wünschens, Bewertens und Interpretierens sowie die Form ihrer Entäusserung. Terminologisch können sie als „Gebote, Verbote, Erlaubnisse“ (Riedel 1979), als allgemeine und universelle „Aufforderungen“ (Rescher 1966, Gethmann 1978), als Handlungsmaximen oder Werturteile mit allgemeinem Geltungsanspruch (Habermas 1973) in Erscheinung treten. Zuweilen wird dieser Norm-Begriff eingeschränkt; Normen sind dann z. B. allein die mit einem *moralischen* Rechtfertigungsanspruch versehenen Präskriptionen (Patzig 1971). – Gegenüber diesen Normen i.e.S. werden häufig auch statistisch-strukturelle Sachverhalte wie Häufigkeiten, Distributionen, Regelmässigkeiten usw. als „Normen“ bezeichnet (*Normen i.w.S.*). Dem liegt (zumeist implizit) die Auffassung zugrunde, dass derartige Sachverhalte als auf entsprechenden deontischen Sinnstrukturen basierend interpretiert werden dürfen. Dieser v. a. in der

Tradition Simmels (1908) stehende Versuch, den Seins-Aspekt des Normalen und den Sollens-Aspekt der Vorschrift / Forderung in einen einheitlichen Norm-Begriff zusammenzudenken, ist allerdings umstritten: Gemäss dem Postulat der Werturteilsfreiheit der Sozialwissenschaften seien normative *Gültigkeit* und die Faktizität des *Geltens* von Normen strikt zu trennen (Weber 1968). – Von der Norm (i. e. S. und i. w. S.) muss unterschieden werden:

– der *Imperativ* (Befehl, Aufforderung).

Im Unterschied zur Norm handelt es sich hierbei immer um einen Äusserungsakt (gegenüber direkten Adressaten), der zudem nur einen singulären Sachverhalt modalisiert; seine Legitimation erwächst aus der Rollenposition des Befehlenden und nicht – wie bei Normen – aus Werten, für die intersubjektive Anerkennung unterstellt bzw. beansprucht wird;

– die *Konvention*, die – anders als die Norm – nicht unabhängig vom Verhalten, sondern nur als eine bereits stattgefundene Praxis besteht, und zwar als eine durch Erfahrung bewährte Praxis, der deshalb (und mitunter nur seitens der an Koordination interessierten Handlungsbeteiligten) eine regulierende Funktion für die Zukunft zugesprochen wird (Lewis 1975). Allerdings bleibt handlungstheoretisch fraglich, ob die Konvention selber schon ein hinreichend normatives Motiv für die Auffassung, ihr auch folgen zu sollen, liefert (Glüer 1999);

– die *Regel*; der Terminus 'Regel' bezeichnet (i) zuweilen den deontischen Sachverhalt *Norm i. e. S.* (z. B. als „orthographische Regel“). Daneben und hauptsächlich wird er aber (ii) für einen ganz anderen, nämlich deskriptiven Sachverhalt *modellhafte Abbildung empirischer Daten a posteriori* verwendet, also für sprachliche Ausdrücke, die entweder Häufigkeiten oder Konstruktionsprinzipien z. B. von sprachlichen Einheiten abbilden (Gloy 1993). Dies geschieht (mit Ausnahme v. a. der TG) meist ohne den Anspruch, damit auch die Orientierungen, die den Konstruktionsprozess leiteten, miterfasst zu haben. Regeln im letzteren Sinne sind also Hilfsmittel einer Beschreibungssprache; sie sollen – als „deskriptive Regeln“ – durch Induktion empirischer Daten Sachverhalte höherer Ordnung („Regelmässigkeiten“, „Regularitäten“) entdecken

oder – als Erzeugungsregeln – prädiktiv die möglichen (nicht immer: die korrekten) Konstruktionen umgrenzen (vgl. Palmer 1974, 149ff). Dabei kommen sie allerdings in der Definition des ‘Möglichen’ um eine (verdeckte) Normierung nicht herum (vgl. Gloy 1975, 104ff, Love 1994). Deontischen resp. deskriptiven Sachverhalten werden gelegentlich *guiding* resp. *fitting rules* (Quine 1972) oder *soziale* resp. *linguistische Regeln* (Bartsch 1985a) zugewiesen. (iii) Linguistische Regeln werden i.a. als Strukturprinzipien einer Sprache und damit als inner-sprachliche Grössen angesehen. Sie besitzen, etwa als hypothetische Imperative (Wiegand 1986), einen von präskriptiven Korrektheitsstandards verschiedenen Status (skeptisch dagegen Itkonen 1978, Baker/Hacker 1984), in den sie erst bei Anwendung übergehen (von Polenz 1999). (iv) Auch der Status der *konstitutiven Regeln* i.S. Searles („X zählt im Kontext C als Y“) ist umstritten; während z.B. Dummett (1991) sie aus den Korrektheitsbedingungen sprachlicher Ausdrücke heraus als präskriptiv versteht, macht z.B. Glüer (1999, 186ff.) geltend, dass ihnen die notwendige Bedingung für Präskriptivität, nämlich Verletzbarkeit, fehle: Regeln dieses Typs verlangten gar nicht, dass X (oder Y) getan werde. Sie formulierten jeweils einen Standard, und es müsse eigens erklärt werden, warum und wie dieser Standard gegebenenfalls Gebots-Charakter erlange – also in den Status einer Norm übergeht. Damit werden (wie in iii) Regeln als den Normen vorgängig erachtet (vgl. Coseriu 1970); zuweilen aber auch umgekehrt: Regeln als linguistische Beschreibungen vorgängiger objektsprachlicher Normen (Ammon 1986). Umstritten ist schliesslich auch, ob Regeln (wie Normen) sozial, d.h. über eine Sprachgemeinschaft konstituiert sind (so z.B. Kripke 1982) oder nicht (so z.B. Chomsky 1981) und ob Aussagen über Regelbefolgungen (biologische) Aussagen über mentale Zustände einzelner Sprecher oder Aussagen einer verstehenden Soziologie über (sinnhafte) soziale Praktiken einer Gemeinschaft sind (Harras 1992).

das *Gesetz*; im klassisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Sinne weist dieser Begriff eine Ambivalenz zwischen dem mathematischen Funktionsbegriff und der Formulierung von regelmässigen (rekurrenten) Abläufen auf, deren Regelmässigkeit kausal (auf Ursachen beruhend) erklärt wird und deshalb als notwendig erscheint. Im gesellschaftswissenschaftlichen (einschliesslich juristischen)

Sinne fehlen die Momente ‘notwendig’, ‘Ursache’; auch ist Rekurrenz der Abläufe keine notwendige Bedingung für die Existenz eines Gesetzes. Ein Gesetz ist hier vielmehr eine statuierte Norm und hat v.a. die Merkmale ‘interessenbestimmt’, ‘institutionalisiert’, ‘legitimierungsbedürftig’ und ‘veränderbar’; statt nach kausalen Ursachen ist in der Analyse nach motivationalen Gründen für das Gesetz zu fragen. In der Linguistik hat der gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Gesetzes-Begriff nur dort gelegentlich eine Rolle gespielt, wo Fälle untersucht wurden, in denen Sprache zum Inhalt legislativer Akte wurde. Anders der klassisch-naturwissenschaftliche Gesetzesbegriff: seit dem 19. Jh. (v.a. in Form der ‘Lautgesetze’ der Junggrammatiker) wurden Regelmässigkeiten der Sprache häufig kausal erklärt, z.B. aus sprachimmanenten Gründen. Bei den Strukturalisten treten dann an die Stelle kausaler Erklärungen funktionale, aber immer noch sprachimmanente Erklärungen: das ‘System’ als gesetzmässige Ursache der Regelmässigkeit von Sprache, die Kompetenz eines idealen Sprecher-Hörers als der Sitz und die Menge aller das System konstituierenden ‘Regeln’.

2. Erläuterungen zur sozialen Norm

In soziologischer Sicht werden deontische Modalitäten erst dann zu Normen, wenn sie nicht nur mit Geltungsansprüchen, sondern auch faktisch mit sozialer Geltung (unterschiedlichen Ausmaßes) versehen sind. Konstituiert werden Normen dem Ideal nach durch Legitimation erzeugende Verfahren, in der Praxis meist von verschiedenen Instanzen mit absichernder Funktion: von kodifizierenden Verfassern, verbindlich machenden Normsetzern, verbreitenden Normvermittlern, beobachtenden Normüberwachern, unterstützenden Normbefürwortern und belohnenden bzw. bestrafenden Sanktionssubjekten, zwischen denen jeweils – mit zusätzlicher Absicherungsfunktion – die verschiedenartigsten innovativen, affirmierenden und kontrollierenden Rückkopplungen bestehen können (vgl. Gloy 1998). ‘Sozial’ sind Normen insoweit, als es – im Unterschied zur privaten Maxime – Faktum oder geglaubte Unterstellung ist, dass (a) ihre Gültigkeit allgemein ist, dass sie (b) den Bestand einer bestimmten sozialen Ordnung garantieren (sollen) und dass (c) ihre Befolgung von anderen gefordert wird.

2.1. Der relevante Andere

Die jeweiligen Anderen mit ihren (tatsächlichen oder vermeintlichen) Erwartungen müssen 'relevante' Andere sein, also solche, deren Erwartungen und/oder Reaktionen dem Adressaten aus psychischen, ökonomischen, moralischen o. a. Gründen bzw. auf Grund faktischer, erlebter oder unterstellter Macht nicht gleichgültig sind. Insofern handelt es sich bei Normen um lebensgeschichtlich erworbene, subjekt-variable Größen, die auf dem Wege ihrer Institutionalisierung untereinander abgeglichen werden. Dass und in welchem Sinne Normen auf Durchsetzungsprozessen beruhen, wird unterschiedlich (und in der Sprachwissenschaft oft nur indirekt über den Sprachwandel) erklärt (vgl. Foucault 1972, Keller 1990, McMahon 1994, Link 1997).

2.2. Die Existenzweisen der Normen

Soziale Normen kommen in unterschiedlichen Existenzweisen vor (für die nicht immer spezielle Termini bestehen); sie sind versprachlicht und nicht versprachlicht. Erstere können wiederum nur ausgesprochen oder aber auch schriftlich fixiert ('kodifizierte Normen') sein, und zwar in legalisierenden Akten dazu ermächtigter Organisationen ('statuierte Normen') oder in nicht-legalisierten Akten anderer Formen der Herrschaftsausübung ('informelle Normen'), unter denen die Wörterbücher eine herausragende Rolle spielen (Maier 1984, Wiegand 1986, Malkiel 1989). Die nicht-formulierten ('subsistenten') Normen haben ihre Verbindlichkeit ohne institutionelle Zwänge erlangt, z.B. im stillschweigenden Konsens oder auf Grund von (unterstellter) Macht, manchen Erklärungen zufolge auch aus einer normativen Kraft des Faktischen (vgl. Link 1997). Zu den legalisierten Normen können sie sich komplementär oder konkurrierend verhalten, sie können in deren Status übergehen oder sie – wie im Fall der *political correctness* (Beard/Cerf 1992) – konkretisieren. Die Existenz subsistenter Normen zeigt bereits an, dass Formuliertheit keine notwendige Bedingung der Existenz (und auch keine der Geltung) von Normen ist. Selbst die Form einer sprachlichen Äusserung gibt darüber nur indirekt Aufschluss: Modalverben u.ä. können ausser einer Obligation auch Ereigniswahrscheinlichkeiten ausdrücken und bilden dann gerade keine Normen (Gloy 1975, 13ff).

3. Der soziolinguistische Normbegriff

Seit den 60er Jahren vollzieht sich ein Paradigmenwechsel von einer Wissenschaft des Sprachsystems zu einer der Sprachpraxis und ihres Funktionierens in (Teilbereichen von) Gesellschaften. Die damit verbundene Abkehr von der Homogenitätsannahme, die z. T. bis zu einem interpretativen Paradigma führt, macht eine Explikation des Norm-Begriffs nötig, die seine allgemeinste Charakterisierung als 'deontischer sozialer Sachverhalt' berücksichtigt – etwa in der Form: Ein bestimmter (Handlungs-, Wert-, Denk- ...) Inhalt und die Form seiner Entäusserung sind nach dem Willen einer Instanz A für einen Personenkreis B unter den Situationsbedingungen C in bezug auf einen Zweck D mit der Begründung E erlaubt, ge- oder verboten. Unter die so definierten *sozialen Normen* fallen als Teilmenge die *Sprachnormen*. Letztere sind Erwartungen (Gloy 1975, Fix 1987) und/oder explizite Setzungen deontischer Sachverhalte, die ihrem Inhalt zufolge die Bildung, Verwendungsabsicht, Anwendung und Evaluation sprachlicher Einheiten der verschiedensten Komplexitätsgrade regulieren (sollen). Eine Übersicht über verschiedene Grundtypen von Sprachnormen bietet Bamgboße (1990).

Mit ihrem zentralen Thema „sprachliche Variation“ empfiehlt sich die Soziolinguistik als genuines Forum der Sprachnormen-Forschung. Sie differenziert den Norm-Begriff gegenüber einem monozentrischen (homogenen) Sprachkonzept, hat allerdings einige Schwierigkeiten bei der Ausarbeitung einer allgemein akzeptierten Systematik der Varianten (Erfurt 1993). Extensional ist folglich u. a. der Term *Sprachnorm* unterschiedlich festgelegt; er wird auf sprachliche Phänomene jedes Komplexitätsgrades (von einer phonetisch-phonologischen Erscheinung bis hin zu einem Gesamtsystem von der Grössenordnung einer *langue*) angewendet – immer aber so, dass er Selektionen aus einer (realen oder vorgestellten) Sprachvielfalt darstellt und damit Normgemässes und Normabweichungen markiert (Coseriu 1970, Ezawa 1985). Aus der Menge aller derart möglichen Normen werden vorherrschend nur solche als Sprachnorm berücksichtigt, die bereits eine bestimmte *Verbindlichkeit* („Geltung“) erlangt haben – sei es legalistisch (als Verordnung, Erlass, Richtlinie oder Gesetz), faktisch (als etablierter, vorherrschender Sprachgebrauch) oder defini-

torisch (als sprachwiss. expliziertes Richtigkeits- bzw. Angemessenheitsurteil). Dem gegenüber bilden Versuche, auch Idiolekte und idiographische Methoden in die sozioling. Norm-Forschung einzubeziehen, die Ausnahme (z. B. Warnke 1996). Demzufolge kann eine sozioling. Sprachnormen-Forschung zu ihrem Gegenstandsbereich rechnen: (i) die statuierten Normen, (ii) alle „(versuchten) normativen Handlungen“ i. S. von Wrights (1979, 83; 110), zu denen man jede, auch die von Einzelpersonen vorgetragene Normformulierung, metasprachliche Urteile (vgl. Welte/Rosemann 1990) und die gesamte Sprachkritik (vgl. Kirkness 1975) zählen kann. (iii) Regelmässigkeiten und Häufigkeiten bestimmter Sprachverwendungen – allerdings nicht schon als Nachweis, sondern nur als Hinweis auf möglicherweise zugrundeliegende Sprachnormen. Ob es sich bei ihnen tatsächlich um *Sinngrössen* (mit sozialer Geltung) handelt, kann nicht anhand einer formalen Sprachanalyse, sondern nur mithilfe von Zusatzannahmen (vgl. 4) geklärt werden.

Die Normkonzepte unterscheiden sich u. a. in der faktischen Reichweite bzw. im beanspruchten Geltungsbereich der fraglichen Norm. Letztere kann eine historische Einzelsprache umfassen und meint in diesem Fall praktisch immer eine Standardvarietät (Bamgboße 1990) als den unmarkierten Bereich einer Sprache. Die Kritik daran ist vielschichtig; sie betont z. B. den Primat der Sprachpraxis und deren normierte Verfasstheit (Taylor 1990), sie plädiert um der Akzeptanz der Standardvariante willen dafür, dass diese „tolerant kodifiziert sein muss“ (Heger 1989, 226), sie verweist darauf, dass Normen – als notwendige Bedingungen für das Funktionieren – jeder Varietät zukommen (Švejcar 1990). Letzteres steht v. a. in Beziehung zur Vorstellung (z. B. der Prager Schule) von Sprache als Systemoid, als System aus Systemen bzw. als Diasystem und kritisiert die Behandlung alles Nichtstandardlichen als extranormativ oder seine Bewertung als „defizitär“.

Ein Rückfall in diese überwunden geglaubte Hierarchie *high – low* wird auch anlässlich der Diskussion des Substandards befürchtet (Holtus/Radtke 1989; 1990; Brumme/Wesch 1999). Dies betrifft eher die Soziolinguistik selber als den von ihr untersuchten Gegenstandsbereich. Trotz einiger Einwände jüngerer Datums (Coulmas 1989, Taylor 1990, Peyer u. a. 1996) ist nämlich nach wie vor die

Auffassung verbreitet, dass Sprachwissenschaft es positivistisch mit wertfreien Beschreibungen (statt mit Interventionen) zu tun habe – als Reaktion sowohl auf den Umstand, dass Grammatiker einst als selbsternannte Norm-Setzer operierten als auch auf fragwürdige Norm-Kriterien, wie z. B. die Schichtzugehörigkeit der Sprecher. Im Rahmen dieser Beschränkung kommt es nicht selten zu einer inadäquaten Bearbeitung der im Alltag vorhandenen und wirksamen Sprachnormen; diese werden zu Gunsten eines Äquivalenzprinzips und eines gegen alle gesellschaftliche Erfahrung formulierten Normenrelativismus' (Bourdieu 1993) eher marginalisiert. Gleichwohl reagieren Sprecher auch im Wissen der linguistischen Argumente für die Adäquatheit von Nichtstandard-Varietäten im Sinne ihrer gelerntenen wertenden Einstellungen (Milroy/Milroy 1991). Derartige Differenzen zw. linguistischen und common-sense-Konzepten legen die Einbeziehung von Alltagstheorien und Teilnehmerperspektiven (z. B. über *Regel*, *Korrektheit*, *Varietät* u. dergl.) in den sozioling. Gegenstandsbereich nahe. Dementsprechend wird Erklärungsadäquatheit denjenigen Sprachbeschreibungen attestiert, die Sprache in der Weise, wie sie den Sprechern selber gegeben ist, rekonstruiert (Ammon 1986); das ist z. B. im Fall des neuen Substandards eine Abkehr vom Dialekt, die sich aus linguistischer Perspektive als objektive Annäherung der verbliebenen Varietäten ausnimmt, sprecher- u. hörerseitig aber als Vorstellung über getrennte Varietäten erhalten bleibt u. auf diesem Wege das vorhandene sozioling. Funktionssystem wahrt (Mattheier 1990).

4. Methodenprobleme der Normen-Forschung

Der Sachverhalt der Verpflichtung, als der eine Norm charakterisierbar ist, kann als *intentionaler* verstanden werden, die Norm erscheint dann als gewollt (Norm als interpretationsbasierte Sinngrösse); er kann aber auch als *faktischer* verstanden werden, die Norm ist dann ein der Deskription zugänglicher Gegenstand, der von der Soziolinguistik empirisch identifiziert werden kann. Die Sprachnormen-Forschung geht z. T. von dieser letzteren Möglichkeit aus: eine Norm liegt demzufolge v. a. in Form bestimmter singulärer Sprachereignisse, daneben in Form von Norm-Formulierungen und schliesslich

auch von Regelmässigkeiten vor. Ein konkretes Sprachereignis ist aber nur metonymisch eine (Sprach-)Norm; genau genommen ist es allenfalls das Produkt einer dem Sprachereignis zugrundeliegenden regulativen Idee und kann als Illustration, Repräsentation oder Realisierung dieser Norm behandelt werden. Da die Norm selber auf dem Wege des Abstrahierens aus den empirischen Sprachdaten gewonnen werden muss und stets mehrere Möglichkeiten dazu bestehen (Gloy 1995), stellen sich u.a. die Probleme, welcher Abstraktionsgrad der zulässige sein soll und wie die Diagnose des Linguisten und die des Sprechers zur Deckung gebracht werden können. Norm-Formulierungen bieten nur dem Anschein nach weniger Methodenprobleme. Ihr deontischer Status ist nämlich kein innersprachliches Phänomen; er kann also nicht über Formanalyse ausgewiesen, sondern muss erschlossen werden. M.a.W., den Sprachteilnehmern ist eine Norm eine *Sinngrösse*, den Analysierenden eine *institutionelle Tatsache* i.S. des Sozialkonstruktivismus' (Searle 1995), beiden im Idealfall eine *Institution im Reich der Gedanken* (Gloy 1997a) mit lediglich konventionaler Notwendigkeit (Thomä 1996). Regelmässigkeiten schliesslich sind legitime Hinweise auf *möglicherweise* zugrundeliegende Sprachnormen; da sie aber nicht allein durch Sprachnormen, sondern auch anderweitig zustande gekommen sein können (Weber 1964, 16ff), ist der Schluss von ihnen auf Normen nicht zwingend. Es wird daher vermutlich nicht gelingen, den Seins-Aspekt des Normalen und den Sollens-Aspekt der Vorschrift in einen einheitlichen Norm-Begriff zusammenzudenken. – Die methodischen und erkenntnistheoretischen Probleme bei der Identifizierung und Analyse der nicht-statuierten Normen zentrieren sich v.a. um die beiden Fragen: (i) Repräsentiert eine vorliegende Äusserung eine existierende Norm oder behauptet sie diese nur bzw. versucht sie, sie auf diese Weise einzuführen? Die Anerkennung jeder deontischen Formulierung als Norm kann jedenfalls zu Unschärfen führen, da nun begrifflich wie faktisch nicht mehr zwischen einem Anspruch, normierend zu sein, und der Geltung, tatsächlich normierend zu wirken, unterschieden werden kann. (ii) Darf eine wissenschaftliche Aussage über Normen eine Explikation von Daten einer höheren Ordnung sein, z.B. von quantitativen, korrelativen oder strukturellen Einsichten, die nur

einem wissenschaftlichen Zugriff, nicht aber der Alltagspraxis zugänglich sind? Oder muss man sich auf die den analysierten Personen selbst zugänglichen Daten beschränken (auf das, was ihnen als Norm bewusst ist) – und wie ist der Forschung dieses kulturelle Wissen zugänglich?

5. Die Entstehung von Normen

Sozioling. Theorie hat sich mit der Alternative, ob Normen als Ursachen, also kausal, oder als Gründe, also motivational verstanden werden, auseinanderzusetzen. Es geht um ein Norm-Konzept i. S. des naturwissenschaftlichen Gesetzes oder i. S. einer sozialen Forderung, die – wie stark sie faktisch auch immer sein mag – dem Subjekt im Prinzip die Möglichkeit des Abweichens belässt. Die Auflösung dieser Alternative zugunsten eines interpretativen Ansatzes und der Verzicht auf einen Gesetzesbegriff machen den Blick frei für die Nutzniessung und das Interesse gesellschaftlicher Gruppen an der Geltung bestimmter Normen und für die Tatsache, dass die Entstehung von Normen – aber auch ihre Einhaltung und Affirmation – aus Urteilen, Einsichten und sozialen Zwängen und nicht etwa aus Sachnotwendigkeiten erfolgt. In diesem Zusammenhang sind die Zweckbestimmungen von Kommunikation von Belang, z. B. dass das allgemeine Ziel die über 'Koordinationsnormen' zu erreichende Verständigung sei (Ullman-Margalit, 1977). Jedoch kann ein solches Almagam aus Bedingungen der Möglichkeit von Verständigung und spieltheoretisch verstandener Zweckrationalität allenfalls die Tatsache plausibel machen, dass überhaupt (Sprach-) Normen zustande gekommen sind; es kann aber nicht Normen in ihrer vorfindlichen Beschaffenheit erklären oder rechtfertigen. Gleichwohl dient es in der Praxis immer wieder dazu, den Bestand derzeitiger Normen gegen Veränderungen zu immunisieren (Bartsch (1985, 128ff). Statt über allgemeine Zweckbestimmungen (von Kommunikation) sind Sprachnormen angemessener als Ergebnisse von *Partialinteressen* und Koordinierungsprozesse als Ergebnisse von *Interessendivergenzen* zu verstehen. Ihre Rationalität ist deshalb als Rationalität der gesellschaftlichen Gruppen, die diese Interessen haben, zu analysieren. – Dabei drohen mindestens zwei Überschätzungen der Wirksamkeit von Normen: (i) Nicht alle sprachlichen Erscheinungen können normentheoretisch hergelei-

tet werden. (ii) Sprachl. Handlungen beruhen nicht allein auf Normen (resp. auf 'Regelbefolgung'), sondern auch auf Innovationen – i.S. einer variierenden Übernahme. – Normtheoretische Erklärungen erweisen sich einerseits den mit „Sachzwängen“ argumentierenden Erklärungen überlegen; sie werden aber ihrerseits von wiederum anderen Erklärungstypen in Grenzen verwiesen. Bezügl. der Norm-Entstehung ist dies an den Antworten auf die Frage, ob Sprache (u. Sprachnormen) das Objekt menschlichen Eingreifens seien oder sich diesen Eingriffen entziehen, abzulesen. Auf der einen Seite wird die Ansicht, Sprache sei unabhängig von den Willensakten der Individuen, als unsoziologischer Sprachmythos abgetan (Harris 1981), werden Sprachnormen aus den Bedürfnissen handelnder Menschen legitimiert (v. Polenz 1991, 1994; Straßner 1995), wird das Vordringen von Nichtstandard-Varietäten dem Druck der unteren Sozialschichten zugeschrieben (Milroy/Milroy 1991), wird schliesslich in summa behauptet, die Frage nach der Norm-Entstehung sei nunmehr zugunsten des bewussten menschlichen Eingreifens entschieden (Hartung 1987). Auf der anderen Seite wird geltend gemacht, dass Normen je nach Norm-Typus Sprechereinflüsse zulassen – so im Fall der *feature norms* – oder eben auch nicht, wie im Fall der *code norms*, die evolutionstheoretisch, d.h. mit Selektionsvorgängen ausserhalb von Individuen zu erklären sind (Bamgboße 1990); ferner, dass Sprache schon den Junggrammatikern zufolge ein sich selbst regulierendes System sei, in dem menschl. Normierungsbemühungen lediglich als Störfaktor aufträten (Albrecht 1994); des weiteren wird dem Schluss „Normen sind menschengemacht, deshalb sind sie auch durch bewusstes Eingreifen veränderbar“ bescheinigt, auf einem interaktionistischen Irrtum zu beruhen: nur Personen in besonders privilegierten Positionen könnten sich Norm-Relativierungen sozial leisten (Bourdieu 1993). Radikaler wird menschl. Einflussnahme in der zeitgenössischen Diskussion um Kontingenz, Emergenz und spontane Ordnungen in Zweifel gezogen (Gloy 1997b). Dieser Zweifel ist theoretisch begründet und beruft sich auf die Beschaffenheit von *Phänomenen der dritten Art* und auf *Erklärungen der unsichtbaren Hand*. Was zunächst für den Sprachwandel nutzbar gemacht wurde (Keller 1990), kann auf die Genese von Normen ausgedehnt werden. Ihre Herleitung aus undurchschauerten habituellen Vorgängen (etwa

i.S. von Links *Disposition* und *Mentalität*) bietet womöglich Gelegenheit, vornormative Normalitäten („Regelmässigkeiten“) und nachträglich bewusste Normalisierung in ein einheitliches Norm-Konzept zu integrieren und der Dialektik von normierten und normierenden Vorgängen Rechnung zu tragen.

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49. Attitude/Einstellung

1. Introduction
2. Definition and components
3. Origin and change
4. Attitude and behaviour
5. Functions
6. Language attitudes
7. Conclusion
8. Literature (selected)

1. Introduction

Although this term was first used by Spencer in 1892 (Allport 1985), it is not until Allport (1935, 798) stated that the concept of attitude is distinctive and indispensable, that its study has remained supreme in social psychology to date. One of the main reasons for this is that the concept of *attitude* is always fallen back on in order to explain human behaviour (Oskamp 1991), as attitudes are distinctively human and social. Nevertheless, attitudes are studied not only by psychologists and sociologists, but also by specialists in many other fields such as anthropologists, political scientists and communication or language learning researchers.

2. Definition and components

Although etymologically speaking attitude originally meant a posture or pose, there exist a large number of other definitions, a well-known one being the following: "a dis-

position to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event" (Ajzen 1988, 4). All attitudes have a referent (Augoustinos/Walker 1995), which can be either specific and tangible (Bill Clinton, genetically modified food or the Internet) or abstract and intangible (freedom or xenophobia). Thus, nowadays the concept *attitude* connotes the psychological rather than the physical orientation of a person, "his mental state rather than his bodily stance" (Jahoda/Warren 1966). Jaspars/Fraser (1984), after reviewing the definitions of 17 different psychologists, conclude that definitions can be classified into two main groups: the emotional and the cognitive/behavioural definitions, most work by social psychologists favouring one of these.

The human being forms attitudes towards things, people, institutions, events and ideas. One of the main stumbling blocks in its study is, however, that *attitude* is a sociopsychological concept which, unlike weight or shoe size, cannot be objectively and directly observed and measured; it is rather an inference that one makes from behaviour. It is beyond any doubt that attitudes are directly influenced by exceptionally powerful environmental factors such as the family, work, religion, friends or education, up to the point that people tend to adjust their attitudes to conform with those that are most prevalent in the social groups they belong to.

In order for an attitude problem to be superseded, "it seems probable that three factors are influential: the national culture, the social groups encountered by an individual, and the temperament of the individual in terms of flexibility and adaptability" (Morgan 1993, 71). When speaking, a bunch of sociopsychological mechanisms are in play, which allow us to encode/decode certain social values linked to particular linguistic features. In fact, there is a considerable wealth of research and enormous interest in this area, particularly among social psychologists, whose studies have demonstrated that attitude has a high explanatory value in both the linguistic and sociolinguistic dimensions. Similarly, an attitude can be both a predisposing factor and an outcome. Thus a second language learner who has a positive attitude towards the L2 will most of the times attain a higher level of proficiency than the partner who shows a negative attitude. However, attitudes can also be a result of the L2 learning process, since the higher the degree of competence, the more positive will be the attitude exhibited in general by the L2 learner. The former is by far the most extensively investigated, whereas the latter is concerned with the effects of special second-language acquisition programmes on attitudes. Rosenberg/Hovland (1960) proposed that attitude is not a unitary concept, but rather a complex of three classes of components: (i) The cognitive component has to do with thoughts and beliefs; (ii) The affective component relates to feelings toward the attitude object (i.e. the language); (iii) The conative (readiness for action) component is defined as an intention or plan of action in a particular context and under specific circumstances. In this sense Ajzen (1988) also underlines that an object predisposes cognitive, affective and conative responses, whose sum turns out to be the attitude towards the object. Research has shown that it is possible to distinguish between these components both empirically and conceptually (Hewstone/Manstead/Stroebe 1997). Yet, this is a controversial issue, as some authors (Fishbein/Ajzen 1975; Oskamp 1991) affirm that these three components are separate entities, whereas others believe that they have proven to be highly interrelated.

The importance of attitude from a sociological-sociopsychological perspective can be due to three main reasons: "Its close connection to individual construct systems, its

value as indicator of viewpoints in the community and its centrality in psychological theory and research for over thirty years" (Baker 1992, 10). Attitudes have traditionally been of great importance in sociolinguistics in the belief that people's reactions to different languages (i.e. in a majority/minority language bilingual context) or language varieties (understood as variation in a language due to the speaker's region, social class and/or educational background or the degree of formality/informality of the linguistic situation) would reveal much of their perceptions of the speakers (see Aghehysi/Fishman 1970; Cooper/Fishman 1974; Tickoo 1991).

3. Origin and change

Although constitutional and physiological factors have to be kept in mind (for instance extroversion seems to be hereditary to some extent), attitudes are learnt, which is why parents and education become very influential factors in this respect, their influence being such that the attitudes originated in these social milieus happen to be particularly resistant. Other socializing factors to consider are friends, peers and the mass media, especially television nowadays. To have an attitude towards an object, it is indispensable to have some experience or information about the object concerned. There is no doubt that the most influential factor in attitude formation is direct personal experience. Persuasion is also one of the most habitual means of not only changing attitudes, but also of originating them. McGuire (1999, 98–106) complains about how research has neglected analysing the effect of other variables such as: (a) Genetic endowment; animal research shows that genetic factors affect attitudes. (b) Transient physiological states; transitory physiological fluctuations connected with aging, illness, or body chemistry may also affect attitudes. (c) Direct experience with the attitude object, as was pointed out above a single experience can be critical. (d) Social institutions as attitude determinants; parents, peer-group or schooling. As far as attitude change is concerned, nowadays two theoretical models stand out, the elaboration likelihood model and the heuristic systematic model, according to which there are two routes to persuasion, one of them being more superficial as a result of a simpler association, and the other

more thoughtful and based on careful consideration (Eagly/Chaiken 1993). Yet, although there is a large number of theories aimed at explaining how and why people's attitudes change, none of them can account for the full range of attitudinal phenomena that we can come across (Petty/Cacioppo 1996).

4. Attitude and behaviour

The individual's attitude is expressed as behaviour in a context that is social (Terry/Hogg 2000), hence, the conceptual distinction between attitude and behaviour has been long discussed. Although it is usually taken for granted that attitudes predict social behaviour (Eiser 1995), there seems to be a gap between what people say (their expressed attitudes) and what they do (their actual behaviour), despite the fact that knowing our attitudes should help others predict our behaviour. The attitude construct stems from the attempt to account for the observed behaviour of the individual; in fact, by scrutinizing other people's behaviour, we endeavour to make inferences about their attitudes. Nevertheless, the relationship between attitude and behaviour is not as simple as this, LaPiere's study (1934) being a classic in this sense. Many studies in sociology, sociopsychology and sociolinguistics are focused on the attitude-behaviour relationship, in an attempt to reach conclusions about how attitudes and behaviour are related. The conclusion to be drawn is that an attitude is not behaviour, but rather "a preparation for behaviour, a predisposition to respond in a particular way to the attitude object" (Oskamp 1991). It is therefore an intervening variable which mediates in behavioural responses, and as Ajzen/Fishbein (1980) underline, we can confidently conclude that attitudes are related to behaviour and can predict it with considerable success under the adequate conditions, as all those studies which have used the appropriate measures have shown significant attitude-behaviour correlations. Although the prediction of behaviour is less than perfect, "the concept is doing its job" (Bethlehem, in Fraser/Gaskell 1990). Although many variables influence the attitude-behaviour relationship (individual differences; the fact that the more stable the attitudes are, the more consistent this relationship will be), it is worth noting the role played by direct ex-

perience, since those attitudes based on it are stronger than those attitudes to an object which do not rely on any direct experience.

Since attitude is the feeling or opinion about something or someone, or a way of behaving that follows from this, and it is not directly observable but rather has to be inferred from behaviour (as mentioned under 2.), it has to be measured via behavioural indexes of attitudes (interviews, scaling techniques, physiological signs as changes in heart rate, diaries, discourse analysis, the matched guise technique, or questionnaires – the last two being perhaps the best known and widely used). Carranza (in Ryan/Giles 1982) considers that triangulation, that is to say, the use of direct (provided by self-report) and indirect (when attitudes are measured without the person knowing it) measures is the best method to elicit data on attitudes. It is a proven fact that people lie in order not to appear prejudiced, which leads researchers to discuss whether they consider the expressed attitudes or the behaviour as the more valid indicator of a person's true attitudes (Gilbert/Fiske/Lindzey 1998). Even so, the great majority of studies rely almost exclusively on direct measures (Petty/Cacioppo 1996).

5. Functions

Katz (1960) proposed that attitudes perform four major functions: (i) Understanding or knowledge function; attitudes help to understand what happens in our surroundings on an individual basis. If a person disliked former USA president Ronald Reagan's policy, this helped him to understand the wealth of money spent on armament during his presidency. (ii) Need satisfaction or adjustive/utilitarian function; this function is based on past punishments or rewards for doing specific things. In this sense, attitudes may help to adjust to different situations or to reach our goals. If a student wants to achieve the highest mark in the literature exam, he will comment on the literary text following the professor's indications and preferences. (iii) Value-expressive function; attitudes help to establish a person's self-identity and to give a positive expression of the "the type of person he conceives himself to be" (Katz 1960, 173), thus portraying the sort of person he considers he is. When a person who is very concerned

about deforestation takes her papers to the recycling container everyday, she is holding an attitude that serves a value-expressive function. Through his T-shirt a football supporter signals the world that his team is Barcelona and not Real Madrid. (iv) Ego-defensive attitudes; attitudes can act as a defence mechanism to protect the individual against inner and/or outer conflicts or threats. In fact, everybody uses defense mechanisms to some extent. Deprez/Perseons (1984), for instance, observed that prejudices usually go together with hyperbolized positive attitudes towards oneself or his own group; typical examples are homophobia and xenophobia.

According to Katz, different people may hold the same attitudes, but they may serve very different purposes for them. Apart from being very useful to understand and classify attitudes, these four functions are also valuable when it comes to explaining the kind of attitudes that will be aroused according to each situation and to pinpointing the types of influences that turn out to be effective in changing different attitudes. A particular attitude may serve one or several of these four functions, and can also be subject to change if it is under the influence of different forces and pressures. Understanding-oriented attitudes are likely to change due to access to new information, and need-oriented attitudes if the individual's needs change, whereas ego-defensive and value-expressive attitudes are more difficult to change. The former (ego-defensive) firstly need a removal of the individual's threats or conflicts, which can lead to a supportive atmosphere and finally to attitude change. The latter (value-expressive) require a change in the person's values, for example by undergoing a religious conversion (Oskamp, 1991).

Nonetheless, Augoustinos/Warren (1995, 18–19) defend that the functions of attitudes are not only individual but also social: A first function is that they help to locate an individual in the social matrix, as there is a need to express values through attitudes for social cohesion and evaluation. A second function is related to the fact that they become a mechanism to transmit social beliefs and attitudes to the individual, as the expressed attitude provokes a public reaction. A third function concerns the explanatory role of attitudes in orientating the individual in the social world. By showing a negative

attitude towards immigration, an individual not only orients himself to that specific object, but also locates it in society.

6. Language attitudes

Since language is the main form of human communication and interaction, language attitudes have the potential to influence such interaction to a great degree. There is a definite connection between attitude and language behaviour during social interaction. Similarly, the status of a language, language attitudes and its social functions are closely interrelated topics (Ammon 1989), as is clearly shown by language policies, which embody and shape attitudes toward language (McGroarty in McKay/Hornberger 1996). Much attention has been paid to language attitude research during the last three decades, which has contributed enormously to the development of the field of sociolinguistics, as attitudes toward different languages and language varieties reflect perceptions of people in different social categories, “and how such perceptions influence interaction within and across the boundaries of a speech community” (Saville-Troike 1989). Research studies in this field have their origin in bilingual settings (Preston 1989, 50) and it is worth noting that most of them have not taken any theoretical framework as a starting point (Baker 1992). Similarly, most of the research studies on attitudes have been undertaken in Europe and North America, in fact the English, Spanish and French languages have been the central concern of most of the research in this field, whereas the number of studies considerably decreases as regards Africa, Latin America and Asia.

Sociohistorical factors decisively affect attitudes, which is why any study on language attitudes that belittles their role will simply scratch the surface of the question. For instance, the role played by dominant social groups in determining which speech variety is the norm for speaking properly, is unquestionable (cf. art. 48); therefore it is necessary to comment on the socio-cultural and political context of the macro-situation. In so far as language variation, empirical research from numerous parts of the world consistently shows that the standard variety of any language is usually linked to higher competence and social status irrespective of the participants' social groups. Notwith-

standing this, and as Edwards (in Ryan/Giles 1982) points out, although we can find given dialects, accents and even languages more or less pleasant, we cannot jump to any conclusions based on these perceptions alone regarding the speakers' basic skills. Hence, the role of the language teacher is not just to teach the language and impart knowledge, but also to foster positive attitudes towards different languages and varieties through the right atmosphere.

6.1. The affective variables of language learning are made up of several components such as attitude, language anxiety, motivation, personality, or sociocultural experience. However, due to the abstractness of the concepts *attitude* and *motivation*, there is no unanimity about what their relationship is like, despite their being very close. Attitude and motivation are always closely linked, as in Gardner's (1985) Attitude Motivation Index, which is made up of effort, desire and attitudes, and where this author examines the contribution of attitudes to motivation. Yet, Oliver/Purdie (1998) criticize that whereas several different models of motivation have been analysed, the attitudinal component of language learning has been left to one side, on opinion shared by Baker (1992).

6.2. As far as attitudes to indigenous languages are concerned, according to Adegbiya (1994, 2–4) there is an ineluctable need to carefully plan what the functions of these languages are with respect to five main domains: (i) Nationism or official functions: this has to do with the use of indigenous languages in the everyday administration of a given nation, so that indigenous people can have access to and participate in what is going on in political and governmental spheres without being excluded from them on linguistic grounds; (ii) National language functions: in this way unity as well as national pride and independence are fostered. In many African countries European languages have taken over the positions that indigenous languages should have occupied. In Nigeria, for example, English, despite being spoken by a minority, elite group, functions as the national language, whereas Hausa, Yoruba or Igbo are set aside; (iii) Intercultural or interethnic communication: there are many multilingual contexts in which indigenous languages are used as lin-

gua francas or languages of wider communication when different minority languages are spoken. Nevertheless, and although regional or local lingua francas are advantageous and more appropriate to foster and facilitate effective communication, their important role is not officially recognised. (iv) International communication: when it comes to performing international functions, indigenous languages are always forgotten. In a globalized world, this trend has to be changed, otherwise it will imply too many risks for the less powerful languages. (v) Languages of education: attitudes towards languages are manifestly affected and motivated by their role in education, because of its crucial influence not only on the individual's future, but also on society's. The lack of literacy in their own language will probably have an impact on cognitive abilities, on attitudes to the self and the group, and bring about a lower self-confidence (Winsa 1998). Many indigenous languages have been stigmatised in the educational domain, as a result of which attitudes towards them tend to be negative, whereas former colonial languages usually happen to be very positively rated in this domain.

6.3. By far the highest percentage of research conducted to date has focused on the relationship between attitude and second language achievement. It can be stated that the general conclusion is that, *mutatis mutandis*, positive attitudes are likely to facilitate the learning of another language; Morgan (1993) states that pupils' attitudes to the foreign language and its culture are crucial to language learning success, although research studies have also demonstrated that language achievement can bring about more positive attitudes. In any case, the close relationship between second language learning and attitude is beyond any doubt. Yet, it should be borne in mind that language attitudes are political as much as educational, sociolinguistic no less than economic, ethical even more than they are cultural (Tickoo 1991).

7. Conclusion

Attitude is a very much widespread and popular concept nowadays. An attitude is a positive or negative feeling about some person, object or issue, acquired through social interaction. As Eiser (1995) points out, atti-

tudes reflect an awareness of the self (human characteristic) and of other minds and objects (social distinction), which is why they have been “a perennial, and often the paramount, topic of social psychological research” (McGuire 1999, 346), as they fulfil important functions. This does not mean, however, that the *attitude* concept and the attitude-behaviour relationship are free of controversy. In spite of this, the study of beliefs (what we know about something) has traditionally been carried out by examining attitudes (how we feel about something), as the latter are very helpful in determining behaviour (how we act towards something).

Since Gardner and Lambert emerged in the 1960s as founders of work on language attitudes (Gardner/Lambert 1972), this field of inquiry has increasingly drawn sociolinguists’ attention, as a result of which quite a considerable amount of data, applied research, methodological sophistication and development of theoretical ideas has been undergone. Attitude is a key factor in sociolinguistics and language learning.

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50. Identität/Identity

1. Einführende Überlegungen
2. Problematische Identität
3. Schwerpunkte der Identitätsforschung
4. Ausblick
5. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Einführende Überlegungen

Identität ist zu einem Begriff geworden, der tief in politische und gesellschaftliche Auseinandersetzungen eingedrungen ist und mit einer Selbstverständlichkeit benutzt wird, die in gar keiner Weise widerspiegelt, wie schwer es in der sozialwissenschaftlichen Forschung fällt, diesen Begriff klar zu fassen, mit empirisch untersuchbaren Prozessen zu verbinden und ihn dennoch davor zu bewahren, in ein starres Konzept verwandelt zu werden, das die Mannigfaltigkeit menschlicher Interaktion im Ablauf von Biographien und angesichts sozialen Wandels nicht in sich aufnehmen kann. Ungeachtet dieser Divergenzen gibt es vielfältige Rückkopplungsprozesse zwischen dem populären praxis-beeinflussenden Sprachgebrauch und den sozialwissenschaftlichen Analysen, die dafür sorgen, daß von der Identitätsproblematik Betroffene Identitätsanalysen als Mittel in politischen Auseinandersetzungen verwenden (Castells 1997; Sampson 1993). Die 'Sucht nach Identität' (Sloterdijk) bekunden Identitätsworkshops und Designerfirmen, und gegenläufig taucht in der Identitätsforschung die Frage auf, ob die im Denken Eriksons negativ bewertete Identitätsdiffusion nicht in manchen Situationen der Person hilft, Perspektiven und Ideen zu explorieren (Marcia 1989).

2. Problematische Identität

Immer wird Identität als ein Merkmal der handelnden Person gesehen, das problematisch ist, und zwar problematisch sowohl für die Person selber als auch für die anderen, mit denen diese Person interagiert. Neue Erfahrungen ebenso wie Veränderungen im Handlungs-, Sprach- und Beziehungsumfeld der Person stellen die bislang präsumierte Identität infrage. Zudem wird die Person in den sozialen Prozessen, an denen sie beteiligt ist, mit mehrdeutigen, gegenüber anderen Belangen rücksichtslosen und in sich widersprüchlichen Anforderungen konfrontiert. Aktive Anstrengung der Person ist erforderlich, um sich gegen diese divergierenden Kräfte in einer identitätswahrenden Weise zu behaupten, die andere Interaktionsteilnehmer anerkennen. Als Aspekte, die Identität bedrohen, werden unterschieden: (1) Die Beteiligung des Menschen an Interaktionen in verschiedenen Situationen, Rollen und Institutionen. Sie stellt die 'Selbigkeit' der Person infrage. (2) Die lebensgeschichtliche Abfolge der Interaktionen, die erfordern, daß der Mensch sich entwickelt und lernt, Übergänge vollzieht und sich mit Widerfahrnissen auseinandersetzt. Sie stellt die 'Kontinuität' der Person infrage. (3) Die widersprüchlichen Erfahrungen, Handlungsziele und Sehnsüchte der Person. Sie stellen die 'Einheit' der Person infrage. (4) Die Eigenarten, durch die sich diese Person von anderen abhebt. Diese Besonderheit der Person stellt die 'Anerkennung' durch die anderen infrage. Problematisch ist Identität auch, weil sie so gut wie immer diskreditierbare Aspekte hat und an

eigenen Ansprüchen ebenso wie an divergierenden und überfordernden Erwartungen scheitern kann (Breakwell 1983; Goffman 1963). Die Identität, mit der sich eine Person anderen darstellt, ist daher im üblichen Falle sowohl von Erfolgen als auch von Verletzungen und biographischen Brüchen gezeichnet. Oft gibt es unpassende und sperrige Momente, die an der Person und ihrer Lebensgeschichte haften, die die Glaubwürdigkeit der Beteiligung an der gegenwärtigen Interaktion stören könnten und daher verborgen oder umgedeutet werden müssen. Problematisch ist ferner, daß Identität zwar vom Einzelnen entworfen wird – sie wird ‘behauptet’ –, aber die Anerkennung der anderen benötigt. Ob es einer Person gelingt, sich in ihrer besonderen Verbindung von Selbigkeit, Kontinuität und Einheit zu präsentieren, ist das Resultat eines Diskurses, in dem es einer Person gelingen kann oder auch nicht, relevante Beziehungspartner und Bezugsgruppen davon zu überzeugen, daß sie akzeptablen Vorstellungen entspricht. Der Erfolg dieses Versuchs, andere zu überzeugen, hängt davon ab, in welchem Maße diese Aushandlung von einseitiger Definitionsmacht, Sprachverboten und Handlungszwängen belastet ist. Im Extremfall kann Nicht-Identität der letzte Ausweg sein, um physisches Überleben zu sichern (Heinrich 1964). Angesichts der Veränderbarkeit und Widersprüchlichkeit der Bedingungen, unter denen Handelnde sich in ihrer Identität einander präsentieren müssen, kann Identität immer nur ein Entwurf sein, in dem Vorerfahrungen, plurale Interaktionsbeteiligungen und denkbare Zukunftsoptionen in einen Interaktionssinn stiftenden Zusammenhang gestellt werden. Obwohl ‘nur’ ein Entwurf, muß er als verbindlich dargestellt werden, um ernst genommen zu werden. Würde er jedoch als unveränderbar ausgegeben, büßte er sein Potential ein, auf neue Erwartungen in einer Weise zu reagieren, die, obwohl neu, dennoch als vereinbar mit der bisherigen Identität erläutert werden kann (‘balancierende’ Identität: Krappmann 1969).

3. Schwerpunkte der Identitätsforschung

3.1. Grundvoraussetzungen sozialen Handelns

Wie kann es Menschen gelingen, angesichts der genetisch ungesicherten Koordination des Handelns auf einander abgestimmt zu

handeln? Identität, mit der sich potentielle Kooperationspartner in Interaktionen einbringen, macht den Beteiligten deutlich, welche Aussichten bestehen, Interessen und Ziele aussichtsreich miteinander zu verfolgen. Mehrdeutige und widersprüchliche Identitätsdarstellungen beeinträchtigen diesen Beitrag, den Identität zur Koordination von Interaktion leisten kann. Menschen, die nicht fähig sind, sich in ihrer Identität zu präsentieren, scheiden nach dieser Auffassung aus Interaktion aus, denn ihre Gegenüber vermögen nicht zu erahnen, welcher Sinn ihrem Tun unterliegt. Diese sozialanthropologische Vorstellung beruft sich auf George Herbert Mead (1934), der darlegte, daß Interaktion nur möglich ist, wenn Handlungspartner die Haltung ihrer Gegenüber in sich auslösen können, so daß sie dessen Handeln antizipieren und darauf in einer Weise reagieren können, die ein Geflecht wechselseitigen Aufeinander-Eingehens erzeugt. Identität besitzt, wer sich an sozialer Kooperation verstehbar beteiligen kann. In diesem Prozeß der Perspektiven- und Rollenübernahmen ist Sprache das wirkungsvollste Mittel der Verständigung, denn derjenige, der sein Handeln mit anderen abstimmt, spricht zu sich selbst, wie andere mit ihm sprechen. Immer wieder wurde die Unterscheidung eines ‘mich’, der sozialen Identität, die die übernommenen Erwartungen der anderen repräsentiert, und eines ‘Ich’, der persönlichen Identität, aufgegriffen, mit der der Handelnde unvorhersehbar und unverwechselbar auf die Erwartungen antwortet, und zwar nicht aus Originalitätsdrang, sondern weil es an ihm ist, unter den denkbaren Handlungsmöglichkeiten den nächsten Schritt auszuwählen. In besonders einflußreicher Weise hat Habermas (1973a, b) das Identitätskonzept in eine umfassende Theorie menschlicher Handlungsfähigkeit integriert. Er stellt dar, daß Identität in komplexen Gesellschaften nicht mehr durch Identifikation mit konkreten Normen (vgl. Art. 48) und Rollen (vgl. Art. 47) gesichert werden kann, sondern nur durch die Fähigkeit, Konsistenz auch über divergierende Rollen und biographische Abfolgen von immer wieder neu formierten Identitäten aufrechterhalten zu können. Die sprach- und handlungsfähige Person muß sowohl vermeiden, sich durch soziale Erwartungen verbindlichen, als auch durch persönliche Besonderheiten ausgrenzen und stigmatisieren zu lassen. Habermas betont, daß sich Iden-

tität ebenfalls auf die Integration von Antrieben erstreckt. Identitätsbildung wird erleichtert, wenn Aushandlungen und Anerkennungs Bemühungen in einem sozialen Raum ohne Zwänge stattfinden können. Kompetenzen wie Rollendistanz, Empathie, Ambiguitätstoleranz und Identitätsdarstellung verhelfen dazu, sich von rigiden Anforderungen zu lösen, Verschiedenheit anzuerkennen und in Reinterpretation von Erwartungen das Gesamt an Interaktionsbeteiligungen und divergierenden Handlungszielen in einer Identitätsformation zusammenzuhalten, die von anderen als Basis für Kooperation anerkannt wird (Krappmann 1969). Impliziert jedoch Identitätsbildung nicht selber einen Zwang, der sich in Ordnung, Gerichtetheit und Abgrenzung äußert (Adorno 1970)? Löste sich andererseits das Problem der Identität auf, wenn divergierende Rollen und widersprüchliche Erwartungen nicht verlangen würden, sich zu entscheiden, auszuschließen und zu ordnen? Gibt es eine Identitätsformation, die diese Problematik aufhebt (Belgrad 1992; Keupp 1997)? Die Vorstellung von Identität, die aus den Überlegungen hervorgeht, wie Menschen angesichts der Verschiedenheit der Perspektiven und Interessen überhaupt aufeinander abgestimmt handeln können, bezieht ihre Attraktivität gerade daraus, daß sie Orientierung aneinander mit Befreiung, Autonomie und Gestaltungsmöglichkeiten verbindet. Aus dieser Sicht ist ein Mensch, dem mißlingt, Identität zu bilden, ein handlungsunfähiger, unmündiger und unfreier Mensch (Joas 1996).

3.2. Chancen zu Identität unter den gegenwärtigen gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen

Die Tatsache, daß Identität zwar ein Entwurf des einzelnen Handelnden ist, aber auf die Anerkennung der anderen angewiesen ist, läßt fragen, ob diese anderen unter den gesellschaftlich obwaltenden Bedingungen von Kommunikation und Interaktion diese Identität stützende Anerkennung bieten können. Eine Identität anzuerkennen, setzt voraus, nicht nur einen fragmentarischen Rollen aspekt der Person wahrnehmen zu können, sondern das Handeln der Person in verschiedenen Handlungs- und Beziehungszusammenhängen vergleichen zu können, wobei eine gewisse Konstanz in diesen Kontexten gewahrt sein muß, um Varianten des Verhaltens Personen oder Kontexten zu

rechnen zu können. Angenommen wird auch, daß diese verschiedenen Handlungsbereiche nicht voll von einander abgetrennt sind, sondern die Person durch ihre verschiedenen Handlungsbeteiligungen auch über die aktuelle Beteiligung hinaus in Sprache, Denken oder Verhaltensmuster gezeichnet ist, und daß Informationen, Anregungen oder auch Belastungen an der Person haften, die vom einen in den anderen Bereich ihrer Beteiligung hinüberdringen. Ein wirksamer Austausch über die Anerkennung von Identität setzt ferner voraus, daß die miteinander Verhandelnden eine Sprache teilen, in der Begründungen verstanden und Sinn entwickelt werden kann. In soziologischen Analysen des Wandels von sozialen Beziehungen, Institutionen, Familienstrukturen und Arbeitsverhältnissen werden grundsätzliche Zweifel an den Möglichkeiten geäußert, sich Anerkennung für eine umfassende, Situationen und Beziehungen überschreitende Identität zu sichern. Komplexität, Dilemmata, Ambivalenzen, Fragmentierungen und Loyalitätsdiffusion sind wiederkehrende Beschreibungen der von den Gesellschaftsmitgliedern erlebten sozialen Verhältnisse. Diese Verhältnisse werden damit charakterisiert, daß sich in Familie und Arbeitsorganisation verlässliche Beziehungen auflösen, ehemals klar strukturierte organisatorische Zusammenhänge sich in variable Netzwerke verflüssigen, in denen hohe Flexibilität verlangt wird, die für Alternativen ständig offen ist, und Dauerhaftigkeit eher als Hindernis für Neuentwicklungen betrachtet wird (Hage/Powers 1992; Hewitt 1989; Sennett 1998). In den Reaktionen auf Seiten der Menschen werden verschiedene Wege wahrgenommen, sich mit diesen Verhältnisse auseinander zu setzen: Elemente, die einst als Teil einer umfassenden Identität begriffen worden wären, werden nicht verbunden. Ob diese Fragmente oder multiple Selbstteile in ihrem Nebeneinander irgendein Leiden erzeugen (so mit Berufung auf therapeutische Erfahrungen: Glass 1993) oder sich gegenseitig gar nicht tangieren (so Gergen 1991), ist nicht geklärt. Fortdauernde Anstrengung um Identität spiegeln die Bemühungen wider, diese Elemente collagen-, pastiche- oder patchworkartig zu kombinieren, wobei es sich fragt, ob irgendein Element einen Kern darstellt oder dies gerade nicht mehr als möglich gilt (Keupp 1988). Ergebnisse solcher pragmatischer, widerrufbarer Wahlen und zeitweiliger Identifikatio-

nen werden als (sich ständig wandelndes) 'proteanisches', 'sozialchamäleonartiges' oder 'relationales Selbst' bezeichnet (Gergen 1991; Lifton 1993). Auch wenn in diesen Identitätsformationen selbst-konstruktive Anstrengungen gesehen werden, so fällt doch schwer, sich vorzustellen, daß diese Selbst-Konstruktion einer Identität strukturierende Kraft verleiht, denn diese Identität ist als 'nur' konstruiert durchschaubar; ihr fehlt Anerkennung. Neben dieser Ausdeutung der sozialen Verhältnisse, die eine durch Anerkennung gestützte Identitätsbildung nicht mehr zulassen, gibt es Stimmen, die darauf hinweisen, daß der „dialogische Charakter menschlicher Existenz“ nicht aufgebbar ist. Mit dem Verlangen nach Anerkennung können Menschen scheitern; aber sie kommen nicht umhin, den Dialog und gegebenenfalls Kampf um Anerkennung auf sich zu nehmen (Honneth 1992; Taylor 1996). Aus dieser Sicht werden die Bemühungen der Handelnden, sich pragmatisch, flexibel und relational in widersprüchlichen Verhältnissen zu verhalten, nicht als sich selbst aufgebende Anpassung verstanden, sondern als Spielräume nutzende Strategien der Selbst-Behauptung. Nach wie vor betreiben Menschen einzeln oder als soziale Bewegungen 'Identitätsprojekte' und verfolgen verzweifelt-trotzig eine 'Identitätspolitik', die auch aggressive Mittel einsetzt, um sich besondere Erfahrungen und eigene Bezugspunkte zu verschaffen (Harré 1983; Keupp/Höfer 1997; Sampson 1993). Die Identität, die in diesen Prozessen entsteht, wird auch nicht nur als verstümmelte und zerbrochene wahrgenommen, sondern es gibt Versuche, diese Identität auch als eine neuartige Antwort auf unklare, widersprüchliche und sich ständig wandelnden Verhältnisse zu sehen, die keine Strukturen anbieten, an denen sich eine nach üblichen Vorstellungen kohärente und kontinuierliche Identität festmachen läßt. Eine Person mit Identität ist ohne Berührungsscheu vor Differenz und kann sich auf den Reichtum von Vielfalt einlassen (Welsch 2002). Sie ist zur Dezentrierung fähig und kann auch widersprüchliche Perspektiven aufnehmen, ohne sie voreilig zu entwerten. Ihre Identität mag schwach erscheinen, aber diese Person tritt auch nicht mit dem Anspruch auf, zu kontrollieren, über- und unterzuordnen oder ein- und auszuschließen (Helsper 1997; Wenzel 1995). Mit einer Identität, die über spielerische, imaginäre und poetische Kom-

petenzen verfügt, ist die Person möglicherweise eher in der Lage, unüberschaubare und ambivalente Handlungsbedingungen für die Entfaltung ihrer Subjektivität zu nutzen, als mit einer Identität, die sich zwanghaft an der Strukturierung von Inkonsistenzen und Widersprüchen aufreibt (Belgrad 1992). Giddens (1991) meint, daß das Selbst sich von äußeren Urteilen unabhängig machen und die multiplen Perspektiven in ein eigenes Bezugssystem bringen müsse. Voraussetzung dafür sieht er in der basalen Sicherheit, die das Kind in der Beziehung zu den primären Bezugspersonen erwirbt, die es bedingungslos schützen und versorgen. Auch im weiteren Verlauf des Sozialisationsprozesses ist der heranwachsende Mensch darauf angewiesen, daß Beziehungen, die dem Sozialisanden Zutrauen zu seinen Fähigkeiten einflößen, die Schritte des sich Einlassens auf die komplexen Handlungsbedingungen abstützen (Honneth 1992).

3.3. Identitätsbildung in der individuellen Entwicklung

Angeregt durch das Werk des Psychoanalytikers Erikson (1959; 1968) hat sich die entwicklungspsychologische Forschung als einem ihrer zentralen Themen zunächst der Identitätsbildung im Jugendalter zugewandt, dann aber auch Probleme der Identität im Erwachsenen- und Kindesalter untersucht. Erikson beschrieb, daß Jugendliche vor der Aufgabe stehen, aus den Rollen-, Beziehungs- und Wertangeboten ihrer Gesellschaft für ihr künftiges Leben eine Auswahl zu treffen, die ihren Fähigkeiten und Neigungen entspricht. Diese Entscheidung vollzieht sich typischerweise in einer Krise. Ein entlastendes Moratorium unterstützt die Suchprozesse der Jugendlichen. Scheitern ihre Bemühungen, geraten die jungen Menschen in Identitätsdiffusion. Gelingt dagegen die Bildung einer Ich-Identität, fördert sie das Vertrauen, Einheitlichkeit und Kontinuität der Person vor den Augen der anderen aufrechterhalten zu können. Eriksons Schüler Marcia (1966; 1980) übertrug Eriksons Vorstellung der Identitätsgewinnung in ein Modell, das vier Identitätszustände unterscheidet. Eine plausible Abfolge dieser Zustände geht von einer 'übernommenen Identität' aus, die verunsichert werden kann ('Identitätsdiffusion'). Diese Diffusion kann eine Phase des Suchens auslösen ('Moratorium'), die zu einer 'erarbeiteten Identität' führen kann. Marcias Weiterführung der

Eriksonschen Vorstellungen löste eine Fülle empirischer Forschung aus. Studien zeigten, daß durchaus Schritte im Sinne dieses Modells zu beobachten sind, Jugendliche jedoch auch in bestimmten Zuständen verharren oder gar regredieren (Neuenschwander 1996; Stephen/Fraser/Marcia 1992). Daher werden die Identitätszustände nicht als Entwicklungsstufen, sondern als Identitätstypen betrachtet (van Hoof 1999), die mit verschiedenen psychologischen Variablen wie Ängstlichkeit, Autoritätsglauben, Zukunftshoffnungen, Selbstwert, kognitiven Leistungen und moralischem Urteilsvermögen in Zusammenhang stehen (vgl. Flammer/Alsaker 2001). Die Entwicklung dieses Forschungsfeldes hat Beobachter fragen lassen, ob diese mehr oder weniger deutlichen korrelativen Zusammenhänge noch die Ideen Eriksons über die psychosoziale Entwicklung junger Menschen und ihre Auseinandersetzung mit der Gesellschaft, in der sie ihren Platz finden müssen, widerspiegeln (Schwartz 2001). Der Entwicklungsaspekt sei weitgehend verloren gegangen (van Hoof 1999). Zugleich werde Identität nicht mehr als Prozeß und dynamische Struktur gesehen, die divergierende Strebungen und Erwartungen integriere. Berzonsky (1990) erinnert daran, daß Identität ein Potential der Auseinandersetzung mit der sozialen Umwelt darstelle, die von verschiedenen Stilen geprägt werde. Nach Kurtines wird in diesen Auseinandersetzungen Identität ko-konstruiert, wobei sowohl der Person ein aktive, explorierende, kritisch Stellung nehmende Rolle zukomme als auch den Institutionen und der sozio-kulturellen Umwelt, die der kritischen Auseinandersetzung Raum geben müßten (Adams/Marshall 1996; Kurtines et al. 1992; Kurtines et al. 1995). Fuhrer (1999) weist darauf hin, daß nicht allein Personen, sondern auch Dinge und Orte Bedeutungen tragen, die Identität erfahrbar machen. Manche dieser Überlegungen mögen bei Erikson bereits angeklungen sein. Dennoch ist unverkennbar, daß sich die entwicklungspsychologische Forschung von seinem Werk zu lösen beginnt und viele der weiterführenden Überlegungen nicht mehr allein die Identitätsbildung von Jugendlichen, sondern ebenso die des erwachsenen und älteren Menschen betreffen. Unter den Ansätzen, das Verständnis des Prozesses der Identitätsbildung in der Adoleszenz über Erikson hinaus voranzubringen, sind zum einen die Arbeiten von Grotevant und Co-

oper (1986;1998) zu nennen. Sie analysieren Interaktionen zwischen Eltern und Jugendlichen, um zu ermitteln, welchen Raum Eltern ihren jugendlichen Kindern für individualisierte Identitätsexploration lassen, denn diese Explorationen erweisen sich als ein wesentliches Element ihrer Identitätsentwicklung. Diese Arbeiten brachten neue Perspektiven in die Identitätsforschung, weil sie Vorstellungen zur Soziogenese des Selbst aus der Bindungsforschung (Sroufe 1989) und aus der konstruktivistischen Piaget-Tradition (Youniss 1983) aufgriffen, die kulturelle Einbettung der identitätsfördernden Interaktionen einbezogen und die Identitätsgenese nicht nur den Eltern-Jugendlichen-Interaktionen zuschrieben, sondern auch anderen Sozialerfahrungen. Zum anderen präsentieren Blasi und Glodis (1995) ein empirisch gestütztes Modell der Identitätsentwicklung, das darstellt, über welche Stufen es Jugendlichen gelingen kann, ein reflexives Verhältnis zu einem als authentisch wahrgenommenen Selbst zu erarbeiten. Fend (1991; 2000) nimmt diese Vorstellung auf und erweitert sie, indem er Identitätsbildung als Initiationsprozeß in die Kultur versteht, der sich wesentlich auch auf schulische Bildungsprozesse stützt, in denen sich Auseinandersetzungen mit Berufsplänen, Geschlechtsvorstellungen sowie mit religiösen und politischen Orientierungen vollziehen.

4. Ausblick

Identität, die nach manchen zeitkritischen Analysen längst zerfallen und als Handlungsbasis ausgelaugt ist, ist dennoch ein Begriff geblieben, auf den immer wieder zurückgegriffen wird, wenn nach der Handlungsfähigkeit des Menschen auch unter 'hochmodernen', 'nachmodernen' oder 'postmodernen' Lebensverhältnissen gefragt wird. Liegt dies daran, daß die beteiligten Sozialwissenschaftler nicht zur Kenntnis nehmen, wie weit Globalisierung und Medialisierung sowie zunehmende Ambivalenz und Differenz die Bemühungen um Sinn und Orientierung zunichte machen? Oder reagieren sie auf Beobachtungen, daß Menschen selbst unter Ungewißheit, Mißachtung und Rechtlosigkeit nicht aufgeben, ein Verständnis von sich und ihren Zielen und Erwartungen zu entwickeln, das ihre soziale Existenz stützt. Jedenfalls scheinen auch verschiedenartige theoretische Überlegungen und empirische Zugriffe von Soziologen

und Psychologen auf Phänomene zu stoßen, die sich einerseits weiterhin mit den „klassischen“ Auseinandersetzungen um Identität und ihre Problematik verbinden lassen, die jedoch andererseits, trotz des unterschiedlichen Vorgehens, in kaum zu erwartender Weise übereinstimmende Aspekte einer veränderten Identitätsproblematik aufdecken. So stoßen soziologische wie psychologische Analysen auf das Problem, daß multiple Identitätsfacetten bzw. bereichsspezifische Identitäten, wie Psychologen sagen, sich schwerer in einen Rahmen einfügen als frühere Ansätze es unterstellten; verbreitete Nachdenklichkeit entsteht darüber, was Kohärenz und Kontinuität im Rahmen von asynchronen und nicht klar gerichteten Wandlungsprozessen bedeuten: von verschiedenen Ansätzen herkommend drängt sich die Frage auf, ob Fragmentierung bzw. Diffusion nicht nur als Bedrohung, sondern auch als Potential für Exploration und konstruktive Anpassung gesehen werden könnten. Zugleich gewinnt der Gedanke an Boden, daß die als fragmentiert, chamäleonhaft-relational, konstruiert und rekonstruiert bezeichnete Identität auch Qualitäten haben könnte, die dem Leben unter den vielgestaltigen und vieldeutigen Verhältnissen zugutekommen, nämlich Offenheit für andere und anderes, Toleranz für Verschiedenheit und Reflexivität in der Bestimmung des Verhältnisses zu den sich wandelnden Beziehungen, Rollen und Institutionen (vgl. Art. 58). In dieser Hinsicht wird einer neuen Identität durchaus konstruktives Potential zugetraut, und zwar auf der Basis von Vertrauen und Sicherheit, die als wesentliche Komponenten eines Sozialisationsprozesses, der Handlungsfähigkeit hervorzubringen vermag, neu entdeckt werden. So erscheint Identität heute als ein eigenartig melangierender Begriff: als ein modischer Begriff, der manchen Zeitungsartikel veredeln soll, als ein obsoleter Begriff, den dekonstruierende Analysen entleert haben, als ein hoffnungsvoller Begriff, der die Erwartung nährt, daß Menschen auch in (nach)modernen Lebensverhältnissen miteinander zu leben lernen, und als ein kämpferischer Begriff, der einzelne und Gruppen bestärkt, sich nicht abhandeln zu lassen, was ihnen ein Bewußtsein von Identität gibt, etwa ihre Zugehörigkeit zu Religion (vgl. Art. 42), Rasse oder Geschlecht. Die 'fundamentalistischen' Varianten, die an solchen Merkmalen festgemachte Identitätsformationen annehmen

können, belegen, welche humanen Potentiale verspielt werden, wenn Menschen sich weigern, Verschiedenheiten von Lebensentwürfen nebeneinander zu ertragen. Da Menschen immer vor der Aufgabe standen, ihre Identität schwer miteinander zu vereinen, den Differenzen und Widersprüche abzurufen, kann auch die heutige gesellschaftliche Situation nicht nur als Bedrohung begriffen werden. Sie enthält vielmehr weiterhin die Herausforderung, soziale Handlungsfähigkeit durch Identitätsbildung aufrechtzuerhalten – durch eine Identität, in der Menschen weniger, als Erikson es sich noch vorstellte, Ungewißheiten, Widersprüche und Brüche überwinden wollen, sondern sich in höherem Maße reflexiv mit diesen Krisenerfahrungen konfrontieren.

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51. Prestige und Stigma/Prestige and Stigma

1. Ein Vergleich
2. Prestige
3. Stigma
4. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Ein Vergleich

Prestige ist gewöhnlich gleichbedeutend mit sozialem Ansehen, sozialer Geltung oder Wertschätzung, während Stigma sich auf diskreditierende Eigenschaften von Personen bezieht, die in zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen zur Geltung kommen. Prestige bezeichnet also die Wertschätzung, die einer Person (vgl. Art. 52) oder Gruppe (vgl. Art. 53) aufgrund von positiv bewerteten Eigenschaften, wie berufliche Position oder Clubmitgliedschaft, entgegengebracht wird. Mit Stigma wird hingegen die degradierte Stellung einer Person bezeichnet, die durch negative Bewertung eines oder mehrerer Merkmale zustandekommt. Da Prestige und Stigma sich als soziale Wertschätzung bzw. Geringschätzung manifestieren, lässt sich auch von einem gegensätzlichen Begriffspaar sprechen. Ihnen gemeinsam ist die Tatsache, dass Wertschätzung ebenso wie Verachtung die Folge von Fremdeinschätzung, also von sozialen Beziehungen und nicht von Persönlichkeitsmerkmalen sind. Prestige und Stigma stellen für den Einzelnen objektive Bedingungen dar, die aber auf subjektiven Bewertungen anderer Personen beruhen. Die vielschichtigen Bedeutungslagen dieser Prozesse sind am ehesten durch die Methode des Verstehens in teilnehmender Beobachtung zu erfassen, obgleich die quantitativ orientierte Surveyforschung auf diesem Gebiet vorherrschend ist (vgl. Hodge et al. 1985; Treiman 1977).

2. Prestige

Mit Prestige (vom lat. *praestigium* = Blendwerk, Gaukelei) waren ursprünglich die nicht vernunftmäßig erklärbaren und als negativ empfundenen Wirkungen des Einflusses (z.B. Lähmung der Initiative, Behinderung der Persönlichkeitsentfaltung), den eine Person oder Gruppe auf andere ausübt, gemeint (vgl. Leopold 1916). Der ursprüngliche Wortsinn wirkt insofern bis heute nach, als er einerseits auf die Spannweite von negativem Stigma und positivem Charisma, von sozialer Verachtung und Wertschätzung aufmerksam macht, andererseits auf die ambivalenten Quellen des Prestiges verweist, die sich einer rationalen Deutung oft entziehen und ständigem Wandel unterworfen sein können. Der Prestigebegriff lässt sich in drei Bedeutungsdimensionen zergliedern (vgl. Wegener 1988). Prestige kann (1) als objektives Statusmerkmal einer Gesellschaft (Shils 1975), als (2) institutionalisierte subjektive Wertungen und Wahrnehmungen bestimmter gesellschaftlicher Positionen (Goode 1978) oder als (3) Ergebnis individueller Leistung, das eine gesellschaftliche Bewertung erfährt (Davis/Moore 1945), verstanden werden.

2.1. Kriterien des Prestiges

Prestigezuordnung setzt mehr oder weniger Einigkeit der Gesellschaftsmitglieder über die Bewertung persönlicher und/oder sozialer Merkmale voraus, die die Gesellschaftsmitglieder als besonders erstrebenswert erachten und in ihren Trägern verkörpert sehen. Während in der Feudalgesellschaft soziale Merkmale und deren Bewertung aufgrund des rechtlich fixierten Status' der Gesellschafts-

mitglieder in hohem Maße übereinstimmen, sind Prestigeinschätzungen in modernen Gesellschaften variabler und abhängig von unterschiedlichen Werthaltungen, Milieuzugehörigkeiten und Lebensstilen der Bewertenden. Zum Teil wird davon ausgegangen, dass eine für alle Gesellschaftsmitglieder gültige Prestigeordnung heute kaum noch existiert (vgl. Schulze 1992).

Prestige besteht aus zwei Komponenten: zum einen dem Individual-Prestige, das ausschließlich auf den Eigenschaften einer bestimmten Person beruht, und zum anderen dem Sozial-Prestige, das nicht an einen einzelnen Träger bestimmter Eigenschaften gebunden ist. Während im ersten Falle die besonderen Qualitäten einer Person deren Prestige bestimmen, fungieren in letzterem Falle personenunabhängige Merkmale wie berufliche Stellung, Organisationszugehörigkeit oder Lebensstil als vorrangige Bewertungsmaßstäbe. In der Wirklichkeit erfolgt die Prestigezuweisung meist auf der Grundlage einer Kombination von beiden Komponenten. In Prestige können nicht nur Kriterien wie Herkunft (z. B. Adel), Berufszugehörigkeit (z. B. Arzt), Verhaltensweisen (z. B. Kleidung), Reichtum (z. B. Milliardär), Bildung (z. B. Akademiker) und Einfluss (z. B. Politiker) ihren Niederschlag finden. Wie das Beispiel von renommierten Politikern oder Sportlern zeigt, kann Prestige auch zur Quelle von Einkommen und Einfluss werden. Wertschätzung, die in Prestigeabstufungen resultiert, hat also mit einer respektierten Quelle, mit dem Ich als sozialem Objekt, mit einem Publikum und einem Vergleichsmaßstab zu tun (vgl. Zelditch 1968). Die Fremdbewertung (z. B. durch Vorgesetzte, Nachbarn) beeinflusst entscheidend die Selbsteinschätzung, deren Nachhaltigkeit wiederum davon abhängig ist, inwieweit sie von der jeweiligen Öffentlichkeit (z. B. Betrieb, Wohngemeinde) akzeptiert wird. Prestige als Gratifikation (bzw. bei dessen Verlust als Deprivation) ist immer relativ, d. h. im Vergleich mit relevanten anderen Trägern zu sehen. Ungewisse Selbstbewertungen, wie sie bei sozialen Auf- und Absteigern auftreten, können zu Statusängsten führen, die zur Folge haben, dass Statusansprüche besonders hervorgekehrt werden, z. B. durch die Betonung der sozialen Distanz gegenüber Gruppen mit niedrigerem Status.

Neuere soziologische Konzepte verstehen Prestige nicht mehr nur als Kennzeichnung individueller Positionen in einer sozialen

Hierarchie, sondern beziehen es auf soziale Gruppen und Prozesse der Zugänglichkeit zu unterschiedlichen Statuspositionen. Diese Ansätze richten ihr Augenmerk auf gruppenbezogene Prestigewahrnehmungen und deren soziale Konsequenzen (vgl. Wegener 1992). Der Prestigeordnung kommt aus dieser Perspektive auch eine ideologische Funktion zur Stabilisierung bestehender objektiver sozialer Ungleichheiten zu (vgl. Kreckel 1992).

2.2. Prestige und Status

Da Prestige in zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen entsteht und zugeordnet wird, ist es nicht als intrinsisches Merkmal des Menschen, sondern als Konstruktionsprinzip gesellschaftlicher Organisation anzusehen. Als solches ist es zunächst von dem Status zu unterscheiden. Während Prestige eine skalare Abstufung impliziert und eine symbolische Größe darstellt, wird seit Linton (1936) mit Status eine Position in einem sozialen System umschrieben (z. B. Vater, Ausländer, Bankangestellter). Davon ist wiederum der Rollenbegriff (vgl. Art. 47) zu unterscheiden, der beschreibt, was von einer solchen Person erwartet wird (z. B. die Kinder in einer bestimmten Weise erziehen; nicht die gleichen Rechte wie Inländer beanspruchen; das Bankgeheimnis wahren). Jede Person hat daher mehr als einen Status in der Gesellschaft inne und spielt mehrere Rollen. So wie sich im Laufe des Lebens einer Person eine logische Abfolge von Status, eine Status-Sequenz, ergibt, wandelt sich auch der skalare Status; beispielsweise ändert sich das Prestige des Hochschulassistenten während der *Statuspassage* (Glaser/Strauss 1971) zum Professor, auch wenn dabei die zwischenzeitliche Veränderung der Berufsstruktur insgesamt mitberücksichtigt werden muss.

Um ihr Prestige zu wahren, bemühen sich die Mitglieder von Gruppen, Schichten und Klassen um einen demonstrativen Ausdruck. Das geschieht durch Prestigesymbole, wie Adelsprädikate, akademische Titel, Kleidung, Auto und Wohngegend, aber auch Kontaktkreise. Prestigesymbole finden sich in ausdifferenzierten Formen und Kombinationen, deren Wahrnehmbarkeit oft bereits die Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten Statusgruppe voraussetzt. Die neuere Ungleichheitsforschung zeigt, dass immer weniger der reine Besitz bestimmter Güter Ausdruck von Prestige ist, sondern deren *gekonnnte Nutzung* (Hradil 1999) für distinktive

Zwecke. Diese Symbole verlieren ihre Bedeutung dann, wenn sie von den mit der jeweiligen Gruppe verbundenen Qualitäten losgelöst werden (z.B. im Ausland wegen Kenntnismangel oder durch Inflationierung, wie das bei akademischen Diplomen oder Konsumartikeln der Fall sein kann).

2.3. Berufsprestige

Die für die Prestigezuweisung herangezogenen Merkmale der sozialen Position (Beruf), der Persönlichkeit (Herkunft, Alter, Geschlecht) und der Leistung (Qualifikation, Arbeitsverhalten) sind nicht mit den eigentlichen Bestimmungsgründen des Prestiges zu verwechseln. In der feudalen Ständegesellschaft wurde das Prestige einer Person durch die Leistungsdisposition und das Ausmaß der Funktionsbedeutung der Gruppe bestimmt, deren Mitglied sie war; in der Industriegesellschaft, in der sich mit der zunehmenden Arbeitsteilung die berufliche Organisationsform des menschlichen Arbeitsvermögens und -vollzugs durchgesetzt hat, haben sich die tatsächliche Leistung und das Ansehen des Berufes bzw. der Tätigkeit als Bemessungsgrundlage des Prestiges in den Vordergrund geschoben und gelten als guter Indikator für das Gesamtprestige einer Person. Dabei scheinen jene Berufe am höchsten bewertet zu werden, die in einem Naheverhältnis zu den zentralen Werten und Institutionen der Gesellschaft stehen, z. B. Tod – Arzt, Wissen – Professor, Recht – Richter (vgl. Treiman 1977; Shils 1968). Die funktionale Bedeutung von sozialen Positionen und Leistungsvollzug von Positionsinhabern sind als Kriterien der Prestigezuweisung demnach beteiligt. Von solchen Überlegungen geht auch die funktionalistische Schichtungstheorie aus, wenn sie soziale Ungleichheit (gemessen in Einkommen und Prestige) mit den Funktionserfordernissen der Gesellschaft erklärt – eine Erklärung, die vor allem im Gegensatz zu klassentheoretischen Ansätzen steht, die ökonomische Systembedingungen und/oder politische Normsetzungen für bestehende Ungleichheiten verantwortlich machen (vgl. Strasser 1985). Das Berufsprestige lässt sich nicht wie Einkommen oder Ausbildung objektiv messen; es lässt sich nur aus Aussagen der Menschen über sich selbst und andere bzw. aus Beobachtungen ihres Verhaltens zueinander ableiten. Es hat sich gezeigt, dass Prestigeinschätzungen von der Bildung, dem beruflichen Status und den Werthaltun-

gen der Befragten beeinflusst sind. Grundsätzlich stellt sich in der Prestigeforschung das Problem, ob die Abgrenzungen der Prestigeschichten Forschungsartefakte sind oder tatsächlich Verhaltensrelevanz besitzen (vgl. Wegener 1988). Trotz dieses methodologischen Problems und der nationalen Unterschiede in den Wert- und Wirtschaftssystemen haben Prestigeforscher immer wieder eine erstaunliche Übereinstimmung in der Bewertung von Berufen von Land zu Land gefunden (vgl. Hodge/Kraus/Meyer 1985). Gewöhnlich wird diese Konvergenz mit der Einführung des arbeitsteiligen Industriesystems begründet, dessen technologische und arbeitsorganisatorische Imperative Zahl und Inhalt der beruflichen Positionen weitgehend festlegen. Auch eine hohe zeitliche Stabilität von Prestigehierarchien konnte in verschiedenen Studien nachgewiesen werden (vgl. Erikson/Goldthorpe 1992). Da persönliches, Familien- und Berufsprestige am stärksten mit Variablen wie Ausbildungsgrad und Einkommenshöhe korreliert, wird Prestige in der einschlägigen Literatur als eine Funktion von Macht und Privileg angesehen (vgl. Lenski 1973; Kreckel 1992).

Kulturell ausgerichtete Erklärungsansätze betonen wiederum, dass in einzelnen Subkulturen auch unterschiedliche „Attribute“ bei der Zuordnung von Prestige zu Berufspositionen von Bedeutung sind. Die interaktionistische Schichtungstheorie, die den Menschen als symbolverwendende Kreatur in den Mittelpunkt stellt, begreift das Leben als eine Reihe fortgesetzter Verhandlungen, in denen es auf den Gebrauch von Sprache im richtigen Zusammenhang ankommt. Unterschiede in der Fähigkeit, bestimmte Gespräche bzw. Gesprächsinhalte zu beherrschen, führen zu einer Trennung beruflicher Subkulturen. Die entscheidende Forschungsfrage aus dieser Perspektive lautet daher: Wer spricht mit wem worüber wie? So ist zwar das Ruhrgebiets-Deutsch offiziell stigmatisiert und wird als Sprache der Unterschicht – als ehemalige Verkehrssprache der in die Ruhrgebietsstädte ziehenden Landbevölkerung – angesehen, aber bei informellen Gelegenheiten auch von der Mittel- und Oberschicht gesprochen (vgl. Mihm 1985).

3. Stigma

Da der Mensch seine Welt nicht ohne Kommunikation mit anderen Menschen schaffen kann, halten die Menschen wechselseitig

den Schlüssel zu ihrer Identität in Händen – mit der Folge, dass jedes Individuum sich zu jener Welt hingezogen fühlt, in der es im besten Licht erscheint: In allen zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen geht es daher darum, Wertschätzung zu erlangen und Geringschätzung zu vermeiden. Prozesse der Charismatisierung bzw. der Stigmatisierung führen zu Prestige (im Extrem: der angebetete Held) auf der einen Seite und zu Stigma (im Extrem: der verachtete Paria) auf der anderen.

3.1. Definition

Die alten Griechen bezeichneten mit Stigma ein Brand- oder Schandmal, dessen Bedeutung auch heute noch gültig ist. Unter Stigma verstehen wir eine gesellschaftlich definierte, sichtbare oder unsichtbare Eigenschaft von Personen, die eine öffentlich negativ bewertete soziale Identität zur Folge hat. Die diskreditierenden Eigenschaften können von Person zu Person, Gruppe zu Gruppe und Gesellschaft zu Gesellschaft verschieden sein: D. h., die Eigenschaft an sich ist weder kreditierend noch diskreditierend; ein und dieselbe Eigenschaft mag den einen Menschen stigmatisieren, während sie die Normalität des anderen bestätigt. Die durch einen Unfall erlittene Narbe kann für eine Frau entstellend, d. h. stigmatisierend sein, dagegen ist der Schmiss für Mitglieder einer schlagenden Studentenverbindung Ausdruck von Männlichkeit und Mut sowie ihres Bekenntnisses zur Gruppe. Stigmatisierung ist demnach eine besondere Kategorisierungspraxis. Gleichzeitig sind Stigmata historisch und kulturell äußerst variabel. Sie können sich sowohl innerhalb einer Kultur von Epoche zu Epoche verändern als auch in verschiedenen Kulturen unterschiedliche Formen annehmen, wie die Beispiele physischer Entstellungen (Schmiss, deformierter Fuß), individueller Charakterfehler (Sucht, Geisteskrankheit) und phylogenetischer Merkmale (Rasse, Religion) zeigen. Stigmatisierungserfahrungen sind abhängig von der Art zwischenmenschlicher Beziehungen, dem sozialen Kontext und der subjektiven Überzeugung der Beteiligten und keine unweigerliche Folge eines objektiv feststellbaren Merkmals (vgl. Crocker et al. 1998). Infolgedessen durchdringen negative Zuschreibungsprozesse auch nicht die gesamte Persönlichkeit, sondern gewinnen nur vor dem Hintergrund konkreter Interaktionen in spezifischen Situationen ihre stigma-

tisierende Relevanz. So ist auch das mit Fettleibigkeit verknüpfte Stigma periodisch variabel und nimmt in verschiedenen Kulturen sowie Subkulturen unterschiedliche Bedeutungen an (vgl. Archer 1985). Letztlich stellt sich die Frage, ob nicht jeder Mensch in einem bestimmten Kontext potenziell stigmatisiert ist. Stigma ist weder gleichzusetzen mit Stereotyp noch zu verwechseln mit Vorurteil, auch wenn die Sinngehalte dieser Begriffe eine enge Verwandtschaft aufweisen. Ähnlich wie Stigma resultiert ein Stereotyp aus der menschlichen Neigung, der (besseren) Orientierung wegen zu kategorisieren. Das Stereotyp bezieht sich gewöhnlich auf übertriebene und ungenaue Verallgemeinerungen über eine Gruppe oder Kategorie von Menschen (z. B. Juden, Lehrer, Fußballspieler), die, im Gegensatz zum Stigma, nicht notwendigerweise negativ sind. Das Vorurteil unterscheidet sich vom Stereotyp in erster Linie durch seine nicht-kognitive Funktion der Abgrenzung der eigenen Position in der Gesellschaft, die aus der Unsicherheit mit der Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten Gruppe erwächst. Wie beim Stigma steht Handlung, nicht bloß Kognition, im Vordergrund.

3.2. Stigmatisierung

Entscheidend ist die Wirkung, die von einem auffallenden Merkmal ausgeht und darin besteht, dass sich Menschen bei der Begegnung mit diesem Individuum von ihm abwenden. Die einschlägige Literatur des Symbolischen Interaktionismus, der Ethnomethodologie und der Rollentheorie spricht von einem Etikettierungsprozess. Mit den als „Schuld“ zugerechneten Verhaltensmaßen werden ihre Träger erst im Interaktionsprozeß durch Kontrollinstanzen, wie Nachbarn, Medien und Organisationen (z. B. Fürsorge, politische Parteien, Interessenverbände), symbolisch etikettiert und im täglichen Umgang festgelegt. Stigmata sind danach als Ergebnis lebensweltlicher Prozesse der sozialen Sinngebung und Handlungsgestaltung anzusehen (vgl. Becker 1973; Goffman 1967). Dieser Interaktionsprozess entpuppt sich in der Gesellschaft als Verteilungskampf um soziale Definitionen dessen, was gut und schlecht, was zu tun und was zu lassen sei. Die (stigmatisierenden) Merkmale stellen sich nicht mehr als Seinsäußerungen dar, sondern sind Ergebnis „der Kämpfe um das Monopol auf die Macht über das Sehen und Glauben, Kennen und Anerkennen,

über die legitime Definition der Gliederung der sozialen Welt“ (Bourdieu 1990, 95).

Eine der großen Herausforderungen der Forschung über Stigma besteht in der Beantwortung der Frage „Why does stigma persist?“ (Anlay et al. 1986, 2), erscheinen doch kulturelle Ausgrenzungen in den sich universal verstehenden Gesellschaftsformationen als zunehmend illegitim. Nach Bauman (1995) hat Stigma gerade in der Moderne die Funktion, kulturelle Grenzziehungen als natürlich und damit legitim erscheinen zu lassen. Erst die kulturelle Konstruktion des *Fremden* – die Stigmatisierung *des Anderen* – legitimiert die für den Erhalt von *einheimischen* Privilegien unabdingbare soziale Exklusion. Das geschieht aber nicht durch offene Stigmatisierung, sondern wird „klammheimlich und verstohlen praktiziert“ (Bauman 1995, 93; vgl. auch Strasser 1997). Auf täuschende Legitimation angewiesen, verliert Stigmatisierung in der Moderne seinen augenfälligen Charakter und wird zur *indirekten Exkursion*, während *aktive Exklusion* durch sichtbare Stigmata nunmehr die Ausnahme darstellt (vgl. Gamson 1995). In den letzten Jahren hat die sozialwissenschaftliche Aids-Forschung einen signifikanten Beitrag zur Analyse der Entstehung, der Funktionen und der Konsequenzen von Aids als Stigma geleistet und dabei auch die soziolinguistische Perspektive in den Vordergrund gerückt (vgl. Herek 1999). Aids wird als ein Ausdruck der symbolischen Grenzziehung und der Abwertung unpopulärer, unbequemer, auch „bedrohlicher“ Minderheiten durch staatliche Institutionen und Medien verstanden.

3.3. Stigma und Charisma

Wenn und wo Stigmata die Identität beschädigen (vgl. Art. 21), schränken sie die Lebenschancen der Betroffenen empfindlich ein. Das individuelle Opfer einer Stigmatisierung ist diesen Wirkungen oft hilflos ausgesetzt. Der Stigmatisierte verinnerlicht in der Regel die Standards der dominanten Gesellschaft, entwickelt Schamgefühle und flüchtet in passive Bewältigungsstrategien (z. B. Geheimhaltung des Merkmals, Überkompensation in anderen Rollen, Selbstmitleid). Wie die Beispiele von Verbrecherbanden, von jugendlichen Subkulturen oder der amerikanischen Bürgerrechtsbewegung zeigen, können Gruppen stigmatisierter Personen Gegenmacht mobilisieren und durch ein Bekenntnis zur stigmatisierten Eigenschaft

die dominante Gesellschaft unter Legitimationsdruck setzen. Auf diese Weise kann es Stigmatisierten gelingen, die Merkmale ihrer Abweichung in Karrieren überzuleiten, an deren Ende sogar Charisma und Ehrerbietung stehen. In diesem Falle schlägt der Stigmatisierungsprozeß von einem passiven Ertragen in ein aktives Trachten nach Auffälligkeit und in eine spontane Bereitschaft zur Übernahme von Stigmata um. Vor allem über innovative Medien wie Musik, Literatur, Kunst und Mode, aber auch Politik bringen solche Selbststigmatisierungen neue Werte ans Licht und lassen ihre Träger – nach dem Wagnis der Ächtung – in charismatischem Glanz erscheinen (vgl. Lipp 1985). Vergegenwärtigt man sich die Karrieren politischer Führer wie Ghandi, Hitler, Castro oder Kennedy, dann zeigt sich, daß Stigma und Charisma, schuldbesetzte Marginalität und soziale Gnadengabe nicht so sehr diametral entgegengesetzt, als vielmehr durch die Dialektik von zentralen und marginalen Werten und Symbolen im geschichtlichen Ablauf menschlicher Gesellschaften eng aufeinander bezogen sind.

4. Literatur (in Auswahl)

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52. Individuum/Individual

1. Begriffsverwendungen
2. Individuum/Individualität
3. Idiografische und nomothetische Ansätze
4. Das Individuum als autonomes Regelsystem
5. Der interaktionistische Ansatz
6. Individuum und Sprache
7. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Begriffsverwendungen

Das Wort *Individuum* wird hergeleitet von der Cicero zugeschriebenen lateinischen Übersetzung des griechischen ‘atomon’, d.h. das Unteilbare (vgl. Kaulbach 1976). Im Sprachgebrauch verschiedener wissenschaftlicher Disziplinen hat der Begriff *Individuum* noch weitere Bedeutungsaspekte: das Einfache, das Unersetzbare, das sich selbst Bestimmende, das sich selbst Bewusste und das von anderen Verschiedene, Einzigartige. Einem Einzelwesen wird Individualität zugeschrieben, wenn es eine einzigartige Kombination von Merkmalen verwirklicht und wenn es sich als bewusst und zielgerichtet handelndes Wesen erweist. – Im soziobiologischen Denken setzt

jede Art von Selektion von Merkmalen über die Generationen am Individuum an. Solche Art von Transmissionen haben die Befriedigung individueller Bedürfnisse zum Ziel: Im allgemeinen setzen sich solche Ideen und Erneuerungen durch, die individuellen und nicht Gruppenzielen dienen (Schaller/Crandall 1999). Wird in der Psychologie das Individuum in der Vielfalt seiner Funktionen zum Gegenstand der Betrachtung wird die Bezeichnung *Person* oder *Persönlichkeit* bevorzugt. Das Wort *Person* geht zurück auf das lateinische ‘persona’, d.h. Larve, Maske (des Schauspielers); aber auch die dargestellte Rolle wird ‘persona’ genannt. Bereits Allport (1937) ersetzt *Person* (und auch den verwendeten Begriff *Charakter*) durch den Terminus *Persönlichkeit*.

Eng verknüpft mit Individuum werden die Begriffe *Individualität* und *persönlich/personale Identität* verwendet. Mit beiden Begriffen ist die Kontinuität im Erleben des eigenen einzigartigen *Selbst* in wechselnden Lebensphasen angesprochen. Die sozialpsychologische Analyse des Begriffes Identität

in der engeren Bedeutung von *sozialer Identität* weist auf die Rolle der sozialen Umwelt für die eigene Selbstkategorisierung hin (vgl. Frable 1997).

2. Individuum / Individualität

Das Individuum ist in der Regel die Untersuchungseinheit psychologischer, auch sozialpsychologischer, Analysen. Systemische Betrachtungsweisen, wie z. B. die der Familie als System, gehen von überindividuellen Einheiten aus. Sie sind Fortsetzungen des interaktionistischen Ansatzes (s. u.); Betrachtungen auf Aggregatebene (z. B. die Sprechergemeinschaft), in die individuelle Werte eingehen können, die für die Interpretation aber keine Bedeutung mehr haben, werden schwerpunktmäßig in der Soziologie angestellt. Luhmann (1984) hebt in seiner auf sozialphilosophischen Analysen basierenden Diskussion des Begriffes *Individuum* die Individualität als philosophiegeschichtlich neue Bedeutung hervor, dass Individualität auch soziologisch nur als Selbstreferenz verstanden werden kann. Selbstreferenz ist jedoch ein kriterienloser Grundtatbestand, sie ist die „pure Selbstkontinuierung des Lebens und des Bewusstseins“ (Luhmann, 1984, 3). Dies Konzept versetzt das Individuum außerhalb der Gesellschaft, schon deshalb, weil es jedes soziale Kriterium für Individualität negiert. Andererseits bejaht die westliche Gesellschaft die Individualität der Individuen und postuliert ihre Entthemung, auf keinen Fall ihre Unterdrückung. Nach Meinung Luhmanns reagiert die soziologische Theorie nicht auf Individuen oder auf Individualität, sondern auf Individualismus. Die Individuen konstituieren nicht die Gesellschaft, sondern die Gesellschaft konstituiert die Individuen, indem sie es ihnen ermöglicht, sich wechselseitig als Individuen zu erkennen und aufeinander zu reagieren.

Kulturvergleichende Forschung, die das Individuum mit seinen Funktionen zum Gegenstand hat, sieht die Kontextbedingungen des Individuums definiert durch sein soziokulturelles Umfeld. Kulturen mit ihren spezifischen Gesellschaftsformen unterscheiden sich in der Ausprägtheit ihrer individualistischen bzw. ihrer kollektivistischen Ausrichtung. In kollektivistischen Kulturen sehen sich Individuen als gegenseitig gebunden, als Teil einer gesellschaftlichen Einheit

wie Familie, soziales Netzwerk, Arbeitsgruppe, eines ethnischen Stammes oder einer Nation. Das Handeln kollektivistischer Individuen wird hauptsächlich motiviert durch die sozial vorgegebenen Normen (vgl. Art. 48) und Pflichten. In individualistischen Kulturen wird das autonome Individuum als Sozialisationsziel angestrebt. Individualistisch ausgerichtete Personen werden durch ihre Präferenzen, Bedürfnisse und Rechte motiviert; sie setzen ihre eigenen Ziele über denen der Gruppe. Individualismus bzw. Kollektivismus bestimmen nicht nur die sozialen Lebensformen der Menschen einer Kultur, sondern auch deren Wahrnehmen, Denken, Einstellungen und Handeln (vgl. Triandis 1995).

Die *Psychologie individueller Unterschiede* (Differentielle Psychologie, Persönlichkeitspsychologie) beschäftigt sich mit den Fragen der individuellen Unterschiede in Reaktionsbereitschaften und Reaktionsformen des Menschen. Grundannahme der Analysen ist, dass gleichbleibende Reize oder Situationen nicht bei jedem Menschen das gleiche Verhalten hervorrufen. Weiterhin wird davon ausgegangen, dass die individuellen Reaktionsformen und -bereitschaften überdauernder Natur sein können in Form von Anlagen wie Temperament oder Fähigkeiten. Weiterhin können sich die langfristig beobachtbaren Reaktionsformen und -bereitschaften durch altersgraduierte Entwicklungsprozesse und durch Sozialisation herausgebildet haben. Sie werden damit zu Eigenschaften des Menschen.

Der *eigenschaftstheoretische Ansatz* markiert den Beginn der *Psychologie der individuellen Unterschiede*. Er hatte lediglich zum Ziel, eine brauchbare Liste von differenzierenden Eigenschaften zu finden, die den größten Teil des individuellen Verhaltensspektrums erklären würde (vgl. Allport, 1937/1967). Allports Ansatz geht aus von der Annahme der Stabilität und Konsistenz menschlichen Verhaltens und von der Existenz der diese Stabilität organisierenden Strukturen, den Eigenschaften: Eine funktional äquivalente Klasse von Reizen wird über die gemeinsame Schaltstelle 'Eigenschaft' mit einer funktional äquivalenten Klasse von Reaktionen beantwortet. Das Konzept der Eigenschaft wird damit in das der 'persönlichen Disposition' überführt und ermöglicht einen konkreten Zugang zur Einzigartigkeit des Individuums. Allgemeine Eigenschaften sind bei Allport durch

Abstraktion gewonnene Dimensionen von persönlichen Dispositionen. Diese abstrakten Eigenschaften erlauben erst, einzelne Menschen miteinander zu vergleichen.

3. Idiografische und nomothetische Ansätze

Allports Betonung der Einzigartigkeit des Individuums entwickelt sich aus seiner Kritik an der nomothetisch (d.h. an Gesetzmäßigkeiten orientierten) differentiellen Psychologie. Er vertritt einen idiografischen Ansatz, der erlaubt, jedes Individuum in seinem persönlichen Bezugsrahmen zu beschreiben. Aufgabe einer idiografisch orientierten differentiellen Psychologie ist nach ihrem Begründer Stern (1921) und Thomaes (1968, 105) eine möglichst umfassende Erfassung. Lamiell (1984) geht in seiner Kritik am nomothetischen Ansatz über Allport hinaus, indem er dieser Richtung der differentiellen Psychologie die Möglichkeit abspricht, überhaupt zu allgemeineren Aussagen über die Persönlichkeit zu gelangen. Vielmehr können nach Lamiell nur dann allgemeine Gesetze gefunden werden, wenn man von der Untersuchungseinheit der individuellen Person ausgeht und nicht von Personengruppen. – Der gleiche Grundgedanke wurde auch von Lewin (1969) in seiner Kritik „abstrahierender Durchschnittsberechnungen“ formuliert. – Der eigene Ansatz Lamiells gründet auf der idiografischen Methode, bei der die potentiellen Verhaltensmöglichkeiten eines Individuums in Beziehung gesetzt werden zu seinem aktuellen Verhalten, ohne einen Vergleich mit anderen Individuen einzubeziehen. Dabei zielt er auf Beschreibungsdimensionen ab, die auf viele Personen zutreffen. Da er somit wieder in die Nähe nomothetischer Vorgehensweise gerät, nennt er seinen Ansatz *idiothetisch*.

4. Das Individuum als autonomes Regelsystem

In einem dynamischen Persönlichkeitskonzept wird das Individuum als sich selbst organisierendes System betrachtet. Innerpsychische Funktionen (z. B. Wahrnehmen) und beobachtbares Verhalten (z. B. Artikulieren von Wörtern) stehen über Rückmeldeschleifen in Verbindung und regeln sich (z. B. durch Korrigieren) gegenseitig. Diese zwei Hauptebenen sind nicht ganz gleichberech-

tigt: Die innerpsychische Funktionsebene steuert vorwiegend die Verhaltensebene. Innerpsychische Funktionen sind kognitive (d.h. informationsverarbeitende) Funktionen, zu denen im Steuerungsprozess Emotionen als vermittelnde (fördernde und hemmende) Faktoren hinzutreten. Kognitionen, Verhalten und Emotionen sind die von den meisten Theoretikern anerkannten Komponenten der psychischen Ausstattung des Menschen. Die Handlungsebene ist nach der Meinung der Steuerungstheoretiker (vgl. Carver/Scheier 1998) hierarchisch angelegt. Für die Sprachproduktion gilt etwa das Sprachproduktionsmodell von Levelt (1989), das in oberster Instanz einen ‘Nachrichtengenerator’ annimmt, der über Sprachplanung zur Artikulation führt. Emotionen (z. B. Angst) können in sehr auffälliger Weise die Sprachplanung, aber auch die Artikulation stören. Ein wichtiger Regulationsbereich ist die Selbstbewertung. Multiple Standards für die Selbstbewertung wirken ständig und können positiv zusammenwirken, indem sie zu einer stabilen Selbstbewertung beitragen, sie können aber auch zu einem inkonsistenten und deshalb instabilen Selbstbild führen. Im Bereich des Selbstwert hat die Regulation einen eindeutig festgesetzten Sollzustand, den sie durch ständige Optimierung zu erreichen versucht: Selbstwerterhöhung und Kohärenz der Selbstbewertung.

5. Der interaktionistische Ansatz

– *Individuum-Situation-Interaktion (Person-Situations-Interaktion)*. Aus interaktionistischer Sicht wurde die Kritik an der Annahme einer Merkmalskonsistenz mit dem Argument vorgebracht, dass sogenannte ‘normale’, d.h. unauffällige Individuen sich weniger konsistent verhalten als klinisch auffällige Gruppen (Argyle 1977). Ähnlich argumentiert Mischel (1979), nur rigide oder psychopathische Personen reagieren in einer Vielzahl von Situationen gleichartig. Persönlichkeitstheorien billigen situativen Einflüssen unterschiedliche Wirksamkeit für individuelles Verhalten zu, aber keine verzichtet ganz auf das Situationskonzept. Die Gegenüberstellung von ‘in der Person’ und ‘außerhalb der Person’ sich befindenden Wirkgrößen legt eine dichotome Vorstellung von Person und Nicht-Person nahe. Das Situationskonzept beinhaltet auch die Möglichkeit, individuelle und mit anderen

Individuen geteilte kognitive Repräsentationen der Umwelt aufzubauen, deren Angemessenheit fragwürdig, deren Existenz aber eindeutig ist (Heckhausen 1980). Das Persönlichkeitsbild des Person-Situations-Ansatzes drückt sich am deutlichsten in den Überlegungen Endlers und Magnussons (1976) aus: Die Person ist ein aktiver, bewusster Löser von Problemen, die ihm in den Situationen gestellt werden. Mit seinem großen Erfahrungsschatz und einem breiten Spielraum an Verhaltensmöglichkeiten kann er die Probleme bewältigen. Die Person konstruiert ihre psychologische Umwelt, beeinflusst sie genau so wie sie von ihr geprägt wird. Auf der Personenseite sind also die kognitiven und motivationalen Faktoren wesentliche Determinanten des Verhaltens, auf der Situationsseite deren kognitive Repräsentationen.

Bem und Allen (1974) regten in ihrem Artikel "On predicting some of the people some of the time" an, auf die Relevanz der beschreibenden Merkmale von Personen zu achten: Individuen können sich grundsätzlich auf andere als den erfassten Merkmalen konsistent verhalten. Weiterhin heben sie hervor, dass sich die Relevanz von Merkmalen im Laufe der lebenslangen Entwicklung der Persönlichkeit verändern kann. Ein bemerkenswertes Ergebnis ist in diesem Zusammenhang auch, dass Personen mit hoher Sensibilität für innere Vorgänge verhaltenskonsistenter erscheinen als weniger sensible. Weniger sensible Personen induzieren sich selbst Verhaltensvarianz. – Stellen Personen aktiv Situationen her oder suchen sie solche auf, in denen sie als Agenten auftreten, so wird durch diese Selbstselektion die Konsistenz des Verhaltens unterstützt (Pervin 1978). In selten auftretenden, unbekannt Situationen könnte nach diesen Überlegungen kaum beständiges Verhalten erwartet werden (Magnusson 1976): Vertraute Alltagssituationen beinhalten 'Stützfaktoren'; diese können in Form von stabilen Verhaltensvorschriften oder sozialen Regelsystemen (Argyle 1977) oder in Form von stabilen sozio-kulturellen bzw. physikalisch-objektiven Bedingungen gegeben sein (Mischel 1979). Die Denkansätze sind auf das individuelle Sprachverhalten (Wahrnehmung und Produktion) ebenso anzuwenden wie auf motorische Fertigkeiten oder strategisches Handeln. Sprachkompetenz ist nach der neueren Intelligenztheorie Cattells (1971) und Horn/Hofer (1992) Teil der sich

über die gesamte Lebensspanne akkumulierenden Wissensstrukturen, des kristallinen Anteils der Intelligenz. Sprachkompetenz ist insofern individuell als jedes Individuum über eine eigene Erfahrungsbiografie verfügt, die von seiner spezifischen Umwelt geprägt ist. Universal, aber doch entwicklungsabhängig sind hingegen die grundlegenden Informationsverarbeitungsprozesse, die die Verarbeitung von Umweltinformationen zu Wissensstrukturen bewerkstelligen.

– *Individuum-Individuum Interaktion (Person-Person-Interaktion)*. Kulturen unterscheiden sich in ihren impliziten subjektiven Theorien über das Verhältnis von Individuum und Gruppe. Menon et al. (1999) finden in einer empirischen Studie, dass im westlichen Kulturkreis Personen als freie Agenten vorgestellt werden, während Ostasiaten das Individuum als Zwängen unterliegend und weniger aktiv als das Kollektiv (Familie, soziale Netzwerke, soziale Arbeitswelt) sehen. In der Gegenwartsgesellschaft westlicher Prägung stellt Individualität ein zentraler Wert dar (vgl. Triandis 1995).

Die theoretische Position des *symbolischen Interaktionismus* (vgl. Art. 88) hat vor allem durch A. Schütz (1971) und G.H. Mead (1934) das sozialwissenschaftliche Denken beeinflusst. Im symbolischen Interaktionismus wird das Entstehen von Individualität als Ergebnis sozialer Interaktionsprozesse gesehen. Mead deutet die Identität eines Individuums als Spiegel (*looking glass self*), der Vorwagnahmen und Verinnerlichungen von Vorstellungen und Erwartungen anderer reflektiert. Individualität und damit Identität entwickelt sich durch die symbolische Vermittlung dieser Antizipationen und Internalisierungen. In diesem Entwicklungsprozess nimmt ein Individuum die Haltung des Interaktionspartners sich selbst gegenüber ein und schafft so eine Reziprozität der Perspektiven. Durch Mead wird Identität als eine gesellschaftliche Erscheinung begriffen, die wesentlich durch die Existenz von Symbolsystemen, vor allem der Sprache, bedingt ist. Mead akzentuiert diese These, indem er formuliert, dass es ohne sprachliche Vermittlungsprozesse keine Identität gäbe (Mead 1934; Revelle 1995). Rollenübernahmen (vgl. Art. 47) schaffen im Laufe des Sozialisationsprozesses eine weitere Grundlage für die Entstehung von Identität. Das Konzept der Rollendistanz (Goffman 1961) kann aber erst die Wahrung von Individualität plausibel machen: Eine kompetent ausgefüllte Rolle

erlaubt dem Rollenträger Spielraum für eigenständige Verhaltensvarianz und damit Individualität; er kann sich von den gesellschaftlichen Erwartungen, die mit seiner Rolle verbunden sind, bis zu einem gewissen Grad distanzieren und seine Rolle individuell definieren (vgl. dazu auch konstruktivistische Ansätze z. B. Markus/Cross 1990). In einer neuen Richtung in der Sozialpsychologie, der *Dynamic Social Psychology* (z. B. Nowak/Vallacher 1998) wird das Verhältnis von Individuum und Gesellschaft auf mehreren Ebenen definiert: Die individuelle Ebene umfasst zunächst alle jene Funktionen des Individuums wie Wahrnehmungen, Urteils- und Denkprozesse. Der Gruppe werden grundsätzlich die gleichen Funktionen zugeschrieben (Gruppenurteil, Gruppenproblemlösen), jedoch sind diese Prozesse auf der Gruppenebene nicht die Summe oder der Durchschnitt der individuellen Prozesse, sondern durch die Interaktion der Individuen in der Gruppe entstehen qualitativ andere Prozesse und Ergebnisse dieser Prozesse als auf individueller Ebene. Die Vermittlung zwischen der individuellen und Gruppenebene wird mehrfach gedacht: Vor allem ist eine Form der Vermittlung dadurch gegeben, dass man nicht egoistische Individuen als Einheiten der Gruppenprozesse anzunehmen hat, sondern Individuen ist auch eine prosoziale bzw. altruistische Motivation eigen, die in Gruppeninteraktionen angeregt wird. Eine weitere Vermittlung zwischen den Ebenen ist durch eine konstruktivistische Sichtweise gegeben; keine individuelle Struktur oder Funktion vollzieht sich isoliert. Individuen werden zwar einerseits stark durch den sozialen Kontext beeinflusst, aber andererseits schafft das Individuum sich seinen Kontext durch seine Handlungen. Damit erreicht das Individuum auch andere Individuen: Es schafft seinen eigenen und den Kontext anderer Individuen durch seine Interaktion mit ihnen. Da jedes Individuum diese Konstruktion leistet, entsteht ein dynamisches, geschlossenes System, wenn es sich um eine abgegrenzte soziale Einheit wie z. B. die Familie handelt (systemischer Ansatz in der Familienforschung und -therapie). Die dynamischen Prozesse auf individueller Ebene hängen vom Zustand der systemischen Einheit ab. Übertragen auf das Verhältnis von Individuum und Gesellschaft lässt sich die soziale Realität verstehen als einerseits eine bestimmte Anzahl von Individuen und an-

dererseits als aus Einheit, Systemen höherer Ordnung bestehend (z. B. einer Sprachgemeinschaft (vgl. Art. 14).

6. Individuum und Sprache

Linguistische Variabilität erstreckt sich auf Unterschiede zwischen umfassenden Sprachgruppen ebenso wie auf die Sprachvarianten individueller Sprecher, den Idiolekten. Nach Abercrombie (1967) lassen sich individuelle Sprechervarianten auf zwei Gruppen von Indices persönlicher Eigenheiten von Individuen zurückführen: (a) den Indikatoren für überdauernde Attribute des individuellen Sprechers und (b) den Indikatoren für aktuelle Zustände des einzelnen Sprechers. Überdauernde persönliche Attribute oder in neuer Terminologie persönliche Ressourcen wie Intelligenz, Anpassungsfähigkeit und Persönlichkeitsstruktur, bestimmen die Sprachkompetenz des individuellen Sprechers, und zwar sowohl seine Sprachwahrnehmung wie seine Produktion. Die Frage, ob es eine spezifische Sprachlernfähigkeit gibt, die individuell verschieden stark vertreten ist, führte zu keiner wichtigen Einwänden standhaltenden Schlussfolgerung (vgl. Sang/Vollmer 1978). Andere persönliche Ressourcen sind Alter und dem damit einhergehenden Sprachentwicklungsstand, Geschlecht und den durch Sozialisation erworbenen Sprach- und Sprechereigenheiten, Bildung und durch Unterricht oder explizites Lernen erworbene Sprachkompetenz und schließlich soziale Ressourcen wie soziale Netzwerkdichte, die sprachliche Anregungen und höhere Kommunikationsfähigkeiten bieten, sowie ethnisch-kulturelle Zugehörigkeit, die bestimmte soziale Lebensformen und einzelsprachliche Besonderheiten im Sprachgebrauch mit sich bringt (vgl. Preston 1989). Die soziale Identität des individuellen Sprechers wirkt sich auf die Sprachperformanz in der Erst- und Zweitsprache aus. Krashen (1982) geht davon aus, dass soziale Identität affektive Filter aufbaue für bestimmte Sprachreize der Umgebung. Solche affektiven Filter sind besonders deutlich beim Erwerb eines zweiten Dialektes im Erwachsenenalter (Trudgill 1986). Seit Labov (1966) sind für Sozialstatusunterschiede und den damit einhergehenden Bildungsunterschieden deutliche Sprachvarianten nachgewiesen. Da Frauen sehr statussensitiv sind, verwundert es auch nicht, dass sie stärkere statustypische Spre-

chervarianten aufweisen. Weiterhin: Je stärker die ethnische Identität ausgeprägt ist, umso mehr wird in Sprachkontaktsituationen die Herkunftssprache bewahrt und die Zweitsprache zurückgedrängt. Auch hierfür könnte der affektive Filter als Erklärung herangezogen werden. Sprache erscheint somit als Komponente sozialer Identität (vgl. Art. 50). Damit wird individuelles Sprachverhalten zum Gegenstand der Soziolinguistik.

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53. Gruppe/Group

1. Viele Verständnisse des Begriffs „Gruppe“
2. Typen von Gruppen
3. Team
4. Gruppendynamik
5. Soziolinguistische Aspekte
6. Weitere Merkmale von Prozessen in Gruppen
7. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Viele Verständnisse des Begriffs „Gruppe“

Gruppe als Kategorie ist eine Leistung unseres Erkenntnisapparats. Der Eindruck Gruppe entsteht spontan anhand einer überschaubaren Anzahl von Objekten, Sachverhalten oder Menschen mit gemeinsamen Merkmalen, die räumlich, sachlich oder zeitlich als in Beziehung tretend oder als in Beziehung zueinander befindlich wahrgenommen werden, z.B. als Gruppe von Sternen, Rindern (Herde), als indogermanische Sprachg. oder Sondereinsatzg. Das Wort Gruppe ist als Fachwort der bildenden Kunst aus dem Französischen und dort aus dem Italienischen entlehnt (Ansammlung, Schar) und seit etwa Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts bei uns nachgewiesen (Der große Duden, Etymologie, 1997). In der Wissenschaft begegnet man dem Gruppenbegriff als Ordnungsbegriff z.B. in der Mathematik (Gruppen-Theorie), in der Physik (Molekül-Gruppe), in der Chemie (Gruppe der Elemente), in den Sozialwissenschaften (primäre und sekundäre Gruppe, Groß- und Kleing., formelle und informelle Gruppe).

Sozialwissenschaftlich umfasst die Umschreibung von Gruppe seit Alderfer (1977) eine Anzahl von Personen, die untereinander dependente Beziehungen haben, d.h., die Mitglieder beeinflussen sich wechselseitig in ihrem Verhalten und Erleben; die Beziehungen bestehen über längere Zeit. Die Personen betrachten sich selbst als Gruppe und zu ihr zugehörig. Mitglieder werden von außenstehenden Nicht-Mitgliedern unterschieden. Ihre Gruppenidentität wird von Außenstehenden anerkannt. Die Mitglieder haben gemeinsame Bedürfnisse, vielleicht auch gemeinsame Ziele oder Aufgaben oder sind nur einfach gern beieinander. Es gibt ein Gefüge von Funktionen, differenzierten Rollen und Regeln, die das Verhalten in einer Gruppe steuern. Die Mitglieder ste-

hen, wenn sie alleine oder aufeinander abgestimmt nach außen agieren, im Allgemeinen in dependenten Beziehungen zu anderen Gruppen. Gruppen haben eine Geschichte von Beziehungen und Erlebnissen; die Gruppenmitglieder können so etwas wie ein „Wir-Gefühl“ entwickeln, zu der auch eine Vorstellung einer Gruppen-Identität gehört; Mitglieder tendieren dazu die Gruppen-Identität ihrem Selbst zuzurechnen, z.B., wenn es um die Ableitung eines besonderen Status für die eigenen Person geht. Konstitutiv für eine Gruppe ist auch der Gruppen-Zusammenhalt (Kohäsion), äußerlich erkennbar an einem hohen Maß an wechselseitiger Abstimmung und hoher Interaktionsdichte zwischen den Mitgliedern.

Interagierende Gruppen, bei denen jeder mit jedem von Angesicht zu Angesicht in Beziehung treten kann, heißen Kleing. Das simultane, geordnete Interagieren an einem Ort ist auf etwa fünf bis sieben Personen beschränkt. Bei einer größeren Anzahl von Mitgliedern zerfallen interagierende Gruppen meistens in Unterg.n oder spalten sich absichtlich auf, damit geregelt miteinander kommuniziert werden kann. Bei einer Beratungsgruppe mit guter Gesprächsführung gelten 15 Teilnehmer noch als steuerbare Gruppe. Zahlenmäßig endet die Kleing. mit etwa 30 Personen. Größere soziale Einheiten, wie große Interessenverbände, manchmal sogar Nationen, werden Großg. genannt; sie setzen sich aus Kleing.n zusammen. Großg. ist als Begriff sicherlich überdehnt. „Gruppendynamik“, ursprünglich einmal eine von K. Lewin (1947) begründete Forschungsrichtung, wird heute überwiegend praxeologisch als eher angewandte Seite der Kleing.nforschung (Ardelt-Gattinger et al., 1998) verstanden, die sich beispielsweise mit Gruppentherapie, Gruppenpädagogik oder mit optimaler Zusammenstellung von Arbeitsteams in der Wirtschaft oder beim Militär befasst. Besonderes Interesse finden hier sogenannte Synergieeffekte, die durch gemeinsame Arbeit in Teams entstehen sollen (Stumpf, 2000). Gruppendynamik wird auch als „Bewegung“ gesehen, die besondere Sozialtechniken bei der Arbeit mit Gruppen verwendet, wie Selbsterfahrung oder bestimmte „Gruppenspiele“, mit dem Ziel, ein besseres Verständnis für die eigene Rolle zu gewinnen und Aufmerksamkeit auf sensible Prozesse in Gruppen zu lenken.

Die Gruppenbildung hat biologische Grundlagen, was u.a. durch Verhaltensforschung in Kinderg.n. erhellt wurde. Wichtige Voraussetzungen für die Gruppenbildung sind die Entwicklung von Beziehungen und die Fähigkeit zur Beeinflussung anderer in Gruppen. (Grammer, 1988).

2. Typen von Gruppen

Je nach dem Entstehen und dem Charakter von Regelungen gibt es die formale Gruppe (planmäßig geschaffen) und informelle Gruppe oder Clique (spontaner Zusammenschluss ohne formales Regelsystem), primäre Gruppe (enge persönliche Beziehungen, z.B. Familien, Freundschaftsg) und sekundäre Gruppe, ad-hoc-Gruppe und dauerhafte Gruppe, Spontang, natürliche und experimentell zusammengestellte Gruppe, Kerng. und äußere Gruppe, oder je nach der Bedeutung oder den Zielen der Gruppe: Arbeitsg., Interesseng., Männer- und Fraueng., etc. Auch Vereine, Kommissionen, Interessenverbände und vergleichbare Zusammenschlüsse werden dem Konzept Gruppe zugerechnet. Vier Gruppen, die als wichtige Bezugsg.n. angesehen werden, u.a. weil sie identitätsstiftend wirken, sind: Familie, Jugendg., Arbeitsg. und Freizeitg. Menschen verfügen in aller Regel über multiple Kleing.- und Großg.zugehörigkeiten. Für das Arbeitsleben bedeutsam ist die Arbeitsg.: Eine Anzahl von Individuen, die als Gesamtheit eine Aufgabe übernehmen und im Zuge der Bewältigung dieser Aufgabe in mehr oder minder großem Ausmaß zusammenarbeiten. Arbeitsgr.n sind in der Regel kleinere Einheiten mit etwa sieben plus/minus zwei Personen, die eng aufeinander abgestimmt miteinander arbeiten, und dies nicht nur parallel; sie haben intern Beziehungen mit einem erkennbaren Zusammenhalt herausgebildet. Sie können, in der Regel von den Aufgaben her bestimmt, intern unterschiedliche Arbeitsformen adaptieren. Hinsichtlich der Zeitdauer unterscheidet man ad-hoc-Gruppen für einen einzigen Aufgabenzyklus und ständige Gruppen mit wiederkehrenden Aufgabenzyklen bei immer wieder neuen Aufgaben.

3. Team

Eine Arbeitsg. mit hohen Graden an Zusammenhalt und wechselseitiger Unterstützung bei eng verzahnten Verhaltensweisen bei ei-

ner gemeinsam zu erledigenden Aufgabe wird auch Team genannt. Team ist ein wertbezogenes begriffliches Konzept mit der notwendigen Unschärfe, um in verschiedenen Kulturen und organisationellen Kontexten geeignete Bedeutungsgehalte zu attribuieren. Team ist eine Idee, eine Sollvorstellung. Bei der Konkretisierung gibt es eine Vielfalt von Ausgestaltungen nicht nur zwischen Teams, sondern auch hinsichtlich der Varietät von Phänomenen und Prozessen im Lebenszyklus eines bestimmten Teams. Teams haben viele Merkmale mit Gruppen gemeinsam, z.B. was ihre Größe und das Wir-Gefühl angeht. Teams werden in Organisationen in der Regel um eine umschriebene Aufgabe herum gebildet, z.B. als Projektteam (Guzzo/Dickson, 1996; Devine/Clayton/Philips u.a., 1999). Arbeitsg.n, die sich als Teams verstehen, haben vergleichsweise klare und umfassende Vorstellungen von ihren Aufgaben und deren Sinn, erwerben und pflegen eine besondere (technische) g.nspezifische Sprache, was die Aufgaben und deren Erledigungsformen angeht und in der zum Ausdruck kommt, dass Wert gelegt wird auf Prinzipien wie: Gleichheit und damit Hierarchiearmut, Zurücknehmen des eigenen Selbst und seiner Strebungen zu Gunsten teambezogener Werte und übergeordneter Teamaufgabe, auf ähnliche Wertvorstellungen untereinander, wechselseitige Unterstützung und faire Umgangsformen miteinander innerhalb der Gruppe, hohe Interaktionsdichte, konsensuale Entscheidungen, Harmonie, hohes Maß an Zusammengehörigkeit und Zusammenhalt, starkes Wir-Gefühl, als ein Ganzes angesehen zu werden, auch hinsichtlich der Verantwortungsübernahme (vgl. Bales, 1999). Teamfähigkeit bezieht sich vor allem auf eine besondere Bereitschaft zur Unter- und Einordnung in die selbst regulierte, kooperative Arbeit in Teams. Das Zusammenwirken mehrerer Köpfe in einem Team soll zu einem qualitativ andersartigen, in der Regel besserem Ergebnis führen, als es mehrere Individuen in additivem Zusammenwirken vollbringen könnten. Teams sind Gruppierungen auf Zeit. Teams benötigen eine gewisse Zeit, um sich zu formieren und ihre volle Leistungsfähigkeit zu entwickeln, etwa vier Monate und länger (West/Borrill/Unsworth, 1998). Sie benötigen im Vergleich zu einzelgeführten Arbeitsg.n einen höheren Aufwand für die aufgabenbezogenen und sozial-emotionalen Prozesse und für den Eigenerhalt; es treten sog. Prozesskosten auf (Zysno, 1998). Teams

tendieren infolge der Konzentration auf Binnenprozesse dahin, sich nach außen hin abzuschließen, was Schwierigkeiten mit der sie umgebenden Organisation zur Folge hat (Hartley, 1996). Teams ziehen sich nach einigen Jahren ihres Bestehens gern in Selbstgenügsamkeit zurück, wenn es ihnen gestattet wird; oder sie „brennen aus“ und verlieren damit ihre ursprüngliche Attraktivität für die Mitglieder und ihre besondere Leistungsfähigkeit. Die Lebensdauer aktiver Teams wird erfahrungsgestützt auf drei Jahre, maximal fünf Jahre angesetzt. Spezifische Teamkonzepte sind z.B. Hochleistungsteams als Schlüssel zur Hochleistungsorganisation (Katzenbach, 1999; Katzenbach/Smith, 1993), Teams an der Spitze eines Unternehmens oder virtuelle, d.h. informationstechnisch vernetzte Teams (Maznevski/Chudoba, 2000). Der Teamgedanke ist das Gegenkonzept zur nach dem AKV-Prinzip (Einheit von Aufgabe, Kompetenz und Verantwortung beim Einzelnen liegend) einzelgeführten Arbeitsg., üblich in bürokratischen Organisationen mit ausgeprägter Hierarchie und in Unternehmen, in denen es auf hohe Sicherheit, Zuverlässigkeit und Einzelverantwortung ankommt, wie in Produktionsanlagen der Chemischen Industrie, bei Abfallentsorgern oder auf einem großen Schiff. Ursachen für Konflikte in Gruppen werden u. a. in unterschiedlichen Interessen, im Nichtbefolgen von Normen, Rollen und Regeln, in unterschiedlichen Denk- Arbeits- und Interaktionsstilen (Beck/Fisch, 1998) und in sogenannten persönlichen Unverträglichkeiten gesehen. Mobbing, eine bestimmte Form interner Auseinandersetzung in einer Gruppe, bei der die Gruppe an Normabweichungen Einzelner Anstoß nimmt, kommt prinzipiell in allen Gruppen vor (erstmalig: Bilz, 1971; Zuschlag, 2001): Der/die Betroffene wird „viktimsiert“, gerät unter Druck und erfährt Leidensdruck. Alle schließen sich gegen eine(n) zusammen. Im Extremfall kommt es zum Ausstoßen des/der Betroffenen aus der Gruppe; es kann bis zum Tod gehen. Zugleich schweißt die Konfrontation die Gruppe zusammen. Für theoretische Hintergründe s. Roth (2002). Beziehungen und Konflikte zwischen Gruppen sind, ebenso wie die Binnenprozesse in Gruppen, etablierte Forschungsthemen. Interg.nbeziehungen haben z.B. Bedeutung für die Zusammenarbeit in Organisationen und in internationalen Beziehungen. Gruppen tendieren dazu, die Unterschiede zwischen ih-

ren Gruppenmitgliedern klein zu halten und nach außen hin zu vergrößern. Den eigenen Gruppenmitgliedern werden meist eine Reihe positiver Eigenschaften zugeschrieben und die Gruppenmitglieder setzen sich durch diese positiven Eigenschaften von anderen Gruppen ab. Es gibt auch eine Tendenz, die Mitglieder der eigenen Gruppe gegenüber Mitgliedern anderer Gruppe zu bevorzugen oder für sie besonders gut zu sorgen, so im Bereich der Wirtschaft, z.B. der Strukturpolitik, durch Gruppenbegünstigungspolitik, die sich häufig zu Lasten des Allgemeinwohls auswirkt. Die Gegenmaßnahmen beziehen sich auf die Entwicklung von ordostrukturpolitischen Konzeptionen und von Strukturflexibilitäten zur Reduktion allgemeinwohlbeeinträchtigender g.ndeterminierter Wirtschaftspolitik (Behrends, 1999). Diesem begünstigenden Verhalten liegt ein Prozess der sozialen Kategorisierung zu Grunde, der wesentlich für die Gestaltung von Interg.n-Beziehungen ist (Tajfel, 1982). Die bekanntesten Kategorisierungsfolgen sind feindselige Beziehungen, bei denen, vereinfacht gesprochen, der eigenen Gruppe positiv werthaltige und den Angehörigen der anderen Gruppe negative Eigenschaften zugeschrieben werden; die Bewahrung und Verteidigung der positiven Werte gelten dann als offizielle Rechtfertigungen eines aversiven Vorgehens gegen die „Anderen“, zum Beispiel bei rassistischen oder ethnischen Konflikten, bei Konflikten zwischen Jugendbanden, zwischen Familien, zwischen „Klassen“.

4. Gruppendynamik

Das eigentlich Interessante an Gruppen aus pragmatischer Sicht ist ihre sogenannte Dynamik (Lück, 1993). Sie zu beherrschen setzt unter anderem ein gutes Prozessverständnis voraus (Boos, 1997) und spezifische soziale Fertigkeiten, z. B. rhetorische Fertigkeiten, um gegebenenfalls steuernd in das aktuelle Gruppengeschehen eingreifen zu können. Prozessverständnis zu erlangen, ist eines der Ziele sogenannter Trainingsg.n. (T-Gruppen); eine Sonderform ist die sogenannte selbstreflexive Gruppe. Um Prozessverständnis zu gewinnen, kommt es zunächst darauf an, „sehend“ zu werden. Das Mittel dazu ist die inszenierte Bewusstwerdung eigenen und fremden Gruppenhandelns durch angeleitete Selbst- und Gruppenbeobachtung. Die Inszenierung zur Bewusstwer-

dung kann verschiedene methodische Wege beschreiten, z.B. durch eine wissenschaftliche Beobachtungsmethode als Grundlage (z.B. Bales/Cohen/Williamson, 1979) oder durch die Betonung qualitativ-phänomenologischer, diskursiver Zugänge zur Empfindungs- und Erlebnisseite der Teilnehmer am Geschehen in Gruppen, um so zu einem intuitiven „Verstehen“ von Gruppenprozessen zu gelangen (Antons/Amann/Clausen u. a., 2001). Eine weniger ich-nahe Methode als T-Gruppen, um sogenannte Soft Skills wie Teamverhalten systematisch zu trainieren, sind spezielle Planspiele, z.B. „team & boss“ oder „Team! in Action“. Dabei geht es immer auch um den Erwerb von praktischen Kenntnissen zur Bearbeitung konkreter Aufgaben in einer Teamsituation. Insofern ist dieser Ansatz lebensnäher und kennt weniger Transfer-Probleme als die Arbeit mit T-Gruppen.

5. Soziolinguistische Aspekte

Kommunikation ist das Agens, das Gruppenprozesse initiiert, aufrecht erhält und steuert, wobei die Bedeutung und Wirkungen der nichtverbalen Kommunikation für die Gruppenprozesse gegenüber den sprachlich-inhaltlichen Äußerungen häufig unterschätzt werden. Gruppen, die länger bestehen, können Zeichensysteme und eine eigene Sprache mit Ausdrücken entwickeln, die nur von Mitgliedern der Gruppe richtig verstanden werden (können), als Erkennungszeichen benutzt werden und die Zugehörigkeit signalisieren, so dass Abgrenzungen möglich werden im Sinn einer „Wir“-Gruppe und einer „Die“-Gruppe. Beispiele: Gaunersprache, Familienjargon. Projektgruppen entwickeln nach einiger Zeit einen restringierten Code, wenn über die Arbeit gesprochen wird; Jugendgruppen schaffen Neologismen (Jugendsprache), die ganz bestimmte Gefühle oder Wertungen ausdrücken sollen. Einzelne Berufe, vor allem die klassischen Wissenschaften (Medizin, Jurisprudenz, Soziologie) haben eigene Theorie- und Fachsprachen entwickelt, die man als Experte beherrschen muss, wenn man mitreden möchte und von den Angehörigen der jeweiligen Gruppe akzeptiert werden möchte. Hohe Rangige Beratungs- und Entscheidungsgremien kennen strenge Regeln und Normen bezüglich der Redebeiträge, z.B.: Die Reihenfolge, in der in einer Gruppe gesprochen wird, folgt dem Rang der Anwesenden;

die ranghöchsten Männer sprechen zuerst, unabhängig vom Alter. Sie erheben nie ihre Stimme, Gefühle sollen nicht gezeigt werden. Schweigt der Ranghöchste auf einen Redebeitrag, bedeutet dies Missbilligung. Frauen kommen nicht so leicht zu Wort oder sprechen nicht, es sei denn, sie werden angesprochen.

6. Weitere Merkmale von Prozessen in Gruppen

Die folgenden Gesichtspunkte gehen auf Argyle (1972, 220ff.) und Hofstätter (1957/81) zurück.

(1) Entwicklung von Kontakt, Sympathie und sozialer Distanz

Schließen sich mehrere, bisher einzelne Personen zu einer gemeinsamen Aufgabe zusammen, nimmt im Zuge der erforderlichen Steigerung ihrer Aktivitäten der Kontakt zwischen den Mitgliedern zu. Damit verbunden ist in der Regel ein Gefühl des einander-nahe-Seins, der Sympathie. Homans (1961) entwickelte aus solchen Beobachtungen die sogenannte Kontakt-Sympathie-Regel: Mit zunehmender Kontakthäufigkeit wird der Grad der Sympathie wachsen.

(2) Wir-Gefühl, Gruppenidentität

Soziale Distanz bezieht sich auf Nähe oder Ferne zu anderen Mitgliedern. Ein subjektives Maß ist die erlebte Nähe oder Ferne, ein objektives Maß die Kontaktdichte der Mitglieder untereinander: Niedrige Kontaktdichte entspricht hoher sozialer Distanz und umgekehrt. Personen mit hoher sozialer Distanz werden in der Regel nicht als Gesprächspartner oder als Teilnehmer an sozialen Veranstaltungen gewünscht. Bei der Bildung einer Gruppe nehmen die sozialen Distanzen zwischen sich zusammenschließenden Personen ab. Damit stellt sich bei diesen Personen meist das Erleben ein, sie seien einander irgendwie ähnlich. Sie beginnen sich und ihresgleichen mit dem Wort „wir“ zu bezeichnen. In einem solchen Stadium werden auch die Bedingungen festgelegt, die für die Auswahl weiterer Mitglieder maßgeblich sind. Gruppenintern sind solche Kategorisierungsprozesse bedeutsam für die Entwicklung eines individuellen Selbstkonzeptes, also für die persönliche Identitätsbildung. Denn das Selbstgefühl leitet sich sowohl aus individuellen Erfahrungen ab als auch aus gruppenbezogenen Faktoren, wie ethnische, religiöse, Schicht- und Geschlechtszugehörigkeit.

(3) Zusammenhalt

Gruppen können intern ein gewisses Maß an „Zusammenhalt“ entwickeln („Kohäsion“). Der feste Zusammenhalt von Gruppen wird begünstigt, wenn ihre Mitglieder untereinander intensiven Kontakt pflegen, mit Außenstehenden und Angehörigen anderer Gruppen gleichzeitig jedoch nur geringen Kontakt haben. Auf diese Weise wird die soziale Binnen-Distanz verringert, die Außen-Distanz vergrößert. Verstärker des Zusammenhalts sind vor allem: Das gemeinsame Erleben, die gemeinsame Freude, das gemeinsame Leid, das gemeinsame Handeln wie z. B. die gemeinsame Erfüllung schwieriger Aufgaben oder die Auseinandersetzung mit einem gemeinsamen Feind.

(4) Rollendifferenzierung

In Gruppen finden spontan Rollendifferenzierungen (vgl. Art. 47) statt: Verschiedene Funktionen und, damit verbunden, Aufgaben werden auf Spezialisten verteilt (Beck/Fisch/Bergander u. a., 1999). Der erste Schritt in Richtung einer Funktionsverteilung stellt die Herausbildung einer Führungsrolle dar, die für eine Koordination der Leistungen der Gruppenmitglieder Sorge trägt. Je nach dem Ansehen und der Wichtigkeit der Aufgaben findet eine Hierarchisierung der Funktionen und ihrer Träger statt, so dass im Gefolge der Funktionsaufteilung bestimmte Rangunterschiede auftreten.

(5) Beziehungsmuster innerhalb der Gruppe

Neben der offiziellen Struktur nach festgelegten Funktionen besitzen die meisten Gruppen eine von der offiziellen Struktur unterscheidbare inoffizielle Struktur, das Beziehungsmuster. Es kennzeichnet beispielsweise, wer mit wem bei welchen Aktivitäten in der Gruppe zusammenwirkt. Ferner sagt das Beziehungsmuster etwas darüber aus, wer sich wem in der Gruppe überlegen fühlt; dies sind erste Hinweise auf die Art der Dominanzverhältnisse oder der Herrschaftsstruktur in der Gruppe.

(6) Formen der Führung

Die Dominanzverhältnisse in Gruppen sind das hauptsächliche Thema der Kleing.nforschung geworden. Die Untersuchungen konzentrierten sich auf die Führungsrolle, oft unter Vernachlässigung der komplementären Rolle, dem Folgen. Ging es zunächst vor allem darum, die Wirkungen der unterschiedlichen Führungsstile auf Gruppenleistungen und Gruppenklimata zu

erkunden, hat die Frage nach dem effektivsten Führungsstil bald die Oberhand gewonnen und zu einer Entwicklung von sogenannten Führungsmodellen geführt, die unter Wertgesichtspunkten einer normativ geführten Debatte der Praxisprüfung unterliegen. Führung in Gruppen setzt sich aus vielen, in mehreren Ebenen verankerten Mikroverhaltensweisen zwischen Personen zusammen; die Abstraktion dieser Mikroprozesse auf Führungsstile oder Ähnliches vermittelt eher Argumente für einen Diskurs als ein realitätsgetreues Abbild der Phänomene, die mit dem Begriff Führung umschrieben werden. Besonders in Gruppen, die sich freiwillig zusammengeschlossen haben, kommt es unter bestimmten Umständen noch zu einer anderen Differenzierung unter den Gruppenmitgliedern, insbesondere bei der Führungsrolle: Es bildet sich die Rolle des Tüchtigsten und die des Beliebtesten heraus (sog. Divergenztheorem nach Bales/Slater, 1955). In Gruppen, die über längere Zeit bestehen, fallen diese beiden Wertprädikate nur sehr selten auf ein und die selbe Person: Es kommt zu einem Führungsdual, bei der die Träger der anerkannten Tüchtigkeitsrolle und der Beliebtheitsrolle gemeinsam die Gruppe leiten. Beide Rollen haben mit den primären Aufgaben der Gruppe zu tun: Zum einen hat jede Gruppe ihre materiellen Ressourcen zu schaffen oder zu sichern und bestimmte Ziele zu erreichen; hierzu ist Tüchtigkeit gefordert. Zum anderen möchte die Gruppe überleben; dies wird vor allem durch die Schaffung eines sogenannten positiven Gruppenklimas gewährleistet, das wichtige sozial-emotionale Bedürfnisse der Mitglieder befriedigt und dazu beiträgt, dass sie sich in der Gruppe wohlfühlen. Beliebte leisten zu dieser Aufgabe wesentliche sozial-integrative Beiträge. Insgesamt gesehen steigt die Auftretenswahrscheinlichkeit eines Führungsduals, wenn den Mitgliedern die Zielerreichung und der Zusammenhalt in der Gruppe nicht durch eine einzige Führungsperson allein gewährleistet erscheint.

(7) Bezugsgruppen

Gruppen, denen sich eine Person zugehörig fühlt, vermitteln ihr in der Regel Maßstäbe zur Beurteilung ihrer eigenen Leistungen, Fähigkeiten und Ansichten: Die Gruppen dienen als sogenannte Bezugsg.n. Sie geben den Maßstab ab, wie man sich kleidet, welche Verhaltensweisen man an den Tag legt oder nicht, wie man spricht,

welche Einstellungen und Werte man vertritt und Ähnliches. Bezugsg.n vermitteln soziale Gewissheit in unsicheren Lagen der Beurteilung. Sie spielen damit eine wichtige Rolle für das Phänomen der Konformität und der Uniformität im alltäglichen Umgang miteinander.

(8) Soziale Vergleichsprozesse

Eng mit dem Konzept Bezugsg. verknüpft ist der Prozess des sozialen Vergleichs, denn unter anderem sind es Bezugsg.n, welche die Maßstäbe für einen sozialen Vergleich liefern. Soziale Vergleichsprozesse stellen eine basale soziale Verhaltensweise dar (Festinger, 1954) und sind grundlegend für die oben beschriebenen Prozesse der Angleichung im Sinne der Konformität oder Uniformität wie auch der sozialen Differenzierung und Kategorisierung. Der Neid hat hier seinen Ursprung; er stellt einen wichtigen Auslöser und Motor g.ndynamischer Prozesse zur Angleichung und Differenzierung dar.

(9) Leistungsvorteile von Gruppen

Gruppen können gegenüber Einzelpersonen unter bestimmten Umständen mehrere Arten von Leistungsvorteilen aufweisen. Es gibt auch Leistungsnachteile, zum Beispiel kollektive Irrtümer durch allzu starkes „Gruppendenken“ (Janis, 1972; Manz/Neck, 1995). Wir wenden uns jetzt den Gruppenvorteilen zu. Wo es auf physische Kraftentfaltung ankommt, also bei *Leistungen vom Typus des Hebens und Tragens*, bewährt sich der koordinierte Einsatz mehrerer Individualkräfte, z. B.: Das Heben und Tragen schwerer Steine beim Bau, das Rudern im Achter etc. In unklaren Situationen kann die Bezugsg. eine verbindliche Norm setzen oder eine Übereinkunft herbeiführen, durch die das Verhalten der Gruppenmitglieder geregelt wird: *Leistungen vom Typus des Bestimmens*, z. B. als Festlegung von Normen für die Arbeitsleistung des Einzelnen in Arbeitsg.n. Die anderen Gruppenmitglieder achten auf die Normeinhaltung und sanktionieren Über- und Unterschreitungen. Dabei ist es oft unwichtig, ob die Normen berechtigt sind und objektiv ermittelt wurden. Größere Gruppen regulieren das Verhalten ihrer Mitglieder durch ungeschriebene und geschriebene Satzungen. Die Satzungen schaffen Selbstverständlichkeiten, Routinen und Rituale, die nicht mehr in Frage gestellt werden können, obwohl ihre rationale Begründung oftmals problematisch ist. Beispielsweise gibt es Vereine und Bünde, deren

offizielles Ziel es ist, Traditionen zu pflegen, die nicht auf ihren Sinngehalt befragt oder verändert werden dürfen. Das Rütteln an solchen Selbstverständlichkeiten kommt daher vielfach einem Verstoß gegen ein Tabu gleich. Auf den *Leistungsvorteil vom Typus des Suchens und Findens* wird insbesondere bei Aufgaben des Problemlösens zurückgegriffen. Bei geeigneter Anleitung und Steuerung der Such- und Findeprozesse können Gruppen ein wesentlich höheres Problemlösungspotential entwickeln als Individuen. Der Vorteil besteht sowohl in der größeren Menge von Lösungsvorschlägen als auch in deren Qualität. Der Gruppenvorteil stellt sich jedoch nur unter ganz bestimmten Bedingungen der Führerschaft und des Mitgliederverhaltens ein, z. B.: die Partner stehen miteinander in Gedankenaustausch bezüglich ihrer Funde oder Lösungsvorschläge; der Neigung, die erstbeste Lösung zu akzeptieren, wird widerstanden; die Mitglieder suchen unabhängig voneinander in dem Sinne, dass weder voneinander nur kopiert oder gegeneinander opponiert wird; die richtigen Lösungen werden von der Gruppe als Ganze akzeptiert, auch wenn sie nur von einem oder von einigen wenigen kommen und es ist gleichgültig, von wem sie eingebracht werden. Um diesen Leistungsvorteil voll nutzbar zu machen, bedarf es in der Regel einer besonderen Auswahl und einer speziellen Unterweisung der Gruppenmitglieder und vor allem der Führungsperson (Kaufmann, 2001). Wenn es in hohem Maße auf Urteilssicherheit ankommt oder wenn mit einem Urteil erhebliche Konsequenzen verbunden sind, greift man gern zu einer Beurteilung durch Gruppen und hofft auf den *Leistungsvorteil vom Typus des Fehlerausgleichs beim Suchen und Beurteilen*. Manchmal geht es aber auch mehr um die erleichternde Funktion der Verantwortungsteilung. Diese Verfahrensweise beim Fehlerausgleich unterscheidet sich vom Verfahren beim gemeinsamen Suchen und Finden darin, dass die Gruppenmitglieder nicht notwendigerweise miteinander in Verbindung treten müssen, manchmal sogar nicht einmal sollen, damit die Urteilsfindung voneinander unabhängig erfolgt. Im Grunde handelt es sich um additive Aufgaben, die von Einzelpersonen geleistet werden und aus denen eine zentrale Urteilstenzenz ermittelt wird. Eine Jury stellt die institutionalisierte Form dieser Vorgehensweise dar.

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54. Situation/Situation

1. Begrifflicher Zugang
2. Situation in der soziologischen Theorie: Handlungsstrukturen und Interaktionsdynamik
3. Drei Modelle des Situationsdenkens in der Soziolinguistik
4. Die Bedeutung des Erzählens
5. Methodologische und methodische Überlegungen
6. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Begrifflicher Zugang

„(W)e have the following problem: a student interested in the properties of speech may find himself having to look at the physical setting in which the speaker performs his gestures, simply because you cannot describe a gesture fully without reference to the extra-bodily environment in which it occurs. And someone interested in the linguistic correlates of social structure may find that he must attend to the social occasion when someone of given attributes makes his appearance before others. Both kinds of student must therefore look at what we vaguely call the social situation. And that is what has been neglected.“ (Goffman 1964, 134)

Situation ist ein in der Linguistik weithin bis heute „vernachlässigter“ (Goffman) Zugang zu Phänomenen der Sprache. Die Operationalisierung der Kontextualisierung linguistischer Performanz in Diskursprozessen durch die soziale bzw. Sprechsituation (z.B. Gumperz 1996) verwendet Begriffe der soziologischen Theorie. Die theoretischen Ansätze erkennen die Situation als kulturelles Repertoire und aktuelles, individuell genutztes Interaktionsforum, und die Soziolinguistik untersucht die entsprechende Varianz und Relativität. Zur näheren Klärung der Verwendungszusammenhänge des Situationsdenkens in der Soziolinguistik werden in diesem Artikel zunächst die soziologischen Theorien dargestellt, die einen Beitrag zur Konzeptualisierung der Situation geleistet haben. Ein wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Aufriss für den Zeitraum der zwanziger bis achtziger Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts schildert die Theoreme zur Erfassung der Situation bei William I. Thomas (zwanziger Jahre), Talcott Parsons (dreißiger und vierziger Jahre) und Erving Goffman (fünfziger bis achtziger Jahre). Daran schließt sich eine Betrachtung der drei Denkmodelle der linguistischen Forschung an, die die Situation berücksichtigen: Speech

Acts/Speech Events, Diskursanalyse, Genres/Partituren. Ein damit verbundenes Themenfeld ist Erzählen, dessen situationale Relativität zu thematisieren ist. Abschließend werden methodologische Fragen, die sich aus der soziologischen Theorie ergeben, mit methodischen Überlegungen, die die Soziolinguistik betreffen, skizzenhaft verknüpft.

2. Situation in der soziologischen Theorie: Handlungslogik und Interaktionsdynamik

Obwohl bereits im frühen 20. Jahrhundert die Rolle der ‘Definition der Situation’ für die Wirklichkeitskonstruktion entdeckt wurde, blieb die Situation (auch) in der soziologischen Theorie bis heute eine eher marginale begriffliche Perspektive. Dennoch lassen sich drei Hauptströmungen der soziologischen Theorie aufzeigen, die die Situation in jeweils unterschiedlicher Weise konzeptualisiert und dadurch eine Grundlage für die linguistische Forschung geschaffen haben, die sich mit Fragen des Verhältnisses zwischen kultureller und alltagssprachlicher Varianz bzw. Variation befasst. Die drei Ansätze, die den Zeitraum zwischen den zwanziger und siebziger bzw. achtziger Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts umspannen, thematisieren die kulturell überformte „Definition der Situation“ (Thomas/Znaniecki), die sozialstrukturell institutionalisierte „Definition der Situation“ im Verhältnis zur interaktiv verwirklichten Handlungssituation (Parsons) und die durch Interaktionsrituale inmitten von Team- bzw. Ensemblestrukturen koordinierte Sprachformenvariation (Goffman). Die drei Ansätze seien hier skizziert, um dabei auch die Frage nach ihrer Resonanz in der linguistischen Forschung zu stellen.

Thema der fünfbändigen Monographie ‘The Polish Peasant in Europe and America’ (Thomas / Znaniecki 1918–1920) war die soziale Strukturierung und Re-Strukturierung der Handlungsorientierungen (Momenten der Wirklichkeitskonstruktion) bei polnischen Unterschichtsangehörigen aus ländlichen Gegenden, die entweder nach den USA (Chicago) auswanderten oder in ihrem (von drei Besatzungsmächten beherrschten) Land blieben. Die Forschungsmaterialien waren Briefserien zwischen Familienmitglie-

dern in Europa and Amerika, eine Autobiographie eines beruflich Gescheiterten in Chicago, Zeitungsartikel in Polen und Berichte von Sozialarbeitern in Chicago. Den begrifflichen Rahmen zur Analyse dieser Daten umschrieb die „Methodological Note“, die das Buch einleitete. Sie unterschied zunächst zwischen Einstellungen der Handelnden und Werten, die im Zusammenhang gesellschaftlicher Gruppen galten. Soziologische Theorien verzahnten beide miteinander, konnten jedoch erst in der Forschung fruchtbar werden, wenn die soziale Situation mitbedacht wurde. In der Situation geschah die Anwendung von Einstellungen und Werten auf Probleme der allgemeinen Lebensführung. „Every concrete activity is the solution of a situation“, war die Ausgangsthese (Thomas/Znaniecki 1918–1920, 68). Die solchermaßen relevante Situation umfasste drei Datengrundlagen: (1) Objektive Bedingungen, die die Gesamtheit der ökonomischen, religiösen, intellektuellen etc. Werte darstellten, (2) vorgefasste Einstellungen der Individuen (oder Gruppen), die aktuell wirkten, und (3) die Definition der Situation. Sie bestand aus einer Konzeption der Bedingungen der (eigenen) Einstellungen, worüber unterschiedlich Bewusstheit herrschte. Die Definition der Situation organisierte (auswählend aus einer breiten Palette) Einstellungen und Werte zu relevanten Handlungsimpulsen. Die Definition der Situation entsprach einem Akt der Reflexion, wodurch zuhandene Einstellungen und Werte zu einem Muster situationsinterpretativer und dabei subjektiv zweckadäquater Handlungsstrategien zusammengefasst wurden. Thomas/Znaniecki setzten diese methodologischen Postulate in ihre Analysen der Brief-, Presse-, Berichts-etc.-Materialien um. Sie konnten zeigen, wie die Definition der Situation bei den briefschreibenden, autobiographieschreibenden etc. Individuen im Rahmen kulturell variabler gesellschaftlicher Bedingungen zu Formen (Typen) des Handelns führte. Die Konzeption, dass die Situation durch individuell geleistete und zugleich kulturell gerahmte Definition(en) der Situation zum handlungsrelevanten Kontext wurde, erweiterte Thomas in Werken hauptsächlich der zwanziger Jahre zum sogenannten Thomas-Theorem (Thomas/Thomas 1928; Thomas 1951/1966; Thomas 1965). Dieses besagte zum einen, dass eine Situation, die durch einen Handelnden in bestimmter Weise definiert wird, mit der Si-

tuationsdefinition, die gesellschaftlich gilt, kollidieren kann – was der Handelnde durch für ihn persönlich typische Situationsdefinition(en) zu lösen sucht (Thomas 1923). Daraus entstand als Fazit, dass, was handlungsrelevant ist, dementsprechend auch in den Konsequenzen wirklich bzw. wirklichkeitsgestaltend wirkt: „If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences“ (Thomas / Thomas 1928, 569, Thomas 1965, 114).

Angesichts der Wendung vieler Länder zum Faschismus erarbeitete Parsons aus den Werken vier europäischer Denker eine Theorie der Gesellschaft, die er 1937 erläuterte als Theorie gesellschaftlicher Handlungsstrukturen zwischen Anomie und Integration (Zwang und Demokratie) (Gerhardt 1999a). ‘The Structure of Social Action’ ordnete die Elemente Gewalt/Betrug, Anomie und Ritual/Charisma zum Gesellschafts- und Handlungstypus Zwangssystem (Anomie), und demgegenüber die Elemente Legalität, Sicherheit und reziproke Rationalität zum Gesellschafts- und Handlungstypus Demokratie (Integration). Situation wurde dabei in das Grundmodell des Handelns (‘Unit Act’) einbezogen. Als Handlungssituation gehörte sie in die Sequenz aus den vier Elementen Person – Zweck – Bedingungen und Mittel – Werte und Normen. Das dritte Element dieser Sequenz, bestehend aus Bedingungen (conditions) und Mitteln (means), war die Situation. Sie vermittelte zwischen den Werten auf der einen Seite, die die gesellschaftliche Moral verkörperten, und der Person mit ihren Zielsetzungen auf der anderen Seite. Wichtig war die Unterscheidung zwischen Situationselementen, die der Handelnde, der eine „active, creative, evaluating creature“ war (Parsons 1935, 282), selbst beeinflussen bzw. verändern konnte, und solchen, über die er keine Kontrolle hatte (Parsons 1937, 44). Dabei galt für die Situation grundsätzlich, dass sie Ansatzpunkt war für Analysen in den Termini der Handlungstheorie: Situation war also etwas anderes als bloß ‘von außen’ gegebene Umwelt (Parsons 1937, 47).

Die Anwendung des Theorems gelang in den vierziger Jahren. Dazu zwei Beispiele: In seiner Analyse der gesellschaftlichen Problemlage des Zweiten Weltkriegs mit Begriffen Max Webers sprach Parsons von „the political situation of Western society,“ die angesichts der Übermacht Nazideutschlands im Europa des Kriegsjahres 1942

herrschte (Parsons [1942] 1993, 171). In einer Analyse der Problemlage des Systemwechsels in Deutschland 1945 von der charismatischen Nazidiktatur zur rational-legalen Herrschaft der (späteren) Bundesrepublik sprach er von – zu ändernder – Definition der Situation bei den Deutschen. Der Ausgangspunkt war: „Human behavior may be influenced either through the situation in which people must act, or through ‘subjective’ elements – their sentiments, goals, attitudes, definitions of situations“ (Parsons [1945] 1993, 298). Die Besatzungspolitik musste unbedingt beachten, so Parsons, dass die Definition der Situation(en) ein jeweils eigenständig durch die Individuen gewähltes Bild der Handlungskontexte herstellte. Daher sollten institutionelle Bedingungen des Lebens in Deutschland Einfluss auf die Definition der Situation haben in einer nicht diktatorischen Weise, wovon wiederum eine Tendenz in Richtung Demokratie ausgehen sollte. Jedenfalls gab es kein deterministisches Verhältnis zwischen Institutionen, Situationen und Definitionen der Situation(en): „Just as actual situations deviate from institutionally sanctioned definitions of the same situations, so ideological and symbolic patterns associated with the sentiment system do not stand in a simple relation of correspondence with the sentiments manifested“ (Parsons [1945] 1993, 299).

Goffman bearbeitete die Situationsthematik unterschiedlich in seinen frühen Schriften (hauptsächlich der fünfziger Jahre) und seinem Spätwerk (mit Höhepunkt der 1981 erschienenen Essaysammlung ‘Forms of Talk’). Goffmans Untersuchung von Interaktionsritualen (reziproken, normierten, situationalen Mustern der wechselseitigen Wahrung und Wiederherstellung von ‘Gesicht’) legte einen reflexiven Situationsbegriff zugrunde. Der Handelnde, so Goffman, folgte einem „pattern of verbal and nonverbal acts by which he expresses his view of the situation and through this his evaluation of the participants, especially himself“ (Goffman [1955] 1967, 5). Dieses Muster war indessen nur durch andere Handelnde herstellbar, die das situationsadäquate ‘Gesicht’ für einen Handelnden durch Formen des Ausdrucks wahrten, die die Würde einer Person (‘Heiligkeit’ nach Durkheim, 1912) interaktiv gewährleisteten. Dabei war die Situation zweierlei: Eine wechselnde Konstellation von Handelnden war diejenige face-to-face-Situation, die aktuell

zu bewältigen war; und ein Typenschema gesellschaftlicher Situation(en) bildete das Orientierungsrepertoire für die dabei interaktiv aktuell zu bewältigende Situation. Ein Typenmuster bildete sich (möglichst) in jedem aktuellen Interaktionsgeschehen ab. Goffman verdeutlichte die Gültigkeit von Situationsregeln entsprechend Typizitätsmustern, indem er auf Gesprächsnormierungen zu sprechen kam: „These rules of talk pertain ... to an occasion of talk or episode of interaction as naturally bounded unit. This unit consists of the total activity that occurs during the time that a given set of participants have accredited one another for talk and maintain a single moving focus of attention“ (Goffman [1955] 1967, 35). Im frühen Hauptwerk ‘The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life’ (1959) unterstrich Goffman noch einmal, dass in den situationalen Handlungsszenen allemal Ensembles (Teams) in Interaktion mit Publikum standen.

‘Forms of Talk’ (1981) gehörte zum Spätwerk, dessen hauptsächliches Argument in ‘Frame Analysis’ (1974) vorlag. Es ging dabei um die Untersuchung der gesellschaftlichen Erfahrung im Zuge reflexiv konstituierter, multipler (und zugleich zu einem Ganzen integrierter) Wirklichkeit(en). Dabei war die Situation zum einen aktuell interaktiv gestalteter Erfahrungszusammenhang, und zum anderen war die Situation ‘reiner’ Typus normierter Handlungsmuster. Die letzteren wurden aktuell jeweils interpretiert mittels „Schlüssel“ (à la Tonarten der Musiklehre) und die Fragmente zusammengefügt wie „Laminationen“ (à la Schichtenverleimung bei Holzprodukten), um eine einheitliche Situationsdefinition zu ergeben. ‘Forms of Talk’ entwickelte denselben Gedanken weiter und nahm dabei die Perspektive der situationalen Sprachformen ein (Muster direkter und indirekter Reziprozität in tatsächlichen ebenso wie virtuellen Gesprächssituationen). Dabei reichte die Bandbreite der Analysen von der situationsabhängigen Bedeutungsvielfalt ‘desselben’ lokutiven Aktes („Replies and Responses“) über die meisterhafte Schilderung der situationalen Typusform „Vortrag“ („The Lecture“, dargeboten als Vortrag) bis hin zum indirekt durch „Radio Talk“ berichteten Geschehen, wobei nämlich interessanterweise ein Eindruck geradezu persönlicher Präsenz in der Erfahrung des Zuhörers entstand.

Zusammenfassend zu soziologischen Theorie(n): Thomas/Znaniecki sowie Par-

sons sehen Situation und Definition der Situation als Sinnkomponenten der historisch-gesellschaftlichen Handlungskontexte, die ihrerseits zu unterschiedlichen Systemtypen gehören können; Goffman sieht demgegenüber Situation und Definition der Situation als ein und dasselbe im Sinne der soziologischen Theorie: Goffman rückt zudem das – zugleich aktuell und normativ – Situationale der interaktiven Sprachverwendung in den Mittelpunkt soziologisch untersuchter Empirie.

3. Drei Modelle des Situationsdenkens in der Soziolinguistik

Die Denkmodelle der soziolinguistischen Situationsanalyse schließen nicht unmittelbar an die soziologische Theorie an, die sich mit Situation(en) auseinandersetzt, obwohl dieser Bezug immer wieder betont wird. Drei Denkmodelle stehen der Soziologie, die sich mit Situationsgeschehen befasst, allerdings nahe:

(1) 'Speech Acts/Speech Events': Im Jahr 1955 erläuterte der Philosoph J. L. Austin anlässlich der William James Lectures an der Harvard University, dass die Verbindung zwischen Tun, Reden und Sinnggebung für das Subjekt keineswegs ein mechanistisches Verhältnis ist. 'How To Do Things With Words' (Austin 1962) unterschied zwischen lokutiven, illokutiven und perlokutiven Sprechhandlungen bzw. Dimensionen der Sprachperformanz. Die drei Dimensionen gehörten zusammen innerhalb der „total speech situation“ (Austin [1962] 1971, 147), analytisch waren sie indessen zu trennen. Dabei galt als Korrektiv gegen „infelicity“, dass „words stand in respect of satisfactoriness to the facts, events, situations, & c., to which they refer“ (Austin [1962] 1971, 148). John Searles *Speech Acts* setzte das Ausgangsproblem: „What is the difference between saying something and meaning it and saying it without meaning it? And what is involved in meaning just one particular thing and not some other thing?“ (Searle 1969, 3). Sprechakte, also linguistische Kommunikation, drückten Intentionen aus und transportierten dementsprechend Bedeutung(en), die intersubjektiv in einem Sprachuniversum bekannt, d.h. normiert waren. Searles Gegenstand war – wie der Austins – nicht die Situation als Arena der Sprachperformanz, sondern die Regelstruk-

tur, die in einer Situation zur Verständigung zwischen Sprechern beitrug. Dass Sprechakte interaktiv waren, erforderte die Erforschung von 'Speech Events'. Die Variation von Sprachformen entsprechend Bedeutungshorizonten, die zu situativen Kontexten passten, und zwar vergleichend zwischen westlichen und nichtwestlichen Kulturen sowie auch innerhalb der amerikanischen, britischen etc. Gesellschaft, wurde ein fruchtbares Forschungsthema. Dell Hymes sprach von „communicative events“ (Hymes 1964) bzw. „speech events“ (Hymes 1967): Er zeigte anschaulich anhand empirischer Materialien die interaktive Variation von Wortbedeutungen, Syntax etc. in face-to-face-Situationen. Darauf baute Elliot Mishler auf, der das Forschungsinterview als eigenen Speech Event analysierte. Er klärte: „Speech events represent one level in the hierarchy of (social) units ..., among which are speech communities, speech situations, and speech acts“ (Mishler 1986a, 35). Die Interviewsituation (als speech situation) war ein Speech Event, das den interagierenden Sprechern ermöglichte, jeweils ihr 'Gesicht' (à la Goffman) durch kommunikativ kompetente Bedeutungskonstruktion in Darstellungen zu wahren (Mishler 1979, Gerhardt 1999b).

(2) 'Diskursanalyse': Gumperz' 'Discourse Strategies' (1982a) baute das Verständnis von Speech Events zur Diskursanalyse aus (Gumperz 1982b; Stubbs 1983). Gumperz' systematische Soziolinguistik der interpersonalen Kommunikation zeigte die situationale Rationalität der interaktiv einverständigen Variation bei Wechsel von Hochsprache zu Dialekt, parallel prosodischem und thematischem Wechsel, Auswahl der Stilmarker zur Festlegung eines gemeinsam relevanten Kontextes etc. Die Thematik interethnischer Kommunikation bzw. bilingualer Kompetenz im Spannungsfeld interferierender Kulturidentitäten machte Gumperz zum zentralen Anhaltspunkt für das Verständnis der Relativität konversationeller Rückschlüsse: „To what extent are the discursive processes, by which interpretive frames are invoked and shared interpretations negotiated, themselves linguistically and culturally variable?“ (Gumperz 1996, 374). Bei der empirischen Diskursanalyse ist zweierlei zu beachten: Erstens ist das Verhältnis von Situation und Text systematisch zu eruieren: „Erst auf der Grundlage zahlreicher konkreter Erfahrungen ist eine 'Idealisierung' sprachlicher Kontakte, wie sie vielfach als Grundlage der

Theoriebildung gefordert wird, sinnvoll“ (Klein 1998, 84); zweitens ist zu beachten, dass Sprachwandel jeweils andere Relationen zwischen Kontext, Semantik und Syntax nahelegen könnte (Mattheier 1998).

(3) ‘Genres / Partituren’: Unter der Voraussetzung, dass moralisch-religiöse Standards heutzutage obsolet wären, postulierten Thomas Luckmann und seine Forschungsgruppe an der Universität Konstanz, dass stattdessen Kommunikationsgattungen wirkten (Luckmann 1998; Bergmann und Luckmann 1999). Kommunikationsgattungen, die ein Genre der Konversation darstellten und Partituren für den kontextuellen Sprachgebrauch bildeten, waren etwa das Interview (Luckmann 1983) oder das Tischgespräch (Keppler 1994). Die Begründungszusammenhänge für die Plausibilität dieser empirischen Sprachsoziologie (Soeffner 1982) lagen entweder in der ethnomethodologischen Konversationsanalyse (Bergmann 1981) oder einer sich phänomenologisch orientierenden konstruktivistischen Soziologie der Sprache (Luckmann 1971).

Zu den Denkmodellen der Soziolinguistik: Die Situation erscheint weniger relevant für Speech Acts, jedoch höchst relevant für Speech Events; die Situation ist allgegenwärtig als differentieller Kontext für die Diskursanalyse (Analyse interaktiv reziprok abgestimmter Diskursstrategien); und die Situation wird verfestigt zur quasi-normativen Entität in der sprachsoziologischen Analyse von Genres / Partituren.

4. Die Bedeutung des Erzählens

Kontextuelle Sprechsituationen werden interaktiv oftmals durch Erzählen zu einem Forum der Selbstdarstellung im Alltag (Ehlich 1980; Quasthoff 1980). Insgesamt sind drei Themenbereiche der Erzählforschung für die Zwecke der Situationsanalyse interessant:

(1) Das Grundmodell der vier-(bzw. sechs-)phasigen Erzählung, bestehend aus den Phasen (Abstract –) Exposition – Komplikation – Evaluation – Resolution (– Coda): So zeigten William Labov und Joshua Waletzki (1967), die dieses ‘idealisierte’ Schema aus Berichten über Situationen akuter Lebensgefahr extrahierten. In der Forschung wurde das Grundmodell nach Labov/Waletzki zum einen verwendet, um etwa zu zeigen, dass ‘reine’ Erzählmuster in einer Interviewsituation durch einen Sprecher ein-

gesetzt werden, um in seiner Darstellung sich selbst als kompetent Handelnden einer berichteten, problematischen Lebenslage zu erweisen (Mishler 1986b; Clark/Mishler 1992). Zum anderen ließ sich empirisch nachweisen, dass die phasengerecht „reine“ Erzählung benutzt wird, um bei mehrfachen Gesprächsinterviews über dasselbe Thema oder Ereignis jeweils eine situationsgerecht variabel andere Geschichte plausibel darzustellen (Gerhardt 1996).

(2) Gesprächstechniken eines Interviewers, der minimale Interaktionsleistungen erbringt, sollen den Berichtscharakter sogenannter Stegreiferzählungen sichern (Schütze 1984). Dabei soll eine herrschaftsfreie Kommunikation gelingen mittels bewusster Zurückhaltung des Interviewers, der auf diese Weise die berichtend ereignisgerechte narrative Performanz des Befragten ‘hervorlocke’ (Schütze 1975; 1976). Die Erzählung insgesamt gilt dabei als narrativer Stegreifbericht, dessen Phasierung (etwa entsprechend dem Grundmodell Labov/Waletzki) nicht weiterer zu untersuchen sei.

(3) Eine dritte Richtung gehört in das Wirkungsfeld zwischen Philosophie, Geschichtswissenschaft und Germanistik (Danto 1985). Dabei trug die Philosophie – ausgehend von der Phänomenologie des späten Husserl – etwa den Gedanken bei, dass Biographien, die die subjektive Identität mit dem gesellschaftlichen Schicksal verbinden, stets „in Geschichten verstrickt“ sind (Schapp 1959; 1976). Die Geschichtswissenschaft erläuterte etwa, dass Geschichte allemal per Geschichten bzw. narrativen Darstellungen zu erarbeiten ist – nach jeweils gegenwartsbezogenen Relevanzstrukturen (Koselleck/Stempel 1973). Die Germanistik argumentierte etwa, dass die literarische Fiktion durch die narrativ dargebotene Geschichtlichkeit von (erzählt wirklichen) Handlungssubjekten in poetischen Texten dazu anleitet, ästhetische Urteile zu fällen (Stierle 1975). In einem Vorlesungszyklus, der Philosophie und Geschichte zu einer psychologisch-erkenntnistheoretischen Soziologie verbinden sollte und sich an Kenneth Burke (1945) anlehnte, konstatierte Jerome Bruner, dass „narrative [...] reiterates the norms of society without being didactic“ (Bruner 1990, 52) – wodurch die situationale Flexibilität kultureller Bedeutungshorizonte gewährleistet werde: In Situationen der alltäglichen Interaktion bedienen sich die Teilnehmer, so Bruner, vielfach unwillkür-

lich narrativer „Acts of Meaning“, um die Handlungshorizonte reziprok zu definieren.

Zur Bedeutung des Erzählens: Die Erkenntnis war bahnbrechend, dass 'reine' Erzählstrukturen situational zur Selbstdarstellung genutzt und/oder situational bei narrativer Performanz modifiziert werden. Daraus folgt, dass das Verhältnis zwischen Situation und Erzählung ein lohnender Forschungsgegenstand ist. Bisher bleibt die Diskursanalyse, die dafür das optimale linguistische Betätigungsfeld wäre, allerdings oftmals noch im Vorfeld der Erzählforschung.

5. Methodologische und methodische Überlegungen

Aus der Perspektive der modernen Soziologie ist festzuhalten, dass nur eine methodologisch reflektierte Soziolinguistik von sich sagen kann, den Ansprüchen der Wissenschaftlichkeit zu genügen, die seit der vorigen Jahrhundertwende gelten (Weber 1904; 1917; Parsons 1937). Dabei ist eine Überwindung des Positivismus zu fordern – jenes unwillkürlichen Positivismus, der die gesamte Breite empirischer Erscheinungen abzudecken meint, wenn eine induktiv hergeleitete oder deduktiv postulierte Systematik der Sprechhandlungen etc. erarbeitet wird. Dieser Positivismus liegt in der oftmals illustrativen Rekonstruktion von Formenvarianten, die durch Textauszüge beschrieben werden. Dabei werden verschiedene Ausprägungen eines semantischen, syntaktischen etc. Phänomens aneinandergereiht, um linguistische Formen zu dokumentieren, worin zugleich deren Erklärung zu liegen scheint. Aber diese Praxis der Analyse, die vielfach als selbstverständlich gilt, hat erkenntnistheoretische Mängel. Vier Mängel seien abschließend skizziert, da sie das Verhältnis zwischen Methodologie und Methode beeinträchtigen.

(1) Verhältnis von Fall und Struktur: Oevermann et al. (1979) setzten Texte, die ein Fallgeschehen dokumentieren, mit strukturell erklärbaren Bedeutungsvarianten gleich; so soll ein typisches Geschehen am Einzelfall erkannt werden. Aber dabei wird die Fähigkeit und auch die Bereitschaft der Handelnden unterschätzt, ihre Situationsdefinitionen in interaktiver Vernetzung anstatt durch individuelle und möglicherweise utilitaristische Expressivität zu verwirklichen. Ein unwillkürlicher Determinismus wird postuliert, der zwischen Strukturmo-

menten und situationalem Sprachverhalten (in den Textwiedergaben) herrsche. Es entsteht ein scheinbar für Strukturen aussagekräftiges Bild, das indessen auf der methodologisch fragwürdigen Annahme beruht, dass Einzelfälle hinsichtlich ihrer Indexikalität für die Struktur(en) gleich bedeutsam wären.

(2) Gesellschaftssystem statt Sprachuniversum: Ehlich (1989) mahnt an, dass sogar die Standardsprache hinsichtlich sowohl Rhetorik als auch Pragmatik während des Nationalsozialismus nicht dieselbe wie in der Zeit vor 1933 und nach 1945 war. Die gesellschaftlich-geschichtliche Situierung einer Sprechhandlung (oder Textquelle) ist also in die linguistische Analyse einzubeziehen – jedenfalls wenn nicht gleichgültig sein soll, ob Diktatur oder Demokratie herrschen und dabei Zwangs- oder Reziprozitätsbeziehungen zwischen den Diskursteilnehmern bestehen.

(3) Gleichsetzung zwischen Typizität und 'Idealisierung': Die Konstanzer soziologische Sprachforschung meint, dass durch illustrative Darstellung von Typen bereits jener Typizität zu entsprechen wäre, deren Logik den Erkenntnisgegenstand Alfred Schütz' bildete (Schütz 1932; 1953). Aber man muss demgegenüber bedenken, dass Schütz überhaupt nur Idealtypen für die gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeit gelten ließ (Gerhardt 2001). Daraus ist zu folgern, dass zwei Ebenen methodischen Forschens zu unterscheiden sind. Man muss daher fordern, dass „im Bereich des soziolinguistisch Relevanten ... die bei einer 'Idealisierung' vorauszusetzenden Zusammenhänge zunächst einer umfassenden empirischen Abklärung bedürfen“ (Klein 1980, 84).

(4) Perspektivität in Alltag und Forschung: Goffmans Rahmenanalyse legte den Grundstein für 'Forms of Talk' (1981); das Buch erläutert die freie Verfügbarkeit eines Repertoires von Formvarianten, die zum situations- und intentionsgerechten Gebrauch für Sprecher (Handelnde) bereitstehen. Den Hintergrund bildet Goffmans Situationsmodell, das davon ausgeht, dass interaktiv vom jeweils Angesprochenen gegebene Antworten bzw. Reaktionen allererst eine Frage bzw. Äußerung validieren, so dass schließlich ganze Sequenzen sprachlicher Performanz zwischen multiplen Akteuren entstehen (Goffman 1955). Der Sprecher steuert also seine Darstellung situational jeweils durch die antizipierte Wahrnehmung des Hörers,

wobei beide Seiten grundsätzlich beabsichtigen, sowohl die Würde ('Gesicht') des anderen zu wahren als auch selbst ein kompetent Handelnder zu sein (gewesen zu sein). Die in dieser Reziprozitätskonzeption enthaltene Methodologie sollte dazu anregen, komplexere als die üblichen 'dicht beschreibenden' Methoden der Soziolinguistik zu entwickeln. So könnte die doppelseitige Perspektivität, die im Alltag herrscht, zum Gegenstand der Soziolinguistik werden, die zudem bedenken muss, dass zwischen beobachtetem Sprecher (Interaktionsteam) und beobachtendem Forscher ebenfalls Perspektivität – geleitet durch Erkenntnisinteresse – vorherrscht.

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55. Netzwerk/Network

1. Konzept des sozialen Netzwerkes
2. Soziale Netzwerke in der Linguistik
3. Bilateraler Austausch
4. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Konzept des sozialen Netzwerkes

1.1. Begriff

Soziale Netzwerke bestehen aus einem Set von Verbindungen zwischen einem Set von Personen. Die Eigenschaften der Verbindungen als Ganzes können dazu herangezogen werden, das soziale Verhalten der betreffenden Personen zu erklären (Mitchell, 1969, 2). Im Vordergrund von Netzwerkanalysen stehen Beziehungen, Interaktionen und Interdependenzen. In besonderer Weise kommt es auf die Spezifikation der jeweiligen Beziehungen an. In der Regel konzentrieren sich Netzwerkanalysen auf *partiale* Netzwerke, die eine Extraktion aus dem totalen Netzwerk darstellen. Das *totale* Netzwerk umfasst alle denkbaren (sozialen) Beziehungen, die zwischen den Einheiten (z. B. Personen, Rollen etc.) bestehen können (Barnes, 1972). Das Konzept des sozialen Netzwerkes bezieht sich nicht nur auf soziale Beziehungen, die auf Sympathien und Gefühlen basieren („sentiment relations“), sondern umfasst sämtliche persönlichen Beziehungen zwischen Freunden, Bekannten, Kollegen, Verwandten, formale und informale Beziehungen in Organisationen, durch Rollen (vgl. Art. 47) und Positionen definierte Verbindungen. Die Vielfalt der sozialen Beziehungen lässt sich in drei Typen klassifizieren: (1) *Persönliche*, (2) *kategoriale* und (3) *strukturelle* Beziehungen. Die (1) persönlichen Beziehungen restringieren das Netzwerk auf die Freundschafts-, Verwandtschafts- und Bekanntschaftsbeziehungen. Die (2) kategoriale Typisierung meint ein Beziehungsgefüge, welches von sozialen Stereotypen abhängt, die u. a. schichten- und rassenspezifischen Merkmalen folgen. Die (3) strukturellen Beziehungen sind deckungsgleich mit dem Set von sozialen Positionen und Rollen in Gruppen, Organisationen sowie der Gemeinde (vgl. Art. 56).

Die Attraktivität des Konzeptes des sozialen Netzwerkes rührt u. a. daher, dass es auch solche Bereiche des sozialen Lebens berücksichtigt, die sich nicht mit den ‘for-

mal vorgesehenen’ Interaktionen decken, oder die sich unter die interne Organisation von Gruppen, Vereinigungen, Unternehmen etc. subsumieren lassen (Barnes, 1972). Aus einem totalen Netzwerk können beispielsweise *partiale* Netzwerke, wie z. B. Action-Sets, resultieren, die nur zu bestimmten Zwecken gebildet oder aktiviert werden und selten einen Strukturierungsgrad wie Organisationen erreichen. Ein anderes Beispiel sind so genannte soziale Zirkel, welche vornehmlich auf indirekten Interaktionen basieren. Auch Patronage- und Klientensysteme können unter den Begriff des sozialen Netzwerkes fallen (Boissevain, 1974).

1.2. Gesamtnetzwerke – Egozentrierte Netzwerke

Netzwerkanalysen konzentrieren sich zum einen auf (1) *Gesamtnetzwerke*, zum anderen (2) auf persönliche bzw. *ego-zentrierte Netzwerke* (Schenk 1984).

(1) Bei Analysen von Gesamtnetzwerken wird das gesamte (‘Overall-’) Netzwerk sozialer Relationen zwischen allen Einheiten, z. B. allen Akteuren, der Netzwerkanalyse unterzogen. Voraussetzung ist, dass sich die sozialen Einheiten, zwischen denen Beziehungen bestehen können, einem Systemzusammenhang zuordnen lassen, beispielsweise die Mitglieder einer Organisation, die Angehörigen der Elite in einer Gemeinde, die Einwohner eines Dorfes in einem Entwicklungsland (Rogers, Kincaid 1981).

Demgegenüber konzentrieren sich (2) ego-zentrierte Netzwerkanalysen auf einzelne Akteure und deren unmittelbare ‘interpersonale Umgebung’. Bei Untersuchung des *partialen* ego-zentrierten Netzwerkes stehen die sozialen Beziehungen im Vordergrund, die von einem einzelnen Akteur (Ego) jeweils unterhalten werden, die Querverbindungen zwischen den genannten Netzpersonen eingeschlossen. Mit Hilfe von so genannten Netzwerkgeneratoren werden die wichtigsten Netzpersonen einer Person z. B. im Rahmen einer Umfrage ermittelt. Netzwerkinterpretatoren tragen dazu bei, die jeweiligen sozialen Beziehungen zu den Netzpersonen (z. B. Kontakthäufigkeit, Intensität der Beziehung) näher zu charakterisieren (Schenk 1995).

1.3. Struktur

1.3.1. Strukturparameter

Die Beziehungsgeflechte, die Netzwerke markieren, können graphisch oder topologisch dargestellt werden: Netzwerke basieren auf einem Set von Punkten, von denen einige durch Linien verbunden sind, andere wiederum nicht. Die Linien in sozialen Netzwerken zeigen z. B. an, welche Personen miteinander interagieren (Barnes, 1972). Mit Hilfe der Graphentheorie kann die Struktur der Netzwerke eingehend analysiert werden (Schenk, 1984; Barnes, 1969). Wesentliche Strukturparameter sind (1) die *Dichte* eines Netzwerkes, (2) die Subgruppenbildung und -differenzierung in Netzwerken in Form von *Cliquen* und *Clustern* und (3) die *Erreichbarkeit* bzw. *Zentralität* einzelner Einheiten bzw. Personen.

(1) Die Dichte eines Netzwerkes bestimmt sich als Verhältnis der tatsächlich vorhandenen Beziehungen in Bezug zu den potentiell möglichen Beziehungen.

(2) Cliques und Cluster stellen Verdichtungszonen innerhalb von Netzwerken dar, sie sind maßgeblich für eine strukturelle Differenzierung in einem Netzwerk. Cliques und Cluster bezeichnen Subsets von Personen, die enger miteinander verbunden sind als andere Mitglieder des Netzwerkes.

(3) Die Zentralität informiert über den Grad der sozialen Integration, bzw. auch Isolation der Personen im Netzwerk. Zentrale Positionen sind dadurch gekennzeichnet, dass sie viele andere Netzwerkangehörige direkt erreichen können und auch von anderen erreicht werden können (maximale Adjazenz).

Neben den 'zentralen', gut integrierten Personen gibt es auch *Brücken* und Verbindungsglieder, welche unterschiedliche Netzwerkgruppen verbinden. Brücken, die Gruppen miteinander verknüpfen, die ansonsten unverbunden wären, werden auch als *structural holes* bezeichnet (Burt, 1992). Sie schöpfen aus der Diskontinuität der Austauschbeziehungen 'soziales Kapital'. Die Ermittlung solcher Strukturparameter steht im Mittelpunkt der graphentheoretischen Netzwerkanalyse. Man spricht auch von einem *relationalen* Ansatz. Für den *positionalen* Ansatz (Burt, 1980), der u. a. auf Blockalgebra basiert, ist v. a. das Konzept der *strukturellen Äquivalenz* maßgeblich. Strukturelle Äquivalenz meint Positionen bzw. Personen im Netzwerk, die dasselbe

Muster sozialer Relationen zu anderen Personen aufweisen, nicht aber unbedingt auch untereinander verbunden sein müssen. Hierbei können auch multiple Netzwerke, die auf verschiedenen Typen von Relationen basieren, untersucht werden.

1.3.2. Interaktionskriterien

Um die inhaltlichen Eigenschaften von Netzwerken zu charakterisieren, werden vier Merkmale unterschieden:

(1) Die *Multiplexität* drückt das Ausmaß aus, in dem Relationen zwischen den Angehörigen eines Netzwerkes durch eine (Uniplexität) oder mehrere Arten von Beziehungen (Multiplexität) miteinander verbunden sind (z. B. Freund, Kollege, Nachbar). Multiplexe Relationen sichern größere Erreichbarkeit von Personen, drücken eine enge, auch verpflichtende, Beziehung aus.

(2) Der *Inhalt der Transaktionen*, die im Rahmen der Beziehungen stattfinden, kann ganz Unterschiedliches meinen: z. B. Kommunikation und Information, emotionale Nähe, Austausch von Gütern und Diensten usw.

(3) Die *Richtung* der Relationen: entweder Symmetrie bzw. Reziprozität oder Asymmetrie, Einseitigkeit. Ein Ungleichgewicht im Beziehungsgefüge drückt in der Regel soziale Ungleichheit aus.

(4) Die *Dauer und Intensität* der Interaktion kennzeichnet die Qualität von Beziehungen. Häufiger und intensiver Austausch ist meist typisch für multiplexe Relationen. Beziehungen, die dauerhaft, reziprok, intensiv, z. T. intim sind, werden *starke Beziehungen* ('strong ties') genannt, weniger involvierende Beziehungen, etwa zu bloßen Bekannten, *schwache Beziehungen* ('weak ties'; Granovetter, 1973). Schwache Beziehungen sind eher uniplex. Sie sorgen auch für externe Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten ausserhalb der unmittelbaren Umgebung. Wer viele schwache Beziehungen besitzt, hat damit eine Ressource für Einfluss jenseits der eigenen Lebenssphäre (Scheuch, 1993, 112). Es gibt eine Reihe von Faktoren, die die Eigenschaften und Strukturen sozialer Netzwerke beeinflussen. Neben soziodemographischen Merkmalen (z. B. Alter, Bildung) sind auch Aspekte, wie z. B. berufliche und soziale Mobilität, Community/Wohnort, maßgeblich, auch Persönlichkeitsmerkmale (z. B. Geselligkeit) spielen eine Rolle.

2. Soziale Netzwerke in der Linguistik

2.1. Historischer Überblick

Bereits früh wurden in der Linguistik einfache Modelle sozialer Netzwerke genutzt, um soziale und regionale Sprachvariation zu beschreiben und zu erklären (siehe Gauchat 1905; Bloomfield 1933:46f; Gumperz 1966; Labov 1972). Erst seit den späten siebziger Jahren jedoch fanden soziale Netzwerke systematischen Eingang in soziolinguistische Untersuchungen. Sie wurden zum entscheidenden Instrumentarium in den Studien von Gal (1979) zu Code-Switching in der deutsch-ungarisch sprechenden Gemeinde Oberwart (Felsőőr) in Österreich, von L. Milroy (1987) zum Belfastener Vernakular und von Cheshire (1982) in ihrer Beschreibung und Analyse sprachlicher Variation in einer Gruppe von Adoleszenten im englischen Reading. Seither sind sowohl das Modell als auch das Untersuchungsinstrumentarium sozialer Netzwerkanalysen aus der Soziolinguistik nicht mehr wegzudenken und können mit Recht als ein Grundpfeiler korrelativer Studien bezeichnet werden.

2.2. Anwendungsbereiche

In ihrer Entwicklung haben sich soziale Netzwerkanalysen vor allem in vier Kerngebieten etabliert: in der synchronen korrelativen Soziolinguistik, insbesondere im Bereich der urbanen Dialektologie und der Vernakularstudien (Bortoni-Ricardo 1985; Edwards 1992; Eckert 1999, Labov 2001), des weiteren, oft eng verknüpft mit dem vorherigen Punkt, in der diachronen Soziolinguistik, also in der Untersuchung von Sprachwandel und Spracherhalt (Milroy & Milroy 1985; J. Milroy 1992; Barden & Grosskopf 1998; Tieken, Nevalainen & Caon 2000), im Bereich Code-Switching (Wei & Milroy 1995) und seit jüngster Zeit auch in Untersuchungen zu Spracherwerb bzw. -verlust (Smith 1997; de Bot & Stoessel 2002).

2.3. Grundlagen

Nahezu allen soziolinguistischen Studien, die sich des Netzwerkmodells bedienen, liegt eine handvoll Axiome i.w.S. zugrunde, die im Folgenden kurz skizziert werden sollen. So weist z. B. der Großteil der Untersuchungen darauf hin, dass soziale Netzwerke erstmals eine mikrosoziologische Perspektive auf individuelle Sprecher und ihr Sprachverhalten eröffnen. Soziolinguistische Studien

operierten bis dato mit eher makrosoziologischen Kategorien, wie etwa sozialer Schicht, Ausbildung, Geschlecht, Wohnort, sexueller Präferenz. Der Einsatz des Netzwerkmodells macht die Annahme solcher wie auch immer gruppierter Sprachgemeinschaften (vgl. Art. 14) zumindest teilweise überflüssig. So erscheinen bei der Erhebung individueller sprachlicher Daten innerhalb von Netzwerken völlig neue Muster und Phänomene, die bislang entweder als Idiosynkrasien abgehandelt oder durch statistische Verfahren ausgemittelt wurden. Darüber hinaus bieten soziale Netzwerke gleichzeitig ebenso handliche wie auch mächtige Erklärungen für ebensolche mikro-soziolinguistische Phänomene. Es muss jedoch auch darauf hingewiesen werden, dass wiederholt Versuche unternommen wurden, Netzwerkmodelle als mikrosoziologische Kategorie mit etwa sozialer Schicht als makrosoziologischer Kategorie zu verknüpfen (vgl. Guy 1988; Milroy & Milroy 1992; L. Milroy 2001). In ähnlicher Weise weist auch Chambers darauf hin, dass es sich bei sozialer Schicht und sozialem Netzwerk wohl eher um graduelle, denn um konstitutive Unterschiede handele (Chambers 1995, 71).

Das Instrumentarium und die Analysekategorien des Netzwerkkonzeptes in der Soziolinguistik stimmen mit denen in der Soziologie weitgehend überein. Eine der wenigen aber bedeutenden Modifikationen ist die Einführung von Netzwerkstärkenskalen (*network strength scales*) durch L. Milroy (1987). In der o.g. Belfaststudie stellte sich heraus, dass die umfassenden soziologisch ermittelten Netzwerkdaten nur schwer mit den ebenso umfassenden linguistischen Daten zu korrelieren waren. Entsprechend musste eine Vereinfachung der Diagnostika, in Form der sog. Netzwerkstärkenskala, stattfinden. Eine Netzwerkstärkenskala wird für jede einzelne Studie aufgrund individueller Rahmenbedingungen und komplexerer Netzwerkdaten neu entwickelt. Sie soll idealerweise mit einem recht einfachen Instrumentarium Aussagen darüber erlauben, in welchen Strukturen sich einzelne Akteure des jeweiligen Netzwerkes bewegen. L. Milroy etwa bestimmt die Faktoren 'Clustermitgliedschaft', 'familiäre Bindungen in der Nachbarschaft', 'gleicher Arbeitsplatz wie mindestens zwei Nachbarn', 'gleicher Arbeitsplatz wie mindestens zwei Nachbarn gleichen Geschlechts' und 'freiwillige Kon-

takte mit Arbeitskollegen außerhalb der Arbeitszeit' (L. Milroy 1987, 142). Akteure im Netzwerk erhalten pro erfülltem Kriterium einen Punkt auf der Netzwerkstärkenskala. Ein Gesamtwert von 'Fünf' spricht für ein dichtes Netzwerk mit vorwiegend multiplexen Beziehungen, kein oder nur ein Punkt für ein entsprechend offenes, lockeres Netzwerk. Diese Daten können nun vergleichsweise einfach mit den Ergebnissen der linguistischen Analyse korreliert werden.

2.4. Struktur und Funktion

Einige weitere Grundannahmen, die viele der o.g. soziolinguistischen Netzwerkstudien teilen, beziehen sich auf die Struktur und Funktion von Netzwerken und ihren Akteuren. In bezug auf die Netzwerkstruktur als solche und ihre Funktion als Ganzes lässt sich die Grundannahme in einem Satz zusammenfassen: Dichte, vorwiegend multiplexe Netzwerke führen i.d.R. zu Normverstärkung, lockere Netzwerke mit vorwiegend uniplexen Verbindungen zu Wandel. Dies bedeutet in Anwendung auf sprachliche Variation, dass innerhalb enger Netzwerke vernakulare Normen verstärkt werden und so besser erhalten bleiben. Hier findet sich z. B. die Erklärung dafür, warum in dörflichen Gemeinschaften und in isolierten Ländern wie etwa Island, im Gegensatz zu den Lebensräumen der urbanen Mittelschicht, recht wenig Sprachwandel zu diagnostizieren ist (siehe J. Milroy 1992, 196, Milroy & Milroy 1985). In diesem Kontext muss darauf hingewiesen werden, dass der Begriff der sprachlichen Norm (vgl. Art. 48) hier nicht in bezug auf die Standardvarietät zu verstehen ist. Vielmehr können auch nicht-standard Varietäten, gleichsam Vernakulare, Normen i.e.S. ausbilden; deren Effekte sind etwa in engmaschigen sozialen Netzwerken zu diagnostizieren. Sprecher aus der urbanen Mittelschicht hingegen sind weniger in dichte Netzwerke eingebunden, d. h. sie sind i. a. anfälliger für gesamtgesellschaftliche Normen, so z. B. die der offen prestigeträchtigen Standardvarietät. Funktional und strukturell begünstigt findet dementsprechend hier schneller und häufiger Sprachwandel in Richtung 'Standard' statt, d. h. nicht-standard Varietäten befinden sich hier auf dem Rückzug. Darüber hinaus sind innerhalb von Netzwerken verschiedene strukturelle und funktionale Rollen einzelner Sprecher identifiziert worden. In Anlehnung an M. Granovetters *Weak-*

Ties-Theory (1973, 1982) wurde etwa von L. Milroy (1987) nachgewiesen, dass innovative Formen im Englisch einzelner Varietäten in Belfast nicht innerhalb des Netzwerk-kerns entstanden sind oder von dort importiert wurden, sondern vielmehr von außerhalb, also peripheren Netzwerkakteuren an diesen Kern herangetragen wurden. Diese peripheren Akteure sind somit entweder Innovatoren i.e.S., wenn sie selbständig neue Formen in das Netzwerk einbringen, oder Brücken, wenn sie Verbindungen mit anderen Netzwerken ermöglichen. Innovatoren haben es leichter, solche neuen Formen zu nutzen, da sie, im Gegensatz zu den zentralen Akteuren, nicht in der Gefahr sind, durch solche Aktionen Prestige und damit ihre Position einzubüßen; sie haben, sprichwörtlich, nichts zu verlieren. Erst der häufige Kontakt mit solchen Randfiguren, die als Innovatoren agieren, bringt die eher konservativen zentralen Akteure dazu, diese häufig rezipierten neuen Formen zu übernehmen. Übernimmt ein zentraler Akteur recht früh die neuen Formen, haben diese gute Chancen sich rasch durch das gesamte Netzwerk zu verbreiten, da sie nun sowohl strukturell als auch ideologisch begünstigt werden. Man bezeichnet daher die zentralen Akteure auch häufig als 'early adopters'.

3. Bilateraler Austausch

Es mag der Eindruck entstehen, als habe sich die Soziolinguistik des Konzeptes der sozialen Netzwerke zwar zur Klärung verschiedener Fragen bedient, habe aber nicht wirklich zur Weiterentwicklung des Konzeptes selbst beigetragen. Dieser Eindruck täuscht. Tatsächlich hat sich das Verhältnis zwischen Soziologie und Linguistik gerade in jüngster Zeit (wieder) verbessert. Eine Reihe von Anknüpfungspunkten ergibt sich zwangsläufig aus der Materie: Soziale Beziehungen existieren nicht *per se*, sie konstituieren sich durch und innerhalb von Sprache. Beziehungen und ihr Inhalt werden in täglicher Interaktion verhandelt – Netzwerke sind somit sowohl zugleich unbewusst vorhanden als auch z. B. durch Koalitionen bewusst formiert; Sprachpsychologische und mikrosoziologische Aspekte wie etwa das Prinzip der Akkommodation sind hier von zentraler Bedeutung (Giles 1980; Bell 1984). Nach Watts (1991) gilt es auf der Mikroebene des täglichen Diskurses zu unterscheiden zwischen *latenten Netzwerken*, also solchen

die prinzipiell vorhanden und aktivierbar sind, und *emergenten Netzwerken*, also solchen die sich in einer konkreten Kommunikationssituation ergeben und innerhalb derer soziale Rollen im Diskurs verhandelt werden (müssen). Diese Interaktion geschieht sprachlich, die resultierenden Netzwerke, Bindungen und Rollen manifestieren sich u.a. in soziologischen Phänomenen. Sprache und soziale Wirklichkeit sind somit untrennbar miteinander verknüpft; Soziologie und Linguistik leben hier in einem untrennbaren symbiotischen Verhältnis. Hinzu kommt seit jüngster Zeit das rasant wachsende Interesse an Sprache und sozialen Netzwerken innerhalb virtueller Umgebungen (Wellmann 1997; Döring 1999; Paolillo 1999; Crystal 2001). Hier ist Sprache Ursache und Wirkung sozialer Beziehungen zugleich, so dass beide Seiten gezwungen sind, auf sprachliche und soziale Beschreibungen und Analysen zurückzugreifen.

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56. Stadt/City

1. Die Begriffe ‘Stadt’ und ‘Land’
2. Die historische Entwicklung des Verhältnisses von Stadt und Land
3. Der Stadt-Land-Gegensatz
4. Die Einebnung der Stadt-Land-Unterschiede
5. Vereinzelung in der Stadt – Gemeinschaft auf dem Land?
6. Ländliche und städtische Netzwerke
7. Konflikte zwischen ‘Eingesessenen’ und ‘Zugezogenen’
8. Die Differenz zwischen Stadt und Land heute
9. Schluss
10. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Die Begriffe ‘Stadt’ und ‘Land’

Die Begriffe Stadt und Land hatten in den Sozialwissenschaften lange Zeit eine herausragende Bedeutung. Mit ihnen wurden unterschiedliche Lebensverhältnisse und Lebensweisen, unterschiedliche Erwerbstätigkeiten und unterschiedliche Mentalitäten verbunden. In der Frühphase der Urbanisierung, also in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, traten diese Unterschiede besonders deutlich hervor. In der Folgezeit wurde die Gegenüberstellung von Stadt und Land jedoch jenseits der realen Entwicklung ideologisch überhöht, sie verselbständigte sich in ideologischen Reifikationen und lebt in bis heute anhaltenden Vorurteilen weiter. „Unter ‘ländlich’ versteht man die kleine Gemeinde,

geringe Bevölkerungsdichte, Dominanz der landwirtschaftlichen Tätigkeit, natürliche Umgebung, Homogenität der Bevölkerung, geringe Stratifizierung und Mobilität, Dominanz personaler und informaler Sozialbeziehungen. ‘Städtisch’ bedeutet große Siedlungseinheiten, hohe Bevölkerungsdichte, fast ausschließlich nicht-landwirtschaftliche Tätigkeit, Naturferne, Heterogenität der Bevölkerung, starke Stratifizierung der Bevölkerung und Mobilität, formale, sekundäre Sozialbeziehungen“ (Kötter 1977, 5).

Insbesondere in Deutschland wurden aber die Begriffe Stadt und Land mit Wertungen aufgeladen, die in der Romantik entwickelt, in der kulturpessimistischen Literatur vor und nach 1900 verallgemeinert wurden und in der Blut-und-Boden-Ideologie des Nationalsozialismus eine propagandistische Zuspitzung fanden. ‘Land’ stand dabei für die natürliche, traditionsverhaftete und seßhafte Existenz, während die ‘Stadt’ Künstlichkeit, Sittenverfall und Degeneration zugeschrieben wurden. Heimat fand der Mensch in dieser Polarität nur auf dem Land, im Dorf, während die Stadtbewohner mit heimatlosen Nomaden gleichgesetzt wurden. Der Harmonie und der Gesundheit des Landlebens wurden die Konflikthaftigkeit und die Gefährdungen des Stadtlebens gegenübergestellt. Sittlichkeit und Religiosität herrschten demnach auf dem Land, Sittenverfall und Gottlosigkeit in der Stadt. In

der Hochperiode der Verstädterung wurden zahlreiche Theorien zum demographischen Untergang des Abendlandes entwickelt (vgl. Bergmann 1970), der mit der Verstädterung verbunden sei, weil das Geburtenverhalten der Großstadtbevölkerung deren Reproduktion nicht mehr gewährleistete – zumindest aber wurde eine Zunahme von Debität erwartet, verursacht durch Alkoholismus und andere Ausschweifungen. Die konservative Großstadtkritik sah nur in der Auflösung der Großstädte und in der Rückkehr zum naturverbundenen Landleben eine Rettung. Stadt und Land spielten auch als Grundkategorien in den Sozialwissenschaften eine große Rolle. Dafür setzte Ferdinand Tönnies mit seiner Kontrastierung von Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft den Grundtenor, auch weil er selbst diese unterschiedlichen Vergesellschaftungsformen zunehmend mit Dorf und Stadt in Verbindung gebracht hatte. Die Untersuchung der Frage, ob auf dem Lande tatsächlich eher gemeinschaftliche Sozialbeziehungen zu finden und ob diese in der Stadt gänzlich verloren gegangen seien, hat die Stadt- und Gemeindeforschung bis in die jüngste Vergangenheit stark beschäftigt. Dabei ging es um Sozialformen, die mit verschiedenen Gemeindeformen assoziiert werden. Diese Fragen wurden im Laufe der Zeit unterschiedlich beantwortet, was mit der Veränderung der Stadt-Land-Beziehungen zusammenhängt.

Im Folgenden soll zunächst die historische Entwicklung des Verhältnisses von Stadt und Land in Deutschland skizziert werden, um anschließend die soziologische Thematisierung von Stadt und Land in der Sozialforschung nachzuvollziehen. Noch im 19. Jahrhundert war der Unterschied zwischen 'Stadt' und 'Land' ziemlich klar: auf dem 'Land' wohnten vor allem Bauern und mit der Landwirtschaft verbundene Handwerker oder Arbeiter. 'Land' war identisch mit 'Agrarkultur'. Arbeitsort und Wohnort waren daher nicht getrennt. Es gab keine weiterführenden Schulen, in den Haushalten hatte die Selbstversorgung noch einen hohen Stellenwert; eine große Familie und die Kirche nahmen einen zentralen Platz im Leben ein, das wenig differenzierte Leben vollzog sich in vorgezeichneten Bahnen. In der 'Stadt' hingegen arbeitete man in der Industrie, im Handel oder in einem Büro, man wohnte in großen Mietshäusern und war auf vielfältige städtische Dienstleistungen für den Alltag angewiesen; die Familien wurden

kleiner, weil Kinder hohe Kosten verursachten und länger zur Schule gingen; man konnte auf einem vielfältig strukturierten Arbeitsmarkt seinen Beruf wählen. Die Warenhäuser sowie die diversifizierten Wohnungs- und Kulturangebote ermöglichten in zunehmendem Maße die Ausbildung eines individuellen Lebensstils. Mit der Industrialisierung der Landwirtschaft, mit der Ausbreitung der modernen Massenmedien (Radio und Fernsehen), mit der massenhaften Verbreitung des Automobils als Verkehrsmittel und des Telefons als Kommunikationsmittel in den 1950er und 1960er Jahren verwischten sich die früher so eindeutigen Grenzen zwischen 'Stadt' und 'Land' zunehmend. Heute ist es in den industriell entwickelten Ländern schwierig geworden, 'Stadt' und 'Land' eindeutig voneinander abzugrenzen. Suburbanisierungsprozesse, die Dekonzentration ökonomischer Standorte und der Wandel der ländlichen Gebiete selbst haben die Begriffe unscharf gemacht. Weltweit ist der Prozeß der Verstädterung aber keineswegs abgeschlossen. 1900 lebten 86,4% der Weltbevölkerung in ländlichen Gebieten, nur 13,6% in Städten. Aber im Jahre 2025 werden 60% der Weltbevölkerung laut einer UN-Prognose in urbanisierten Gebieten leben. In vielen Ländern der Dritten Welt gibt es nach wie vor einen deutlichen Unterschied zwischen Stadt und Land, durch die lokal auf die Hauptstädte begrenzte Zugänglichkeit zu internationaler Kommunikation und globalen Märkten hat er sich sogar noch vertieft. Da in der Dritten Welt Verstädterung und ökonomisches Wachstum nicht immer direkt miteinander verknüpft sind, bestehen dort weiterhin Gegensätze zwischen Stadt und Land.

2. Die historische Entwicklung des Verhältnisses von Stadt und Land

Im Gegensatz zur stereotypisierten Gegenüberstellung von Stadt und Land sind für die Beziehung zwischen diesen beiden Siedlungstypen in verschiedenen historischen Perioden in Deutschland wechselnde Verhältnisse und unterschiedliche Muster kennzeichnend gewesen (vgl. Ipsen 1991). Im Mittelalter stellten Stadt und Land noch unterschiedliche Rechts-, Politik- und Wirtschaftssysteme dar, in denen auch die Sozialbeziehungen höchst unterschiedliche Gestalt angenommen hatten. Mit der Bildung von Territorialstaaten im Zeitalter des

Absolutismus verloren jedoch die meisten Städte ihre rechtliche und politische Eigenständigkeit und ihre Wirtschaft wurde in die entstehende Nationalökonomie integriert. Die ökonomische Struktur und die Sozialverhältnisse unterschieden sich weiterhin insbesondere dadurch, dass auf dem Lande die Agrarwirtschaft mit dem bäuerlichen Familienbetrieb strukturell dominierte, während die vorherrschende Erwerbstätigkeit in den Städten in den Bereichen Handel, Handwerk und staatliche Verwaltung lag. Lohnarbeit war in den Städten die häufigste Erwerbsform. Mit der Industrialisierung spitzte sich der Unterschied der Lebensweisen und Mentalitäten zwar zu, aber die funktionale Verflechtung von Stadt und Land wurde stärker. Im Gegensatz zu landläufigen Vorstellungen einer stärkeren Trennung von Stadt und Land durch die Industrialisierung kann man eher von einer intensiveren Arbeitsteilung sprechen, mit deren Entwicklung sich auch die Lebensweisen einander annäherten. In der sozialwissenschaftlichen Literatur spiegelt sich die Entwicklung theoretisch im Übergang vom Konzept eines 'Stadt-Land-Gegensatzes' zu der Vorstellung von einem 'Stadt-Land-Kontinuum' (vgl. Pahl 1968).

In vorindustrieller Zeit waren die großen Städte die Orte des Fernhandels (und damit der überregionalen Märkte und Messen), der kirchlichen Herrschaft und die Zentren von Kunst und Kultur. In den Städten gab es keine Leibeigenschaft, und im Gegensatz zum feudalen Umland hatten die Städten erste Formen einer politischen Selbstverwaltung entwickelt. Sie hatten eine eigene Gerichtsbarkeit und ihre eigene ökonomische Ordnung (lokal geregelte Marktwirtschaft, Zölle, Zünfte und Gilden). In den Städten bildeten sich also die Anfänge der 'modernen' Gesellschaft – eine Tatsache, die besondere Berücksichtigung in Max Webers universalhistorischer Entwicklungstheorie fand. Da die Städte – im Gegensatz zum sie umgebenden Feudalismus – Orte der künstlerischen, ökonomischen, politischen und gesellschaftlichen Innovation und Emanzipation waren, wurde 'Stadt' ein Synonym für 'Fortschritt', das bestätigt und befestigt wurde durch die bürgerlichen Revolutionen seit 1789, die von den Städten ausgingen, und durch die Dynamik der Großstadtentwicklung im Zuge der Industrialisierung im 19. Jahrhundert, die gesellschaftsprägend wurden. Keineswegs gingen jedoch immer

alle Entwicklungsimpulse von der Stadt aus. Die Industrialisierung nahm z.B. auf dem Lande ihren Anfang, als der Betrieb von Maschinen noch vor allem von Wasserkraft und Holzkohle als Energieträger abhängig war. Mit deren Ersatz durch Steinkohle und insbesondere durch den Ausbau des Eisenbahnnetzes wurden aber die Städte zum Zentrum der ökonomischen und gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung. In der vorindustriellen Epoche waren die meisten Städte noch sehr 'ländlich', d.h. dass viele Städter eigenes Vieh hielten, außerhalb der Stadtmauer die gemeindlichen Weideflächen nutzten und Gemüse und Obst in ihren Gärten anpflanzten. Auf dem Land hingegen gab es durchaus auch Handwerk und stadtunabhängigen Handel mit Lebensmitteln. Subsistenzwirtschaft war das zentrale Merkmal der ländlichen Gesellschaft, und das gab ihr eine Eigenständigkeit, die nicht dem Bild einer von der Stadt beherrschten Abhängigkeit entspricht. Erst gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts begann eine durchgreifende Kommerzialisierung der Landwirtschaft, die ihre Absatzmärkte in den Städten fand. Auch nicht alle Dörfer waren gleich. Heide Wunder (1986, 75) spricht von einer „Vielgestaltigkeit der bäuerlichen Gemeinden“ bereits im Hochmittelalter. Damals bildeten sich in verschiedenen Regionen Gemeinden als Zusammenschluß von Bauern, nachdem sich die älteren Grundherrschaften aufgelöst hatten. Diese Gemeinden hatten weit geringere Befugnisse für eine Selbstverwaltung als die Städte, aber es entstand so neben und gegen die Grundherren „ein den Alltag umfassender Verband“ (Wunder 1986, 132), die lokale Gemeinde, die ihre besondere Rolle bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts behielt. Dann beginnt auch auf dem Land eine institutionelle und soziale Differenzierung, wie sie in der Vereinsbildung und in der Entstehung von Privatheit für die Familien zum Ausdruck kommt. Wunder nennt dies eine „Verbürgerlichung der gemeindlichen Kultur“ (S. 134), womit sie die Integration in die bürgerliche Gesellschaft meint. Noch heute sind die Auswirkungen auf die Sozialstruktur erkennbar, je nachdem ob es sich um ein Großbauerdorf, Klein- und Mittelbauerdorf, Arbeiterdorf oder ein Gutsdorf handelte (vgl. Poppinga 1980, 159f.).

Detlev Ipsen (1991) hat die 'Metamorphosen der Beziehung zwischen Stadt und Land' seit Beginn der Industrialisierung in drei grobe Phasen unterschieden:

- 1) Für die Zeit von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg könne man von einem „Strukturdualismus“ sprechen. „Der traditionelle Sektor und der moderne, industrielle Sektor existierten nebeneinander. Der traditionelle Sektor, die Landwirtschaft, das Handwerk und Teile des Handels, findet sich nicht nur im ländlichen Raum, aber er ist doch hier am festesten verankert. In dieser Phase ist der ländliche Raum zwar vornehmlich Ressource für den industriellstädtischen Raum: Ressource an Menschen, an Nahrungsmitteln, an natürlichen Rohstoffen bis hin zu zum Raum der ‘Sommerfrische’. Im Kern, in seinen konstitutiven Merkmalen, bleibt der ländliche Raum dabei jedoch sich selbst überlassen“ (Ipsen 1991, 119). Die Massenwanderung vom Land in die Stadt führte nicht zu einem Bevölkerungsrückgang auf dem Lande, vielmehr wurden nur die ‘überschüssigen’ Arbeitskräfte, d.h. solche Personen, die aus dem Ertrag der bäuerlichen Landwirtschaft nicht hinreichend ernährt werden können, an die Städte abgegeben, in denen durch die Industrialisierung eine große Nachfrage nach Arbeitskräften entstanden war. Zudem hielten die Stadtwanderer enge Beziehungen zu ihrer ländlichen Verwandtschaft aufrecht, die sich in täglichem Pendeln oder saisonaler Wanderung bzw. in einer Rückkehr auf’s Land nach einer längeren Periode der Industriearbeit zeigte. Die Familie blieb bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts der zentrale Bezug der Existenz vieler Angehöriger des Industrieproletariats, und das lokale Zentrum der Familie blieb im Dorf (vgl. Häußermann 1984).
- 2) Nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg veränderte sich diese Beziehung in Richtung einer ‘Kolonisierung’ des Landes durch die Stadt (vgl. dazu die Beschreibung bei Lutz 1984). Im Zuge der ‘fordistischen’ Durchdringung von Produktion und Alltag wurde ein einheitliches Organisationsprinzip der Gesellschaft dominant (vgl. Hirsch/Roth 1986), das auf technischer Rationalisierung und extremer Arbeitsteilung beruhte und mit Modernität gleichgesetzt wurde. Ihm wurden nach und nach auch die ländlichen Regionen unterworfen. Das Land wurde ein „Raum für Prozesse der Marktintegration. Städtische Lebensweisen, städtische

Institutionen, städtische Bauformen werden in den ländlichen Raum hineingetragen. ... Eine Phase struktureller Abhängigkeit des ländlichen Raumes geht einher mit gleichzeitiger individueller Emanzipation von traditionellen Lebensverhältnissen“ (Ipsen 1991, 119). Das Land begann zu ‘verstädtern’.

- 3) Seit den 70er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts ist das auf großindustrieller Produktion, standardisiertem Massenkonsum und kollektiver Regulierung beruhende Gesellschaftsmodell des ‘Fordismus’ in die Krise geraten, und mit der Herausbildung eines ‘postfordistischen’ Regimes, das auf flexiblen Produktionssystemen und sozialer Individualisierung beruht, verändert sich die Beziehung zwischen Stadt und Land erneut: Die Neubewertung qualifizierter Arbeit und das Zurückdrängen extremer Arbeitsteilung, neue Subsistenzstrategien, eine Renaissance der Selbstregulation und eine entsprechende Neudefinition staatlichen Handelns „aktualisieren traditionell-ländliche Handlungswerte und Kompetenzen“ (Ipsen 1991, 120). In nach-modernen Strukturen werde der Stadt-Land-Unterschied zweitrangig, weil die ökonomischen und sozialen Aktionsräume sich in einer regionalen Verflechtung bilden. Die das Land prägende bäuerliche Agrarwirtschaft erlebte in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts einen tiefgreifenden Wandel.

Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg erfolgte der „große Bruch in der bäuerlichen Produktionsweise“ (Poppinga 1980, 173). Durch den Einbezug der landwirtschaftlichen Betriebe in die Marktkonkurrenz wurden wegen ‘Unrentabilität’ viele Betriebe aufgegeben – die große Nachfrage nach Industriearbeitskräften zog zunächst wegen des Einkommensunterschieds die meisten Lohnarbeiter, und dann auch die mithelfenden Familienangehörigen aus der bäuerlichen Landwirtschaft ab. Der Ausbau des Straßennetzes und die rasche Motorisierung ermöglichten auch weite Pendlerwege. „Die Landwirtschaft wurde von einer arbeits- zu einer kapitalintensiven Branche“ (Poppinga 1980, 173). Innerhalb eines Jahrzehnts verließen fast 60% der Lohnarbeitskräfte die Landwirtschaft, die verbleibenden selbständigen Bauern mußten sich für die Technisierung ihres Betriebs hoch verschulden und gerieten in die Abhängigkeit der Lebensmittelindustrie, die mit ihren Abnahmegarantien

die Preise und die Qualität der agrarischen Produktion diktieren konnte. Die besseren Lebensbedingungen in den Städten, die höheren Löhne, die in der Industrie verdient werden konnten, und die vielfältigen Bildungs- und Ausbildungsmöglichkeiten, die die Städte boten, ließen das Land zunehmend als 'rückständig' erscheinen. Die Regionalpolitik orientierte sich auf eine Industrialisierung der ländlichen Gebiete, die als 'hinter der allgemeinen Entwicklung zurückgebliebene Regionen' klassifiziert wurden, und die in der Tat ein hohes Infrastruktur- und Bildungsdefizit aufwiesen. Das Land wurde zur Reserve für eine industrielle Entwicklung erklärt. Als einzig denkbare Alternative erschien eine 'Entleerung' der ländlichen Räume, die mit einer 'aktiven Regionalpolitik' verhindert werden sollte. Denn die mit dem industriellen Aufschwung der Agglomerationen verbundene Stadt-Land-Wanderung hatte zu einem starken Bevölkerungsrückgang und damit zur Perspektive einer kumulativen Abwärtsentwicklung geführt: wenig 'moderne' Arbeitsplätze, Abwanderung insbesondere der Qualifizierten und Mobilen als Folge, dadurch Erosion des Humanpotentials mit der Konsequenz weiter abnehmender Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten, dadurch weitere Abwanderung usw. Seit den 70er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts wurde jedoch ein anderes Muster räumlicher Entwicklung sichtbar: Die Zahl der Industriearbeitsplätze in den großen Städten begann abzunehmen, in den meisten Großstädten auch die Einwohnerzahl. Zunächst verlor auch das Land noch Bewohner durch Abwanderung, Gewinner dieser Verschiebungen waren die suburbanen Gebiete im Umland der großen Städte und die Mittelstädte. Dort entstanden große Siedlungsgebiete mit lockerer Bebauung, die die Abwanderer aus den Städten aufnahmen. Im Prozeß dieser Dekonzentration wurden auch immer mehr zuvor als ländlich klassifizierte Gemeinden in die Agglomerationsregionen einbezogen, so dass der Siedlungstyp, der am stärksten wuchs, weder Stadt noch Land war, sondern eine Art 'Zwischenstadt'.

Tabelle 1 zeigt, dass der seit der Industrialisierung bestehende Trend zur Entleerung der ländlichen Räume gebrochen ist. Sowohl der Anteil beim Bevölkerungszuwachs als auch beim Beschäftigungswachstum ist in den Gebieten außerhalb der Großstädte größer. Den größten Anteil des Wachstums

nehmen die um die Großstädte gelegenen Kreise auf, die 'suburbanen' Gebiete, die aus Kleinstädten, Dörfern und Ein- bzw. Zweifamilienhaus-Siedlungen gebildet werden. Aber auch das Wachstum in den ländlichen Kreisen ist in allen drei siedlungsstrukturellen Gebietstypen höher als in den Großstädten. Der großräumige Konzentrationsprozeß ist also ungebrochen, aber er wird überlagert von einem starken Suburbanisierungsprozeß – und er findet nicht mehr auf Kosten der ländlichen Räume statt, denn dort nehmen – im Gegensatz zu den 1950er und 1960er Jahren – inzwischen ebenfalls wieder Bevölkerungs- und Arbeitsplatzzahlen zu. Innerhalb eines Wachstums, das überall stattfindet, ist also eine dezentrale Konzentration zu beobachten.

1992 lebten in Deutschland 31% der Bevölkerung in Grosstädten, ein Anteil, der seit der Hochperiode der Verstädterung etwa gleich geblieben ist. Immerhin wohnen noch 29% der Bevölkerung in ländlichen Kreisen, aber 40% in suburbanen Siedlungsgebilden, also in den Gemeinden im Umland der großen Städte. Diese Orte sind weder Stadt noch Land im soziologischen Sinne, da sie weder agrarisch geprägt sind noch die hohe Dichte und funktionale Differenzierung der großen Städte aufweisen. Ihre Attraktivität liegt darin, dass ein differenziertes Arbeitsplatz- und Infrastrukturangebot (in den Städten) leicht erreichbar ist, andererseits aber wegen der geringeren Siedlungsdichte ein 'Wohnen im Grünen' möglich ist. Die Wohneigentumsquote liegt dort erheblich höher als in den Städten. Die meisten Einwohner leben also weder auf dem Land noch in der Stadt, sondern in einer Art 'Zwischenstadt', wo sich die Vor- und Nachteile des Stadt- und Landlebens begegnen. Studien zu den Wanderungsbewegungen aus der Stadt ins Umland zeigen, dass der Suburbanisierungsprozeß vor allem vom Wunsch nach größerer Wohnfläche, nach wohnungsbezogenem Freiraum (Garten) und von der Möglichkeit zur Eigentumsbildung getragen wurde. Daher waren es auch vor allem Familien mit Kindern, die ein überdurchschnittliches Einkommen haben, die den Umzug ins Umland vorgenommen haben.

3. Der Stadt-Land-Gegensatz

Die Trennung in Stadt und Land vor der Industrialisierung und die Unterschiede zwischen städtischen und ländlichen Lebensfor-

Tabelle 56.1: Dekonzentration von Bevölkerung und Beschäftigung in Deutschland

Gebietstypen	Anteil an der Bevölkerung 1992	Anteil am Bevölkerungszuwachs 1980–1992	Entwicklung der Bevölkerung 1980–1992	Anteil an den Beschäftigten 1992	Anteil am Beschäftigtenzuwachs 1980–1992	Entwicklung der Beschäftigung 1980–1992
Große Verdichtungs-räume	53,9	42,8	4,4	57,0	47,0	9,7
Kernstädte	24,0	2,0	70,5	32,1	11,6	4,0
Hochverdichtete Kreise	19,1	24,4	7,3	16,5	21,9	16,6
Verdichtete Kreise	7,9	11,6	8,5	6,2	10,0	20,9
Ländliche Kreise	2,9	4,7	9,2	2,1	3,5	21,9
Regionen mit Verdichtungs-ansätzen	29,0	36,2	6,9	27,9	32,5	14,3
Kernstädte	5,4	1,9	1,9	7,7	5,3	8,1
Verdichtete Kreise	17,2	25,2	8,4	14,4	18,5	16,0
Ländliche Kreise	7,1	9,0	7,3	5,9	8,8	18,9
Ländliche Räume	16,4	21,1	7,3	15,1	20,5	17,0
Verdichtete Kreise	8,6	12,3	8,2	8,3	11,1	16,7
Ländliche Kreise	7,7	8,8	6,4	6,8	9,4	17,4
Insgesamt			5,6			12,0

Quelle: Irmen/Bach 1994, S. 450

Erläuterungen zu Tabelle 1:

Die Gebietstypen, die von der Bundesforschungsanstalt für Landeskunde und Raumordnung (heute eingegliedert in das Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung, BBR) gebildet werden, unterscheiden nach geographischen Kriterien drei Typen:

1) Regionen mit großen Verdichtungsräumen, die man auch als große Agglomerationen bezeichnen könnte; sie bestehen aus einer Großstadt als Kern und aus anliegenden Kreisen, die ebenfalls noch eine hohe Bevölkerungsdichte aufweisen. Ländliche Kreise gehören dazu, wenn sie in einem funktionalen Zusammenhang mit der städtischen Agglomeration stehen.

2) Regionen mit Verdichtungsansätzen haben eine ähnliche Struktur, jedoch eine geringere Bevölkerungsdichte und sind insgesamt kleiner.

3) Ländlich geprägte Regionen haben kein großes Oberzentrum und eine Bevölkerungsdichte, die nicht höher als 150 E./qkm ist; die ländlichen Kreise in den ländlichen Räumen liegen peripher und haben eine sehr geringe Siedlungsdichte.

(Vgl. Laufende Raumbbeobachtung. Aktuelle Daten zur Entwicklung der Städte, Kreise und Gemeinden; jährliche Veröffentlichung der BBR in der Reihe 'Materialien zur Raumentwicklung').

men während der Verstädterung sind von Soziologen sehr unterschiedlich bewertet worden. Mit der Rolle der Städte im Mittelalter haben sich vor allem Marx/Engels und Max Weber beschäftigt, wobei die Stadtbildung als ein Moment der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung im Zentrum der Aufmerksamkeit stand. Nach der Beseitigung der rechtlichen und politischen Sonderstellung der Städte durch die Bildung von Territorialstaaten im Absolutismus und im Zuge der mit der Industrialisierung verbundenen Verstädterung richtete sich die Fragestellung soziologischer Regionalforschung vor allem auf die Einebnung bzw. Persistenz von Unterschieden in den ländlichen und städtischen Sozialformen und deren Bedeutung. Eine Dauerfrage der sozialwissenschaftlichen Forschung war und ist die nach siedlungstypischen Formen der Vergesellschaftung. Den theoretischen Anstoß dafür hat Ferdinand Tönnies mit seiner Unterscheidung zwischen 'Gemeinschaft' und 'Gesellschaft' gegeben, bei der er gemeinschaftliche Lebens- und Vergesellschaftungsformen mit dörflichen Strukturen, gesellschaftliche dagegen mit städtischen in Zusammenhang brachte. Die Schwächung von gemeinschaftlichen Formen wurde von Soziologen sehr unterschiedlich bewertet, daher bildeten sich auch sehr unterschiedliche Positionen gegenüber der Verstädterung heraus, die sich entweder in einer Glorifizierung oder in einer negativen Bewertung von städtischen bzw. ländlichen Lebensweisen zeigen. Die empirische Beschreibung der Stadt-Land-Unterschiede folgt generell dem Muster abnehmender Abstände und schwindender Bedeutung. Übereinstimmung besteht darin, dass Stadt und Land keine dichotomen Begriffe (mehr) darstellen, sondern „daß viele der Merkmale, die zur Charakterisierung des Stadt-Land-Gegensatzes verwendet worden sind, eher im Sinn eines *Kontinuum*-Modells variieren. ... Stadt und Dorf sind damit keine kategorialen Gegensätze, sondern *graduell* voneinander verschieden.“ (Hamm 1982, 17). Die sozialwissenschaftliche Diskussion über Stadt und Land begann jedoch mit einer deutlichen Abgrenzung dieser beiden Welten. Marx/Engels sahen in der Trennung zwischen Stadt und Land einen Gegensatz: „Die größte Teilung der materiellen und geistigen Arbeit ist die Trennung zwischen Stadt und Land“, sie beruhe auf einer „Teilung der Bevölkerung in zwei Klassen, die direkt auf der Teilung der Arbeit und den

Produktionsinstrumenten beruht.“ (Marx/Engels 1960, 49). Sie beziehen sich damit auf die vorindustrielle Gesellschaft, für die sie eine Herrschaft der Stadt über das Land annehmen, die mit „ökonomischer Ausplünderung“ einhergeht. Mit den Territorialstaaten wurden dann Stadt *und* Land einem gemeinsamen Herrscher unterworfen, der Bourgeoisie. Obwohl Marx/Engels Respekt vor der produktiv arbeitenden Landbevölkerung zeigten, sprachen sie doch von der „Idiotie des Landlebens“, weil ein revolutionäres Bewußtsein nur unter den verelenden Bedingungen des Lebens in der industrialisierten Großstadt entstehen kann. Die Großstadt ist aber auch der Ort der Entfremdung und der Ausbeutung. Marx/Engels haben eine ambivalente Haltung sowohl zur Stadt als auch zum Land – beide hätten in einer neuen Gesellschaftsordnung revolutioniert werden sollen, woraus neue territoriale Muster entstehen sollten.

Max Weber war interessiert an der Frage, warum die europäischen Städte zum Geburtsort des Kapitalismus wurden, während in Städten in anderen Kontinenten bzw. anderen Kulturen eine solche Entwicklung nicht stattgefunden hat. Als die wichtigsten Charakteristika der 'europäischen Stadt' stellte Max Weber fünf Merkmale heraus: die Befestigung der Stadt durch Mauern; die Marktfunktion mit einer autonomen Gewerbeaufsicht der Städte; die selbständige Gesetzgebung und Rechtsprechung; der Verbandscharakter, also die soziale Organisation der Stadt, und die politische Autonomie, die Selbstverwaltung und die Selbstbestimmung der Stadtbürger. Neben dem Feudalismus hatte sich in den Städten eine neue Sozialordnung etabliert. Max Weber spricht über die gesellschaftlichen Konsequenzen von sozialen und politischen Institutionen, deren Kern die Selbstbestimmung der Stadtbürger war. Von dem eigenständigen politischen und sozialen Subjekt Stadt ging eine völlig andere ökonomische und gesellschaftliche Entwicklung aus als auf dem Land. Die Stadt wurde von Max Weber konzeptionell wie eine Gesellschaft betrachtet, ähnlich wie ein Staat. Europa war die Zivilisation mit der schärfsten Polarität zwischen Stadt und Land (vgl. Kaelble 2001). Bis zum Beginn der Moderne war die Grenze zwischen Stadt und Land durch Mauern markiert, und diese Mauern bezeichneten die Grenze zwischen verschiedenen Gesellschaften. In der scharfen Abgrenzung vom umge-

benden feudalen Land konnte sich innerhalb der Mauern jene ökonomische und politische Dynamik entwickeln, die zur Grundlage der okzidentalen Modernität wurde. In der Stadt war man frei von der Leibeigenschaft, die der großen Mehrheit der ländlichen Bevölkerung die Anerkennung als menschliche Subjekte verweigerte. Die schlichte Zugehörigkeit zur städtischen Population bedeutete demgegenüber einen großen sozialen Aufstieg, denn hier waren die Menschen 'frei'. Auch dadurch waren die Städte die Orte von sozialer und kultureller Innovation.

4. Die Einebnung der Stadt-Land-Unterschiede

Die Einebnung der Stadt-Land-Unterschiede im Zuge der 'Mediatisierung' der Städte und durch die große Verstädterung im letzten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts ist nicht gleichbedeutend mit ihrem Verschwinden. Der Stadt-Land-Gegensatz beruhte vor allem auf den unterschiedlichen Formen der Existenzsicherung und den damit verbundenen Lebensweisen: Auf dem Land herrschte eine subsistenzsichernde Agrarwirtschaft vor, diese war an den Besitz von Boden gebunden, und der Bodenbesitz an die Familie. Wer nicht einer bäuerlichen Familie angehörte, konnte auf dem Land nur als 'Landarbeiter' leben, und diese bildeten in den Dörfern immer die unterste soziale Schicht. Die Zugehörigkeit zu einer Bauernfamilie sicherte also nicht nur die Existenz, sondern wies auch – nach der Größe des Grundbesitzes – den sozialen Status zu. In der Stadt hingegen war Lohnarbeit kein Makel, die meisten Stadtbewohner waren 'besitzlos' und gingen einer Lohnarbeit nach – als Arbeiter, Angestellte oder Beamte. Durch die Lohnarbeit wurden sie in das staatliche System der Sozialversicherung integriert und damit von der Fürsorge der Familie in Zeiten von Krankheit, Arbeitslosigkeit oder im Alter entlastet. Während auf dem Land die Zugehörigkeit zu einer Familie also eine Voraussetzung für eine respektable Existenz war, gewannen in der Stadt andere Bezugssysteme eine größere Bedeutung: staatliche Institutionen, Arbeitsmarkt, soziale Netze auch mit Nicht-Verwandten. Diese Unterschiede mußten sich mit der Veränderung der Existenzgrundlagen der ländlichen Bevölkerung abschwächen – und diese fand vor allem in der Zeit nach dem Zweiten

Weltkrieg statt. Die Zahl der selbständigen Bauern ging ebenso zurück wie die Zahl der Lohnarbeitskräfte und der mithelfenden Familienangehörigen.

Tabelle 56.2: Landwirtschaftliche Betriebe in Deutschland (in 1000)

Betriebe mit selbstbewirtschafteter Fläche			
Früheres Bundesgebiet		Neue Länder	
1989	1999	1997	1999
615	387	23	21
Betriebe insgesamt			
665	431	32	29
Arbeitskräfte in 1000			
1411	901	33	39

Quelle: www.verbraucherministerium.de/landwirtschaft

Besonders rasch und nachhaltig wurde dieser Prozeß in der DDR vom Zentralstaat durchgesetzt, indem das Bodeneigentum verstaatlicht und die bäuerlichen Betriebe zwangskollektiviert und in Landwirtschaftlichen Produktionsgenossenschaften (LPGs) zusammen geschlossen wurden. Tabelle 2 zeigt, dass die Zahl der landwirtschaftlichen Betriebe in den neuen Bundesländern sehr viel geringer ist als derjenigen im früheren Bundesgebiet. Sie haben größere Flächen und einen ungleich höheren Viehbestand. Das Land wurde auch äußerlich der Stadt angeglichen: Derselbe Typus von Wohngebäuden, mit dem die Großsiedlungen in den Städten errichtet wurden, wurde auch in den Dörfern gebaut: 'die Platte' (vgl. Hanneemann 2000). Damit entstanden zum ersten Mal in ländlichen Regionen mehrgeschossige Mietshäuser. Ländliche Lebensweisen konnten nach der Marktintegration im Westen kaum noch, und nach der Kollektivierung im Osten überhaupt nicht mehr als 'bäuerlich' beschrieben werden.

Die in der bäuerlichen Landwirtschaft Tätigen bilden heute unter den Erwerbstätigen nur noch eine kleine Minderheit auch auf dem Land. Lohnarbeit in anderen Wirtschaftssektoren breitete sich auch auf dem Land aus, und damit wurde die Gleichsetzung von Land mit Landwirtschaft hinfällig. Mit diesem Wandel ist die 'Verstädterung des Landes' verbunden bzw. die Auflösung des Stadt-Land-Unterschiedes. Die Jahrhunderte langen Struktur-Unterschiede zwischen Stadt und Land sind weit-

gehend verschwunden, Stadt und Land sind 'nur noch' sozial zu unterscheiden, d.h. in den Lebensweisen, in den Lebensorientierungen, in der Bedeutung der Familie und in der Sozialstruktur sind sie immer noch zu erkennen.

5. Vereinzelung in der Stadt – Gemeinschaft auf dem Land?

Die frühe Soziologie hatte gegenüber der Urbanisierung eine sehr ambivalente Haltung. In der optimistischen Perspektive werden die Städte als Vorposten humaner Zivilisation und kultureller Innovation gesehen, als Orte, wo Menschen mit verschiedenem kulturellem Hintergrund sich vermischen, Toleranz herrscht und individuelle Emanzipation gelebt werden kann. Von anderen Soziologen wurden eher die problematischen Seiten des städtischen Lebens betont: Das Leben sei von Hektik und Stress geprägt und verursache viele psychische Krankheiten – ganz abgesehen von Umweltverschmutzung und Kinderfeindlichkeit. Ein zentraler Topos der Stadtkritik war die Anonymität städtischen Lebens, der Verlust von Nachbarschaft, die Vereinzelung und damit einhergehende soziale Isolation. Die Urbanisierung habe, kurz gesagt, den Verlust von gemeinschaftlichen Sozialformen zur Folge gehabt. Unter Gemeinschaft (vgl. Art. 61) wird mehr verstanden als ein bestimmter Ort im Sinne von 'Gemeinde'; der Begriff umschreibt eine bestimmte Qualität von sozialen Beziehungen. Menschen, die eine Gemeinschaft bilden, haben gemeinsame Werte und Interessen, haben enge Beziehungen zueinander und sehen sich selbst als Teil einer Gruppe, sie haben ein 'Wir-Gefühl'. Eine Gemeinschaft kann auch als eine große 'Primärgruppe' bezeichnet werden.

5.1. Der Verlust von Gemeinschaft

Die Vorstellung, dass die Urbanisierung solche gemeinschaftlichen Lebensformen zerstört, hat in der Soziologie eine lange Tradition. Entsprechende theoretische Ansätze hat 1878 Ferdinand Tönnies entwickelt, der die sozialen Beziehungen innerhalb einer 'Gemeinschaft' denen in der 'Gesellschaft' gegenüberstellte (Tönnies 1987). Tönnies hat mit seiner Dichotomie zwischen Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft einerseits sehr helllichtige Aussagen zur Auflösung der traditionellen Vergesellschaftungsformen gemacht, aber da er diese Entwicklung sehr

einseitig nur als eine Verlustgeschichte beschreibt, wurde er zu einer Leitfigur der antimodernen Großstadtkritik. Mit seinem Bemühen, gemeinschaftliche Formen des Zusammenlebens zu bewahren bzw. (z. B. als Genossenschaften) neu zu schaffen, hat er vielen großstadtkritischen sozialen Bewegungen um die Wende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert – und auch post-modernen – eine theoretische Legitimation gegeben. Nach seiner Ansicht bilden „die Substanz des Volkes ... als ursprüngliche und beherrschende Kraft die Häuser, die Dörfer, die Städte des Landes“ (Tönnies 1987, 228) – wohlge-merkt: auch die Städte! Aber gemeint sind damit eher die Städte des Mittelalters, die sich als Genossenschaften konstituiert und als Gemeinschaften sozial integriert haben. Im Übergang von 'Gemeinschaft' zu 'Gesellschaft' vollzieht sich nach Tönnies Ansicht ein entscheidender Wandel: Das Zusammenleben wird nicht mehr durch Sitten und gemeinsame Normen geregelt, sondern durch abstraktes Recht. In diesem Prozeß verändern sich auch die Charaktere der Menschen. „Sie verlieren den Halt, den sie an der Sitte und an der Überzeugung von ihrer Gültigkeit gehabt haben“ (Tönnies 197, 229). Äußerlich wird dies sichtbar an zunehmender Mobilität und wachsender Flüchtigkeit in den sozialen Beziehungen. „Vereinzelte Personen oder Familien stehen einander gegenüber und haben ihren gemeinsamen Ort nur als zufällige und gewählte Wohnstätte. ... Je allgemeiner der gesellschaftliche Zustand in einer Nation ... wird, desto mehr tendiert dieses gesamte Land ... dahin, einer einzigen Großstadt ähnlich zu werden“ (Tönnies 1987, 230). Damit hat Tönnies bereits die 'Urbanisierung des Landes' angedeutet und die Frage, welche Lebensformen vorherrschen, im Prinzip von ihrer lokalen Verankerung getrennt – doch hat er diese Trennung nicht systematisch durchgehalten. Denn Tönnies hielt kleine Städte für Modelle von Gemeinschaften. In einer kleinen Stadt bzw. im Dorf sei jede Person eingebettet in ein eng gewobenes Netzwerk von Verwandten und Freunden. Die Bewohner haben eine gemeinsame Geschichte und gemeinsame Werte, Ziele und Traditionen sowie gemeinsame Rollen. Gemeinsame Aktivitäten und häufige persönliche Begegnungen führen dazu, starke soziale und emotionale Bindungen hervorzubringen. In einer Gemeinschaft wird der Status eher durch die Geburt zuge-

schrieben: Der Sohn des Handwerkers wird nicht Bauer, und der Sohn des Bauern heiratet nicht die Tochter eines Adligen. Die Menschen bleiben eher in dem sozialen Kontext, in den sie hinein geboren worden sind. Auch die geographische Mobilität ist begrenzt: Die meisten Individuen leben und sterben in der gleichen kleinen Gemeinde. Im Ergebnis wird die Identität der Menschen durch ihren Ort innerhalb der Gemeinschaft bestimmt. Die städtische industrielle Gesellschaft ist nach Tönnies gänzlich anders. Es handelt sich deshalb um Gesellschaft, weil die Menschen eher durch formale Organisationen und Märkte miteinander verbunden sind als durch informelle Beziehungen und ein Gefühl von Zusammengehörigkeit. Die großen Städte sind Modelle von Gesellschaft. Ihre Bevölkerungsdichte sorgt dafür, dass viele der Leute, denen man im Laufe eines typischen Tages begegnet, Fremde sind und bleiben. Interaktionen mit ihnen sind in der Regel unpersönlich und oberflächlich, d.h. man kennt nicht den persönlichen Hintergrund der Menschen, mit denen man es zu tun bekommt – oft nicht einmal den der Nachbarn. Die Nachbarn haben kein gemeinsames kulturelles Erbe, keine gemeinsamen Werte, Normen oder Verhaltensweisen. Sie haben nur wenig gemeinsame Erfahrungen, da z. B. auch die Berufstätigkeiten in der städtischen Gesellschaft hoch differenziert und spezialisiert sind. Alle diese Unterschiede bringen soziale Distanz hervor. Die Beziehungen der Städter (ihre 'Verkehrskreise') sind eher fragmentiert und funktional spezialisiert, d.h. man hat mit ihnen in bestimmten zweckgebundenen Zusammenhängen zu tun und kennt sie daher nur ausschnitthaft. Während man auf dem Dorf von der Verkäuferin beim Bäcker weiß, mit wem sie zusammenlebt, wie viele Kinder sie hat und welchen Freizeitsport sie treibt, weiß man von der Verkäuferin im städtischen Supermarkt nur, ob sie freundlich ist oder nicht – Informationen, mit denen man die Stimmung an bestimmten Tagen interpretieren könnte, hat man nicht. Städter sind im übrigen viel mobiler, die Haushalte ziehen dort öfter um. Und Städter sind auch sozial mobil: Sie geben alte Freundschaften auf und gewinnen neue, sie können ihre Beziehungsnetze verändern und die Personen bewußt auswählen, mit denen sie etwas zu tun haben wollen. Demgegenüber hat das Leben auf dem Lande etwas Ruhiges, Beständiges und

Übersichtliches. Tönnies hielt die Urbanisierung, die für ihn gleichbedeutend war mit dem Wandel von Gemeinschaft zu Gesellschaft, für eine grundlegende Tendenz in der modernen Zeit. Er bedauerte diese Entwicklung, da er glaubte, dass der Verlust von Gemeinschaft soziale Desintegration bedeute und die Menschen voneinander isoliere. Tönnies wollte dem Verlust von nachbarschaftlicher und familiärer Solidarität genossenschaftliche Assoziationen entgegensetzen, in denen soziale Beziehungen nicht-ökonomisch vermittelt sein sollten.

5.2. Urbane Lebensweise

Illusionslos, aber auch mit ambivalenten Gefühlen betrachtete Georg Simmel Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts die sozialen Beziehungen in der modernen Großstadt (Simmel 1984). Auch er beschreibt die Verluste von gemeinschaftlichen Sozialformen, hebt jedoch auch und nachdrücklich die Gewinne dieses Wandels hervor. Beziehungen zwischen Menschen in der Stadt seien – so seine Diagnose – vergleichbar mit den Beziehungen zwischen Menschen auf Märkten: Man tritt, vermittelt durch Geld, zueinander in eine „rein sachliche“ Beziehung, bei der die zweckgerichtete Interaktion allein ausschlaggebend ist, die persönlichen Eigenschaften der handelnden Menschen hingegen keinerlei Rolle spielen. Diese Art von „unpersönlichen“ Beziehungen wird bei Simmel zum Modell des großstädtischen Lebens und zum Charakteristikum städtischer Mentalität. So werden die sozialen Beziehungen in der Großstadt mit allgemeinen Tendenzen der modernen Gesellschaft in Verbindung gebracht – diese zeigen sich in der Großstadt lediglich früher und besonders deutlich.

Anders als Tönnies oder als die Großstadtkritik an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert wies Simmel nicht nur auf die mit der Urbanisierung verbundenen Verluste an menschlicher Nähe hin, sondern auch auf die mit ihr verbundenen Gewinne an Freiheit und Individualität. Weil die persönlichen Eigenarten der Menschen, mit denen man im Beruf, in der Nachbarschaft oder irgendwo in der Stadt zu tun hat, in der Regel nicht interessieren, sondern nur das, was man gemeinsam mit ihnen erreichen will (eine bestimmte Leistung), ist der wechselseitige Umgang von persönlicher Gleichgültigkeit geprägt – aber diese hat den positiven Effekt einer *Toleranz* gegenüber Unterschieden.

den und Eigenarten. Diese ist in kleinstädtischen oder ländlichen Lebenswelten weit weniger vorhanden, weil es eine mehr oder weniger klare Definition davon gibt, wie 'wir' sind, wie 'wir' uns verhalten, und weil dieses 'Wir' durch Abgrenzungen gegen andere (z. B. neu Zuziehende) immer wieder neu bestätigt werden muss. Dies lässt abweichendes oder verschiedenes Verhalten in verschiedenen Rollen nicht zu – man begegnet sich nicht nur zweckbegrenzt in einer bestimmten Funktion, sondern als Mitbürger, mit dem man verschiedene Lebenssphären und Verkehrskreise teilt. In der Großstadt dagegen sind die Verkehrs- und Kontaktkreise stärker ausdifferenziert, sie werden lediglich durch ein komplexes Netz der Arbeitsteilung zusammengehalten. Während Simmel die mit dem Großstadtleben verbundenen Gewinne betonte, bewegten die Soziologen der 'Chicago-Schule' um Robert Park (vgl. Lindner 1990) vor allem die Gefahren des Großstadtlebens. Mit der Migration aus der 'Alten' in die 'Neue' Welt war ein Zusammenbruch der lokalen Bindungen und der Auflösung der dörflichen Gemeinschaften verbunden, und dadurch ging die soziale Kontrolle durch Familie oder Nachbarschaft verloren. Daher, so ihre These, trete in der Großstadt mehr unmoralisches, abweichendes Verhalten und mehr Kriminalität auf. Aber auch in der Großstadt bilden sich Gemeinschaften an Orten, wo Menschen mit ähnlicher Herkunft, ähnlichen Einstellungen, ähnlichen Werten und ähnlichen Sitten leben. Solche räumlich abgegrenzten sozialen Gebilde, die durch eigene Normen, Traditionen und Verhaltensmuster geprägt sind, können als 'Dörfer in der Stadt' bezeichnet werden. Die ganze Stadt setzt sich nach den Vorstellungen der Chicago-Schule zusammen aus solchen Gemeinschaften, sie ist ein „Mosaik sozialer Welten“. Für die amerikanischen Großstädte ist das sicherlich eine zutreffende Beschreibung, weil für sie eine feinteilige Segregation nach ethnischer und sozialer Zugehörigkeiten typisch ist.

5.3. Die Persistenz von Gemeinschaft

Die These, wonach die traditionellen gemeinschaftliche Bindungen in großen, modernen Städten nicht überleben können, wurde durch empirische Studien erschüttert. Viele städtische Nachbarschaften ähneln nach Beobachtungen von Gemeinsoziologen den kleinen Städten – sowohl hinsicht-

lich der Sozialstruktur als auch hinsichtlich der Interaktionsmuster. Herbert Gans sammelte als einer der ersten Soziologen im Westend von Boston empirische Belege für diese These. Das Westend, ein innerstädtisches Mietshausgebiet, wurde von Stadtplanern als sozial desintegrierter und verfallender Slum betrachtet und sollte abgerissen werden. Gans fand indessen heraus, dass die soziale Struktur des Gebiets und die sozialen Beziehungen darin keineswegs dem Bild von den unpersönlichen, entfremdeten Orten entsprachen, das man damals üblicherweise von den großstädtischen Quartieren hatte. Er entdeckte eine 'Gemeinschaft' im Westend – mit den gleichen engen, dauerhaften Beziehungen und Netzwerken gegenseitigen Unterstützung, die man bis dahin nur in sehr kleinen Städten vermutet hatte. Gans gab seinem Buch über das Westend den programmatischen Titel *The Urban Villagers* (Gans 1962). Die persönlichen Beziehungen der Bewohner untereinander machten für Gans das Westend zu einem 'städtischen Dorf'. Zwar hatten nicht alle 7000 Bewohner des Westends eine intime Kenntnis voneinander, aber in den Quartieren kannte man sich und sprach regelmäßig mit den Nachbarn. In den Fluren der Mietshäuser, in Läden, auf Treppen und auf den Straßen war ein sehr aktives Leben zu beobachten. Die Bewohner erfuhren so eine Menge über andere Mitglieder ihrer ethnischen Gruppen, sogar über Leute, die sie nie getroffen haben. Sie fühlten sich durch diese Informationsnetze mit Hunderten von anderen um sie herum verbunden. Wiewohl im Zentrum einer modernen Großstadt lebend, waren sie sich gegenseitig nicht fremd, sondern hatten Teil an engen sozialen Beziehungen, die charakteristisch für eine Gemeinschaft sind. Mit solchen Untersuchungen geriet allmählich die Vorstellung, die Großstadtbewohner seien durchgängig sozial isoliert und lebten anonym, ins Wanken. Auch in den Altbaugebieten der europäischen Großstädten bildeten sich nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg Enklaven, in denen sich sozial unterprivilegierte Gruppen sammelten, weil sie nur in den schlecht ausgestatteten und heruntergekommenen Vierteln billige Wohnungen fanden. So konzentrierten sich dort die Ärmeren, die alleinstehenden Alten und schließlich – nachdem in den 1960er Jahren die Anwerbung von Arbeitskräften im Ausland eingesetzt hatte – auch die Zuwanderer. Diese Quartiere wurden wegen ihrer als

‘rückständig’ klassifizierten Lebensverhältnisse Ziel von Sanierungsstrategien und daher auch Gegenstand soziologischer Untersuchungen. Diese stellten übereinstimmend fest, dass sich die sozialen Beziehungen in den Sanierungsgebieten von denjenigen der übrigen Gebiete in der Stadt unterschieden, weil sie funktionierende nachbarschaftliche Unterstützungsnetze aufwiesen und sich spezifische Milieus herausgebildet hatten. Das wurde unterschiedlich interpretiert: Man sah in diesem Milieu einerseits eine kulturelle Rückständigkeit, das die Bewohner gerade wegen seiner intensiven sozialen Beziehungen in einer Struktur der Benachteiligung festhielt; deshalb wurde eine grundlegende Erneuerung dieser Stadtteile zugunsten einer Modernisierung der Lebensverhältnisse gefordert (Zapf 1969). Andererseits wurde dieses Milieu als ein bewahrenswertes kulturelles Gut der Bewohner bewertet, das Unterstützung und soziale Einbettung gewährleistete, und das durch die bauliche Erneuerung der Gebäude (mit der Folge höherer Mieten) nicht zerstört werden dürfe (Gude 1972). Gemeinschaftliche Strukturen können also trotz Verstädterung und Urbanisierung überleben. Besonders häufig und ausgeprägt sind solche Strukturen in den Vierteln, in denen Zuwanderer aus anderen Kulturen zusammen leben – nicht nur, weil diese häufig aus ländlichen Regionen kommen und einen traditionellen Lebensstil mitbringen, sondern auch, weil sie für die Orientierung und die Integration in der fremden Umwelt zunächst noch besonders stark auf die Solidarität ihrer Familien und ihrer ethnisch-kulturellen Netzwerke angewiesen sind. Besonders verbreitet ist die Gleichzeitigkeit von traditionellen Sozialbeziehungen und räumlicher Verstädterung in den Großstädten der Dritten Welt, weil dort viele Menschen zwar in die Stadt wandern, aber nicht in die urbanisierte Gesellschaft integriert werden. Denn die Zugänge zum Arbeitsmarkt bleiben ihnen versperrt, und damit wird jene Individualisierung unmöglich, die Simmel als typisch für die Großstadtbewohner angesehen hatte: Verstädterung ohne Urbanisierung.

5.4. Wandel der Gemeinschaft

Eng verwobene Nachbarschaften werden heute vor allem von ethnischen Minderheiten in den Städten gebildet, die ursprünglich als ‘Gastarbeiter’ für die Industriearbeit angeworben worden waren. Dies sind aber nicht die einzigen Formen von ‘Gemeinschaft’ in

großen Städten. Vielmehr entstehen neue Formen von gemeinschaftlicher Bindung, die nicht notwendigerweise auf gemeinsamer Herkunft oder räumlicher Nähe beruhen. Stadtbewohner bilden soziale Netzwerke, die über die Nachbarschaftsgrenze oder sogar die Stadtgrenzen hinausreichen. Diese Netzwerke basieren auf gemeinsamen Interessen, beruflichen Tätigkeiten und anderen verbindenden Aktivitäten. Zum Beispiel können sich Feministinnen aus verschiedenen Teilen einer Stadt regelmäßig treffen, um ihren spezifischen Stil zu pflegen und gemeinsame Projekte zu planen. Oder Menschen, die ein gemeinsames Hobby haben, treffen sich regelmäßig bzw. gründen einen Club. Simmel hatte bereits darauf hingewiesen, dass sich in einer Großstadt aufgrund der kulturellen Heterogenität ihrer Bewohner für jedes noch so ausgefallene Interesse ein hinreichend großes Publikum finden könne. Auf dem ‘Land’ können sich solche Netzwerke, die auf gemeinsamen Interessen basieren, kaum entwickeln, weil die Bevölkerung nicht groß genug und nicht so heterogen ist, um sie zu tragen. Nur die Stadt mit ihrer großen und kulturell heterogenen Menschenkonzentration ermöglicht solche Differenzierungen, die sich auch in städtische Subkulturen manifestieren können.

6. Ländliche und städtische Netzwerke

Wenn sich die ökonomischen Indikatoren angleichen, wenn also Stadt und Land nicht mehr anhand der Wirtschaftsstruktur eindeutig unterschieden werden können, und wenn Informationen und Konsumgüter durch die Ausbreitung von Medien der Massenkommunikation ubiquitär verfügbar geworden sind, stellt sich die Frage, inwieweit sich Lebensstile und Mentalitäten in Stadt und Land ebenfalls angeglichen haben. Nach aller Erfahrung macht es immer noch einen Unterschied, ob man ‘auf dem Land’ oder in der Großstadt wohnt – aber welchen? Eine direkte Antwort darauf könnten nur vergleichende repräsentative Studien geben, die genauer regionale Differenzierungen erlauben. Eine solche Studie liegt für Deutschland bisher nicht vor. Untersuchungen zum Leben auf dem Dorf wurden in der unmittelbaren Nachkriegszeit in großer Zahl durchgeführt (vgl. Struff 1999), sowohl vergleichende Dorfstudien als auch Längsschnittstudien, in denen bei mehrfacher Un-

tersuchung der gleichen Dörfer der Wandel festgestellt werden konnte (vgl. z.B. Becker 1997). Untersuchungen zum Wandel der sozialräumlichen Strukturen und der sozialen Verhältnisse in den Großstädten liegen ebenfalls in großer Zahl vor, aber über die Differenz zwischen 'Land' und 'Stadt' erfahren wir daraus nur indirekt etwas. Nimmt man die soziologische Diagnose von Georg Simmel zur Großstadt als Ausgangspunkt, wonach sich die 'Verkehrskreise' der Großstadt-Bewohner stärker differenzieren und sich weniger überschneiden als in kleinen Orten, hat man ein methodisches Instrumentarium zur Hand, um städtische und ländliche Lebensformen voneinander zu unterscheiden. Methodisch geeignet ist dafür die Netzwerkanalyse (vgl. Art. 55), mit der die Struktur und Reichweite solcher 'Verkehrskreise' untersucht werden kann. In Netzwerkuntersuchungen werden die Kontaktpersonen der Interviewpartner abgefragt, die Häufigkeit und manchmal auch der Inhalt bzw. die Intensität von Kontakten. Unterschieden werden können dann 'geschlossene' bzw. 'primäre' Netzwerke, in denen sich alle Kontaktpartner auch untereinander kennen, und offene bzw. sekundäre Netzwerke, bei denen die Kontaktpersonen unterschiedlichen sozialen Kreisen angehören und sich daher untereinander auch unbekannt sind. Primäre Netzwerke mit häufigen Kontakten sind in der Regel sozial homogener als offene Netzwerke, in denen Kontakte seltener und auch mit sozial distanzierteren Personen stattfinden. Mit diesem Instrument können soziale Beziehungen in unterschiedlichen räumlichen Settings gut verglichen werden. Vorliegende Netzwerkuntersuchungen zeigen, dass es tatsächlich Unterschiede zwischen Stadt und Land gibt. Die Unterschiede liegen im Ausmaß der geographischen Streuung, die die Wohnorte der Kontaktpersonen haben, und im 'Inhalt', d.h. im Anlaß bzw. 'Zweck', der mit ihnen verbunden wird sowie in der sozialen Verbundenheit der Netzwerkangehörigen. Mit abnehmender Gemeindegröße nehmen Anteil und Zahl der Verwandten unter den Kontaktpersonen zu (vgl. Friedrichs 1995, 161). Besuchen in den Großstädten 36% der Befragten ihre Verwandten mehrmals wöchentlich, so ist dies bei den Bewohnern kleiner Gemeinden bei mehr als der Hälfte (51%) der Fall. In kleinen Gemeinden spielen Verwandte, in Großstädten Bekannte eine dominierende Rolle in den

Netzwerken. Allerdings kann daraus nicht direkt auf einen Effekt der Gemeindegröße geschlossen werden, denn das durchschnittliche Bildungsniveau variiert in gleicher Weise: Der Anteil von Bewohnern mit Hauptschule als höchstem Schulabschluß ist höher, je kleiner eine Gemeinde ist, „und Hauptschüler haben kleinere und stärker durch Verwandte bestimmte Netzwerke als Personen mit Realschulabschluß oder Abitur“ (Friedrichs 1995, 160).

Planck/Zische haben die ländlichen Netzwerke hypothetisch so beschrieben: „Auf dem Lande sind die sozialen Netzwerke im allgemeinen eng geknüpft und fest geknotet. ... Je vollständiger alle Kontaktpersonen eines Aktors untereinander Beziehungen aufrechterhalten, desto mehr steht er unter Kontrolle. Ein enges soziales Netzwerk schränkt daher die Handlungsfreiheit einer Person ein, während ein weites soziales Netzwerk ihr mehr Spielraum läßt. Die Netzwerkdichte, d.h. das Verhältnis tatsächlicher Kontakte zu den möglichen Kontakten, erreicht innerhalb eines Haushalts einen maximalen Wert, ist aber auch innerhalb dörflicher Nachbarschaften außerordentlich hoch. Feste Knoten im sozialen Netzwerk sind solche Beziehungen, die einen hohen Grad an gegenseitiger Verpflichtung und Verbindlichkeit enthalten. Besonders feste Verknüpfungen sind Eheschließungen. Sie werden in ländlichen Gesellschaften gewöhnlich mit großem Bedacht auf ihre Auswirkungen auf das soziale Netzwerk in die Wege geleitet. Die meisten Beziehungen innerhalb ländlicher sozialer Netzwerke sind lokal, dauerhaft und ständig aktiviert. Dies hängt damit zusammen, daß sie überwiegend durch Geburt und Wohnlage vorgegeben werden und nur zum kleineren Teil wahlweise erworben werden können. Gelegenheiten wie Familienfeste, Dorffeste oder Jahrmärkte (nimmt man) gerne zum Anlaß, ruhende Beziehungen zu beleben, um das soziale Netzwerk 'intakt' zu halten. ... Ländliche Beziehungen sind häufiger diffus als spezifisch. ... Die Beziehungen ... sind relativ intensiv. Mit Intensität ist der Grad gemeint, zu dem Personen bereit sind, Verpflichtungen zu erfüllen und Rechte wahrzunehmen, die in ihrer Beziehung zu anderen Personen inbegriffen sind. Ein weiteres Kennzeichen ländlicher sozialer Netzwerke ist die Häufigkeit der Kontakte zwischen den beteiligten Akteuren“. (Planck/Zische 1979, 114). Diese ländliche

Realität ist eindrucksvoll beschrieben in Dorfstudien, die zu jenem Zeitpunkt durchgeführt wurden, als der 'große Bruch' vollzogen war und sich die Stadt-Land-Unterschiede aufzulösen schienen. Illien/Jeggle (1978) haben ein Dorf in der Nähe von Tübingen studiert und stellten dabei fest, dass sich zwar die ökonomischen Strukturen und die Bedeutung der Landwirtschaft für das Dorfleben gegenüber früher radikal verändert hatten, dass aber die sozialen Unterschiede zwischen städtischem und ländlichem Leben damit keineswegs verschwunden waren. Sie zeigen, wie jahrhundertalte Erfahrungen und dadurch geprägte Orientierungen bei der Landbevölkerung weiterleben und sich auf ihre Einstellungen zur Welt auswirken. An den darauf beruhenden Normen werden die Dorfbewohner gemessen, und der gemeinsame kulturelle Hintergrund begründet ein Zugehörigkeitsgefühl, anhand dessen sich die Dorfgemeinschaft gegen jüngst Zugezogene oder gar ausländische Einwohner klar abgrenzen kann, und das ein ausgeprägtes 'Heimatgefühl' stützt. Soziale Ungleichheit wird dabei nicht kritisiert, wie überhaupt eine Sich-Fügen in das als vorgegeben angenommene Schicksal einen herausragenden Zug der sozialen Orientierung bildet – eine Prägung, die von der Naturabhängigkeit des bäuerlichen Lebens herrührt. Auch die Verteilung der Funktionen in der politischen Repräsentation folgt noch den Hierarchien und Reputationen, die aus der früheren agrarischen Sozialordnung herrühren. Die Gesellschaft hat sich stärker verändert als das dörfliche Sozialleben, die Autoren sprechen daher von einem „Dorf in fremder Gesellschaft“, dessen Charakteristik sie so zusammenfassen: Das „Sozialgefüge, das 'Dorf', (hat sich) nachdem sein alter Hauptprägefaktor, die bäuerliche Wirtschaftsweise nämlich, in eine Nebenrolle gedrängt wurde, von seiner eigenen Basis gelöst; es existiert heute scheinbar selbständig und sich selbst tragend. Doch zeigt sich gerade in dieser Selbstständigkeit das Weiterwirken alter, heute nicht mehr sinnvoll erscheinender Zwänge, die ein verblüffend problemarmes Leben ... in der modernen Gesellschaft eröffnen“ (Illien/Jeggle 1978, 184f.). Aus der Diskrepanz zwischen materieller Lebensgrundlage und anachronistischen Normen ergeben sich starke Sozialkontrollen und Spannungen mit Neubürgern, die nicht in diesem Normensystem sozialisiert worden sind. Die Au-

toren gehen dabei so weit, dass sie den engen Kommunikationszusammenhang im Dorf, in dem nichts verborgen bleibt und alles zensiert wird, als „eine Art Terrorzusammenhang“ (Illien/Jeggle 1978, 36) kennzeichnen. Brüggemeier/Riehle (1986, 11) sind bei ihrer Analyse eines Dorfes im Schwarzwald zu ganz ähnlichen Ergebnissen gelangt. Sie bezeichnen die „Bäuerlichkeit des Dorfes“ als eine Sozialform, das auf „lebensdefinierende Topoi von Erfahrung verweist“. Auf dem Dorf wird die 'Bäuerlichkeit' als kulturelle Identität kultiviert, und die alte Sozialordnung lebt in der Verteilung von Macht und Prestige sowie in der scharfen sozialen Kontrolle über alle fort, die der Dorfgemeinschaft zugehören wollen. „Soziale Kontrolle findet sich im Dorf überall, fast an jedem Ort, fast zu jeder Zeit, und fast jeder übt sie aus. Sie findet statt im Berufs- und Vereinsleben, in Familie und Nachbarschaft, zu mehr oder weniger jeder Stunde, unbemerkt von denen, die sie ausüben, und denen, die sie erleiden“ (Brüggemann/Riehle 1986, 179). Dem Mikrokosmos des Dorfes komme für diejenigen, die sich nicht zu einem Wegzug entscheiden (können), „nach wie vor zentrale orientierende Bedeutung zu“ (Brüggemann/Riehle 1986, 209). Der gesamte Lebenslauf einschließlich Berufswahl und Heirat bleiben in diese Welt eingebettet, denn das, was außerhalb der Dorfwelt passiert, wird nur distanziert wahrgenommen. „Das Land zeigt beispielhaft, daß Verhalten und Bewußtsein von Menschen im Hinblick auf die Veränderung ihrer äußeren Lebensbedingungen eine andere 'historische Zerfallszeit' haben, als die Entwicklung der materiellen Lebensverhältnisse suggerieren mag“ (Brüggemann/Riehle 1986, 10). Hinsichtlich der sozialen Netzwerke ist das empirische Bild allerdings nicht so klar, wie es von Planck/Zische hypothetisch formuliert worden ist. In kleinen Gemeinden ist festgestellt worden, dass der Anteil von solchen Netzwerken, in denen sich alle Personen untereinander kennen, sehr niedrig ist, dass es also nicht den linearen Zusammenhang von Größe und Netzwerkstruktur gibt, den man bei einer Kontrastierung von 'modernem' Großstadtleben und 'traditionellem' Kleinstadtleben annehmen könnte. Aufgelöst werden kann dieser Widerspruch dadurch, dass der Typus 'kleine Gemeinde' in sich nicht homogen ist, sondern verschiedene Realitäten umfasst: einerseits die peripher gelegenen kleinen Gemeinden, in denen aufgrund

langer Wohndauer der meisten Dorfbewohner traditionell enge Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen vorherrschen, andererseits die kleinen Gemeinden im Umland großer Städte, wo neben den traditionellen Dorfbewohnern eine große Zahl, vielerorts sogar eine Mehrheit von Personen lebt, die aus der Stadt im Zuge der Suburbanisierung zugezogen sind und ihre 'städtischen Lebensweise' mitgebracht und aufrecht erhalten haben. Das Wohnen in der Großstadt, hindert die Leute nicht daran, Freunde in einem größeren geographischen Gebiet zu suchen. Urbanisierung muss also 'Gemeinschaft' nicht zerstören, vielmehr werden die gemeinschaftlichen Sozialformen durch die Erweiterung der geographischen Grenzen transformiert (Fischer 1982). Das Leben in einem städtischen Gebiet verändert die Zusammensetzung sozialer Netzwerke. Das Gemeinschaftsgefühl kann in Städten zur gleichen Zeit verschwinden, bestehen bleiben oder sich ändern: Es kommt darauf an, welchen besonderen Teil der Stadt man untersucht. Empirische Belege kann man für jede dieser drei Perspektiven finden.

7. Konflikte zwischen 'Eingesessenen' und 'Zugezogenen'

In einigen Gemeindestudien ist gezeigt worden, wie die Unterscheidung zwischen 'Einheimischen' und 'Zugezogenen' über Generationen aufrechterhalten wird und sich auf die sozialen Beziehungen auswirkt (vgl. Croon/Utermann 1958, Elias/Scotson 1990). Dieses Schisma beruht zunächst auf der Unterscheidung zwischen alteingesessenen Bauernfamilien und zugezogenen Beschäftigten, die in anderen Wirtschaftszweigen arbeiten, also auf der Konfrontation einer agrargesellschaftlichen Sozialordnung mit ihr 'fremden' Elementen; aber die darauf beruhende Unterscheidung kann sehr lange virulent bleiben und die sozialen Beziehungen in einem Ort auch dann noch prägen, wenn die Landwirtschaft auch für die alteingesessenen Familien ihre Bedeutung längst eingebüßt hat. Eine soziale Rangordnung wird dann also noch aufrecht erhalten, obwohl sie ihre materielle Basis verloren hat. Inzwischen werden einheimische Bauern von den aus der Stadt Zugezogenen sogar auf ihrem angestammten Kompetenzfeld angegriffen: Konflikte über die 'richtige' Landwirtschaft, über Käfigtierhaltung und chemische Düngemittel werden von den postmodernen Neu-Dörflern hervorgerufen, die zwar auf's Land ziehen, aber

nicht in die unattraktiven Seiten der landwirtschaftlichen Industrie verwickelt werden wollen. Konflikte zwischen Zuwanderern und Einheimischen treten auch in Großstädten auf, nur werden sie dort anders 'gelöst'. In den Großstädten ist die Bevölkerung nach verschiedenen Merkmalen segregiert, und dadurch gibt es weniger direkte Begegnungen. Je nach Einkommen, Lebensstil oder ethnischer Zugehörigkeit wohnen die Bewohner in verschiedenen Quartieren. Sie werden durch die Mechanismen des Boden- und Wohnungsmarkts, durch Diskriminierung seitens der Vermieter, aber durch eigene Wohnstandortpräferenzen auf verschiedene Teile der Stadt verteilt, und dadurch entstehen weniger erzwungene Kontakte zwischen den heterogenen Bevölkerungsteilen. Die sozialräumliche Segregation ist in kleineren Städten und auf in den Dörfern augenscheinlich geringer, dadurch leben Gruppen unterschiedlicher sozialer Lagen auf engerem Raum beeinander, und sie müssen sich auch die geringere Zahl und die weniger spezialisierten Infrastruktureinrichtungen teilen. In den Städten, wo die Spannbreite sozialer Unterschiede größer ist, können soziale Distanzen in räumliche Distanzen übersetzt werden, und so entsteht jenes 'Mosaik kleiner Welten', das eine Koexistenz auch ohne wechselseitige Berührung ermöglicht (vgl. Häußermann/Kapppan 2000). Handelt es sich bei der sozialräumlichen Segregation nicht um eine freiwillige, wie es bei der am schärfsten separierten Gruppe der obersten Einkommensbezieher der Fall ist, sondern um eine erzwungene, wie sie für soziale Randgruppen und ethnische Minoritäten typisch ist, besteht die Gefahr einer sozialen Ausgrenzung. Aus einem Ausländerviertel kann dann ein Getto werden, wenn die dort Wohnenden in ihren kulturellen und ökonomischen Aktivitäten auf eine 'Parallelgesellschaft' beschränkt werden, die sich eine eigene Infrastruktur in einer 'ethnischen Kolonie' ausgebildet hat. Der hohe in absehbarer Zukunft weiter zunehmende Anteil von Zuwanderern an der Großstadtbevölkerung stellt eine große Herausforderung für die soziale Integration dar (vgl. Häußermann 1988).

8. Die Differenz zwischen Stadt und Land heute

Der Stadt-Land-Gegensatz ist verschwunden, die Stadt-Land-Unterschiede haben sich abgeschwächt, lediglich in den Lebens-

formen und in den Mentalitäten konnten wir noch deutliche Spuren der früheren Unterschiede erkennen. Ist damit das Thema erledigt? Neben den beschriebenen Differenzen in den Lebensstilen sind noch die Lebensbedingungen zu vergleichen, die eine Bedingung für eine selbst bestimmte Lebensführung und für die Lebenschancen sind. Dazu gehören die Ausstattung mit kultureller und gesundheitsbezogener Infrastruktur ebenso wie die Bildungseinrichtungen (vgl. 56, 3). Angesichts enorm verbesserter Mobilitäts- und Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten spielt die direkte räumliche Nähe von Infrastruktureinrichtungen zwar heute eine ge-

ringere Rolle als noch zu den Zeiten, als der Pferdewagen die beste Transportmöglichkeit war, aber die Dichte solcher Einrichtungen, wie sie in großen Städten zu finden ist, bietet dennoch erhebliche Vorteile. Insbesondere für Kinder und Jugendliche sowie für alte Menschen ist die Erreichbarkeit nach wie vor ein Faktor, der nicht nur die Wahlfreiheit, sondern die Wahrnehmung solcher Angebote überhaupt beeinflusst.

In Tabelle 56.3 sind Daten zum Vergleich zwischen den Großstädten und ländlichen Regionen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zusammengestellt. Bei diesen beiden Regionstypen handelt es sich um die äußersten

Tabelle 56.3: Strukturdaten zu Großstädten und ländlichen Kreisen (1999/2000)

	Bevölkerung					Schulkinder ⁶	
	Entwicklung ¹ (1980–2000)	Dichte ²	Wanderungs- saldo ²	Ausländer- anteil ⁴	Sozial- hilfe- empfänger ⁵	Anteil in %	Anteil der Ausländer
Großstädte	-0,7	2152	-0,3	15,2	58,7	12,3	16,2
Ländliche Regionen	6,9	136	3,2	5,3	23,8	15,1	4,0

	Erwerbstätigkeit				
	Beschäftigten- dichte ⁷	Anteil Primärer Sektor ⁸	Anteil der Beschäftigten mit hoher Qualifikation in %	Fertigungs- berufe in %	Arbeitslosen- quote ⁹
Großstädte	42,9	0,4	12,1	21,6	11,8
Ländliche Regionen	27,3	1,6	4,9	37,8	8,9

	Infrastruktur			PKW- Dichte ¹³	Wohnen	
	Gymnasien (1991) ¹⁰	Theater/ Kinos (1991) ¹¹	Ärzte (2000) ¹²		Wohnfläche je Person in qm ¹⁴	Personen je Wohnung ¹⁵
Großstädte	12,1	169	207	496	37,5	1,91
Ländliche Regionen	7,5	88	150	556	40,4	2,25

1) Veränderung 1980–2000 in %; 2) Einwohner in 1000 je km² (2000); 3) Gesamtwanderungssaldo je 1000 Einwohner (1999); 4) Anteil der Ausländer an den Einwohnern in % (1999); 5) Empfänger laufender Hilfe zum Lebensunterhalt außerhalb von Einrichtungen je 1000 Einwohner (1999); 6) Anteil der Einwohner im Alter von 5 bis unter 18 Jahren an den Einwohnern in % (1999); 7) Sozialversicherungspflichtig Beschäftigte pro 1000 Einwohner; 8) Anteil der sozialversicherungspflichtig Beschäftigten im Primären Sektor (Bereiche Land- und Forstwirtschaft, Tierhaltung und Fischerei) an den SV-Beschäftigten in % (2000); 9) Anteil der Arbeitslosen an den Arbeitnehmern in % (2001); 10) Anzahl der Gymnasien, Gesamt- und Waldorfschulen je 10000 Einwohner im Alter bis 15 bis unter 20 Jahren (1991); 11) Plätze in Theatern und Lichtspielhäusern je 10000 Einwohner; 12) Ärzte insgesamt je 100000 Einwohner (2000); 13) Anzahl der PKW je 1000 Einwohner (2001); 14) Wohnfläche je Einwohner in qm (1999); 15) Personen je Wohnung (1999)

Pole des Stadt-Land-Kontinuums, die Großstädte werden den ländlichen Kreisen in verdichteten Regionen gegenübergestellt. Die peripher gelegenen, dünn besiedelten Landkreise bleiben außer Acht. Im Jahr 2000 lebten in den Großstädten ca. 19,5 Mio. Einwohner, das sind 23% der Gesamtbevölkerung, in diesen ländlichen Gemeinden ca. 6,5 Mio. (8% der Bevölkerung). Die Daten zeigen erhebliche Unterschiede in der Bevölkerungsdichte, beim Wanderungssaldo, beim Ausländeranteil und bei der Sozialhilfedichte. Auf dem Land bestätigt sich das Bild einer vergleichsweise homogenen Bevölkerung in aufgelockelter Siedlungsstruktur; in der Großstadt wohnen 20-mal mehr Menschen auf gleicher Fläche, die 'Sozialhilfedichte' ist mehr als zwei Mal, der Ausländeranteil drei Mal so hoch – in den Schulen sogar vier Mal. Auch unter den Arbeitslosen ist der Ausländeranteil vier Mal so hoch wie auf dem Land. Die Arbeitslosigkeit ist in den peripheren Regionen niedriger als in den Großstädten – eine Folge des starken ökonomischen Strukturwandels, dem die Städte seit den 70er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts unterworfen sind (vgl. Häußermann/Siebel 1987). Der höhere Schüleranteil zeigt, dass auf dem Land mehr Familien mit Kindern wohnen. Die höhere Sozialhilfedichte in den Großstädten hat drei Ursachen: Zum ersten spielen verwandtschaftliche Netze auf dem Lande eine größere Rolle als in den Städten; wer auf dem Land aufwächst und seinen familiären Umkreis nie verlassen hat, wird auch, wenn er in Not gerät, eher von der Familie aufgefangen als in der Großstadt. Zum zweiten ist die Hemmschwelle, sich auf's Rathaus zu begeben und Sozialhilfe zu beantragen, auf dem Land größer, weil damit die ganze Familie 'stigmatisiert' wird; man kennt sich, und die Verwaltungsangestellten sprechen die Familienmitglieder schon mal an und erinnern diese an ihre 'Verantwortung'. Zum dritten wandern diejenigen, die in Not geraten und sich dessen schämen, vom Land ab und versuchen, in der anonymen Großstadt einen Ausweg zu finden – individuelle Not wird gleichsam in die Stadt exportiert. Die höhere Beschäftigendichte in den Großstädten geht einher mit einem drei Mal so hohen Anteil von Beschäftigten mit höherer Qualifikation. Fertigungsberufe, also die klassischen Arbeiter-tätigkeiten, sind dagegen auf dem Land deutlich häufiger. Damit ist auch zu erklären, dass im Durchschnitt in der Großstadt

etwa 25% mehr verdient wird als auf dem Land. Bei der Versorgung mit kultureller und gesundheitsbezogener Infrastruktur zeigen sich ebenfalls deutliche Unterschiede, wobei – was die Statistik nicht zeigt – die höhere Versorgungsdichte in den Großstädten mit einer größeren Spezialisierung und Diversifizierung des Angebots verbunden ist. Die schlechtere Infrastrukturversorgung und die niedrige Einwohnerdichte zwingt zur häufigen PKW-Benutzung, da die Verbindungen mit dem öffentlichen Nahverkehr nur sehr geringe Frequenzen aufweisen. In vielen kleinen Landgemeinden gibt es nicht einmal Handelseinrichtungen zur Versorgung mit Gütern des täglichen Bedarfs, so dass auch das Einkaufen regelmäßig eine Fahrt mit dem PKW verlangt. Die PKW-Dichte ist daher auf dem Land deutlich höher, allerdings lebt man dadurch dort auch gefährlicher. Die Zahl der Straßenverkehrsunfälle ist höher, und ihr Leben lassen bei solchen Unfällen fünf Mal mehr Land- als Stadtbewohner. Ein großer Teil dieser schweren Unfälle ist auf den Freizeitverkehr von Jugendlichen zurückzuführen, die an den Abenden und in der Nacht zwischen verschiedenen Orten unterwegs sein müssen. Die Versorgung mit Wohnfläche ist für Landbewohner, die überwiegend im eigenen Haus leben, besser. Die Möglichkeit, billigeres Bauland zu kaufen, ist für viele städtische Haushalte ein Grund, auf's Land zu ziehen. Dies sowie die Dezentralisierung von Arbeitsplätzen (vgl. Tabelle 56.1) führt zu einem negativen Wanderungssaldo der Städte, und zu einem Plus auf dem Land. Ob der Wanderungssaldo für die Großstädte wieder positiv wird, hängt inzwischen ausschließlich vom Umfang der Zuwanderung aus dem Ausland ab, denn die 'natürliche' Bevölkerungsentwicklung (Differenz zwischen Geburten und Sterbefällen) ist in den Städten stark negativ. Zur Abwanderung tragen allerdings auch die Konflikte bei, die sich aus der größeren Heterogenität der Stadtbevölkerung ergeben (größere Einkommensunterschiede, mehr Armut, höherer Ausländeranteil). Vor allem wegen der wachsenden multikulturellen Zusammensetzung der Schulklassen ziehen viele Familien mit Kindern die homogenere Umwelt in den ländlichen Gemeinden vor.

9. Schluss

Aus der Kombination von Größe und Dichte ergeben sich die charakteristischen Eigen-

schaften von Städten, in denen sie sich nach wie vor deutlich von suburbanen und ländlichen Siedlungsgebilden unterscheiden. Die Stadt bietet eine größere Vielfalt von Bildungs-, Ausbildungs- und sonstigen Infrastruktureinrichtungen, und dort kann man auch eine höhere Sprosse auf der beruflichen Karriereleiter erreichen. Die bereichernde und lästige Erfahrung von alltäglicher Heterogenität sowohl von sozialen Charakteren als auch von Kultur- und Konsumangeboten gehört zur Stadt – von ihr fühlen sich die einen angezogen, die anderen abgestoßen. Wer sich vor allem im Vertrauten wohl und sicher fühlt, wird die überschaubare und beständigere Welt des Landes suchen; wer die Abwechslung liebt und das Unbekannte erleben möchte, sucht die Nähe von Fremdem, also die städtische Dichte.

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57. Stand und Kaste/Orders and Castes

1. Ein Vergleich
2. Stand
3. Kaste
4. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Ein Vergleich

Stand und Kaste gehören neben Klasse, Schicht (vgl. Art. 46) und Gruppe (vgl. Art. 53) zu den wichtigsten Einteilungskriterien gesellschaftlicher Gebilde. Stand und Kaste sind Prinzipien der Strukturierung sozialer Ungleichheit, auch wenn Unterschiede in den historischen Ausprägungen nicht zu übersehen sind. Insofern stellen sie spezifische Strategien der sozialen Schließung dar, durch die ihre Mitglieder auf der Grundlage von kollektiven Eigenschaften wie Herkunft, Sprache oder Bildung Ressourcen gegenüber Außenseitern monopolisieren und mit der Wirkung sozialer Distanzierung einsetzen können. In der Stände- und Kastengesellschaft ist die Endogamie das vorrangige Instrument, um Stände bzw. Kasten voneinander abzusetzen. In der Kastengesellschaft wird die rechtliche Distanz durch Rituale der physischen Trennung zwischen Mitgliedern niedriger und höherer Kasten noch verstärkt. Im Gegensatz zur Sippe sind Stand und Kaste vertikale Gliederungsprinzipien und auf endogame Rekrutierung ausgerichtet. Stände- und Kastensysteme un-

terscheiden sich von industriegesellschaftlichen Klassen- und Schichtsystemen durch ihr schon von geburts- und rechtswegen zugeschriebenes Merkmal der Gruppenmitgliedschaft, während die Klassenlage oder Schichtzugehörigkeit in erster Linie durch individuelle Erwerbschancen und Verhaltensweisen bestimmt wird. Max Weber (1976, 536) ist daher zu folgen, wenn er in der Kaste eine bis zum äußersten vorgetriebene Gestalt des Standes sieht. Kasten- und Ständehierarchien entpuppen sich vor allem als Interaktionshierarchien mit je spezifischen Barrieren. Während auch vom Standesbegriff kein einheitliches Verständnis existiert, ist der Kastenbegriff sehr viel mehr Gegenstand eines lebhaften und andauernden Diskurses in den Sozialwissenschaften (vgl. Sharma 1999).

2. Stand

Sprachgeschichtlich ist mit Stand in erster Linie die vormoderne Vorstellung von einem festen Standort des Menschen in Staat, Wirtschaft oder Gesellschaft verbunden. Gemeint ist vor allem ein vorbezeichneter Platz, mit dem eine Art von rechtlichem Anspruch auf sicheren Verbleib mit der Verpflichtung zur Aufgabenerfüllung verknüpft ist. So waren Klerus, Adel und Patrizier in

ihren Rechten und Pflichten in der mittelalterlichen Feudalgesellschaft gesetzlich verankert. In der rechtlichen Fixierung von Standesunterschieden zeigt sich ein wesentlicher Unterschied zwischen antiker und mittelalterlicher Ständegesellschaft: Das Aufkommen eines auf freier Arbeit beruhenden Standes (Bürger, Bauern) löste die vorherrschende Spaltung in freie und unfreie Personen ab und machte eine verfasste Ständegesellschaft notwendig. Die mittelalterliche Ständegesellschaft war eine Seinsordnung und der Stand der Ort, wo den Menschen die Berufung Gottes zum Dienst am Nächsten erreichte. Nicht die Funktion bestimmte den gesellschaftlichen Rang des Einzelnen, sondern „das personhafte Sein ... bestimmt den Rang und mit ihm die dem Rang zugeordnete Funktion“ (Nell-Breuning 1959, 7). Dieser personhafte Wert galt als angeboren, gottgewollt, vererblich und entsprach einer metaphysisch begründeten Sozialordnung. Folglich wurde Stand „nicht primär empirisch-sozial, sondern normativ-ethisch begriffen. Aussagen und Deutungen über ‘Stand’ und ‘Stände’ lagen in der Zuständigkeit der Theologen“ (Brunner et al. 1990, 201). Die Mitglieder mittelalterlicher Herrschaftsstände waren nicht gleich vor dem Gesetz, sondern vor Gott, was der Ungleichheit vor den Menschen den Stachel nahm, ja soziale und politische Ungleichheit als gerecht erscheinen ließ. Die Trennung der Stände durch spezifisches Recht und eigene Gerichte ist jedoch nicht mit der empirisch vorfindbaren gesellschaftlichen Ordnung des Mittelalters gleichzusetzen. Wie Kasten, waren Stände in sich heterogene Gebilde und regional unterschiedlich ausgeprägt.

Im Unterschied zum indischen Kastenwesen kommt aber nur den führenden Ständen die Subjektstellung in Staat und Gesellschaft zu, während die große Masse der Untertanen, die Hintersassen, politisch und sozial unmündig bleibt. Die Herrschaftsstände waren Geburtsstände, auch wenn sozialer Aufstieg durch persönliche Leistung nicht ausgeschlossen war, und basierten auf der Grundherrschaft. Das herrschaftsständische Denken wirkte bis weit in die Neuzeit hinein fort, wie die Bezeichnung des städtischen Großbürgertums als Dritter Stand, der Lohnarbeiterschaft als Vierter Stand und des Lumpenproletariats gelegentlich als Fünfter Stand im Gefolge der Französischen Revolution beweist. In der Neuzeit verlor jedoch der ‘Stand’ seine metaphysi-

sche Grundlage und erlebte eine zunehmende ‘Verweltlichung’, die zu einer Wort- und Bedeutungsverschiebung von Stand zu Klasse führte. Die traumatischen Auswirkungen der Französischen Revolution und der Industriellen Revolution verliehen dem metaphysisch-theologisch entwerteten, unter veränderten politischen Bedingungen neu zu definierenden ‘Stand’ wieder Nahrung. ‘Stand’ fand zunehmend Verwendung als ‘Kampfbegriff’. Die Befürchtung, die Demokratie könnte im Strudel der Demagogie untergehen, führte zum ständestaatlichen Modell der politischen Willensbildung. Angesichts der Verelendung und Entfremdung großer Teile der arbeitenden Bevölkerung sahen viele in einer berufsständischen Ordnung die Möglichkeit, das Aufgehen der destruktiven und revolutionären Saat der Klassengesellschaft zu verhindern. Man hoffte, mit den Berufsständen als Leistungsgemeinschaften die ‘organisierten Interessentenhäufen’ vergessen zu machen und neben dem regionalen Pluralismus in der Politik einen funktionalen Pluralismus als Konstruktionsprinzip der modernen Industriegesellschaft zu verankern (vgl. Durkheim 1988). Es fehlte nicht an Versuchen ständestaatlicher bzw. berufsständischer Reorganisation von Gesellschaften, wie die Beispiele Portugals unter Salazar, Österreichs unter Dollfuß und Deutschlands unter Hitler zeigen. Sie blieben aber entweder in Ansätzen stecken (z.B. Hitlers Reichsnährstand) oder denaturierten das Prinzip (z.B. Österreichs autoritärer Ständestaat).

In der sozialwissenschaftlichen Literatur kam der Standesbegriff vor allem durch Max Webers (1976) Unterscheidung zwischen Klassen, Ständen und Parteien als eigenständige Formen der Gruppenbildung und gesellschaftlichen Machtverteilung zu analytischen Ehren. Als Gruppierungen von Menschen seien Stände dadurch gekennzeichnet, dass ihre Wertschätzung sowohl von gemeinsamen Eigenschaften, wie Herkunft oder Beruf, als auch von Gemeinsamkeiten im Denken und Handeln abhängig sei, wie sie in der Erziehung, in der Pflege von Traditionen oder im Umgang mit bestimmten Menschen zum Ausdruck kämen. Stände in diesem Sinne haben eher mit einer angemessenen Lebensführung oder, wie Weber sagte, mit dem Lebensstil, der zu ständischer Ehre führe, zu tun als mit einer besonderen rechtlichen Verankerung oder übereinstimmenden materiellen Lebens-

chancen. Den Ständen stellt Weber die Klassen gegenüber, die in der Welt der ökonomischen Produktion und des Markterwerbs wurzeln. Klassenunterschiede basieren auf der Ungleichheit des Einkommens oder Besitzes, während Stände ungleiches Prestige aufweisen. Im Anschluss an Webers Auffassung von Ständen als Lebensstilgruppen werden auch heute noch bestimmte Gruppierungen, wie z. B. der 'Mittelstand' oder Ärzte und Beamte, mit dem Attribut 'ständisch' belegt. Mitglieder eines 'Standes' in der modernen Gesellschaft zeichnen sich u. a. durch symbolisch vermittelte, demonstrative Homogenität und bestimmte Initiationsrituale aus, die unter ihnen ein Gemeinschaftsgefühl erzeugen. Der auch heute noch häufig benutzte Begriff des 'standesbewussten Denkens' ist Ausdruck für die Aktualität des Standesbegriffs. Aufgegriffen wird er auch, um die kulturelle und rechtliche Diskriminierung von Frauen in der Gegenwartsgesellschaft zu benennen (vgl. Beck 1986).

3. Kaste

Das Wort leitet sich aus dem portugiesischen *casta* (Gattung, Art, Stamm) bzw. *casto* (rein, keusch) her, das wiederum auf das lat. *castus* mit gleicher Bedeutung zurückgeht. Schon die etymologische Bestimmung weist auf die Besonderheit des Kastensystems hin: Nicht Reichtum, Einkommen, Bildung, Beruf oder Ethnizität bestimmen den Status einer Person, sondern der Reinheitsgrad, der mit der Geburt vorgegeben ist. Kaste bezeichnet die voneinander abgeschlossenen Gruppierungen des indischen Volkes, wie sie die Portugiesen bereits bei ihrer Landung in Ostindien 1498 vorfanden.

3.1. Zur Definition

Der in der Soziologie gängige Kastenbegriff bezieht sich auf einen gesellschaftlichen Rang, der meist von der höchsten Kaste her definiert ist und gewöhnlich auf die erbliche Form der sozialen Absonderung durch rituelle Rechte und Pflichten abhebt, die den Mitgliedern jeder Kaste Restriktionen im Hinblick auf zwischenmenschliche Kontakte, Essgewohnheiten, Heirat und Berufsausübung auferlegen. Auch wenn es im Falle des indischen Kastensystems schwierig ist, einzelne Kasten genau zu definieren, so unterscheiden sie sich untereinander doch durch folgende Merkmale: (1) Mitgliedschaft durch Abstammung; (2) hierar-

chische Anordnung; (3) Beschränkungen sozialer Kontakte aufgrund des Verbots der rituellen Verunreinigung; (4) Beschränkungen in der Ausübung bestimmter Berufe; und (5) Endogamie (Ghurye 1961, Kap. 1). Viele dieser Merkmale können auch für eine über den indischen Kulturkreis hinausgehende Anwendung des Kastenbegriffs Gültigkeit beanspruchen, wie die klassische Definition von Kroeber (1930, 254) zeigt: „A caste may be defined as an endogamous and hereditary subdivision of an ethnic unit occupying a position of superior or inferior rank or social esteem in comparison with other such subdivisions.“ Freilich trifft diese Charakterisierung zuallererst auf die traditionelle Form der gesellschaftlichen Organisation in Indien zu, wo das Kastensystem durch die Verfassung von 1950 zwar formell abgeschafft wurde, aber in der Landbevölkerung und in den Wertvorstellungen großer Teile der indischen Bevölkerung noch weiter wirksam ist. Heute üben Kasten als homogene Wählergruppen vor allem politischen Einfluss aus. Die konventionelle Vorstellung von Kaste als eine Extremform sozialer Schichtung ist seit der grundlegenden Studie *Homo Hierarchicus* von Dumont (1972) jedoch zunehmender Kritik ausgesetzt. Dumont machte berechtigterweise darauf aufmerksam, dass das Kastensystem weniger mit einem westlichen 'individualistischen' Verständnis von sozialer Differenzierung zu begreifen sei, sondern vielmehr als eine holistische, von allen Gruppen akzeptierte Ideologie des Gegensatzes zwischen Reinheit und Unreinheit. Neuere Studien betonen auch die Rolle von Konstruktions- und Stabilisierungsmechanismen der Ideologie der rituellen Reinheit und rücken somit handelnde Personen und nicht vorgegebene Strukturen in den Vordergrund der Analyse (Inden 1990). Der Sprache kommt daher als Medium zur Reproduktion einer bestimmten sozialen Hierarchie (des Kastensystems) eine zentrale Funktion zu. So wird bspw. die Frage untersucht, wer wem gegenüber im Alltag Kastenbegrifflichkeiten verwendet. Offener Dissens besteht in der Frage, ob das Kastensystem aufgrund seiner Koppelung mit Merkmalen der Hindu-Religion einzigartig für Indien und Südasien ist oder aufgrund seiner Struktureigenschaften, die nicht nur für das hinduistische Indien typisch sind, auch auf andere Gesellschaften zutrifft (vgl. Berreman 1968; Mayer 1968). In der neueren vergleichenden Religionswis-

senschaft setzt sich die Ansicht durch, dass das Kastenwesen eine religionsunabhängige Sozialverfassung und sozialemischen Deutungen gegenüber weitgehend offen ist. Dies steht im Einklang mit Befunden der anthropologischen Feldforschung, die auf Moslems in Pakistan und Buddhisten in Nepal aufmerksam machten, die nach dem Kastensystem organisiert sind (vgl. Gellner 1992).

3.2. Kasten in Indien

Das indische Kastensystem besteht aus Gruppierungen unterschiedlicher Komplexität, die mit dem Begriff der Kaste umschrieben worden sind. Unter einer Kaste können sowohl Gruppierungen, die sich auf ganz Indien beziehen (*varna*), als auch erbliche Berufsgruppen (meist als Kasten bezeichnet) und endogame Einheiten innerhalb dieser Berufsgruppen (*Subkasten*) verstanden werden. Eine weitere Differenzierung ergibt sich je nachdem, ob die ganze Bevölkerung oder eine lokale Gruppe betrachtet wird. *Varna* ist die Bezeichnung für die Einteilung des indischen Volkes in vier Kasten: die Brahmana (Priester), Kshatriya (Krieger), Vaisya (Kaufleute, Handwerker und Bauern) und Sudra (Dienstboten). Außerhalb dieser Hierarchie, die auch in Abstufungen von materiellen und geistlichen Privilegien zum Ausdruck kommt, stehen von altersher die Unberührbaren, die Paria. *Varna* bedeutet in Sanskrit eigentlich Farbe – ein Hinweis darauf, dass diese Hierarchie ethnisch-rassistischen Ursprungs ist und möglicherweise auf die arischen Eroberer, „die weißen Freunde“ des Gottes Indra, und die unterworfenen Dasas, „die schwarzen Leute“, die Sklaven, zurückgeht. *Varna* bezeichnet heute Kategorien von Personen, die sich ihre traditionelle Stellung in der Hindu-Gesellschaft erhalten haben. Sie benutzen *Varna* als ein Statuspatent, das sich gerade unter Fremden zur gegenseitigen Feststellung des jeweiligen Status auf der lokalen Ebene eignet. Inder sind daher von Geburt nicht Mitglieder der *Varna*, sondern einer Kaste oder Subkaste.

Die meisten Kasten – und es gibt in Indien deren 3000 – sind in Subkasten unterteilt. Die Beziehungen zwischen den Mitgliedern einzelner Kasten kommen vor allem auf der lokalen Ebene zur Geltung, wo die Subkasten – oder besser: die Subkastengruppen – für eine wirksame Implementation der Regeln des Kastenverhaltens sorgen.

Im Vordergrund dieser Verhaltensregeln, über deren Einhaltung letztlich der Rat der jeweiligen Subkastengruppe wacht, steht das Gebot der Subkastenreinheit. Alle Kastenmitglieder gelten als rein bei Geburt. Die Reinheit wird als Belohnung für die Qualität ihrer Handlungen im früheren Leben angesehen und dient daher als Anreiz für eine Verbesserung der künftigen Wiedergeburt. Die Konformität mit den Normen der Subkastengruppe erscheint daher als ein sicherer Weg zu diesem Ziel. Eine Verunreinigung einer solchen Gruppe kommt dadurch zustande, dass ihre Mitglieder mit niedriger rangierenden Gruppen in Kontakt treten oder mit Gegenständen (z. B. Tote, Exkrementen) in Berührung kommen, die unrein sind. Kontakte mit Subkastengruppen niedrigeren Ranges werden vor allem durch Beschränkungen der Heirat, der Speisen und des sexuellen Verkehrs eingedämmt, während die Berührung unreiner Sachen Berufsgruppen mit niedrigem Status (z. B. Kanalarbeiter, Gerber, Leichenbestatter) überlassen wird. Die zahlreichen Mischkasten sind nicht nur die Folge rituell unkorrekter Verbindungen, sondern auch ein Hinweis auf die Kluft zwischen dem ideologischen Wert des Kastensystems und den funktionalen Gruppierungen, wie sie in der Kastengesellschaft tatsächlich bestehen. Mitglieder der höchsten Kaste, die Brahmanen, sind von jenen der untersten Kaste, den Sudras, durch eigene Verhaltensregeln leicht zu unterscheiden. Nicht so eindeutig sind die Mitglieder der dazwischenliegenden Kasten einzuordnen, so daß profane Indikatoren wie Landbesitz, Ausbildung und erbliche Autoritätspositionen zur weiteren Rangdifferenzierung herangezogen werden. Auch wenn es für Hindus nicht möglich ist, den traditionellen Kastenstatus abzulegen, und Kasten mit erblichen Berufen verknüpft sind, ist sozialer Aufstieg nicht unmöglich. Insbesondere die neu entstehende Mittelklasse Indiens versucht, die Kastenzuordnung abzustreifen und an deren Stelle die Familie als sozialen Fixpunkt zu etablieren (vgl. Beteille 1991). Der Kastenstatus ist allerdings nicht vergleichbar mit der westlichen Klassenlage; der Inder empfindet ihn gewöhnlich nicht als Last, sondern als natürlich; Verstöße gegen die Kastenregeln gelten daher als pervers. Viel spricht gerade heute für die These, dass nicht ethnische und rituelle Reinheit (z. B. Senart 1896), auch nicht Endogamie (z. B. Ghurye 1961), sondern zunehmend beruf-

liche Differenzierung sowie der Zusammenhang von wirtschaftlicher Funktion und politischer Macht die Entwicklung des Kastenwesens und den Status einer Kaste bzw. Subkastengruppe bestimmen (vgl. Ibbetson 1916; Weber 1958). Danach zieht der Wandel im ökonomischen und politischen Status einer Kaste einen Wandel im rituellen Status nach sich. Kaste bzw. Kastenmitgliedschaft ist dann nur ein anderes Wort für gesellschaftliche Stellung, die wiederum ein Abbild der politischen Bedeutung der Kaste(ngruppe) in der Gegenwart oder jüngeren Vergangenheit darstellt.

Auch die neuere soziolinguistische Forschung distanziert sich zunehmend von der noch in den 50er und 60er Jahren vorherrschenden Debatte über die Existenz kastenspezifischer Dialekte. Für das zurückgehende Interesse an der Verknüpfung von Kaste und Sprache sind zum einen der Rückgang kastenbedingter Formen der Diskriminierung verantwortlich, zum anderen empirische Forschungsergebnisse, die bislang verbreitete Annahmen über Dialekte der Kasten widerlegen (vgl. Mehotra 1989). In sozialanthropologischen Forschungen geht man neuerdings davon aus, dass das Kastensystem nur ein – wenn auch zentrales – Strukturierungsprinzip der indischen Gesellschaft ist. Geografische Zugehörigkeiten, Abstammung oder Klassenlage können, je nach Kontext, ebenfalls die Beziehungen zwischen Personen(gruppen) steuern. Dies wirft soziolinguistisch betrachtet die Frage auf, wer von 'Kasten' wann gegenüber wem spricht (vgl. Searle-Chattejee/Sharma 1994).

3.3. Kasten außerhalb Indiens?

Der eingangs zitierten Definition von Kroeber kommt die kastenähnliche Gesellschaftsorganisation in den umliegenden Ländern Nepal, Pakistan und Ceylon wohl am nächsten. Kastenverwandte Entwicklungslinien lassen sich aber schon im alten Rom, Sparta und Ägypten in ihren jeweiligen Prinzipien der gesellschaftlichen Ordnung nachweisen. In der einschlägigen Literatur wurde zwei Gesellschaftssystemen am häufigsten die Kasteneigenschaft, wenn auch nicht unumstritten, zugesprochen: der feudalen Ständegesellschaft des europäischen Mittelalters und dem System der Beziehungen zwischen Schwarzen und Weißen im Süden der Vereinigten Staaten, letzterem vor allem für die Zeit vor der amerikanischen Bürgerrechtsbewegung. Erstere kommt einem Kastensystem

insofern nahe, als ihre Gesetze und Bräuche eine weitgehende Abschließung der Stände verlangten. Im Vergleich zur traditionellen Kastengesellschaft war jedoch die Aufnahme einer begrenzten Zahl neuer Familien in die herrschenden Stände auch jenseits des Erblichkeitsprinzips möglich. Sowohl in der Kasten- als auch in der Ständegesellschaft monopolisiert jeweils eine kleine Gruppe die Macht und setzt sie für die Errichtung privilegierter Positionen ein. Politische, soziale und wirtschaftliche Macht ist in der feudalen Lebensordnung der Ständegesellschaft ebenso untrennbar miteinander verwoben wie in der traditionellen Kastengesellschaft. Hier wie dort denkt man tendenziell nur in Personen und Kategorien und nicht, wie in der Klassengesellschaft, in Funktionen und Leistungen.

Vergleicht man historische Beschreibungen der Kastengesellschaft in Indien mit den der Rassentrennung im Süden der Vereinigten Staaten bis in die 60er Jahre, so sind auffallende Ähnlichkeiten hinsichtlich Struktur, Verhaltensregeln und Interaktionspraktiken festzustellen (vgl. Dollard 1957; Moore/Williams 1942). In seinem Vergleich Indien–U.S.A. hebt auch Berreman (1960) als gemeinsames Merkmal die Hierarchie von endogamen Schichten, in denen die Mitgliedschaft erblich und dauerhaft ist, hervor. Hierarchie bedeutet sowohl ungleichen Status und Zugang zu Gütern und Diensten als auch (normativ verankerte) Abgrenzung durch rituelle Barrieren (vgl. auch Myrdal 1944). Die Kritik an dieser Nebeneinanderstellung beruft sich auf die unterschiedliche Rolle von Hautfarbe als konstituierendes Element der Kasten und auf die verschiedenen Grade an interner Differenziertheit der beiden Kastensysteme (vgl. Berreman 1968). Für hochentwickelte, postindustrielle Gesellschaftsformationen bietet sich ein neues Verständnis des Kastenbegriffs an. Die Zergliederung moderner Gesellschaften in zunehmend symbolisch abgegrenzte und sozial abgekapselte, aber nicht unbedingt hierarchisch strukturierte Gemeinschaften, z. B. nach ethnischen Zugehörigkeiten oder Lebensstilen, kann Züge eines „horizontalen Kastensystems“ (Soeffner 1997) annehmen. Diese Verwendung des Kastenbegriffs soll die Aufmerksamkeit auch auf soziale Schließungstendenzen entlang „neuer“ Dimensionen (z. B. kulturelle Unterschiede) lenken. Schließlich wird der Kastenbegriff in zeitgenössischen westlichen Gesellschaften auch

auf bestimmte Berufsgruppen bezogen, die entweder noch ein stark ständisch geprägtes Verständnis ihrer beruflichen Tätigkeit pflegen, nach Meinung der Öffentlichkeit besondere Privilegien genießen oder sich besonders durch 'Beziehungen' (selbst-)rekrutieren. Zu nennen sind u. a. Ärzte, Rechtsanwälte und andere 'freie Berufe', aber auch Politiker, die wohl das populärste Beispiel für postindustrielle 'Kasten' abgeben (vgl. Scheuch/Scheuch 1992).

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58. Institution/Institution

1. Begriffsbestimmung
2. Forschungsgeschichtliche Positionen
3. Soziale Ordnung und Institutionen
4. Das „dialektische“ Verhältnis zwischen „der Gesellschaft“ als menschlichem Produkt und „dem Menschen“ als gesellschaftlichem Produkt: Peter L. Berger und Thomas Luckmann
5. Institutionalisierung: Talcott Parsons
6. „RREEMM-Modelle“
7. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Begriffsbestimmung

Mit Institutionen bezeichnet man Komplexe von unterschiedlichen, aufeinander bezogenen und hinsichtlich ihrer Realisierung voneinander abhängigen ‘Formen’ oder ‘Modellen’ sozialen Handelns („Gebarensmodelle“; Theodor Geiger), die i.a. auf verschiedene (und in bestimmter Weise ‘typisierte’) Handelnde ‘verteilt’ sind, samt den korrespondierenden Vorstellungen und Haltungen, die bestimmte dieser Handlungsweisen kognitiv oder wertmäßig auszeichnen. Sie beinhalten Regeln, die beschreiben, wie in den Situationen, auf die sie sich beziehen, unter bestimmten Voraussetzungen üblicherweise verfahren wird (institutionelle *Praktiken*) bzw. verfahren werden soll (institutionelle *Normen*) (vgl. Art. 48). Während man von der ‘Institutionalisierung’ von Normen, Vorstellungen und Haltungen i. a. nur dann spricht, wenn die Handelnden selbst (und auch die Beobachter) damit rechnen können, daß bestimmte (Handlungs-) Prozesse auch *tatsächlich* ablaufen, müssen umgekehrt institutionelle Praktiken nicht notwendig durch korrespondierende Normen ‘gestützt’ sein. – Beispiel für eine Institution in diesem engeren Sinn ist das ‘Eigentum’ als Gesamtheit der sich in einer Gesellschaft auf einzelne, unterschiedliche ‘Eigentumsrechte’ beziehenden und ihnen damit soziale ‘Geltung’ verleihenden Praktiken und Normen. Hieran läßt sich mit George Herbert Mead (1863–1931) verdeutlichen, wie Institutionen durch unterschiedliche Reaktionsbereitschaften verschiedener Mitglieder einer Gesellschaft getragen werden, die in unterschiedliche, jedoch miteinander verklammerte Handlungszusammenhänge verflochten sind:

„Es gibt (...) ganze Reihen solcher gemeinsamer Reaktionen in der Gemeinschaft, in der wir leben,

und solche Reaktionen sind das, was wir als ‘Institutionen’ bezeichnen. Die Institution stellt eine gemeinsame Reaktion seitens aller Mitglieder einer Gemeinschaft auf eine bestimmte Situation dar. Diese gemeinsame Reaktion ist etwas, das selbstverständlich mit der Eigenart und Stellung (‘character’) der Person variiert. Im Falle des Diebstahls unterscheidet sich die Reaktion des Polizisten von der des Staatsanwalts, von der des Richters und der der Geschworenen usw.; und dennoch sind es alles Reaktionen, die Eigentum aufrecht erhalten, und die die Anerkennung des Eigentumsrechts seitens der anderen mitenthalten. Es liegt eine gemeinsame Reaktion in unterschiedlichen Formen vor. Und diese Variationen, so wie sie durch die verschiedenen Amtsträger verdeutlicht werden, haben eine Organisation, die der Mannigfaltigkeit der Reaktionen eine Einheit verleiht. Man wendet sich an den Polizisten um Hilfe, man erwartet, daß der Staatsanwalt tätig wird, und erwartet, daß das Gericht und seine verschiedenen Amtsträger die gerichtliche Untersuchung des unter Anklage stehenden Verbrechers durchführen.“ (Mead 1934, 261)

Weitere Beispiele: Regeln der Übertragung von Eigentumsrechten; Regeln reziproken Verhaltens wie des ‘Tausches’ von Geschenken, Hilfeleistungen und Gefälligkeiten; Regeln der Dankbarkeit und Treue, der Arbeitsaufteilung und der Zusammenarbeit, der gemeinsamen Nutzung von Ressourcen und der Verteilung gemeinsam erwirtschafteter Erträge; Regeln der Erledigung von Belangen, die eine Gruppe als ganzes betreffen, der kollektiven Entscheidungsfindung; Autoritäts- und Herrschaftsverhältnisse; Regeln der Nachfolge in bestimmten ‘Positionen’, des stellvertretenden oder treuhänderischen Handelns; Formen der Bewältigung emotional belastender Erfahrungen u.ä.m. – Solchen Verfahrensregeln kann man selbstverständlich nicht als ‘Mitglied’ angehören. In einem weiteren Sinne werden als Institutionen jedoch auch Personenmehrheiten (*Kollektivitäten*, Assoziationen, Organisationen, Verbände) bezeichnet, insofern das Handeln ihrer Mitglieder innerhalb dieser bzw. in ihren Verhältnissen zueinander durch die gleichen oder mehrere aufeinander bezogene Institutionen ‘kontrolliert’ werden (z. B. Familie als Institution im weiteren Sinne gegenüber Ehe, Abstammung und Verwandtschaft [mit ihren kulturell und historisch variablen Ausprägungen] als Institutionen im engeren Sinne). Dieser Sprachgebrauch ist insbesondere dann üblich, wenn

eine Gesellschaft so organisiert ist, daß damit zu rechnen ist, daß solche Kollektivitäten samt den in ihnen geltenden institutionellen Praktiken und Normen dauerhaft existieren (z. B. Kirchen, Gewerkschaften als Institutionen im weiteren Sinne). – In einem weitesten Sinn bezeichnet man mit Institutionen oder *institutionellen Ordnungen* umfassende gesellschaftliche Lebensbereiche, sofern die in ihnen Handelnden durch (möglicherweise unterschiedliche) institutionelle Regeln in ihren Handlungen und Verhältnissen zueinander in (möglicherweise einer Mehrzahl unterschiedlicher) Assoziationen und Organisationen so ‘kontrolliert’ werden, daß diesen Regeln und den sie tragenden Kollektivitäten von den Beteiligten ein einheitlicher ‘Sinn’ zugeschrieben wird (z. B. Erziehungs- und Bildungssystem als Institution im weitesten Sinne; Religion als institutionelle Ordnung).

2. Forschungsgeschichtliche Positionen

Von den Mitgliedern einer Gesellschaft werden Institutionen nicht so sehr als etwas erfahren, das durch das Bewußtsein und Handeln von Menschen getragen wird und deshalb auch nur solange ‘existiert’, als tatsächlich im Einklang mit den betreffenden ‘Modellen’ gehandelt wird, sondern eher als etwas, das das eigene Handeln und seine Motivationen ‘übersteigt’ und, selbst wenn als Produkt des Handelns ‘in die Welt gesetzt’, eine von ihm unabhängige selbständige Existenz führt und sich eventuell sogar gegen die Intentionen des Handelnden kehrt. – Diesen beiden Erfahrungsformen entsprechen verschiedene Möglichkeiten theoretischer Stellungnahme.

a) Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), der Soziologie ganz allgemein als „Wissenschaft von den Institutionen“ (Durkheim 1961, 100) bestimmte, hat in einer für die Entwicklung der Soziologie folgenreichen Weise institutionelle Phänomene als objektive „Wirklichkeiten eigener Art“ aufgefaßt:

„Wenn ich meine Pflichten als Bruder, Gatte oder Bürger erfülle, oder wenn ich übernommene Verbindlichkeiten einlöse, so gehorche ich damit Pflichten, die außerhalb meiner Person und der Sphäre meines Willens im Recht und in der Sitte begründet sind. ... wenn ... ich ihre Wirklichkeit im Innersten empfinde, so ist diese doch etwas Objektives. Denn nicht ich habe diese Pflichten geschaffen, ich habe sie vielmehr im Wege der Erziehung übernommen ... Ebenso hat der gläubige

Mensch die Bräuche und Glaubenssätze seiner Religion bei seiner Geburt fertig vorgefunden. Daß sie vor ihm da waren, setzt voraus, daß sie außerhalb seiner Person existieren. Das Zeichensystem, dessen ich mich bediene, um meine Gedanken auszudrücken, das Münzsystem, in dem ich meine Schulden zahle, die Kreditpapiere, die ich bei meinen geschäftlichen Beziehungen benutze, die Sitten meines Berufs führen ein von dem Gebrauche, den ich von ihnen mache, unabhängiges Leben ...“ (Durkheim 1961, 105f)

Diese „faits sociaux“ genannten, Phänomene sind „besondere Arten des Handelns, Denkens, Fühlens“, „die außerhalb des individuellen Bewußtseins existieren“ und „mit einer gebieterischen Macht ausgestattet“ sind, „kraft deren sie sich einem jeden aufdrängen, er mag wollen oder nicht“ (1961, 106). Auch wo der obligatorische, normative, zwingende Charakter der faits sociaux nur indirekt wirksam ist, ist er es nicht weniger:

„Ich bin nicht gerade verpflichtet, mit meinen Landsleuten französisch zu sprechen, auch nicht, die gesetzliche Währung zu gebrauchen. Und doch ist es unmöglich, daß ich anders handle (...) Nichts hindert einen Industriellen daran, mit den Methoden eines anderen Jahrhunderts zu arbeiten. Er soll es aber nur tun. Sein Ruin wäre sicher. Selbst wenn ich mich (...) von diesen Regeln befreien und sie mit Erfolg verletzen kann, bleibt mir doch der Kampf gegen sie nicht erspart. Und selbst wenn sie endgültig überwunden werden, spürt man ihre Zwangsgewalt an dem Widerstand, den sie einem entgegensetzen.“ (Durkheim 1961, 106)

‘Soziale’ (sprich: ‘institutionelle’) Tatbestände sind genauso ‘natürlich’ wie die sonstigen ‘natürlichen’ Phänomene auch; sie sind dementsprechend „wie Dinge“ („comme des choses“) zu betrachten und jeweils nur durch andere soziale Tatbestände erklärbar; die Regeln ihrer Analyse folgen dem strikt erfahrungswissenschaftlichen Paradigma *kausaler Erklärung* von Ursache-Wirkungszusammenhängen mit Hilfe von *Gesetzen*.

b) Durkheim’s Formulierungen stehen in denkbar schärfstem Kontrast zu einer Auffassung von Institutionen als von intentional Handelnden ‘gemachten’ (und somit *künstlichen*) Phänomenen. Gerade in den Frühphasen sozialtheoretischer Reflexion lag den Bildern von institutionellen Ordnungen, u. a. auch deshalb, weil sie ein hohes Maß ‘sinnhafter’ Ganzheitlichkeit und Geschlossenheit aufzuweisen scheinen, die Vorstellung von einem ‘über-menschlichen’

Schöpfer und Bewahrer von Recht und Moral, Staat und Sprache usw. zugrunde, der diese 'Einrichtungen' durch seine Willensakte geschaffen ('institutiert') hatte. In säkularisierter Form wurden daraus die Figuren der 'großen' Gesetzgeber oder Religionsstifter (im Falle negativ bewerteter Institutionen: eine Variante einer „Verschwörungstheorie der Gesellschaft“; K.R. Popper) oder der planvollen rationalen Einrichtung institutioneller Ordnungen (als 'Artefakten') im Rahmen vertragstheoretischer Konzeptionen der politischen Philosophie des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts. Methodologisch implizieren solche im weitesten Sinne 'individualistischen' Positionen oft die Forderung, Handlungen und ihre Ergebnisse dadurch *verständlich* zu machen, daß man die Motive und Absichten der Handelnden (das *Wozu* ihrer Handlungen) expliziert (*intentionale Analyse von Handlungen*), wobei umstritten ist, inwieweit in der Analyse neben derartigen *Sinnzusammenhängen* (und ggfs. diese sogar ersetzend) kausal erklärbare Wirkungszusammenhänge ins Spiel zu bringen sind.

c) Demgegenüber entwirft die schottische Moralphilosophie von David Hume bis Adam Ferguson und Adam Smith mit ihrer „Zwillingsidee von Selbstorganisation und Evolution“ ein Bild, in dem Institutionen sich in einem Prozeß historischen Wandels aus menschlichem Handeln und Handlungszusammenhängen herausgebildet haben und nur soweit fortdauern, als sie von diesen weiterhin getragen werden. Sie sind das „Ergebnis menschlichen Handelns“, ohne jedoch die „Durchführung irgendeines menschlichen Planes“ zu sein (Ferguson 1923, 171). Diese Position richtet sich nicht nur gegen den „konstruktivistischen Rationalismus“ (Friedrich A. v. Hayek) der zeitgenössischen französischen Aufklärung mit ihrer radikalen Kritik überlieferter Institutionen und ihrem Glauben an die Plan- und Machbarkeit neuer Institutionen nach rationalen Kriterien. Sie wendet sich ebenso gegen Tendenzen ihrer Verdinglichung und liefert die grundlegende Denkfigur zur Ablehnung jeglicher Konzeption, nach der Institutionen als vom menschlichen Handeln und menschlichen Bewußtsein unabhängige, ihnen äußerliche Phänomene gedacht werden. Auf einer verwandten Argumentationslinie liegt auch die von Durkheim's Zeitgenossen Georg Simmel (1858–1918) zum Ausdruck gebrachte individualistische Position:

„Es ist jetzt nicht mehr möglich, die historischen Tatsachen im weitesten Sinne des Wortes, die Inhalte der Kultur, die Arten der Wirtschaft, die Normen der Sittlichkeit aus dem Einzelmenschen, seinem Verstande und seinen Interessen heraus zu erklären und, wo dies nicht gelingt, sogleich zu metaphysischen oder magischen Ursachen zu greifen. Man steht z.B. bezüglich der Sprache nicht mehr vor der Alternative, daß sie entweder von genialen Individuen erfunden oder von Gott den Menschen gegeben ist. (...) Vielmehr glauben wir jetzt, die historischen Erscheinungen aus dem Wechselwirken und dem Zusammenwirken der Einzelnen zu verstehen, aus der Summierung und Sublimierung unzähliger Einzelbeiträge, aus der Verkörperung der sozialen Energien in Gebilden, die jenseits des Individuums stehen und sich entwickeln.“ (Simmel 1958, 2f)

d) Erst in der britischen Sozialtheorie des 18. Jahrhunderts gelingt die Überwindung einer die Analyse belastenden Tradition, welche auf die (als erschöpfend angesehene) Klassifikation der antiken Philosophie aller Phänomene in solche, die *natürlich*, und solche, die *künstlich* oder *konventionell* sind, zurückgeht. So unterscheiden wir 'natürliche' von 'künstlichen' Blumen, wie wir auch 'natürliche' Sprachen von 'künstlichen' (Esperanto) unterscheiden. Aber: 'natürliche' Sprachen sind in einem anderen Sinne 'nicht-künstlich' als dies bei Blumen der Fall ist; auch sind 'natürliche' Sprachen in einem anderen Sinne 'natürlich' als die Sprache der Bienen. Somit ist neben der ersten Art von Phänomenen, die es 'von Natur aus' gibt (natürliche Blumen, Bienen-sprache) und der zweiten Art, die „planvoll hergestellte Erzeugnisse von Menschen“ darstellen (künstliche Blumen, Esperanto), noch eine weitere Art von Phänomenen auszumachen, die, obgleich keine *Artefakte*, dennoch mit diesen gemeinsam haben, daß sie das „Ergebnis menschlichen Handelns“ sind, und, obwohl auch keine *Naturphänomene*, letzteren dennoch darin gleichen, daß sie nicht der 'Gegenstand menschlicher Intentionen' sind („*Phänomene der dritten Art*“; R. Keller 1994). (Der Sonderstatus dieser Phänomene wird oft durch die Formulierung, daß sie 'organisch gewachsen' seien, ['gewachsene' Sprache, 'gewachsenes' Recht] zum Ausdruck gebracht, wobei jedoch die Organismus-Metapher nicht mehr leistet als die bloße Benennung eines ansonsten klärungsbedürftigen Sachverhalts.)

In ihren Analysen von Recht und Moral, Markt und Geld sowie der Sprache zeigen die schottischen Moralphilosophen auf exemplarische Weise, wie diese in ihrem je-

weiligen Zustand (als momentanem Querschnittsbild eines Prozesses kontinuierlichen Wandels) als „Phänomene der dritten Art“ die nicht intendierten, kausalen, kumulativen Konsequenzen einer Vielzahl menschlicher Handlungen darstellen, wobei sich als analytisch besonders fruchtbar die Argumentationsfigur der „*Invisible Hand*“ (A. Smith) erwiesen hat: *Entstehung und Wandel von Strukturen auf der gesellschaftlichen 'Makroebene'* als 'Epiphänomen', als *Ergebnis eines kausalen Prozesses* - erzeugt aus der (von den Handelnden unbeabsichtigten, vielleicht sogar unbemerkten, gewissermaßen „hinter ihrem Rücken“ erfolgenden) Transformation und Aggregation einer Vielzahl von *auf der 'Mikroebene'* ablaufenden Handlungen, die ihre jeweils eigenen *Intentionen* aufweisen; so wie aus der Ausprägung der 'Liquiditätspräferenz' der 'Wirtschaftssubjekte' eine Inflation entstehen kann oder wie eine Mehrzahl von Autofahrern den 'Stau aus dem Nichts' erzeugt (wobei die, die in ihn 'hineingekommen' sind, ihn nicht 'gemacht' haben, und die, die ihn 'gemacht' haben, davon möglicherweise nichts wissen; R. Keller 1994, 89ff). Methodologisch bedeutet dies, daß in solchen Analysen sowohl Rekonstruktionen der Handlungen und ihrer Intentionen aus der Binnenperspektive der Handelnden (*intentionale Analysen auf der Mikroebene*) erforderlich sind als auch die Identifikation ('*supra-intentionaler*') *kausaler Prozesse* der Konsequenzen dieser Handlungen *auf der Makroebene*, also aus der Beobachterperspektive. (vgl. zum ganzen: R. Keller 1994)

e) Im Lichte dieser Konzeption wären sowohl der Wandel einer Sprache (abgesehen von autoritativen Sprachfestsetzungen wie DIN-Terminologien, Rechtschreibreformen u.ä.) als auch ihre Konstanz (über einen begrenzten Zeitraum) gleichermaßen das spontane Ergebnis der 'die Sprache' Verwendenden, deren kommunikatives Verhalten z. B. als bestimmten Handlungsmaximen folgend (wie: „Rede so, daß man dir Aufmerksamkeit schenkt“; aber auch: „Rede so, daß du verstanden wirst!“) charakterisiert werden könnte (R. Keller 1994, 131ff). Eine 'natürliche Sprache' als ein System von Regeln, die der Verhaltensabstimmung im sozialen Miteinander der Menschen dienen (eine *Konvention* im strikten Sinne eines Mechanismus zur Lösung von *Koordinationsproblemen*; D. Lewis 1969), wird aufrechterhalten bzw. verändert durch das

kommunikative Verhalten derer, die sich an diesen Regeln orientieren und sie befolgen oder (jeder nur minimal und insgesamt nur im Aggregat und auch erst nach geraumer Zeit sichtbaren Weise) ändern. – Folgt man dieser Vorstellung, dann ist die Analyse des Sprachwandels nicht nur ein Spezialfall des Wandels einer besonderen Institution, sondern die Analyse des Sprachwandels wird zum exemplarischen Modell für die Analyse des Wandels sozialer Institutionen überhaupt.

f) Jede Konzeption von Institutionen hat sich deshalb mit mindestens zwei bzw. drei Fragenkomplexen auseinanderzusetzen: Erstens hat sie systematisch (und ggfs. [historisch-] genetisch) das Verhältnis zu klären zwischen Handlungen und Handlungszusammenhängen einerseits und den 'objektiven' Formen und Strukturen menschlichen Handelns andererseits; zweitens hat sie systematisch (und ggfs. ebenfalls [historisch-]genetisch) zu klären das Verhältnis zwischen tatsächlichen Handlungen (als konkreten Einzelhandlungen oder als allgemein geübten Praktiken) einerseits und normativen Vorstellungen darüber, welchen Modellen des Handelns gefolgt werden sollte, andererseits. Schließlich wären die Funktionen von Institutionen zu klären, wobei als Bezugspunkte hierfür entweder der einzelne Handelnde oder Systeme mehrerer Handelnder ('Soziale Systeme', 'Gesellschaften') in Frage kommen.

3. Soziale Ordnung und Institutionen

Soziale Ordnung vollzieht sich über Handeln in institutionellen Formen. Institutionen *sind* diese Ordnung, indem sie Verfahrensregeln liefern, diese sichtbar machen und sprachlich kodieren. Für den Beobachter ist diese Ordnung als relativ stabiles Gefüge identifizierbar, interkulturell vergleichbar und einer strukturellen und funktionalen Analyse zugänglich. Institutionen sind daher für Soziologen „grundlegende Bezugspunkte sozialer Organisation, allen Gesellschaften gemeinsam und einige der elementaren universellen Probleme geordneten sozialen Lebens behandelnd.“ (S. Eisenstadt 1972, 409) Für den Handelnden bedeutet dies, daß Institutionen Ordnung möglich machen, die Positionsbestimmung seiner selbst und anderer, die Stabilität und Durchschaubarkeit sozialer Realität herstellen. Die Existenz von Regeln, formuliert als

Ge- oder Verbote, ebenso aber auch die Setzung von Regeln 'für das Erlaubte' (definiert als Verbot für andere, in diese Bereiche einzugreifen), bedeuten *Ordnungssicherheit*. „Menschen müssen kraft ihrer biologischen So-Beschaffenheit zusammenleben. Dieses Zusammenleben ist nur möglich unter der Voraussetzung, daß der Eine weiß, wie sich der Andere in gewissen typischen Situationen verhalten werde, damit er selbst sich darauf einrichten könne. Man 'muß wissen woran man sich zu halten hat'.“ (Geiger 1964, 102). – Ordnungssicherheit umfaßt *Orientierungssicherheit* oder *Ordnungsgewißheit* und bedeutet hier interpretationsfreie Regel- und Normenkenntnis, darüber hinaus, daß Ungewißheitszonen und Dissens regelhafte klärbar und entscheidbar sind und daß dieser Klär- und Entscheidungsprozeß einschätzbar-regelhafte funktioniert. Weiterhin bedeutet Ordnungssicherheit *Realisierungssicherheit* oder *Ordnungszuversicht*. Wie zuversichtlich kann der Handelnde sein, daß andere das Regel- und Normensystem beachten und wie sicher kann er der faktischen Funktionstüchtigkeit des zugehörigen organisierten 'Apparates' sein? Gewißheit über faktische Nicht-Realisierung von Normen und Regeln macht Wirklichkeit ebenso einschätz- und bewältigbar wie die Zuversicht in ihre Realisierung. Mangelnde Realisierungssicherheit, die nicht über Stütz- und Zusatzmechanismen (z.B. Milderung von Risiken in Zonen der Unsicherheit durch '[Rück]Versicherung') beseitigt werden kann, schafft Zonen der Nicht-Ordnung. Einen Zustand gesellschaftlicher Nicht-Ordnung, in dem die Gefahr eines andauernden „Krieges aller gegen alle“ besteht, hatte schon Thomas Hobbes beschrieben: Hier

„gibt es keinen Fleiß, denn seine Früchte werden ungewiß sein, keine Bebauung des Bodens, keine Schifffahrt, keinerlei Einfuhr von überseeischen Gütern, kein behagliches Heim, keine Fahrzeuge zur Beförderung von schweren Lasten, keine geographischen Kenntnisse, keine Zeitrechnung, keine Künste, keine Literatur, keine Gesellschaft. Statt dessen: Ständige Furcht und die drohende Gefahr eines gewaltsamen Todes. Das Leben der Menschen: einsam, arm, kümmerlich, roh und kurz.“ (Hobbes 1965, 99)

Ordnungssicherheit dagegen erlaubt pragmatische Berechenbarkeit der Handlungen anderer und des 'Apparates'; sie erlaubt, den Handlungsspielraum, der anderen zur Wahrnehmung ihrer Interessen zur Verfügung steht, zu kalkulieren, erlaubt gegeb-

nenfalls gar Vertrauen darin, daß andere, falls ihr Spielraum entsprechend definiert ist, nicht ausschließlich *ihre* sondern auch die *eigenen* Interessen zum Orientierungspunkt ihrer Aktivitäten nehmen werden. – So vorteilhaft ein Zustand institutioneller Ordnung gegenüber einem Zustand der Nicht-Ordnung auch sein mag, so läßt eine solche Funktionalität keineswegs zu, seine Realisierung aus eben dieser zu schließen. Institutionen ermöglichen menschliches Zusammenleben in einem Grad, der für alle Beteiligten wünschbarer ist als ein Zustand ohne Institutionen. Sie lösen Probleme menschlichen Zusammenlebens auf unterschiedliche Art und Weise; jedoch sind weder die Tatsache ihrer grundsätzlichen Vorteilhaftigkeit noch die Art und Weise, in der sie bestimmbar Problemkonstellationen lösen, allein schon in der Lage, ihr Zustandekommen zu erklären.

4. Das „dialektische“ Verhältnis zwischen „der Gesellschaft“ als menschlichem Produkt und „dem Menschen“ als gesellschaftlichem Produkt: Peter L. Berger und Thomas Luckmann

„*Gesellschaft* ist ein *menschliches Produkt*. *Gesellschaft* ist eine *objektive Wirklichkeit*. Der *Mensch* ist ein *gesellschaftliches Produkt*.“ – In Explizierung dieser drei Aussagen entwickeln Peter L. Berger und Thomas Luckmann eine Konzeption, die zugleich mit einer Rekonstruktion des Aufbaus von Institutionen gemäß ihrer 'strukturellen Logik' Skizzen einer 'genetischen' Erklärung liefert, wie durch Handeln in vorher institutionsfreien Räumen bestimmte Praktiken sich herausbilden sowie aufrechterhalten und weitergegeben werden. Wie kann man sich vorstellen, „daß subjektiv gemeinter Sinn objektive Faktizität *wird?*“ (Berger/Luckmann 1970, 20), und wie ist es denkbar, daß Institutionen in einem extremen Fall ihrer Objektivierung verdinglicht und als nicht-menschliche Produkte betrachtet werden?

Eingebunden sind diese Überlegungen in eine anthropologische Konzeption, nach der erst durch Institutionen das unvollständige Gattungswesen 'Mensch' zu einer handlungsfähigen und mit Bewußtsein ausgestatteten Person vervollständigt wird. Entstehungsbedingung für Institutionen ist hiernach die menschliche Natur mit ihrer

Instinkungebundenheit, Weltoffenheit und Plastizität des Organismus. Anthropologische Konstanten machen die sozialen Schöpfungen des Menschen gleichermaßen notwendig und möglich.

Berger und Luckmann schließen hiermit an Arnold Gehlen an, dem gemäß Institutionen als Kompensation für den fehlenden Instinktapparat bzw. die Organmängel des „Mängelwesens Mensch“ zu begreifen sind, dessen Menschwerdung Kultur (einschließlich technischer Artefakte), Gesellschaft, Geschichtlichkeit gleichsam als Nebenprodukt produziert. (Die Thesen eines solchen „anthropologisch-biologischen Funktionalismus“ mit der Unterstellung, man könne die wesentlichen anthropologischen Kennzeichen aufgrund ihrer Funktionalität für die Existenzerhaltung ‘des Menschen’ bestimmen, sind allerdings nicht unwidersprochen geblieben; z. B. H. Popitz 1989) In dieser Argumentation setzt die biologische Verfassung die Grenzen für soziale und kulturelle Gebilde, determiniert diese aber nicht. Auch wenn die Notwendigkeit institutioneller Ordnungen schlechthin rückführbar auf die biologisch-anthropologische Ausstattung ist, kann jedoch irgendeine reale Gesellschaftsordnung nicht biologisch abgeleitet werden.

(Letzterer Auffassung steht Bronislaw Malinowski näher, dessen Konzept zwar keine monokausale „Punkt für Punkt Korrelation“ (1965, 110) behauptet, Institutionen aber als Bedürfnis- und Funktions-synthesen auffaßt, deren Ausgangspunkt die biologische Bedürfnisstruktur und gruppenhaft organisierte Problemlösungen unter einer Art „Leitidee“ [‘charter’] bilden. Institutionen sind dann das Ergebnis einer bedürfnisorientierten Organisation menschlicher Aktivitäten.) Berger und Luckmann betonen den prozessualen Charakter der Entstehung routinisiert-habitualisierter Handlungsverläufe, die als soziale wie nicht-soziale Aktivitäten für Entlastung von Entscheidungsalternativen sorgen, Antizipation eigener und fremder Handlungen ermöglichen, diffuse Triebspannungen abbauen und Energieüberschüsse für Alternativaktivitäten freisetzen. „Institutionalisierung findet statt, sobald habitualisierte Handlungen durch Typen von Handelnden reziprok typisiert werden. Jede Typisierung, die auf diese Weise vorgenommen wird, ist eine Institution. Für ihr Zustandekommen wichtig sind die Reziprozität der Typisierung und die Ty-

pik nicht nur der Akte, sondern auch der Akteure. Wenn habitualisierte Handlungen Institutionen begründen, so sind die entsprechenden Typisierungen Allgemeingut. Sie sind für alle Mitglieder der jeweiligen Gruppe erreichbar. Die Institution ihrerseits macht aus individuellen Akteuren und individuellen Akten Typen.“ (1970, 58) – Handlungskontrolle ist jeder Institution schon aufgrund ihrer bloßen Faktizität inhärent. Reziprok typisierte Handlungen kontrollieren sich auch reziprok und verdichten sich über Distanzierungsprozesse zwischen Handelndem und Handlungsform sowie durch Identifikation mit dem ‘Sinngesamt’ von Handlungen zu Rollen. Typen von Handelnden werden zu Rollenträgern, wenn intersubjektive Wissensbestände zu ähnlichen Sinndeutungen führen. Institutionalisiertes Verhalten ist Rollenverhalten, Institutionen die Gesamtheit aufeinander bezogener Rollen. Ein spezieller Sanktionsapparat entwickelt sich erst als Folge einer neuen Problemlagerung: der Weitergabe institutionalisierten Wissens. – In gemeinsamen Situationen und zur Lösung gemeinsamer Probleme von interagierenden Handelnden ‘ad hoc’ vorgenommene Habitualisierungen sind für eigene Intervention im allgemeinen noch offen. Sie werden zur Institution im strengen Sinn erst über den Prozeß der Weitergabe an neue Mitglieder, insbesondere der Integration der nächsten Generation. Die Integration über Sozialisation verwischt die Unterschiede zwischen der Objektivität gesellschaftlicher und natürlicher (Umwelt-) Phänomene. Das Produkt menschlicher Handlungen wirkt somit als gegeben und unveränderlich ‘auf den Produzenten Mensch’. Spätestens zum Zeitpunkt der Integration einer neuen Generation bedürfen Institutionen der Legitimation zur Erklärung und Rechtfertigung. Kollektive Wissensbestände müssen vermittelt, ihr Sinn überzeugend verständlich gemacht und in Übereinstimmung mit der bestehenden Ordnung gebracht werden. Das heißt nicht, daß Institutionen notwendig integriert sind; Integration kann vielmehr ein Derivat des Wissensbestandes der Handelnden mit ihren Konsistenzbedürfnissen sein: „das reflektierende Bewußtsein überlagert die institutionale Ordnung mit seiner eigenen Logik.“ (1970, 69) – Legitimation erfolgt über kognitiv-pragmatische Erklärungen, die das Wissen über das ‘So-Sein’ von Institutionen vermitteln, und über normative Rechtfertigungen dieses ‘So-Seins’. Pragmatische

Schemata bilden Vorstufen einer Legitimation durch sprachlich konstituierte symbolische Sinnwelten, die die Alltagswirklichkeit transzendieren und alltägliche Lebenswelt, Grenzwirklichkeiten und Tod integrativ-rechtfertigend in ein konsistentes Deutungssystem fassen. Dieses entzieht Praktiken und Normen der pragmatischen Evaluation im Alltag, transformiert ihr 'So-Sein' in ein 'So-Richtig-Sein', macht sie menschlicher Intervention und menschlichem Zweifel gegenüber resistent und verspricht Gerechtigkeit und Ausgleich bei Problemen und Erfahrungen, die der Ratio widerstehen. Solche symbolischen Sinnwelten legitimieren sich selbst zunächst allein durch ihre Existenz; erst in Konkurrenzsituationen werden „Stützkonzeptionen“ (Mythologien, Theologien etc.) erforderlich. Diese können dann auch die theoretische Basis für die Ontologisierung und Verdinglichung von Institutionen liefern als einer besonderen Modalität des Bewußtseins, nach der „der Mensch ... paradoxerweise dazu fähig (zu sein scheint), eine Wirklichkeit hervorzubringen, die ihn verleugnet“ (1970, 96); auch wenn unverändert gilt: „Sowohl nach ihrer Genese (Gesellschaftsordnung ist das Resultat vergangenen menschlichen Tuns) als auch in ihrer Präsenz in jedem Augenblick (sie besteht nur und solange menschliche Aktivität nicht davon abläßt, sie zu produzieren) ist Gesellschaftsordnung als solche ein Produkt des Menschen.“ (1970, 55) – Am Ende führt die Argumentation wieder zu ihrem Ausgangspunkt zurück: „Der Mensch ist biologisch bestimmt, eine Welt zu konstruieren und mit anderen zu bewohnen. Diese Welt wird ihm zur dominierenden und definitiven Wirklichkeit. Ihre Grenzen sind von der Natur gesetzt. Hat er sie jedoch erst einmal konstruiert, so wirkt sie zurück auf die Natur. In der Dialektik zwischen Natur und gesellschaftlich konstruierter Welt wird noch der menschliche Organismus umgewandelt. In dieser Dialektik produziert der Mensch Wirklichkeit – und sich selbst.“ (1970, 195)

5. Institutionalisierung: Talcott Parsons

Unter der *Institutionalisierung von Elementen normativer Kultur* versteht Talcott Parsons (1902–1979) Strukturen und Prozesse, durch welche 'Werte' (als allgemeinste Richtungen einer Handlungsorientierung), erstrebenswerte 'Ziele' sowie 'Normen' (als se-

lektive Standards einer Wahl von 'Mitteln') für die Steuerung des Handelns faktisch wirksam werden. Dabei wird vorausgesetzt, daß Handeln als 'Verausgabung' motivationaler 'Energie' im Hinblick auf die Verfolgung von Zielen weder ausschließlich rückführbar ist auf die Bedingungen des Handelns, an die sich der Handelnde anzupassen hat bzw. welche ihm (in gewissen Grenzen) Möglichkeiten ihrer 'Manipulation' eröffnen (*konditionale Elemente* des Handelns), noch ausschließlich auf die Vorstellungen des Handelnden, wie die wahrgenommene Situation im Lichte seiner Werte und Ziele transformiert werden sollte (*intentionale Elemente* des Handelns, auch als 'normativ' oder 'teleologisch' bezeichnet.)

„Handeln als zielgerichtetes, absichtsvolles Verhalten kann niemals völlig auf seine Bedingungen, auf die Restriktionen der Umgebung reduziert werden. Andererseits kann es auch nicht als friktionsloser automatischer Prozeß erfolgreich realisierter Intentionen aufgefaßt werden; die Welt der Ursachen und Bedingungen existiert 'da draußen' als Menge von Anforderungen, die im Prozeß der Zweck-Realisierung genutzt und überwunden werden müssen. Der Bezugsrahmen des Handelns impliziert die Autonomie aller seiner ihn konstituierenden Komponenten: es gibt *Handelnde*, die *Ziele* haben, welche sie aktiv und kreativ in einer Welt verfolgen, die sich sowohl aus realistischen Hindernissen, d.h. *Bedingungen*, als auch aus realistischen Möglichkeiten, d.h. *Mitteln*, der Zielverfolgung bestehend darstellt. Keines dieser Elemente kann auf die anderen reduziert werden.“ (L.Mayhew 1982, 6)

Zwar hatte Durkheim hervorgehoben, daß für den *einzelnen* Handelnden (aus dessen, 'subjektiver', Perspektive) die normativen Elemente seines Handelns genauso zu den Bedingungen gehören, an die er sich anpassen hat, wie an seine nicht-soziale Umwelt auch; für den *Beobachter* jedoch, der (aus einer 'objektiven' Perspektive) *Systeme* des Handelns betrachtet, stellen normative Elemente analytisch gesehen etwas anderes dar als die nicht-normativen Faktoren von Systemumgebungen. – 'Hobbes mit der Brille von Durkheim lesend' entfaltet Parsons die These, daß stabile Ordnung ohne Institutionalisierung von Werten, Zielen und Normen nicht denkbar sei. Im Anschluß an die von ihm als „utilitaristisch“ bezeichnete (aber abgelehnte) Tradition der Sozialtheorie geht er davon aus, daß in einer Welt ohne Institutionen Handelnde auf möglichst effiziente Weise das verfolgen werden, was sie

als ihre eigenen Interessen ansehen. 'Rationale' 'Egoisten' – institutionell ungebunden sowohl hinsichtlich der von ihnen verfolgten Ziele als auch in der Wahl der Mittel – seien nicht in der Lage, eine Ordnung herzustellen, die es erlauben würde, verlässliche Zukunftserwartungen auszubilden. Vielmehr werden sie den Hobbes'schen Zustand des „Kriegs aller gegen alle“ herbeiführen, in dem „der Mensch dem Menschen ein Wolf“ ist. Institutionell ungebundene Interessen-Verfolgung führt also zu einem Zustand, der von niemandem beabsichtigt und gewünscht wurde und in dem schließlich niemand mehr seine Interessen realisieren kann. – Auch ad hoc getroffene ('vertragliche') Vereinbarungen, durch welche sich die Beteiligten wechselseitig versprechen, bestimmte ihnen mögliche Handlungen (obwohl sie von Vorteil sein könnten) zu unterlassen, können sie nicht aus diesem Zustand herausführen, solange es nicht eine ihr Handeln effektiv bindende 'Institution' gibt, die sie dazu bringt, die Vereinbarungen auch zu halten. Durkheim verwies hier auf die 'außer-' oder 'vorvertraglichen Voraussetzungen des Vertrages' und meinte damit den Gesamtkomplex von Vorstellungen und Praktiken, die definieren, was Inhalte möglicher Vereinbarungen sein können, auf welche Weise sie geschlossen werden können, welche Wirkungen sie für Dritte haben und was zu geschehen hat, wenn Situationen eintreten, die von den die Vereinbarung Schließenden nicht vorhergesehen wurden; zu dieser Institution 'Vertrag' als einem vorgängig schon vorhandenen Rahmen für solche einzelnen ad hoc Vereinbarungen gehört insbesondere die Norm, daß 'korrekt' zustande gekommene Vereinbarungen zu halten sind. Letztere wiederum kann aber nur unter der Voraussetzung ihrer Institutionalisierung das Handeln der Beteiligten effektiv binden. Dieses heißt zunächst und im einfachsten Falle, daß es einen Sanktionsmechanismus gibt, dementsprechend im Falle des Normbruchs der Normbrecher mit negativen Konsequenzen zu rechnen hat. Daß in einer Gesellschaft eine institutionalisierte Norm *gilt*, heißt dann, daß ihr entweder gefolgt wird (*Verhaltensgeltung*) oder daß im Falle einer Abweichung zu erwarten ist, daß den Normbrecher negative Konsequenzen treffen (*Sanktionsgeltung*). – Gefolgt werden kann den institutionalisierten Normen aus den unterschiedlichsten Motiven: z. B. a) aus dem Wunsch nach Vermeidung negativer *Sanktionen*; oder b) weil

(unabhängig von der Existenz des Sanktionsmechanismus) die Anreizstruktur der Situation so beschaffen ist, daß ein Handeln im Einklang mit der Norm gleichzeitig im *Interesse* des Handelnden liegt; oder c) weil der Norm unabhängig von den Konsequenzen ihrer Befolgung oder Nicht-Befolgung „*moralische Autorität*“ (E. Durkheim) zugeschrieben wird. Von der *Internalisierung* einer Norm spricht Parsons, wenn ihre Befolgung zu einer Bedürfnisdisposition des Handelnden geworden ist. Dies ist insofern ebenfalls ein Aspekt der Institutionalisierung, als durch erfolgreiche Prozesse der Internalisierung motivationale Energien 'in den Dienst der Norm' gestellt werden. – An der idealtypischen Konstruktion von zwei interagierenden Personen („*Interaktionsparadigma*“), die Bedürfnisse haben bzw. Interessen verfolgen und Erwartungen bezüglich des Verhaltens des jeweils anderen hegen, macht Parsons deutlich, inwieweit die Orientierung beider Personen an einem geteilten Normensystem die Chancen wechselseitig bedürfnisbefriedigender und erwartungserfüllender Interaktionen erhöht. Im Extremfall wäre das Handeln eines jeden der beiden gleichzeitig Befriedigung der eigenen Bedürfnisse, Erfüllung der Erwartungen des jeweils anderen sowie Konformität mit geteilten Normen. – In einem allgemeineren Sinne wäre der *Idealtypus* eines integrierten sozialen Systems dadurch charakterisierbar, daß eine Entsprechung besteht zwischen den Situationen der Handelnden mit ihren Anreizen, Möglichkeiten und Restriktionen einerseits und den Normen, die definieren, welche Ziele auf welche Weise zu verfolgen sind, andererseits, so daß Handeln im Einklang mit den normativen Mustern zugleich Handeln in der Verfolgung von Interessen darstellt und umgekehrt. *Konkrete* empirische Systeme sind jedoch durch einen variablen Grad von Integration (bzw. umgekehrt von '*Anomie*') gekennzeichnet, so daß der skizzierte Idealtypus lediglich einen theoretischen Bezugspunkt dafür abgeben kann, im Einzelfall den Zusammenhang von normativen und nicht-normativen Elementen zu untersuchen. – Verallgemeinernd betrifft Institutionalisierung nicht nur die 'Einrichtung' sozialer Sanktionsmechanismen und/oder die 'Etablierung' einer den Werten und Normen entsprechenden Motivationsstruktur bei den Handelnden sondern die Gesamtheit der in einer Gesellschaft gruppen- und verbandsmäßig organisierten Interessen, in-

sofern sie den Elementen normativer Kultur in der Welt der Faktizitäten kausale Wirksamkeit verleihen. In gewisser Weise schließt damit Parsons an die von William Graham Sumner (1840–1910) formulierte Vorstellung an: „Eine Institution besteht aus einer Vorstellung (Idee, Begriff, Grundsatz, Interesse) und einer Struktur. Die Struktur ist ein Rahmen oder Apparat oder vielleicht nur eine Zahl von Amtsträgern, bereit auf vorgeschriebenen Wegen bei einer bestimmten Gegebenheit zusammenzuarbeiten. Die Struktur trägt die Vorstellung und stellt die Hilfsmittel zur Verfügung, um sie in die Welt der Fakten und des Handelns zu überführen.“ (Sumner 1979, 53) Oder mit Arthur S. Stinchcombe: Eine Institution ist „a device for backing values with power.“ (Stinchcombe 1968, 182) Sofern man Parsons in der Behauptung folgt, daß soziale Ordnung nur durch Institutionen als Komplexen normativer Regeln möglich sei, und den Begriff der Institutionalisierung in seinem Sinne versteht, kann man mit ihm auch sagen: *Die Struktur sozialer Systeme 'besteht' in Mustern institutionalisierter normativer Kultur.*

6. „RREEMM-Modelle“

In Erklärungsargumenten einer empirisch-analytischen Human- und Sozialwissenschaft definieren institutionelle Praktiken und/oder Normen gesellschaftlich und historisch variable Anwendungsbedingungen für allgemeine Hypothesen menschlichen Verhaltens oder Handelns. Sie sind bildlich gesprochen Teil des strukturellen Rahmens, innerhalb dessen Handlungsprozesse entstehen, sich entfalten und gegebenenfalls für einen gewissen Zeitabschnitt zu einem 'Gleichgewicht' kommen. Zu erklärende Sachverhalte sind weniger raum-zeitlich situierbare Einzelhandlungen namentlich identifizierbarer Personen, sondern wiederholt realisierte Muster von Handlungen in rekurrenten Situationen gleichen Typs seitens beliebiger Handelnder, sofern diese in gleicher Weise typisierbar sind. Zur Erklärung solcher Abläufe innerhalb eines institutionellen und strukturellen 'Rahmens' sind insbesondere nomologische Hypothesen geeignet, die 'Theorien rationalen Handelns' im weitesten Sinne entnommen sind. Die diesen Konzeptionen zugrunde liegende Vorstellung vom Handelnden kann kürzhaft als RREEMM-Modell bezeichnet werden (Modell des „resourceful, restricted, ex-

pecting, evaluating, maximizing man“; S. Lindenberg 1983, 10f): Handelnde sind vornehmlich dadurch charakterisiert, daß sie etwas *wissen, wollen* und *können*.

a) 'Wissen' betrifft die Informationen des Handelnden, seine 'Theorien' und darauf beruhenden Erwartungen über das Verhalten seiner sozialen und nicht-sozialen Umwelt. Institutionen tragen mit zur *Definition der Situation* des Handelnden bei, indem sie die Menge der überhaupt vorstellbaren Möglichkeiten festlegen, zwischen denen er glaubt wählen zu können. So kann die Identifikation einer Situation als einer solchen, auf welche bestimmte (normative) Regeln anwendbar sind, zur Reduktion der vom Handelnden selbst (oder einem Beobachter) als 'objektiv möglich' angesehenen Handlungsalternativen auf eine enger definierte Menge in Frage kommender Optionen führen. Wäre im Extremfall nur eine Form des Handelns als 'die einzig denkbare' ausgezeichnet, welche dem Handelnden (unabhängig von den Folgen) zugemutet wird, so hätte ein entsprechendes Sich-Verhalten einen Eigenwert rein als solches. („*Wer rationales Handeln*“ als „Handeln nach Geboten“ oder gemäß „Forderungen“, „ohne Rücksicht auf die vor auszusehenden Folgen“; M. Weber). – Neben der Definition der Handlungsalternativen versehen Institutionen Handlungen im allgemeinen zusätzlich zu ihren 'sonstigen' instrumentellen Folgen mit einem 'Malus' oder 'Bonus' in Form von Sanktionen. Im Falle eines mit der Androhung von Sanktionen 'bewaternten' Verhaltensverbots wird der Handelnde vor das 'Entweder-Oder' gestellt: entweder die Handlung zu unterlassen (und entsprechend auf eventuelle sonstige Vorteile der Handlung zu verzichten) oder die Nachteile negativer Sanktionen ertragen zu müssen.

b) Die Komponente *Wollen* bezieht sich auf die vom Handelnden intendierten *Ziele* bzw. die selektiven Gesichtspunkte ('Wer-te'), durch die er die möglichen 'Zustände', die durch sein Handeln sowie durch das Handeln anderer und ggfs. durch (eine nicht als handelnd aufgefaßte) 'Natur' herbeigeführt werden, nach ihrer Wünschbarkeit in eine (*Präferenz*) Ordnung bringt. – Von besonderer Bedeutung sind die Fälle, in denen der Handelnde in eine Situation nicht nur mit 'eigenen' vorgegebenen Zielsetzungen 'eintritt', sondern daß die *Ziele* in der Situation *institutionell definiert und reguliert* sind. Dies kann heißen, daß a) dem Handelnden

in dieser Situation die Verfolgung bestimmter *Ziele zugemutet* wird (weil er sonst sich selbst schadet bzw. mit negativen Sanktionen rechnen muß), oder b), daß in diesem situativen Kontext nur in ganz bestimmter Weise *definierte Ziele* einen 'Sinn' ergeben und als wert erachtet werden, daß man sich für ihre Realisierung einsetzt und die dafür notwendigen Lasten trägt, oder c) daß die Verfolgung der 'vorgegebenen' *Ziele die Bedingung* dafür ist, daß der Handelnde in den Besitz von Ressourcen kommt, die für die Erreichung weiterer ihm wichtiger Ziele von Bedeutung sind. Liegt eine solche Verklammerung zwischen der Verfolgung und Realisierung institutionell vorgegebener Ziele und der Zuweisung von Ressourcen vor, die für andere Ziele des Handelnden relevant sind, können für sein an den institutionellen Zielen orientiertes Handeln eine Vielzahl ganz unterschiedlicher Motivationen 'eingespannt' werden: institutionell definierte Ziele und Motive des Handelns sind voneinander unabhängig; „der soziale Sinn eines Tätigkeits-Typs (stellt nicht) notwendig auch das treibende Motiv und folglich die Erklärung des letzteren dar“ (J.A.Schumpeter 1950, 448). – In einem (idealtypisch vorgestellten) Marktsystem, das in diesem Sinne die „Subjektivität des Endziels“ mit der „Objektivität des Endergebnisses“ (Simmel 1958, 215) integrieren würde, indem ein Unternehmer dann und nur dann Gewinn erwirtschaftet, wenn er Güter auf den Markt bringt, die ihre Käufer finden, sind es nur unterschiedliche Formulierungen des gleichen Sachverhalts, wenn man sagt, 'Ziel' der Produktion sei die Versorgung des Marktes mit Gütern und die 'Folge' erfolgreicher Produktion seien Belohnungen in Form von Gewinnen oder: „Produktion (sei) eine Nebenerscheinung beim Erzielen von Profiten“ (Schumpeter 1950, 448).

c) Schließlich ist auch die Frage, was ein Handelnder *kann*, nicht von institutionellen Faktoren unabhängig zu beantworten. Dies betrifft vor allem Fälle, in denen man auf die Kooperation anderer angewiesen ist und Institutionen die Bedingungen definieren, unter denen man mit Kooperation rechnen kann, im Extremfall in Autoritäts- und Herrschaftsverhältnissen zu durchsetzbaren Ansprüchen an Leistungen Dritter 'verdichtet'. Durch soziale Ordnung garantierte Eigentumsrechte definieren Rechte des Zugangs zu Ressourcen sowie ihrer Verwen-

dung. Auch der 'Gebrauch' 'seines' Körpers, den der Handelnde 'hat', ist institutionell geregelt und nur insoweit gesichert. („Institutionen können dadurch definiert werden, daß (...) Rechte vor Übergriffen geschützt werden“; G.H. Mead) In einer 'institutionsfreien Welt' 'besitzt' man seinen Körper und das, was man mit ihm 'festhalten' kann, nur solange, als man faktisch in der Lage ist, Angriffe anderer erfolgreich abzuwehren. – (Auf legitime Weise oder bloß tatsächlich kontrollierte) Ressourcen sowie Wissen bilden die Mittel des Handelns, die der Handelnde im Hinblick auf seine Präferenzen bzw. zur Realisierung seiner Ziele einsetzen kann. Zur Bestimmung der Handlung benötigt der Handelnde aber noch Gesichtspunkte zur Selektion der Mittel. Auch die Normen für der Mittelwahl sind wiederum institutionelle Faktoren. Abgesehen von einer rein zufälligen oder durch eine momentane affektuelle Befindlichkeit gesteuerten Selektion kann diese a) gewohnheitsmäßig-habitualisiert erfolgen oder b) mehr oder weniger bewußt orientiert an expliziten Standards, seien diese nun instrumenteller Art oder solche, die auf die Eigenqualität des Handelns abheben. Die Einbettung einzelne Handlungssysteme in einen umfassenderen Prozeß-Zusammenhang kann in einem quasi-evolutionären Prozeß zur Dominanz bestimmter Selektionsmechanismen führen: so werden in einem wettbewerblich organisierten ökonomischen Markt langfristig nur solche Handlungssysteme überdauern, in denen das Handeln (aus welchen Motiven auch immer) de facto am Gewinnerwerb als Ziel und bei der Wahl der Mittel am Standard instrumenteller Effizienz orientiert ist.

d) Je nach institutionellen Rahmenbedingungen werden die Handlungen unterschiedlich verlaufen. Mit Variation des institutionellen Rahmens werden sich andere Verlaufsregelhaftigkeiten ergeben. So sind z. B. die von Karl Marx für das sozio-ökonomische System 'Kapitalismus' formulierten 'Gesetzmäßigkeiten' keine 'Gesetze' in Entsprechung zu den in den Naturwissenschaften behaupteten. Es handelt sich vielmehr um typische Verlaufsregelhaftigkeiten, die dieses System nur solange charakterisieren, als bestimmte institutionelle Rahmenbedingungen gegeben sind, zu denen insbesondere die Eigentums- und Marktverhältnisse gehören. Solche *kulturell und historisch variablen Verlaufsregelhaftigkeiten*, manchmal formulierbar als statistische Verallgemeine-

rungen, sind auch keine *Normen* (– eine Behauptung, die nicht zuletzt wegen der Doppeldeutigkeit des Wortes ‘Gesetz’ gelegentlich zu einer Parallelisierung von ‘Naturgesetz’ und ‘normativem Gesetz’ Anlaß gibt und mit der weitergehenden methodologischen These verknüpft wird, daß in den Human- und Sozialwissenschaften in Erklärungsargumenten ‘normative Gesetze’ genau die Funktionen übernehmen, welche in den Naturwissenschaften den ‘Naturgesetzen’ zukommen.) Als *Gesetzesannahmen* sind vielmehr die als Verhaltens- bzw. Handlungshypothesen formulierten Vermutungen darüber anzusehen, wie sich Handelnde angesichts bestimmter situativer Bedingungen verhalten, zu denen insbesondere ‘Institutionen’ gehören. – Die skizzierte theoretische Konzeption geht zunächst von dem einzelnen Handelnden oder einigen wenigen Handelnden aus. Mit ihr ist am ehesten analysierbar, wie der einzelne in einem vormals institutionsfreien Raum mit anderen Handelnden Praktiken und Normen schafft oder wie er durch sein Handeln diese aufrecht erhält. Erweitert werden müßte diese Konzeption zu einer „Synopsis“ (Simmel 1958, 18) von Gesamtsystemen Institutionen-produzierender, -aufrechterhaltender und -verändernder Handelnder, in denen sich nicht jeder einzelne mit einer jeweils gegebenen sozialen Umwelt auseinandersetzt, sondern in der die betrachteten Handelnden insgesamt an einer gemeinsamen sozialen Welt partizipieren, die sie durch ihr Handeln konstituieren, und in der sie ihr Handeln wechselseitig aneinander orientieren und aufeinander abstimmen. Institutionen als *Mechanismen der Koordination* von Handlungen sind dann nicht nur auf die Interessen, Präferenzen, Bedürfnisse usw. der einzelnen als jeweils einzelne zu beziehen sondern auch auf die Bedingungen ihrer Interaktion. Sie können dann betrachtet werden als Ergebnisse kollektiver Lernprozesse, die insbesondere der Entproblematisierung des Handelns in rekurrenten Situationen dienen, welche mit Dilemmata behaftet wären, würde man versuchen, das Handeln in ihnen ohne Institutionen zu koordinieren. – In der neueren Diskussion werden neben den Regeln der *Koordination* (bzw. *Konventionen* i.e.S.) vor allem Regeln der *Kooperation* und der (*Verteilungs-*) *Gerechtigkeit* behandelt. Zur prägnanten Charakterisierung der verschiedenen Dilemmata und der Funktionen betreffender institutioneller Re-

gelsysteme hat sich eine (informelle) Anwendung der (in der mathematischen Ökonomie entwickelten) *Theorie der (strategischen) Spiele* als hilfreich erwiesen. (Zu deren Anwendung als konzeptuellem Rahmen für eine ‘*Theorie interdependenter Entscheidungen*’ vgl. H.J. Hummell; E. Ullmann-Margalit; A. Schotter; Th. Voss).

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59. Subkultur/Subculture

1. Begriffliches
2. Phänomenale Aspekte, Stilbildung
3. Analytische Konzepte, Theorien
4. Erklärungsansätze, Interpretationen
5. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Begriffliches

Mit Subkultur bezeichnet man Lebensformen, die Teil eines größeren kulturellen Ganzen sind, jedoch Normenordnungen aufweisen, die vom Gefüge, das die Gesamtkultur vorgibt, abweichen (vgl. Arnold, 1970; Sack, 1971). Das Maß dieser *Abweichung* schwankt. Es reicht vom Spielraum, den *Teilkulturen* – so unterschiedliche „soziale Milieus“ (dazu Schulze, 1992) – im System haben können, über Freiheitsgrade, wie settings „*multikultureller*“ (vgl. Mintzel, 1997) Art sie beanspruchen, bis hin zu Spannungsbögen, die tieferliegende *gegenkulturelle* (Yinger, 1960, 1977) Distanz markieren.

2. Phänomenale Aspekte, Stilbildung

Namentlich die Merkmale, die Subkulturen inhaltlich kennzeichnen, differieren lagespezifisch; sie können in unterschiedlicher ethnischer Herkunft, in regionalen Besonderheiten, in der Berufszugehörigkeit oder,

genereller, im sozialökonomischen Bereich begründet sein. In jedem Falle gilt, dass die Bezüge, durch die S.en Abweichung zum Ausdruck bringen, nicht nur periphere Bedeutung haben, sondern für die Gruppe (den Träger der Subkultur) zentral ausstrahlenden, komplex verflochtenen, 'Stil' bildenden Rang erhalten. Stil dieser Art kann sich von der Beachtung eines *Ehrenkodex*, wie ihn z.B. Straßenbanden pflegen, über die Bildung diverser *Rituale*, z.B. der körper-sprachlichen *Kommunikation*, bis hin zum Gebrauch von Sondersprachen erstrecken; er schlägt sich nieder in Eigentümlichkeiten des Modegebarens, von Musikvorlieben, Essgewohnheiten oder sexuellen Praktiken und dient der Selbstdarstellung der Gruppe – der Bestätigung und Sicherung von *Identität* – besonders in Lagen, die durch Außendruck und vielfältige kulturelle Verwerfungen gekennzeichnet sind. Stilisiert werden schließlich die Weisen der Machtausübung. Kriminelle Vereinigungen arbeiten mit typischen mafiosen Apparaten; Weltanschauungsgruppen bauen ein eigenes Pressewesen auf; sie entwickeln Sonderökonomien. Hier wie dort bevorzugen die Mitglieder bestimmte Standorte, Treffs und Aktionsschauplätze. – Für die nähere empirische Forschung ergibt sich das Postulat,

zur Erfassung der Zusammenhänge namentlich geeignete qualitative Methoden, so das Instrument der *teilnehmenden Beobachtung*, einzusetzen.

3. Analytische Konzepte, Theorien

Subkulturen waren Gegenstand zunächst der engeren devianzsoziologischen Forschung. Ging die *Anomietheorie* (Merton, 1939) von der Überlegung aus, Devianz resultiere aus der Unvereinbarkeit oberster kultureller *Werte* (z. B. des 'American dream') mit sozial nur beschränkt zur Verfügung stehenden institutionellen *Mitteln* (z. B. der Berufsarbeit) – so dass disprivilegierte Gruppen versuchen mussten, die fehlende Balance subkulturell wiederherzustellen –, hob der Ansatz der *differentiellen Assoziation* hervor, Entwicklungen dieser Art erfolgten auf der Grundlage von Prozessen – *sozialen Lernprozessen* –, durch die abweichendes Verhalten erst eingeübt, in 'Karrieren' überführt und gruppenspezifisch befestigt werde (Sutherland, 1939). Die Forschung unterstrich darüber hinaus, dass Subkulturen (kriminellen Typs) Normen wie Renitenz, Gewalttätigkeit etc. – Verhaltensmuster, die Devianz erst verstetigten – entlang offener, im Handlungsfeld liegender *opportunities* immer auch aktiv, von sich aus, in Szene setzten (vgl. Cloward/Ohlin, 1960). Klassisches Beispiel war die amerikanische jugendliche Straßenbande (Gang) (Cohen, 1955). Ergänzend stellte man fest, dass Kriminalität, Bandenwesen, Armut als Lebensform (Lewis, 1964) als subkultureller Verhaltensstil in unteren sozialen Schichten schon gleichsam von Grund auf, kraft Tradition, verankert sind (Miller, 1959) und im Sinne selbsttragender, Generationen überdauernder normativer Standards wirken. Entwickelten die genannten Ansätze das Konzept der S. mit Blick primär auf Eigenschaften, die die fraglichen Gruppen selbst betrafen, betonte die *Stigmatisierungstheorie* (Goffman, 1963), dass es die umgebende äußere Gesellschaft, genauer: die Reihe relevanter Bezugsgruppen sei, die abweichendes Verhalten, mit ihm aber das Entstehen von S.en hervorriefen. Erst Stigmatisierung (*Etikettierung, Labeling*) durch die Außenwelt sei es, die 'primäre Devianz', bloße 'Auffälligkeit', kriminalisiere und überführe in massiver gehandete „sekundäre Devianz“ (Lemert, 1967).

4. Erklärungsansätze, Interpretation

So nahe es liegt, Subkulturen unter der Prämisse primär der 'Benachteiligung' zu untersuchen, so wenig ist zu übersehen, dass das Phänomen auch durch gesamtsystemischen ökonomischen Überfluss, durch normative Beliebigkeit, Reizüberflutung und Redundanz hervorgerufen werden kann. Nicht wenige subkulturelle Erscheinungen, so bestimmte religiöse Sekten, Öko-Gruppen oder Reformgemeinden, dürften auf Bedingungen dieser Art zurückzuführen sein, und es wäre falsch, das Phänomen, das weit hin einhergeht mit „neuen sozialen Bewegungen“ (vgl. Neidhardt, 1994), allein auf soziale Engpässe, nicht aber auch auf Breiterführungen: gesteigerte Angebote, Verhaltensspielräume, flottierende, teils materielle, teils ideelle 'Gelegenheiten' zu beziehen. Ein weiterer Gesichtspunkt betrifft den Umstand, dass Kulturen und die zentralen, durch sie geschaffenen Symbole dazu neigen, 'auszufransen' und in unterschiedliche, oft gegensätzliche Sinnprovinzen abzudriften. Kulturen weisen Aspekte nicht nur des Normalen, sondern immer auch der Grenzbereiche, der Esoterik, des Untergrunds auf; sie gliedern sich in Teil- und Rand- (zu diesen: Bachtin 1995; Seidenspinner, 1998), Sub- und Gegenkulturen (vgl. a. Tiryakian 1972/73; grundsätzlich: Lipp 1985; 1999) auch insoweit auf, und es kommt darauf an, ihr Werden, ihren Sinn, ihre Sinnvielfalt und Sinndialektik möglichst angemessen zu erfassen.

Getragen vom Zeitgeist der 70er Jahre war die Forschung bisher geneigt, in Subkulturen die Avantgarde *revolutionärer*, die Gesellschaft nicht nur verändernder, sondern erneuernder sozialer Strömungen zu sehen (Roszak, 1969; Schwendter, 1971). Aus der Distanz betrachtet, präsentieren sich die Dinge weniger dramatisch. Zwar sind in Subkulturen Potentiale, die Gesellschaft umzugestalten, durchaus angelegt; Subkulturen übernehmen im heute maßgeblichen, 'weltgesellschaftlich' geöffneten, 'multikulturellen' Kulturganzen i. d. R. freilich angepasste, pluralistisch diversifizierte, am Ende werbewirtschaftlich manipulierte 'modische' Funktionen (s. Hebdige, 1979); sie sind Träger kompakten sozialen (sozialmoralischen) Widerstands eher bloß residual; insgesamt zeigen sie, dass das Dasein trotz erheblicher normativer Lasten, die es im Abweichungsfall auf sich zieht, Identität,

Lebensart und Lebensstil inzwischen in vielfältigen, gruppenspezifisch-individuellen Entwürfen findet. S.en, ihre Formen, Funktionen und Effekte, gehen insoweit mit wünschenswerten 'zivilgesellschaftlichen' Entwicklungen Hand in Hand.

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60. Minderheit/Minority

1. Problemstellung
2. Typen von Minderheiten
3. Konzeptionelle Perspektiven
4. Kriterien der Minderheitendefinition
5. Schluss
6. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Problemstellung

Historisch bezieht sich Minderheit auf Gruppierungen, die bei einer Abstimmung

oder Wahl unterlegen waren oder die von der politischen Herrschaft ausgeschlossen blieben (vgl. Heckmann 1992, 55). Minderheiten bedeuten im heutigen Alltagsverständnis Gruppen, die in gewisser Weise sozial und oft auch zahlenmäßig unterlegen sind. Sie zeichnen sich durch bestimmte Merkmale aus, die sie von einer anderen Bezugsgruppe, d.h. der Mehrheit, unterscheiden. Minderheiten sind somit relationale Größen, die sich nicht notwendigerweise

durch zahlenmäßige Unterlegenheit, wohl aber durch die Kategorien der Differenz und Ungleichheit auszeichnen. Neben sozialer Klasse und Schicht stellt der Begriff *Minderheit* eine soziologische Ordnungskategorie bereit, die durch die jeweils speziellen Entstehungsbedingungen, Merkmale und Beziehungskriterien des minoritären Gruppengeschehens definiert wird. In der modernen Gesellschaft ist diese Kategorie zum Bestandteil des Alltagsdiskurses geworden; sie speist sich da aus den Beständen unterschiedlicher wissenschaftlicher Traditionen, deren Kategorisierungen häufig trivialisiert in das Alltagswissen eingeflossen sind und hier stereotype Ordnungsmodelle bereitstellen, die in ihren Wirklichkeitskonstruktionen und Grenzziehungen die Qualität der Austauschbeziehungen zwischen Minderheit und Mehrheit maßgeblich beeinflussen können (vgl. Dittrich/Radtke 1990, 14ff).

Der Begriff *Minderheit* zeichnet sich durch ein eigenes sozialwissenschaftliches Profil aus, das aufgrund der heterogenen Merkmals- und Beziehungskomponenten der einzelnen Minderheitenphänomene zwar nicht kohärent definiert ist, wohl aber im Programm der sozialen Gleichstellung einen gemeinsamen Nenner hat (vgl. Hillmann 1994, 558f; Reinhold 1997, 436ff). In modernen und sozialstaatlich organisierten Gesellschaften, die sich auf der Basis von Grundwerten wie Rechtseinheit und Statusgleichheit der Bürger verstehen, stellen Minderheiten den Staat vor das Problem, Gleichheit auf der Grundlage von Differenz zu garantieren. Wo immer Minderheiten die Legitimation der Mehrheit in Frage stellen, sind sie Ressourcen der politischen Mobilisierung und damit Potentiale des Konflikts. Die historische und regional differenzierte Gebundenheit der theoretischen Deutungen und Kategorieninventare, die sich aus den unterschiedlichen Bedingungen der Entstehung von Minderheiten in Nordamerika, in Europa oder Australien ergeben (vgl. Castles 1990; Feagin 1990; Rex 1990), erweist sich hier als zusätzliche Schwierigkeit für eine kohärente Definition. Dementsprechend uneinheitlich gestalten sich auch die Konzepte von Minderheit, die einerseits nur die traditionellen Minderheiten, d.h. ethnisch-kulturelle Gruppierungen umfassen (vgl. Rose 1968), während andere auch Gruppen mit einschließen, die in gesellschaftlichen Randlagen leben oder ansonsten in ihren Rechten und Interessen be-

schnitten erscheinen (vgl. Mintzel 1997, 209ff). Dazu kommt, dass in den Sozialwissenschaften das Phänomen Minderheit hinsichtlich seiner konstitutiven Merkmale und Beziehungsqualitäten aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven thematisiert wird. Der erkenntnistheoretischen Auseinandersetzung ist hier ein weiter Bogen gespannt, der von den gesellschaftlichen Implikationen sozialer Ungleichheit und Diskriminierung, über die Austragung von Macht und Konflikt bis zu den Phänomenen der minderheitlichen Entdifferenzierung und Akkulturation reicht und angesichts der wachsenden kulturellen Pluralisierung moderner Gesellschaften infolge von Migration, auch die Infragestellung des nationalstaatlichen Homogenitätskonzepts mit einschließt. Nach einem kurzen Überblick über die verschiedenen Typen von Minderheiten wollen wir die Diskussion auf jene minderheitlichen Aspekte und Kategorisierungen beschränken, die für die soziolinguistische Erschließung minoritärer Bezüge relevant sein können. In dieser Perspektive erscheint auch eine Fokussierung auf die besonderen Belange ethnisch-kultureller Minderheiten sinnvoll.

2. Typen von Minderheiten

Seit dem Ersten Weltkrieg wurde der Begriff *Minderheit* in erster Linie auf Gruppierungen festgelegt, die sich durch national-kulturelle, sprachliche, und/oder religiös-konfessionelle Eigenschaften gegenüber einer politisch und zumeist auch zahlenmäßig überlegenen Mehrheit im Territorium einer Staatsnation oder eines Staatsverbands auswiesen (vgl. Art. 45). Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg konnte im Rahmen der UNO trotz jahrzehntelangem Ringen keine Definition für Minderheit gefunden werden. Das Recht auf Minderheitenschutz wird hier national-kulturellen bzw. ethnischen Gruppen zugesprochen, die sich durch ihre andersartige Organisation oder durch ihre rassischen Merkmale von der Mehrheitsbevölkerung des Staates unterscheiden, dem sie als Mitglieder angehören (vgl. Bartsch 1995; Scherer/Leydecker 1997). Faktoren wie die Entstehung neuer Nationalstaaten im früher kolonialisierten Afrika und Asien sowie die weltweit zunehmende Migration, bedingt durch Krieg, Vertreibung und Suche nach Arbeit und Wohlstand, führten jedoch zur Entstehung neuer Minderheiten (vgl. Mintzel 1997, 212ff). So unterscheiden wir heute

zwischen kulturell-ethnischen Minderheiten eines alten Typs, d. h. Minderheiten als Ergebnis der frühen Nationalstaatenbildung in Europa sowie der frühen Einwanderung nach Nordamerika und Australien, und Minderheiten eines neueren Typs, die sowohl als Resultat der Auflösung des Kolonialismus und der jungen Nationalstaatenbildung in Afrika und Asien als auch bedingt durch die im 20. Jh. zunehmende Migration entstanden sind. Unter dem Begriff *ethnisch* (vgl. Art. 43) werden auch die rassischen Minderheiten subsumiert, obwohl seit 1978 im internationalen Minderheitenschutz das diskriminierende Kriterium *Rasse* als wissenschaftlich widerlegt gilt (vgl. Scherer-Leydecker 1997, 114). Unter den ethnisch-kulturellen Minderheiten versteht man einerseits die nationalen Minderheiten, die durch Gebietsabtrennungen und -teilungen entstanden sind, d. h. Minderheiten, die ihre ethnische Bezugsgruppe in einem Staatsvolk außerhalb ihrer Staatsgrenzen haben (z. B. Südtiroler, Elsässer), andererseits die regionalen Minderheiten (z. B. Bretonen, Sarden), die ihren ethnischen Status und ihre Identität aus einer vor-nationalstaatlichen Vergangenheit schöpfen und in ihren politischen Zielen eher Autonomie als Eigenstaatlichkeit anstreben. Eine eigene Subkategorie bilden ferner indigene Völker, Nomadenvölker und Gruppen, die das neu-indoarische Romani sprechen sowie die migrationsbedingten Minderheiten, die sich aus Flüchtlingen bzw. Asylanten (vgl. UNHCR – Report 1997/98), Einwanderern aus freiem Willen, politischen Einwanderern sowie den Wanderarbeitnehmern zusammensetzen. Minderheiten bilden diese Migranten jedoch nur dann, wenn sie in Gruppen organisiert auftreten. Neben den ethnischen Minderheiten können auch Randgruppen der Gesellschaft, die durch ihre non-konformen Interessen und Strategien der Lebensbewältigung entweder politisch oder sozial am Rand der Gesellschaft stehen (politisch-ideologische Bewegungen, Homosexuelle, Drogenabhängige, Obdachlose, Ganoven, Prostituierte, etc.) als Minderheiten betrachtet werden (vgl. Heckmann 1992, 86f). Unklarheit herrscht derzeit darüber, inwieweit zahlenmäßig mehrheitliche Gruppen, die sich gemäß dem Gleichheitsprinzip benachteiligt empfinden (z. B. Frauen; Farbige in Südafrika), als Minderheit zu definieren sind (vgl. Boudon/Bourricaud 1992, 333). Fraglich ist auch, ob zahlenmäßig unterlegene Gruppen, die aufgrund

ihrer kulturellen Überlegenheit die Herrschaft über eine unterlegene Mehrheit übernommen haben, als Minderheit gelten.

3. Konzeptionelle Perspektiven

Da Minderheiten sich über externe Merkmale organisieren, die in abweichenden Normen und lebenspraktischen Unterschieden wahrnehmbar sind (z. B. Sprache, Religion, Kulturpraktiken), hat der Begriff *Minderheit* grundlegend mit Differenz zu tun. Sozialwissenschaftlich zentriert sich die Auseinandersetzung mit Minderheiten im wesentlichen auf zwei Perspektiven, die sich in der Konzeptualisierung dieser Differenz unterscheiden: Die traditionellen Akkulturationstheorien (vgl. die Generationsmodelle nach Park 1950 und Gordon 1964 sowie das Konzept der Ethnogenese nach Glazer/Moynihan 1963 oder die Marginalitätskonzepte nach Simmel 1908; Stonequist 1937; Handlin 1951; Park 1950), gehen davon aus, dass die minderheitliche Differenz im Generationszyklus zugunsten der Anpassung und Assimilation an die mehrheitlich unitarische Kultur abnimmt bzw. weicht, wenngleich sie diese Kultur auch verändert; gelegentlich kann die Ethnizität in späteren Generationen auch symbolhaft-nostalgisch reaktiviert werden, wie dies die Phänomene des Ethnic revival und der Neo-ethnicity gewisser Einwanderergruppen in den USA bezeugen; auch die europäische Regionalismusbewegung der 70er Jahre (vgl. Reinhold 1997, 529) zeichnet sich durch Tendenzen zur Ethnogenese, aus d. h. Assimilation unter Bewahrung kultureller Verschiedenheiten und Identität.

Anders hingegen definieren die Macht- und-Konflikt-Perspektiven (vgl. Cox 1948) die Differenz als soziale Barriere und als Grenze, die als Ausdruck ungleicher Ressourcen und Machtausübung in den Gruppenbeziehungen gesehen wird und die mit den Prozessen der sozialen Hierarchisierung, Unterschichtung und Ausbeutung einhergeht (vgl. Hoffmann-Nowotny 1973; Feagin 1984; 1990; Esser 1988). Dieser unterschiedlichen Theoretisierung der Phänomene ethnisch-kultureller Minderheiten sowie den daraus abgeleiteten Hypothesenbildungen lässt sich entnehmen, dass der Begriff *Minderheit* zum einen nicht losgelöst werden kann von den Phänomenen des Multikulturalismus in modernen Gesellschaften, und dass es zum anderen einer kriti-

schen Auseinandersetzung mit der Genese, den Merkmalen und Beziehungsstrukturen von Minderheiten bedarf, will man die Implikationen und die gesellschaftliche Tragweite dieses Phänomens systematisch erfassen.

4. Kriterien der Minderheitendefinition

Die unterschiedlichen Ansätze und Definitionen von *Minderheit* lassen unschwer erkennen, dass Strukturen wie der Entstehungskontext, die Differenzmerkmale und die Intergruppenbeziehungen grundlegende Aspekte der Kategorie *Minderheit* sind. Vielfach geht man davon aus, dass die Entstehungsbedingungen einen großen Einfluß auf die Gestaltung der Beziehungen zwischen Minderheit und Mehrheit haben (vgl. Eisenstadt 1954; Heckmann 1992, 174); auch dass die Beziehungsqualität des Gruppengeschehens die minderheitlichen Organisationsstrukturen beeinflusst und so das Ausmaß der merkmalspezifischen Ent-/Differenzierung der Minderheit mitbedingt.

4.1. Entstehungsbedingungen

Entstehungsbedingungen entscheiden nicht unwesentlich über die Motivations- und Identifizierungspotentiale der Minderheit in ihrem Bestreben, sich der Mehrheit anzupassen oder sich von ihr abzugrenzen; gleichzeitig entscheiden sie auch über die Akzeptanz bzw. die Vorurteile und Diskriminierung, die die Mehrheit der Minderheit angedeihen lässt. Im Entstehungsprozeß werden so relativ dauerhafte Prämissen geschaffen, die die Fremd- und die Selbstkategorisierung von Minderheiten beeinflussen und damit Instanzen von Wert- und Normvorstellungen schaffen, über die sich die Identität sowie die Statuszuschreibung, und damit der Fortbestand, dieser Gruppen ergibt. Der Entstehungskontext entscheidet auch oft darüber, ob die minderheitlichen Sozialisations- und Identifizierungspotentiale eingeschränkt bzw. entfaltet und tradiert werden. Es ist davon auszugehen, dass bei Zwangsverschleppung, Flucht, aber auch in bestimmten Fällen der Migration diese Potentiale nicht in dem Maße verfügbar sind, wie dies für die Vergemeinschaftung und Vergesellschaftung der Gruppe von Nöten ist. Es unterscheiden sich z. B. Auswanderer, die ihr ständiges Lebensziel im Aufnahmeland sehen, in ihrer Motivation, sich an die gesellschaftlichen

Bedingungen der Aufnahmekultur anzupassen und sich in die neue Kultur zu integrieren, von Arbeitsmigranten, die ihren Aufenthalt im Aufnahmeland zunächst nur als vorübergehend betrachten, sich aber infolge ökonomischer Zwänge dann doch zum ständigen Aufenthalt entschließen. Die identifikative Assimilation (vgl. Gordon 1964) an die Aufnahmekultur ist in Fällen wie dem zuletzt genannten erschwert; so kann es zu Phänomenen der Re-Ethnisierung (Art. 43) in den nachfolgenden Generationen kommen (vgl. Treibel 1999, 151 f). Im Falle der regionalen und nationalen Minderheiten gilt es hingegen zu bedenken, dass diese Minderheiten die Kehrseite der nationalstaatlichen Homogenisierung bilden, weshalb hier mit der Entwicklung des Nationalstaates die Prozesse der kulturellen Vereinheitlichung bei gleichzeitiger sozialer Stigmatisierung, interner Kolonisierung und sozialer Unterschichtung (Hoffmann-Nowotny 1973, 95) zu bedenken sind. Regionale Minderheiten unterscheiden sich zudem in ihren Identifizierungspotentialen häufig von den nationalen, da es ihnen an Orientierungen mangelt, die über ihre stigmatisierte Identität hinaus in eine politisch starke bzw. staatstragende Referenzgruppe verweisen. Streu- und Inselminderheiten, die zumeist das Ergebnis einer früheren Migration sind (z. B. Albaner, Griechen, Serbokroaten in Süditalien), weisen sich infolge ihrer langzeitigen Abkopplung von der Herkunftskultur in ihren nationalen Mobilisierungsressourcen ebenfalls als eher eingeschränkt aus. Indigene Völker und Stammesgesellschaften mit vorindustriellen Produktionsweisen wiederum fielen der Verfolgung und Vertreibung anheim. Sie wurden ausgerottet und in Reservate gezwungen, wodurch häufig ihre Lebensgrundlage zerstört, ihre Sozialstruktur aufgelöst und ihre ökonomische, physische und psychische Verelendung vorangetrieben wurde.

4.2. Merkmalstrukturen

Minderheiten zeichnen sich durch Gruppenstrukturen aus, die auf der Grundlage von Merkmalen der Differenz organisiert sind. Sprache, Religion/Konfession, Rasse (vgl. Art. 42), und/oder Kulturpraktiken, die sich durch einen gemeinsamen Habitus aufgrund von Vorstellungen und Erinnerungen an eine gemeinsame Abstammung ausdrücken (vgl. Devetak 1996), können solche Merkmale sein. Im Festhalten an diesen distinkti-

ven Merkmalen signalisieren die Individuen ihre Zugehörigkeit zur Gruppe (vgl. Art. 53); aus der Identifikation mit diesen Merkmalen schöpfen sie ihre soziale Identität (vgl. Art 50); über diese Merkmale werden Grenzziehungen nach innen und außen signalisiert. Diese Merkmale symbolisieren somit gruppenspezifische Werte (vgl. Mach 1993, 56) und bilden eine Komponente der Selbst- wie der Fremdkategorisierung und damit auch der Statuszuschreibung der Gruppe als Minderheit. In sich wandelnden Gemeinschaften können nach Max Weber (1972, 238) solche Merkmale losgelöst von ihrer ursprünglichen Funktion als Konvention weiterleben und als Symbole ethnischer Zugehörigkeit instrumentalisiert werden. Sprache ist wohl eines der hervorragenden Merkmale ethnischer Identität; sie ist in dieser Funktion jedoch nicht immer konstant, da sie mitunter durch andere Symbole ersetzt werden kann, wie Lebensweise, Abstammung oder Konfession (z.B. Iren; Kroaten und Serben).

4.3. Beziehungsstrukturen

Aufgrund ihres untergeordneten Status orientieren sich Minderheiten gewöhnlich an den Verhaltensstandards und den damit verbundenen Rollen- und Wertesystemen der Mehrheit (Heckmann 1992, 168ff). Häufig folgen einer ersten verhaltensfunktionalen Akkomodation die Phasen der wert- und normenverändernden Akkulturation, die aufgrund der Machtverhältnisse in Richtung der Mehrheit verläuft. Die Akkulturation muß jedoch nicht gleichzeitig mit der sozialstrukturellen Egalisierung der Minderheit einhergehen, wie dies z.B. die Auseinandersetzungen im Rahmen der europäischen Regionalismusbewegung gezeigt haben. Die Minderheit kann auch in ihrem Bestreben um Integration von der Mehrheit abgewiesen werden oder in den selteneren Fällen kann sie sich der Anpassung an die Mehrheit verweigern, sich in sich selbst schließen und ausgrenzen.

Über die jeweilige Beziehungsqualität entscheidet die Art des Kontakts: ungleiche Verteilung materieller wie immaterieller Ressourcen, Wettbewerb um knappe sozioökonomische Güter (z.B. Arbeit, Wohnungen), politische und rechtliche Diskriminierung, Ausgrenzung der Minderheit aus den sozialen Verkehrskreisen der Mehrheit, ethnische Kolonienbildung und räumliche Segregation können mit Widerstand und Kon-

flikten einhergehen. Aus der Spannung, in der sich Minderheiten zwischen identifikativer Assimilation einerseits und ethnischer Identifikation andererseits befinden, kann eine Neo-ethnicity entstehen, die häufig symbolischer Natur ist (Treibel 1999, 194). Strategien der Zwangsassimilierung wiederum können zur minderheitlichen Dissimilierung und zur Segregation führen. Das Machtverhältnis zwischen den Gruppen sowie die Verteilung der Ressourcen beeinflussen die Richtung der Akkulturation. Diese erweist sich hinsichtlich des Minderheit-Mehrheit-Verhältnisses als ein aussagekräftiges Kriterium, das Auskunft gibt über die kulturelle Veränderung der Minderheit, ihre soziale Positionierung und Mobilität, ihre Identifikationen und Assimilierungsgrade sowie ihre Zufriedenheit.

Minderheitenpositionen konstituieren sich aus der Existenz der Minderheitenkultur und ihrer sozialstrukturellen Stellung im Rahmen der Gesamtgesellschaft. Neben den minderheitlichen Gruppenstrukturen und Grenzziehungen bestimmen Strukturen wie Bildung, Alter, Beschäftigung, Einkommen und Rechte das Bewusstsein und Verhalten von Minderheiten und ihre Beziehungen zur Mehrheit. Grundsätzlich ist davon auszugehen, dass in multikulturellen Gesellschaften die Positions- und Statuszuweisungen an Minderheiten vom Rang geprägt sind, den diese unabhängig von ihren Qualifikationen in der Gruppenshierarchie zugeschrieben bekommen. Die sozialen Schichtungs- und Zuschreibungsbedingungen (vgl. Konzepte der ethnischen Schichtung nach Gordon 1978; Esser 1988) können die Gruppenbildung der Minderheit fördern, wie sie auch Meinungen und Einstellungen steuern, die für den Verlauf der Gruppenbeziehungen entscheidend sind. Hier bilden die Potentiale der Identifikation der Minderheit, die in Ethnizität, bikulturellen Orientierungen, Teilassimilation, Assimilation, Überanpassung oder Marginalisierung zum Tragen kommen, sowie die Vorurteile, mit denen Minderheiten besetzt sind, wichtige sozialpsychologische Komponenten, die die Beziehungsstrukturen von Minderheit und Mehrheit beeinflussen. Vorurteile als Einstellungen und Zuschreibungen, die stereotyp im negativen Bild einer Gruppe zusammengefasst sind, werden in einem engen Zusammenhang mit den Phänomenen der sozialen Diskriminierung gesehen (vgl. Heckmann 1972, 117ff). Ethnische Vorurteile resultieren nicht aus der direkten Erfahrung

der Individuen sondern werden übernommen. Sie stehen im Zusammenhang mit ideologischen Systemen, die als Ethnozentrismus, Rassismus und im extremen Nationalismus zum Ausdruck kommen, in denen soziale Ungleichheit auf der Grundlage der „natürlichen“ Überlegenheit einer Mehrheit legitimiert wird.

5. Schluss

Der Begriff *Minderheit* weist sich als eigene sozialwissenschaftliche Kategorie aus, die aufgrund ihrer unterschiedlichen Theoretisierung und Hypothesenbildung jedoch einen eher programmatischen Charakter denn eine einheitliche Definition aufweist. Zum einen variieren die Differenzierungsgrade und hierarchischen Verhältnisse, die die Beziehung von Minderheiten und Mehrheiten gestalten, mit Kulturraum und Gesellschaft; gleichzeitig wird die Theoretisierung dieser Phänomene von den politischen Vorgaben und Zwängen in den jeweiligen Gesellschaften gesteuert. In Nordamerika, wo die Überwindung der ethnischen Vielfalt im Paradigma des *melting-pot* gesehen wurde, das dann im Zuge der Bürgerrechtsbewegung den Konzepten des kulturellen Pluralismus weichen sollte, hatte die Auseinandersetzung mit Minderheiten theoretische Schwerpunktsetzungen zur Folge, die v.a. in den Akkulturationstheorien ihren Niederschlag fanden. In Europa, wo die Entstehung von Minderheiten sich aus den sozio-ökonomischen und psychologischen Zusammenhängen der Nationalstaatenbildung sowie aus der neuerlichen Zuwanderung ergibt, stehen die Aspekte der Verflechtung zwischen Minderheit und den sozialstrukturellen Machtverhältnissen im Vordergrund; der Widerstand und der Kampf dieser Minderheiten um kulturelle und politische Gleichstellung wird in den Perspektiven von Macht- und Konflikt reflektiert und in den Beziehungen von Peripherie und Zentrum, Domination und Subordination sowie unter den Begriffen des internen Kolonialismus, der Ausbeutung und der Fremdheit thematisiert. Auch in anderen Kulturkontexten wie z. B. Australien und Afrika stellen Assimilation, Integration und Multikulturalismus in ihrer Verflechtung mit gesellschaftlicher Herrschaft die zentralen Themen der Auseinandersetzung mit Minderheiten dar. *Akkulturation, Macht und Konflikt* beherrschen so gesehen die wissenschaftstheoretische Aus-

einandersetzung mit Minderheiten; in ihrer komplexen Verflechtung mit der gesellschaftlichen und psychologischen Bedingtheit der minderheitlichen Existenz stellen sie die grundlegenden Orientierungen dar, aus denen die internationale Minderheitenforschung ihre derzeitige Theoretisierung schöpft.

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61. Community/Gemeinschaft

1. Introduction
2. Forms of community
3. Community between region, state and ethnicity
4. The level of discourse: British and English
5. Conclusion
6. Literature (selected)

1. Introduction

Community has been at the centre of normativity and social order since the 18th century (Williams 1992, 8–14). It has been regarded as the consequence of localised face to face interaction that conditions and sustains identity. As the institution that sustains and determines social order its demise has been a matter of concern. This demise has been a central feature of the evolutionist claim for the increasing individualism of society associated with industrialisation, urbanisation, evolution and social progress. This is the basis of a series of dichotomies including Toennies’ *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, Durkheim’s *mechanical* and *organic solidarity* and Weber’s *substantive* and *formal rationality*. The collective consciousness that informs community yields to the individualism of modern society through progress.

The sociology of language and sociolinguistics have seized on the orthodoxy of the sociological discourse in discussing the speech community and the language community (Williams 1992, 69–78). In so doing they have focused upon the importance of face to face interaction, implying that this structures speech, marking off one speech configuration from another. This is entirely unacceptable in that it either views speech as a manifestation of society, or prioritises the relevance of speech for social interaction. It relies on the long tradition of dialectology that equates speech similarity with closed interaction.

Both language and the social are premised on the relationship between time, person and place (Williams 1999). This is an inherent feature of deictics, where discourse and society come together. This relationship was lost in the early 19th century when the reorganisation of knowledge involved a shift from an episteme in which knowledge was signification and signification was both representation and analysis, so that philosophy was unable to focus upon the centrality of knowledge, ontology and meaning. In the modern episteme on the other hand, philosophy became that which adjudicates claims to knowledge and truth, and language be-

came separated from the social as an entity to be studied. Discourse gives way to language, and deictics to syntax. In what follows I will seek to redress this change by focusing upon the relationship between discourse and the social construction of subjects and objects, and the meaning that pertains to them. Rather than simply retreating into the accepted canons of sociology, its concepts and theories, I would like to treat both sociology and linguistics as meta discourses involving a focus upon relevant notions by reference to constitution, stabilisation and the setting of boundaries. In order to constitute any notion, be it the *state*, *nation*, *language* or *community*, it is as well to delineate it in relation to other notions that present the same indetermination, since strict definitions lose their descriptive status in becoming a knowledge. The stabilisation of a notion such as *nation* involves the relationship between the empty interior and the state. It relates in turn to the setting of boundaries, involving those of the nation and other groups – the ‘us’ and ‘them’. The same is true of community. Evidently, the focus is upon how meta discourses constitute and legitimise objects and subjects.

Within this focus stabilisation refers to what Seriot (1990) calls *demos*, where the political revolves around social groups that are constituted in relation to the regulating activity of the state. The associated discursive structure is one in which representation leads to formulating the problem in terms of the right of the collectivity to intervene in public and private space – the distinction between the moral and the legal. In contrast, *ethnos* refers to how the political constructs a group within a political dimension in contrast to a group of ‘strangers’. The focus shifts to the group itself, and to how that group is defined. Within the demic dynamic it is the specific project and legislative practice that lie at the heart of the organisation of discourse, whereas in the ethnic dynamic it is belonging and identity that dominate.

2. Forms of community

Community is a social construct that unites the three elements of deictics – time, person and place. Within discourses on community these link in a particular way. Thus within the kinship mode of production the economy was organised in such a way that private, individual ownership was not possible,

merely the right of individual usufruct. This right was ordained by demonstrating descent over a number of generations in the kinship unity that was associated with the land as kinship territory. Thus the physical space was also an economic and a kinship space that set the boundary which formed the basis for the distinction between *us* and *them*. Thus the social identity which constituted community linked place with descent as time, and person as pertaining to kin. Mobility out of this system was difficult, if not impossible, since livelihood was dependant upon access to land. Until the advent of capitalism Europe was organised in yet a different way, in accordance with the feudal principles of domestic grandeur (Boltanski/Thevenot 1987). Kinship pertained to the Royal Household and, once again, pertains to time through the royal lineage. However, kinship is extended through a form of fictive kinship wherein membership is by incorporation into a hierarchical household. Territory or space pertains to the kingdom. However, the link between time, person and place is at the will of the king, and most of the population is left outside of the system as plebeans or commoners. This discourse of domestic grandeur fixes two boundaries. Firstly, the territorial which defines the common *us* of the entire population that owes allegiance to the king and occupies his territory, an *us* which is opposed to the *them* of other kingdoms. Secondly, it fixes the domestic boundary which distinguishes the *us* of the royal household from the *them* of the commoners. The emergence of capitalism and its expropriation by the state has changed this construction of community. The state has incorporated the relationship between person and place into itself while levelling time to ‘now’. This development is a feature of modernism and its concern with normativity and social order. It was the cornerstone of what has become sociology, but which emerged in the 18th century as an explicit applied political science in search of an alternative to the prevailing political order. To a great extent it was the distinction between *reason* and *nature* that fuelled the debate. Reason was constructed as the basis for the essential unity of humanity. Rousseau claimed that in a state of nature, society was based upon the moral principles which generated integration. Community became the resting place of social order. However, by the time of Condorcet we find the argu-

ment in favour of a relationship between reason, progress and evolution, leading to the claim that society was becoming so complex that if the moral imperative was to persist, then social order had to be vested in a superior entity – the state. Opposition between community and the state thereafter was rare, being restricted to the writings of anarchists such as Kropotkin and Stirner (see Williams 1992a). The romanticism associated with the conservative discourse of Chateaubriand, Maistre, Haller and Bonald *inter alia* linked with the evolutionary thrust in polarising two forms of social order, one constructed as a mechanical solidarity and the other as an organic solidarity. They were linked with modernity as progress, and tradition as atavistic.

3. Community between region, state and ethnicity

The change associated with these developments involves the creation of three hierarchical levels. The first involves the discourse the effects of which construct the state. Here we find the individual constructed as a *citizen* that is located within the territorial space of the state. This citizen pertains to the *us* of the state that contrasts with the *them* of the citizens of other states. Internally it has ruptured the relationship between time and place. This is partly the effect of the discourse of capitalism which insists on the free mobility of labour in order to reduce the cost of labour in securing profit. *Regions* have emerged as the replacement for kinship territories. It is axiomatic that any region is part of a larger, often pre-constructed, unmarked, entity, but which tends to be the state. Thus the *us* that is constructed out of regional boundaries is subordinate to the *us* of the state. Thirdly, the community becomes a local object which tends to lack the strict spatial and legal definition of the state and the region. It is the strictness of this definition that emphasises and marks the *us* of inclusion. The community is amorphous but always inclusive by reference to the state. It becomes impossible to be of the community and not of the state. The problem arises when the community is simultaneously defined in a competing discourse as pertaining to some other existing or potential state than the one which legally defines it. This occurs by reference to extra territorial language groups and also to auth-

ochthonous groups whose being combines the territorial referent of language with aspirations for statehood. In the former case community and region become synonymous, constructing the space that defines *us*, not by reference to the inclusion of the existing state wherein they are located, but to the neighbouring state which also contests, or has contested, that region as territory. The second case involves a contesting discourse which defines the region as a community defined by language and history such that the inclusive *we* contrasts with the *them* of the remainder of the state within which they are located. This *we* is constructed in such a way that it unites time person and place in the form of a justification for the existence of an unfulfilled object creation where the community becomes a state. Where the *us* of the citizen is sustained by the legal discourse that confirms the state boundary, the *us* of the aspiring state is confirmed by history and the manner in which the prior discourse leaves traces in the contemporary construction of subjects and objects. This observation also holds by reference to the concept of *ethnicity* which, within sociology, has been constructed as a part society, part culture (Williams 1998; see also art. 43). Since ethnic groups occupied part of the state territory, and since there was only one society for each state, each ethnic group had to be part of that society. By the same token the cultural dimension of state activity existed to integrate all of the state's population into a common citizenry constructed out of commonality. Thus, even a group that was constructed out of cultural difference had to be incorporated into that culture. They were constructed as part of, but marginal to, the normative order, and in this sense were treated with suspicion. Furthermore, since modernity and progress were the forces which would insure universal homogeneity, such groups were constructed as pertaining to the atavistic realm of tradition. The ethnic community, whose borders of inclusion and exclusion were marked by cultural attributes, most significantly, language, became a specific kind of community. The struggle of autochthonous language groups is obliged to be a struggle over normativity. What is important here is the distinction between an identity constructed out of inclusion as opposed to exclusion. The relationship between language as an object that confirms the identity of subjects as pertaining to a common *we*

through shared understanding, and the space that is occupied by these subjects as a territory is exemplified in the concept of autochthony. This becomes a speech community by exclusion – the *them* of the excluded is not defined by territory, but by the inability to be incorporated into the *us* of the language group as a speech community. In contrast, the *us* of the region is an inclusive identity determined by space, and including everyone who lives within that space.

4. The level of discourse: British and English

These relationships between different subjects and objects are stabilised within discourse, and thereby become a feature of institutionalisation. Stabilisation in this case is related to the preconstructed or the unmarked, axiomatic, superordinate object. Thus, when we encounter a statement such as ‘*in the regions*’ it is the preconstructed as taken for granted that defines the entity to which the *regions* refers. Destabilisation involves an insecurity by reference to the identity of the preconstructed. This occurs when the relationships between time, space and person are reconfigured. Currently the reorganisation of political space in Europe is having such an effect upon discourse.

Until recently mention of *the regions* within the United Kingdom would have been understood for many as *the regions of the UK*, where the UK is the preconstructed that does not require stating. The overlap between state and society closes the space within which the difference between the inclusive *us* and the excluded *them* is established. The recent upsurge in importance of a political Europe with regions obliges asking about the relationship between *region* and the preconstructed. The meaning of the preconstructed is destabilised. It is such things that are an essential part of resolving the inherent ambiguity of meaning. The destabilisation of the preconstructed leads to its deconstruction, and to a realignment of the relationships between subjects and objects. Evidently, there is a close link between stabilisation and normativity. There is also a link between the context of reflexivity and the stabilisation of discourse. The destabilisation which we have referred to here also has implications for subject positions vis-à-vis the objects *UK* and *Europe*. There are many discursive contexts in which England

is coterminous with the UK, with the subject positions *English* and *British* being interchangeable. The link between a single state and a single society defined as normative is responsible for this overlap. It means that *English* is the normative within *Britain*, the collectivity *English* never being called *ethnic*, or deviant from the normative. The *us* of English is coterminous with the *us* of British, and contrasts with the *them* of all those who are not *British*, the *us* of identity links with the political *we*. The normative of the English sub-space is the same normative as the larger British space, whereas for the Welsh or the Scottish this co-determination does not exist, the situation being resolved by retaining the universal normativity and relegating the other to the position of non-normative, deviant, or ethnic. This is achieved by strictly defining the cultural that links with the faithfulness that is required by the state as normative. The normative group is simultaneously defined by reference to language, culture, and reason. The tendency to *mean British* when referring to *English*, and vice versa, leaves no space for *Welsh*, *Scottish*, etc. – they are all accommodated in the general *us* of *British*. The destabilisation of *the regions* means that it is no longer possible to construct *England* in the same way as previously in that the centrality of *Europe* destabilises that relationship between *England* and *the UK* which made them coterminous. Similarly, the subject identities also shift, and involve *the break up of England*. This has profound implications for subject places. It means that *regions* may pertain to *England* in a way that hitherto was not possible. The existence of several *European regions* within *England* breaks up the homogeneity of *England* and the associated uniform subject position by the generation of *regions* which pertain to a European rather than *English* or *UK/British* order. The *us* of English is now fragmented into the *us* of different regions of *England* which are also European regions. This means that the associated subject positions which were previously homogenous are multiplied and, in certain discursive contexts, are in opposition. That is, English identity is no longer as clear and stable as it once was. In some contexts the *us* of the English region, which is also a European region, is pitted against the *them* of a similar different region of *England*, which, being drawn into the same political *we*, is discursively no different than

any other *European region*. By the same token the overlap between *European region*, *UK region* and *Scotland* or *Wales* means that the effect of the relationship between subject positions and these objects is different.

5. Conclusion

I have argued that community should be viewed as a social construct rather than as the fixed entity of orthodox sociology and sociolinguistics. In so doing I claim that sociology is to be treated as a discourse rather than as a privileged meta discourse, even if it does have significant purchase through the effects of discourse. As a discourse sociology carries an inherent statist bias that runs parallel to its patriarchialism. This has profound implications for the relationship between state, region and community. Discourse constructs the subject places for the individual to take in charge of or not to, in relation to various other subjects and objects. It is here that identity is located and not in the mind of the rational human subject as orthodox sociology implies.

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IV. The Social Implications of Levels of Linguistic Analysis Soziale Implikationen von Sprachanalyse-Ebenen

62. Die sozialsymbolische Funktion der Sprache The Social Symbolic Function of Language

1. Zeichen – Symbol – Symptom
2. Sprache und Gruppe
3. Sozio-Grammatik
4. Diskurs und Prestige, Sprache und Macht
5. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Zeichen – Symbol – Symptom

Der klassische Topos von der Entäußerung des Sprechers durch seine Sprache – in seiner prägnanten Formulierung als das auf Erasmus von Rotterdam zurückgehende Wort von Ben Jonson „Language must shewes a man: speake that I may see thee“ geläufig – verleiht der seit der Antike gegenwärtigen Einsicht präzisen Ausdruck, dass Sprache Hinweise gibt auf den Sprecher, etwas über ihn *anzeigt*. Sprache als Handeln sozialer Subjekte wurde also seit jeher nicht nur als Informationsmedium betrachtet, sondern auch als soziales Symbol. *Symbol* als ein Schlüsselbegriff zahlreicher Disziplinen sei hier semiotisch in zwei Hinsichten präzisiert zunächst als (i) Zeichenträger im Sinne der antiken Funktionsformel *aliquid pro aliquo* und dann spezifischer (ii) als konventionell-arbitrarisches Zeichen im Sinne von Peirce (Nöth 2000, 178–180).

Die Frage ist nur: „How can we get access to the social meaning of linguistic structures?“ (Dittmar 1983a, 226). Welche ‚soziale Bedeutung‘ vermitteln bestimmte Ausdrucksträger der verschiedenen linguistischen Beschreibungsebenen? ‚Soziale Bedeutung‘ gewinnt Sprache durch ihre Variabilität: der Sprecher hat die Wahl, er verfügt über „a set of alternative ways of ‚saying the same thing‘“ (Labov 1972, 94; Dittmar 1983 a, 237). Sein Wissen über die Welt und über Zeichen, die es vermitteln, setzen ihn in den Stand, jemandem etwas mitzuteilen und das ihm über etwas mittels Zeichen, die er kennt, Mitgeteilte zu verstehen. Seine Äußerung von Zeichen ist zugleich, im schönen Doppelsinn des Wortes,

eine ‚Äußerung‘ seiner selbst: er kehrt nach außen, was ihn den anderen als ‚Person‘ identifiziert, als ‚soziales Subjekt‘, *nicht nur* als ‚Sender‘, der Botschaften übermittelt, *nicht nur* als ‚Handelnden‘, der Äußerungsakte produziert. Er kann dies mehr oder weniger bewusst, mehr oder weniger willentlich, mehr oder weniger absichtsvoll, mehr oder weniger eindeutig tun, aber er kann es nicht *nicht* tun, wenn er zu kommunizieren wünscht (und selbst der Katatone signalisiert sein Nicht-kommunizieren-Wollen, die ‚soziale Bedeutung‘ einer pathologischen A-Sozialität).

Das Sprechen im Gespräch von Angesicht zu Angesicht: ein Sonderfall intersubjektiven Zeichenverhaltens. Es ist verbales, multimodales, kommunikatives, interaktives Zeichenverhalten: *verbal*, insofern die Partner sich eines von beiden gekannten sprachlichen Codes bedienen; *multimodal*, insofern ihr verbales Handeln eingebettet ist in ein mehrkanalig strukturiertes Ensemble begleitender (konkomitanter) paraverbalen und nonverbalen Handlungen, kontingenter Prozesse und Verhaltensprodukte; *kommunikativ*, insofern sie in der Absicht handeln, Botschaften, Mitteilungen, kommunikative Sachverhalte auszutauschen; *interaktiv*, insofern ihr Handeln von dem des Partners beeinflusst ist und seinerseits das des Partners beeinflusst. Interaktives Verhalten muss aber nicht immer auch Zeichenverhalten sein, nicht jedes Zeichen interaktiv. Der Lidschlag des Auges ist, als physiologischer Reflex, Verhalten ohne Zeichenfunktion. Wird er vom Partner wahrgenommen und für ihn zum Impuls, einen Schluss zu ziehen (etwa der Art: „ihn blendet das Licht“), wird das Verhalten zeichenhaft. Und das Zeichen wird zum kommunikativen Zeichen, wenn es als Medium einer intendierten Mitteilung („das Licht blendet mich“) figuriert. Das komplexe Verhältnis von verbalem und non-verbalem, interaktivem und kommunikati-

vem, zeichenhaftem und nicht zeichenhaftem, subjektivem und intersubjektivem Verhalten (Posner 1985, 235–271) soll als Ausgangspunkt und Begriffsrahmen bewusst bleiben bei der Entwicklung notgedrungen eingeschränkter Perspektiven auf sozialsymbolische Funktionen der Sprache. Dazu „bedarf es soziolinguistischen Wissens, um genau zu definieren, welche sprachlichen Merkmale es sind, die Urteilen über die soziale Identität eines anderen zugrundeliegen“ (Crystal 1995, 38).

Dabei geht es nicht nur und nicht in erster Linie um das, was ein Sprecher über das Sprechen hinaus sonst noch alles tut oder signalisiert. Nicht nur darum, dass er etwa durch seine Uniform dem Partner Schlüsse über seine berufliche Rolle nahelegt; dass er in ironischer Rede durch geeignete mimisch-prosodische Zusatz-Zeichen deren ‚eigentlichen‘ Sinn zu erkennen gibt; dass seine Mimik im Widerspruch zu seinen Worten steht und den Partner die Paradoxie dieser ‚doppelten‘ Mitteilung verwirrt; dass er durch Symbole in seiner Umgebung seinen Status zu unterstreichen sucht. Primär geht es um jene seit der Antike bekannte Doppelseigenschaft des Zeichens, zugleich Symbol für ein gemeintes Drittes (den Referenten) zu sein und Symptom für personale und soziale Merkmale seines Produzenten. Diese Symptomfunktion des sprachlichen Zeichens erlaubt dem, der es wahrnimmt, über die (symbolfunktionale) Interpretation dessen, was es *darstellt* („Gegenstände und Sachverhalte“), hinaus zugleich Schlüsse über den, der es *ausdrückt*. Dieser seit Karl Bühler (1934/1982) geläufige Zusammenhang ist das Vehikel sozialer ‚Kategorisierungen‘ (‚membership categorization‘), ohne deren verhaltensstabilisierende, orientierende und damit Sicherheit gewährende Wirkung Kommunikation im Alltag schnell sehr ‚problematisch‘ werden würde (cf. Hess-Lüttich 1984; Hanke 2000).

2. Sprache und Gruppe

2.1. Gruppe als ‚kulturelles Subsystem‘

Dem Individuum sind seine ‚Position in der Gesellschaft‘ und seine ‚Rolle(n) in ihr‘ nicht einfachhin vorgegeben, wie eine Betrachtung des sozialen Systems unter ausschließlich strukturellen oder funktionalen Gesichtspunkten suggeriert. Status, Position, Rolle sind Kategorien, die von dem erst in

Wahrnehmungs-, Orientierungs- und Interpretationsprozessen über sozialen Daten wirksam werdenden Handeln des Individuums zu abstrahieren Gefahr laufen. Noch vor allen Status und Rollensystemen ist das Individuum in Gruppenzusammenhänge verflochten, in denen seine Identität entwickelt und mit geformt wird. Die ‚traditionelle‘ Soziolinguistik war konzeptionell noch überwiegend von dem Bemühen um die schichtsoziologische und rollentheoretische Füllung der *strukturellen* und *funktionalen* Dimensionen sozialer Systeme geprägt (Sprachschichten, rollenspezifische Codes etc.: cf. Hartig 1985). Die Frage nach der sozialen Markiertheit sprachlicher Zeichen rückt demgegenüber die *kulturelle* Dimension ins Zentrum des Interesses an der Gruppe als dem „Normalfall der Vergemeinschaftung und Vergesellschaftung“ des Individuums (Claessens 1965, 70 f; id. 1977; cf. Art. 24).

Von der soziologischen Dimension sozialer Strukturbildung in Gruppenprozessen ist die anthropologische Dimension der prinzipiellen Disposition des Individuums als *animal sociale* zu Formen der Vergesellschaftung zu unterscheiden, die durch eine Reihe von formierenden Faktoren bestimmt werden. Zu solchen „Prozessen mit Zwangscharakter“ zählen nach Claessens (1977, 9–22) der „Zwang zur Selbstdarstellung“ des Individuums, dessen soziale Daten (Geschlecht, Alter, Statur und Sprache) es den anderen Gruppenmitgliedern notwendig preisgibt; der Zwang zur Wahrnehmung der Selbstdarstellung des anderen und zur wechselseitigen Antizipation und Interpretation der jeweiligen Selbst- und Fremdbilder; der „Zwang zur Bildung eines Binnenselbstverständnisses der gesamten Gruppe“, das sich in einem bestimmten Selbstaussdruck, einem gemeinsamen Image und sprachlichen Jargon manifestieren mag; der „Zwang zur Außendarstellung gegenüber der Umwelt“, was zu Prozessen der „Innenstabilisierung durch Außenstabilisierung“ (Gehlen 1963) und über ständigen Bestätigungsdruck zur *Institutionalisierung* führen kann; der Zwang zur je individuellen (aber über Gruppensanktionen gesteuerten) Investition von Leistung, Zeit, Engagement, die den Zusammenhalt der Gruppe stärkt und die Lösung von ihr erschwert; schließlich der Zwang zur Anpassung der eigenen Wirklichkeitswahrnehmung und Situationseinschätzung an die (durch die Gruppenidentität tendenziell homogenisierten) Realitätsorientierungen.

Dem Prozess sozialer *Normierung*, die durch die Vereinbarung verbindlicher Verhaltensregeln eine gewisse Vorhersagbarkeit des Handelns erlaubt und damit die Voraussetzung kooperativer Inter-Aktion bietet, steht der Prozess sozialer *Differenzierung* gegenüber. Die instrumentelle und affektive Ausdifferenzierung von Gruppen nach Maßgabe individueller Merkmale ihrer Mitglieder bringt sowohl die Homogenisierung wie die Relativierung von Erwartungen, Bedürfnissen und Interessen mit sich und zum Ausgleich. Die „Spannungsbalance“ (Elias 1977, Bd. 2, 435) zwischen Stabilität und Kreativität, zwischen Innovation und Funktionalität bestimmt die Handlungs- und Leistungsfähigkeit von Gruppen.

Was für die Differenzierung der Binnenstruktur von Gruppen gilt, lässt sich auch auf Aggregate größerer Einheiten und schließlich für die Gesellschaft insgesamt aufzeigen. So lassen sich im Rahmen der Gesamtkultur einer Gesellschaft (und besonders in der pluralistischen Gesellschaften) Teilkulturen unterscheiden, die sich untereinander durch Ensembles besonderer Merkmale, durch erhöhte Gruppensolidarität, durch stärkere Gruppenkohäsion auszeichnen mögen. Ihr Verhältnis zur Gesamtkultur muss nicht unbedingt *in terminis* der ‚Abweichung‘ beschrieben werden, die in den Sozialwissenschaften mit dem Begriff der *Subkultur* meist assoziiert wird (Bernsdorf 1972). Interessanter als die Messung von Graden der Abweichung von der ‚herrschenden‘ Kultur ist die inhaltliche Bestimmung der Subkulturen durch die Beschreibung ihrer jeweils geteilten Regeln und Maximen, Normen und Werte, der sozialen Daten ihrer Mitglieder und Ziele ihres Handelns.

2.2. Variation und Soziolekt

No one speaks the same way all the time, and people constantly exploit the nuances of languages they speak for a wide variety of purposes. [...] language will be seen to exhibit considerable internal Variation, and single-style Speakers will not be found. [...] The Variation you are permitted has limits; [...] those limits can be described with considerable accuracy, [...] they apparently apply to groups of Speakers, not just to individuals. That is, there are group norms so far as Variation is concerned (Wardhaugh 1986, 5f.).

Sprachliche Variation wird heute in zahlreichen Problemfeldern untersucht (Barbour/Stevenson 1998; Dittmar 1997): z.B. die Unterschiede zwischen gesprochener und ge-

schriebener Sprache (Mediolekte), zwischen verschiedenen regionalen Ausprägungen der Sprache und ihrem jeweiligen Verhältnis zur Standardnorm (Dialekte, Regiolekte, Urbanolekte, areale Varietäten), zwischen altersspezifischen Varietäten (Gerontolekte) wie Kinder-, Jugend-, Alterssprachen oder geschlechtsspezifischen Varietäten (Sexolekte), zwischen situativ oder funktional, pragmatisch oder institutionell bestimmten Varietäten, wie sie sich in ‚Funktionalstilen‘ oder ‚Textsorten‘, ‚Gesprächstypen‘ oder ‚Technolekten‘ vielfältig manifestieren. Ausgangspunkt ist zuweilen das Individuum mit seinen es als solches ausweisenden Sprachcharakteristika (Idiolekte), zuweilen das soziale System (der Klasse, Schicht, Gruppe), in dem es als soziales Subjekt figuriert (Codes, diastratische Varietäten, Gruppensprachen).

Gruppenspezifische Varietäten der Sprache werden meist *Soziolekte* genannt (Bausch 1980, 126; Nabrings 1981, Löffler 1994; abweichend Kubczak 1979 u. id. Art. 37). Sie stehen im Zentrum des Interesses an der sozialsymbolischen Funktion der Sprache, deren gruppentypische ‚Ausweise‘ oder ‚Abzeichen‘ nicht objektiv gegebene linguistische Daten sind, sondern Produkte von Interpretationsakten der Selbst- und Fremdeinschätzung der Sprecher als Gruppenmitglieder und ihrer Bewertung von sprachlichen Merkmalen als soziale Indikatoren dieser Mitgliedschaft (cf. Hammerström 1967, 203; Steinig 1976, 14; abweichend Kubczak 1979, 94):

Die Hauptfunktion der soziolektalen Merkmale ist, dazu beizutragen, die betreffenden Gruppen von Menschen gegeneinander abzugrenzen und zugleich die Mitglieder jeder einzelnen Gruppe fester zusammenzuknüpfen (Hammerström 1967, 205).

Die sozialen und sprachlichen Unterschiede werden nicht einfachhin ‚als solche‘ handlungsorientierend relevant, sondern nur insoweit sie als semiotisch manifeste vermittelt und Resultate vergleichender Wertung sind. Denn die Position eines sozialen Subjektes in einer Gruppe oder hierarchischen Rangordnung definiert sich über das Bewusstsein der Differenz zu den Positionen anderer sozialer Subjekte. Variationsforscher wie Labov haben daraus schon früh die methodische Konsequenz gezogen, dass „speech communities may be defined more precisely by agreement in subjective judgments rather than by agreement in speech behavior“ (Labov 1971, 209).

Solche Konsequenzen haben für die Methodologie der empirischen Soziolektforschung Bedeutung erlangt. In Deutschland wurden z. B. Sprachbewertungstests und Erhebungen von Sprecherurteilen in empirischen Studien zu dialektalen und soziolektalen Stigma-Signalen (Steinig 1976; Jakob 1992) oder über den Dialektgebrauch in ländlichen Gemeinden (Hufschmidt et al. 1983) systematisch in die methodische Instrumentierung einbezogen (cf. Art. 70, 119). Solche Verfahren können das kollektive Wissen der befragten Population über sprachliche Variation und die stereotypen Urteile (oder Vorurteile) über Varietäten auf der Basis weniger Merkmale erschließen.

Die Merkmale können symptomhafte Anzeichen für Stigma/Prestige-Varietäten sein, für Sprachschichten oder Ortssprachen, für Herkunft und Bildungsgrad der Sprecher. Sie können aber auch konstitutiv für die Bildung solcher Gruppen sein, die sich wesentlich über die Form ihres Sprachgebrauches definieren (Berufs-, Fach-, Wissenschaftssprachen), sofern und insoweit man diese nicht unter dem Aspekt funktionaler Variation behandeln will. Soziolektale Merkmale lassen sich nach einer weiten Auffassung des Begriffs also beobachten, „wo immer eine nach sozialen Merkmalen gekennzeichnete Gruppe auch ein sprachliches Erkennungssymbol oder eine grammatisch-lexikalisch-intonatorische Varietät besitzt“ (Löffler 1994, 126). In spezifischerem Zugriff fasst Löffler unter die „eigentlichen Soziolekte“ jedoch nur die nicht auch durch den Beruf oder das Fach definierbaren *Sondersprachen* (zu deren Tradition: Möhn 1980; Hess-Lüttich 1987), die er in transitorische, temporäre und habituelle Soziolekte gliedert (ibid., 129 ff.).

Transitorische Soziolekte sind insbesondere die sog. ‚Alterssprachen‘, d. h. die besonderen Sprachformen z. B. von Kindern und Jugendlichen (Oksaar 1977; Romaine 1984; Henne 1986; Androutsopoulos 1998; Neuland ed. 2003), von Schülern oder Studenten (Küpper/Küpper 1972, Jäger et al. 1978; Weber 1980; Henne/Objartel eds. 1984; Bredehöft/Singermann 1989). Biologische Kategorien wie die des Alters oder des Geschlechtes (‚Frauensprache‘, s. u.) werden nach einer engeren Auffassung (Hess-Lüttich 1987, 59) als soziologisch interpretierte nur insoweit zur Definition von Soziolekten herangezogen, als sie für subkulturelle Gruppenbindungen konstitutiv sind, Ju-

gendszenen und adoleszente ‚gangs‘ (Hess-Lüttich 1984, Kap.10), Feministen, Homosexuelle etc. (Trömel-Plötz 1982; Pusch 1990; Chesebro ed. 1981; Leap 1996; Jacobs 1996; Hall ed. 1997). Auch die Sondersprachen von Soldaten (Küpper 1978), Häftlingen (cf. Möhn 1980) oder Ausländern (Interimsprachen; zu sog. ‚Pidgin-Deutsch‘ cf. Dittmar/Klein 1975) können *cum grano salis* zu den transitorischen Soziolekten gezählt werden (soweit sie nicht zu den habituellen Soziolekten zu rechnen sind: s. u.).

Temporäre Soziolekte sind die Sonderformen im Sprachgebrauch von Sport, Hobby, Freizeitgemeinschaften, der sich z. T. zu sehr speziellen Jargons ausdifferenzieren lässt – die Sportsprache etwa (Schneider 1974; Ris 1995) zur Fußball-, Golf-, Reitersprache etc. – *Habituelle Soziolekte* sind die geschlechtsspezifischen Sprechweisen oder Soziolekte (Andresen et al. eds. 1978; Smith 1985; Samel 1995; Tannen 1997; Art.89) und die ‚klassischen‘ (z. T. historischen) Sondersprachen: das Rotwelsch der Schinder, Stromaner, Gauner, Kunden (Puchner 1976), das Jiddische der Handelsjuden, das Jenische der Fahrensleute, das Zigeunerische der Sinti und Roma. Sie haben die Sprache studentischer Burschenschaften und fahrender Handwerksburschen, der Prostituierten und städtischen Randgruppen beeinflusst, und manche ihrer Formen sind längst in die Alltags- und Standardsprache eingedrungen.

Die Übernahme sondersprachlichen Wortschatzes in die Umgangssprache signalisiert zugleich den ständigen Wandel, dem subkulturelle Jargons unterworfen sind, wenn sie ihren Charakter als „Gruppenabzeichen“ (Bausinger 1984, 119) behalten wollen. Wie über sprachliche Normen der Gruppenzusammenhalt auch gesteuert werden kann, zeigen Sekten oder politisch extreme Subkulturen sehr deutlich, ohne dass ihre Sprache bislang systematisch analysiert wäre (Cölfen ed. 1999). Solche Untersuchungen sind auch besonders schwierig, denn der „Charakter der geschlossenen Gruppe erlaubt letzten Endes nur einem Gruppenmitglied die Einsicht in die arbeitsteilige Kommunikation“ (Möhn 1980, 388). Tatsächlich ist man bei solchen Gruppen auf Insider-Informationen angewiesen, die manchmal in Form von Verhörprotokollen (Rocker, ‚Knastalphabet‘) oder Szene-Interviews wie die von Hubert Fichte (1972) im Hamburger Prostituierten-Milieu, von autobiographischen Berichten wie dem von

Christiane F. aus der Berliner Drogen-Szene oder literarisch-dokumentarischen Verarbeitungen in Literatur und Fernsehfeatures „nach außen“ dringen. Für viele dieser Bereiche hat die Feststellung von Kirsten Nabrings, wir seien in der Erforschung von Sondersprachen im engeren Sinne gruppentypischer Kommunikation – also nicht von Fach- und Berufssprachen, Schichten- oder Klassensprachen, Kunst- und Kalkülsprachen – über die Aspekte, deren Untersuchung schon Schirmer (1913) programmatisch postulierte, „[...] – von Untersuchungen zu Einzelphänomenen abgesehen – bis heute nicht weit hinausgekommen“ (Nabrings 1981, 111), daher nach wie vor ihre Gültigkeit. Hier ist noch immer ein Desiderat empirischer Forschung in einem höchst heterogenen Feld diesseits der weitgediehenen Fortschritte in der Untersuchung von Strukturen und Prozessen der *Institutionellen Kommunikation* bzw. der *Interkulturellen Kommunikation*.

3. Sozio-Grammatik

Die Frage nach der sozial-symbolischen Funktion von Sprache eröffnet der Sprachbeschreibung Forschungsperspektiven von einer immensen empirischen Vielfalt. Einzeluntersuchungen zu den verschiedensten Möglichkeiten sozialer Markiertheit sprachlicher (und außersprachlicher) Zeichen müssen die Bausteine liefern zu so etwas wie einer ‚Sozio-Grammatik‘, wie sie Löffler (1994, 199ff.) als Ergänzung der literatursprachlich orientierten Standardgrammatik und der (noch ausstehenden) Standardgrammatik der gesprochenen Sprache zu entwerfen fordert. Die vorliegenden Dialektgrammatiken könnten dabei als Vorbild dienen für die Beschreibung von Subsystemen des Deutschen. Weiter und über den einzelsprachlichen Bereich hinaus führt eine soziosemiotisch integrierte Perspektive, die das theoretische Fundament abgeben könnte für die Entwicklung von Varietätengrammatiken, die der Beschreibung von Sprache im situativen *und sozialen* Vollzug angemessen sind (cf. Klein 1974; Klein/Dittmar 1979; Art. 36, 113). Im britischen Kontextualismus etwa ist man (aus wissenschaftstheoretischen und -historischen Gründen folgerichtig) in der Entfaltung dieser Perspektive auf Sprache als Organisationsform sozialer Erfahrung weit gediehen (Halliday 1978; Hodge/Kress 1991).

Vorschläge für eine soziosemiotisch integrierte Grundlegung linguistischer Beschrei-

bung sprachlicher Variation im Schnittfeld von Sprach-, Sozial-, Text-, Medien- und Kommunikationswissenschaften liegen vor (z. B. Hess-Lüttich 1981). Sie setzen kommunikationssoziologische Bedingungen dialogischen Handelns, wie sie sich in der Struktur von *Kommunikationsverhältnissen* niederschlagen (sei es in alltäglichen Gesprächen, theoretischen Diskursen oder literarischen Dialogen), und die textsemiotischen Bedingungen von Verständigungshandlungen, deren Formen in alltagsweltlichen und ästhetischen Zeichenprozessen medientheoretisch und textlinguistisch konkretisiert und analysiert werden, auf eine wissenschaftstheoretisch kompatible Weise miteinander in Bezug. Ein solches aus der Synopse sozialer und semiotischer Bedingungen kommunikativer Verständigung gewonnenes ‚dialoglinguistisches‘ Modell bietet einen theoretisch hinlänglich komplex ausgestatteten Rahmen für die Untersuchung regulärer Varianten mit sozialer, gruppaler, interaktionaler Markierung auf allen Ebenen linguistischer Deskription und unter Einschluss nonverbaler und paraverbaler Signalements.

Mimische, gestische, proxemische, prosodische, vokal tonemische, chronemische, stronemische Zeichen müssen in eine nicht-reduktionistisch konzipierte ‚Sozio-Grammatik‘ deshalb einbezogen werden, weil sie in direkter oder technisch vermittelter Kommunikation (und sogar in deren ‚literarisierter Notation‘: Hess-Lüttich 1985) eine eminent sozialsymbolische Bedeutung gewinnen können etwa für die ‚Definition‘ bestimmter ‚Kommunikationsverhältnisse‘ als asymmetrische, für die Einschätzung des Partners aufgrund dessen paraverbaler Externalisierung seiner emotionalen Verfassung, für die Interpretation intermedialer Relationen etwa bei Diskrepanzen zwischen verbalen und nonverbalen Botschaften, für die Indikation der individuellen, sozialen, ethnischen, geschlechtlichen Identität des Kommunikationspartners, für die Reflexion des Konfliktpotentials, das aus der Verletzung nonverbaler und paraverbaler Regeln der Dialogsteuerung oder der Unkenntnis inter-ethnischer Differenzen nonverbaler und paraverbaler Konventionen in interkultureller Kommunikation erwachsen kann (Wolfgang 1984; Hess-Lüttich 1982; id. 1992; Scherer/Giles 1979; Art. 133, 134).

Die sozial-symbolische Bedeutung dieser nicht im engen Sinne grammatischen, aber sprachbezogenen Markierungen hat heute

in der Untersuchung des Wechsels von einer Sprache in die andere (Art. 129) und, in angewandter Perspektive, in der Sprachvermittlung Berücksichtigung gefunden (Hess-Lüttich 1986). Dies gilt sowohl für die systematische Integration pragmatischer und textueller Ebenen, über deren sozial-symbolische Relevanz für die Definition und Klassifikation z. B. von Textsorten, Gesprächstypen, sprachlichen Registern und Stilen traditionelle Grammatiken nichts vermerken (Ausnahme: Götze/Hess-Lüttich 1999; cf. Adamzik 2000; Krause ed. 2000; Art. 38, 130–132), als auch etwa im Hinblick auf die sozialsymbolische Bedeutung von *Xenismen* auf allen Ebenen linguistischer Beschreibung, also pragmatischen (z. B. im Bereich der linguistischen Höflichkeitsforschung: Lüger 2001), idiomatischen, lexikalischen, syntaktischen, morphologischen, phonologischen *Xenismen* (Ehlich 1986).

Empirische Untersuchungen wie die zur „sozialen Stilempfindlichkeit“ bei ausgewählten Sprechergruppen (Sornig 1981) schließlich liefern Bausteine zur Entwicklung einer ‚Sozio-Semantik‘. Einzelsprachlich unterschiedliche Strukturierungen von Bedeutungsfeldern erfordern zudem eine ‚kontrastive Sozio-Semantik‘ (Oksaar 1988, 25ff.) zur Beschreibung der Unterschiede in der sprachlichen Verarbeitung der Wirklichkeitswahrnehmung und Wissensorganisation. Aus solchen Unterschieden resultieren Differenzen über das, was man mit dem Gebrauch bestimmter sprachlicher Ausdrücke bezeichnen will bzw. bezeichnen kann – je nach sprachspezifischem Zuschnitt der lexikalischen Repertoires und semantischen Inventare. Das Problem beschäftigt nicht nur die Übersetzungswissenschaft, sondern auch die Erforschung semantisch bedingter Kommunikationskonflikte bei Gleichsprachigen (Richter/Weidmann 1975).

Eine solche Sozio-Semantik kann anknüpfen an die Tradition soziolexikalischer Differenzierungen von Wortschatzvarianten in Wörterbüchern. Forschungspraktisch hat die ‚Sozio-Lexik‘ in der Analyse gruppenspezifischer oder gruppentypischer gebrauchter Wortschätze den bislang am weitesten ausgebauten Ausgangspunkt (Art. 119). Soziolekte wurden bislang überhaupt zumeist als primär lexikalisch zu identifizierende beschrieben. Hier kann sich nach dem Vorschlag von Löffler (1994, 201f.) auch die Analyse und Inventarisierung sozial markierter Redewendungen und Wortverbin-

dungen (‚Sozio-Phraseologie‘) sowie der gruppentypischen Motive und Zuordnungsfunktionen von Personennamen (‚Sozio-Onomastik‘) anschließen (Burger et al. 1982; Walther 1972; Ris 1977; Shin 1980).

In diesem Zusammenhang sind auch die subtilen Nuancierungsmöglichkeiten im sozial und situativ angemessenen Gebrauch von Modalpartikeln zu erwähnen sowie die Möglichkeiten der Übertragung deiktischer Ausdrücke für topologische Relationen auf soziale Ordnungen. Deiktische Ausdrücke wie *hier, da, dort, gehen, kommen* usw. haben eine routinemäßig aktualisierte soziale Bedeutung in Wendungen wie *die Linke, die Rechte, die (neue) Mitte, die da oben, wir hier unten* usw. (Nöth 1994). Ausländer sind durch ihre Muttersprache oft andere topologische Zuordnungen gewöhnt und tendieren dann zu übergeneralisiertem Gebrauch bestimmter Präpositionalphrasen für die Referenz auf topologische Relationen, die soziale Bedeutung gewinnen in Wendungen wie *da steht der drauf, er ist weg vom Fenster, da war sie ziemlich daneben*. Aber auch wer die spezifische Deixis begriffen hat und sich sprachlich gut im physikalischen Raum zu orientieren weiß, muss die soziale Topik räumlicher Verhältnisse in Ausdrücken wie *sich ranmachen, unten durch sein, in sein, gut draufsein, eins raufkommen* oder *eins draufbekommen* noch lange nicht durchschauen. Erst die Kenntnis der Grundmuster von Orientierungen erlaubt ihm den problemlosen Übergang zu ihrer sozialsymbolischen, soziokulturellen Nutzung in der Praxis der Verständigung.

Im Deutschen vielleicht weniger augenfällig, aber nichtsdestoweniger eindeutig nachweisbar sind die sozialsymbolischen Markierungen auf der morphologischen und syntaktischen Ebene (Art. 126, 128). Dabei nahm die deutsche Soziolinguistik im engeren Sinne in der Zeit der Sprachbarrieren-Diskussion geradezu ihren Ausgang von der Hypothese schichtenspezifischer Syntaxregeln, die sich empirisch dann freilich oft als medienspezifische Syntaxregeln gesprochener vs. geschriebener Sprache erwiesen. Gleichwohl lassen sich keineswegs alle syntaktischen Varianten durch mediale oder situative Bedingungen erklären, ihre eindeutig soziolokalen Gebrauchsformen wären in einer ‚Sozio-Syntax‘ zu beschreiben. Dies gilt auch für morphologische Varianten des Pronominalsystems, der Anredeformen, des Casusystems, der Genera. Reduktionen des

Formenbestandes der Tempus- oder der Numerusmarkierung sind nicht immer phonetisch oder dialektgrammatisch zu erklären. Auf universeller Ebene und im interkulturellen Vergleich ließen sich die Beispiele beliebig vermehren, wobei es sinnvoll ist, sie danach zu unterscheiden, inwieweit sie soziale Bedeutung im Sinne denotativer Referenz auf morphologisch repräsentierte soziale Sachverhalte tragen oder ob sie als pragmatische Indikatoren zur konnotativen Assoziation sozial-deiktischer Hinweise auf den Sprecher oder die Sprechergruppe figurieren (Art. 126).

Auch die Schrift ist über ihre mediale, kodifizierende und normierende Funktion hinaus stets auch soziales Symbol, „Symbol einer Kultur“ (Coulmas 1981, 15), Ausdruck nationaler, kultureller und subkultureller Identität sozialer Gruppen, Völker, Religionsgemeinschaften, Minderheiten, Internet-Subkulturen mit teilweise erheblicher sozial- und bildungspolitischer Brisanz – zu Recht ein genuiner Gegenstand angewandter Soziolinguistik in Sektoren wie Sprachplanung, Sprachpolitik, Alphabetisierung, Sprachdidaktik, Neue Medien etc. (Stubbs 1980; Glück 1987; Hess-Lüttich ed. 2001; Wende ed. 2002; Art. 125).

Ähnlich wie ‚Sozio-Lexik‘ kann die ‚Sozio-Phonetik‘ noch am ehesten aus dem reichen Fundus traditioneller Sprachwissenschaft schöpfen, die insbesondere im Bereich der Dialektologie eine Fülle von sozial relevanten Merkmalen beschrieben hat, die unter explizit soziolinguistischer Perspektive neu zu interpretieren ist. In der amerikanischen ‚social dialectology‘ (Labov u. a., cf. Dittmar 1983 b, 29f.) zunächst, dann aber auch im deutschsprachigen Raum (Ammon, Besch, Löffler, Mattheier, Barbour/Stevenson usw.) fand die traditionelle Mundartforschung eine methodisch elaborierte und soziologisch sensibilisierte Fortsetzung. Gerade auf der Lautebene kann die Interpretation sozial-symbolischer Funktionen der Sprache mit exemplarischer Präzision betrieben werden, auch wo dies nicht *expressis verbis* unter ‚soziophonetischem‘ Etikett geschieht (cf. Dressler/Wodak 1982). Hier geht es nicht nur um stilistisch-soziolektale Selektionen mit dem bewussten Ziel sozialer Signifikation (z.B. die Wahl dialektaler statt standardsprachlicher Lautfärbung aus gruppenpsychologischen Gründen, die Wahl von Akzenten zur Lokalkolorierung), sondern auch um die nicht

willkürliche Preisgabe sozialer Information über den Sprecher, der mit dem abgeschlossenen Erwerb und der automatischen Produktion der ihn als soziales Subjekt kennzeichnenden Art der Lautrealisation u. U. sogar soziale Sanktionen zu gewärtigen hat (z.B. Dialekt als ‚Sprach- und Integrationsbarriere‘: Jakob 1992; Hess-Lüttich 2000).

Die Analyse stigmatisierter Artikulation und Intonation, die Inventarisierung von allophonischen Varianten mit ihren jeweiligen soziolektalen Etikettierungen und Evaluationen, die systematische Differenzierung zwischen allophonischen Varianten und soziophonologischen Variablen, die soziostilistische Gliederung von Artikulations-ebenen (‚Bühnenhochlautung‘ – ‚lässig-familiäre Umgangsaussprache‘) – all dies ist von kaum zu überschätzendem Wert auch für die angewandte Dimension der Sprachbeschreibung, -kritik, -vermittlung und -erziehung im muttersprachlichen wie fremdsprachlichen Bereich. Die linguistische Unterscheidung zwischen der Betrachtung z.B. von Lauten als Elementen phonemischer Systeme einerseits und Lauten als Trägern sozial-symbolischer Funktionen andererseits schärft überdies auch in sprachtheoretischer Absicht noch einmal und für alle Ebenen der Sprache Geltung heischend das Bewusstsein dafür, dass, wie Ralph Fasold in kritischer Abgrenzung gegenüber gängiger Grammatikographie hervorhebt, „the social identity function of language is conceptually separate from the idea-communicating function“ (Fasold, 124).

4. Diskurs und Prestige, Sprache und Macht

Ungleich größere Wirkung als auf den klassischen Ebenen linguistischer Beschreibung hat die Beobachtung der sozial-symbolischen Funktion der Sprache in neuerer Zeit auf der Ebene des *Diskurses* entfaltet: „It is commonly argued that where intelligibility is not in question, language differences serve primarily to mark social identity and are perpetuated in accordance with established norms and traditions“ (Gumperz 1994, 39). In den 70er Jahren des vergangenen Jahrhunderts stand dabei zunächst das Verhältnis von Sprache und Macht bzw. von Sprache und sozialer Klassenzugehörigkeit im Vordergrund des Interesses (Neuland 1975). Aber schon bald richtete sich der Blick auf die Frage nach dem Einfluss von sozialen

Milieus, Gemeinschaften und Netzwerken auf das sprachliche Verhalten im Alltag (Romaine 1982; Milroy 1987). In der Diglossie- und Mehrsprachigkeitsforschung wurden ebenfalls soziale Aspekte einbezogen und die Abhängigkeit der jeweiligen Code- oder Sprachwahl von zahlreichen außersprachlichen Faktoren beschrieben, was u. a. auch zu unterschiedlichen Prestigeskalen der Sprachmarkierung führte (Fasold 1984).

Prestigebesetzung von Sprachverwendung ist freilich kein neues Phänomen. In Europa waren schon in der frühen Neuzeit bestimmte Sprachen mit mehr oder weniger Prestige verbunden. Mit der Urbanisierung und dem Aufstieg des Bürgertums gewann die Sprache als Mittel der sozialen Differenzierung und Anerkennung an Bedeutung. In Frankreich wurde die Diktion des Adels Vorbild für die sozial ‚aufwärtsmobile‘ Bourgeoisie (Bourdieu 1991, 46). In England war die Beherrschung von Prestige-Varietäten bis weit in das vergangene Jahrhundert hinein Bedingung sozialen Aufstiegs. Noch heute hängt in den westlichen Industriegesellschaften die Qualitätsbeurteilung von Dienstleistungen nicht zuletzt vom sprachlichen Niveau ab (Fairclough/Wodak 1997, 259). Die makrosozialen Veränderungen sind indes von den mikrosozialen zu unterscheiden: „Whenever networks of relationships reflect long term interpersonal cooperation in the performance of regular tasks and the pursuit of shared goals, they favor the creation of behavioral routines and communicative conventions that become conventionally associated with and serve to mark component activities“ (Gumperz 1994, 42).

In den westeuropäischen Kultursprachen gilt die weitgehende Kovarianz von Prestige und Standardnähe, von Varietät und Formalität des Kommunikationsverhältnisses im Sinne eines „congruent pattern“ sozial kompetenter Sprecher (Halliday 1978, 156; Ausnahme: Sonderfall Schweiz, in der standardsprachliche Artikulation in gesprochener Sprache negativ sanktioniert wird – Stichwort: ‚mediale Diglossie‘, cf. Hess-Lütich 2000). Die „Diskurs-Demokratisierung“ im Sinne von Fairclough (1992) mit ihrer Relativierung von Asymmetrien in sprachlichen Rechten ist ein vergleichsweise junges Phänomen und hat etwa im heutigen Großbritannien zur Akzeptanz sozialer und regionaler Varietäten neben dem *Queen's English* und der *Received Pronunciation* auch im

öffentlichen Diskurs und in den elektronischen Medien geführt.

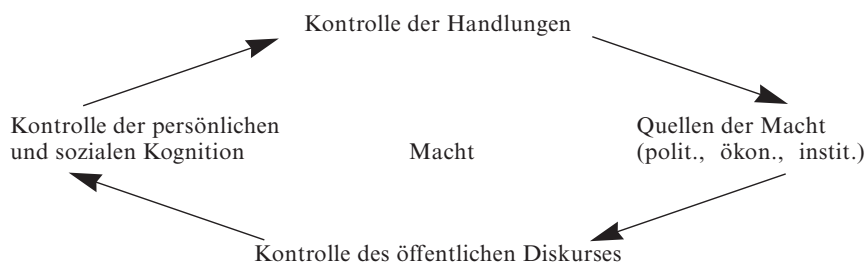
Die Asymmetrien sind dabei freilich nicht etwa aufgehoben, aber sie manifestieren sich heute dialogorganisatorisch subtiler. Kommerzielle Gesprächstrainings vermitteln soziale Kompetenz mit dem Ziel der Durchsetzung von Interessen. Chefs laden Mitarbeiter zu Kritik ein und geben sich offen für Anregungen, aber sie organisieren das Gespräch und resümieren dessen Resultat; sie formulieren kollegial, aber wer dies als informell und persönlich missversteht, tappt leicht in kommunikative Fallen. „Synthetic personalization“ und „conversation control skills“ (Fairclough 1992, 217) werden als handlungstaktisches Kalkül vermittelt, um die Kunst der *Gesprächsführung* zum Instrument der *Führung* zu machen.

Institutionell asymmetrische Kommunikationsverhältnisse im Sinne verallgemeinerter Rollenkomplementaritäten werden durch solche Handlungstaktiken und -routinen nicht etwa demokratisch im Sinne eines idealisierten „herrschaftsfreien Diskurses“ (Habermas 1981). Im öffentlichen Diskurs der Politik, der Medien, der Wirtschaft, der Bildung und Wissenschaft geht es nicht nur um Verständigung, sondern auch, heute genauso wie immer schon, um – *horribile dictu* – Macht. Das gesamte Arsenal der antiken *ars sermonis* diente praktisch dem gesprächsrhetorischen Ziel des *convincere*: das Gegenüber zu ‚gewinnen‘, für sich ‚einzunehmen‘; die ambivalente Maxime des *persuadere* enthielt immer schon beides: ‚überzeugen‘ durch das bessere Argument und ‚überreden‘ durch die geschicktere rhetorische Strategie. Wird ‚Prestige‘ sprachlich genutzt zur Täuschung des anderen über die eigenen Ziele, die eigene Kompetenz, den eigenen Status, so nähert sich das Wort (aus spätlat. *praestigium* Blendwerk, Gaukelei, Täuschung, Illusion) fast schon wieder seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung an. In der Kontrolle von persönlicher und sozialer Kognition entfaltet sich im Diskurs die sozial-symbolische Funktion der Sprache mit derselben Kraft wie im gesellschaftlichen Leben die sozialsymbolische Funktion der Insignien des Status. Teun van Dijk (1997, 22) nennt das den „circle of control“:

Power is control of action, which requires control of personal and social cognitions, which presupposes control of public discourse, which is possible only through special forms of access, which may in turn be based on political, economic, social

or academic power resources (position, ownership, income, knowledge, expertise, etc.). Traditional power based on force (the military, the police), money (corporations), or political position, may have become less compelling, in much contemporary discourse directed at skeptical gatekeepers of public discourse, than symbolic power resources, such as expertise, control over information, propaganda strategies, and so on (van Dijk 1997, 22f.).

Man könnte diesen Kreislauf der Kontrolle im Diskurs schematisch vereinfacht etwa so veranschaulichen:



Wer über die Diskursmacht verfügt, bestimmt im Gespräch die Art, Dauer und Verteilung der Redebeiträge, manipuliert den Gesprächspartner, inszeniert z. B. politische Werbung als Dialog für ein disperses Publikum, vermittelt Ideologeme und Konstrukte der Wirklichkeit (cf. Fairclough/Wodak 1997). Diese Macht, den anderen zur Übernahme der eigenen Konstruktion von Wirklichkeit zu veranlassen, nennt Pierre Bourdieu (1991, 166) die „symbolische Macht der Sprache.“ Sie gehört für ihn zu den zentralen Grundkategorien der Unterscheidung sozialer Differenz. Soviel immerhin lässt sich aus den verstreuten Hinweisen zur Sprache in seinem Monumentalwerk über *Die feinen Unterschiede* (1987; orig. 1979) ableiten. Der Geschmack bildet bei ihm den „praktischen Operator für die Umwandlung der Dinge in distinkte und distinktive Zeichen [...], durch ihn geraten die Unterschiede aus der *physischen Ordnung* der Dinge in die *symbolische Ordnung* signifikanter Unterscheidungen“ (ibid. 288). Als ein Beispiel dafür nennt Bourdieu an dieser Stelle die ungleich verteilte „Fähigkeit, jenen Bezug zur Sprache herzustellen, der in gesellschaftlicher Konversation gefragt ist“ (ibid. 288). Während ‚die Bourgeoisie‘ über diese Fähigkeit verfüge, wie sie sich niederschläge in gepflegtem Geplauder, elegantem Themenwechsel, grammatischer Korrektheit und syntakti-

scher Absicherung, bleibe ‚der Arbeiter‘ bei seinem Argot, dialektnah, stereotypenreich, der Situation verhaftet, elliptisch, erfahrungs- und traditionsgesättigt, mit den Topoi gewerkschaftlicher Phraseologie durchsetzt (cf. ibid. 616, 679). Der „Sprache des Volkes“ (ibid. 721) stehe die des öffentlichen Diskurses gegenüber mit seiner „routinieren und routineverleihenden Sprache“ (ibid. 722), die Distanz schafft, verschleiert und beschönigt, neutralisiert und abstrahiert und „zu sprechen erlaubt ohne Bewusstsein dessen, was man spricht“ (ibid. 723).

Diese ebenso griffige wie parteinehmende Unterscheidung – hie die lebensvoll-saftige Sprache der Arbeiter, da die blutleer-kaputte Sprache der Bürger – erinnert im Blick auf die wenigen genannten Merkmale stark an Bernsteins Rede von den *restricted codes* der *working class* und den *elaborated codes* der *middle class* (Bernstein 1971). Aber anders als Bernstein, der einer *kompensatorischen* (Sprach-)Erziehung die *emanzipatorische* Kraft zutraute, die eigene gesellschaftliche Situation durch Benennen zu begreifen und auf den Begriff zu bringen, misstraut Bourdieu der ‚Sprache der Herrschenden‘ grundsätzlich, weil die „in der Sprache transportierten semi-kodifizierten Gegensatzpaare bei stark verwandter Wertigkeit der herrschenden Sicht der Sozialwelt in allen Klassengesellschaften unterliegen“, und weil „in ihrer formalen Struktur die selben in den zentralen Ordnungsrelationen sich dokumentierenden Grundbeziehungen (oben/unten, stark/schwach, etc.) in allen Klassengesellschaften wiederzufinden sind“ (ibid. 733).

Die Widersprüche und Paradoxa, in die die alltagspraktischen Klassifikationsakte münden, gründen nicht [...] in einer wesentlichen Insuffizienz der Alltagssprache, sondern rühren daher, daß diese sozio-logischen Akte nicht auf logische Kohärenz ausgerichtet sind, vielmehr [...] der Logik der Parteinahme gehorchen, bei der wie vor Gericht nicht nach dem Kriterium bloßer Kohä-

renz justiziable Urteile aufeinanderstoßen, sondern Anklage und Verteidigung. Ohne daß hier im einzelnen daran erinnert werden soll, was der von den Logikern und selbst den Linguisten gründlich vergessene Gegensatz zwischen der Kunst der Überredung und der der Überzeugung abdeckt, läßt sich doch wohl kaum übersehen, daß der „akademische“ Gebrauch der Sprache zu dem des Redners, eines Anwalts oder politischen Wortführers, in einem ähnlichen Verhältnis steht wie die auf Kohärenz und Übereinstimmung mit den Fakten bedachten Klassifikationssysteme der Logiker und Statistiker zu den Kategorisierungen und Kategorien der Alltagspraxis, die, wie die Etymologie belegt, in der Logik des *Prozesses* angesiedelt sind (ibid. 742).

Unter Bezug auf eine frühere Studie Bourdieus (zur Gesellschaft der Berber) suchen Hodge/Kress (1991, 70ff.) diese Befunde *in terminis* der *Social Semiotic* Hallidays linguistisch zu verifizieren, indem sie dessen strukturalistische Klassifikation (männlich/weiblich, innen/außen, Tag/Nacht) gleichsam auf das Syntagma von Prozess (Verb), Agens (Subjekt), Patiens (Objekt) und Circumstantien (Tempus- und Lokaladverbiale) projizieren und so zu zeigen versuchen, wie sich soziale Ordnungsrelationen sprachlich manifestieren (Hedge/Kress 1991, 72):

To take the scheme to its most abstract and general form we would need to take syntagms in terms of power, socially ascribed power, assigned by different paradigmatic schemes in different societies, but following common forms in all societies, starting from universal principles of classification in all societies. The essential syntagm of power [...] is in fact a sentence of the form 'X controls Y'. [...] Syntagms of power require the relevant world to be classified in terms of power: people, places, things, times. [...] Differences in class or status typically have to describe a continuum of degrees of power, as well as separating off separate groups.

Allerdings: „There may also be some degree of social mobility to challenge the neatness of the classification scheme derived from this principle. Every classification scheme is tidier than the reality it classifies“ (ibid. 73).

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63. Phonetics/Phonetik

1. Phonetics, phonology and phonostylistics
2. Parameters of phonetic variation
3. Instrumental analysis
4. Evaluation of sociolinguistic variation at the level of sound
5. An illustrating example: sound change in progress
6. The primarily prosodic base of the sociosymbolic functioning of spoken utterances
7. Literature (selected)

1. Phonetics, phonology and phonostylistics

As for the first time systematically defined by Trubetzkoy (1939) phonetics is the discipline that (by instrumental means) analyzes the sound stream as observable in actual speech acts ('Sprechaktlautlehre'). Phonology in contrast analyzes the observables at the sound level with respect to their functional role in the system of the language in question ('Sprachgebildelautlehre').

On the background of Bühler's (1934) conception of a tripartite functioning of spoken utterances as at the same time representational/propositional ('Darstellungsebene'), expressive ('Kundgabeebene') and appealing ('Appellebene'), Trubetzkoy (1939) also discusses the need for a separate discipline phonostylistics ('Lautstilistik'; with a phonetic as well as a phonological subdivision) besides phonetics and phonology proper that focus on the representational function of speech and language at the sound level. Sociolinguistics at the phonetic level can thus be characterized as mainly interested in the expressive and appealing aspects of speech acts.

1.1. Sociolinguistics at the level of sound

At the level of spoken utterances sociolinguistics analyzes the sociologically conditioned phonetic variation in pronunciation as well as the phonological variation in the different sociologically determined underlying systems of speech sounds (cf. article 64).

The phonetic analysis of spoken utterances, in general, can be performed in two distinct ways: (i) by describing the auditory impression laid down in a phonetic transcription with the help of specially devised

phonetic alphabets (today mainly the IPA; cf. IPA 1999), i.e. by the methods of so-called descriptive phonetics ('Ohrenphonetik', 'Symbolphonetik'), and (ii) by instrumentally measuring physical processes connected with the ongoing speech utterance, as e.g. central nervous and electromuscular activity in the speaker, articulatory movements, the aerodynamics within the vocal tract, the audio signal, evoked potentials in the hearer etc., i.e. by the methods of so-called instrumental or experimental phonetics ('Signalphonetik'; cf. Tillmann 1980, Pompino-Marschall 1995). Both types of analysis together with different techniques of statistical evaluation play an important role in sociolinguistics.

2. Parameters of phonetic variation

2.1. Levels of variation

Phonetic variation can take place at quite different levels which are all relevant with respect to the sociosymbolic functioning of speech utterances. These levels can be defined according to the time domain their features apply to the speech utterance, i.e. (i) globally, (ii) with respect to longer stretches of speech, or (iii) to minimal – segmental – parts of the utterance.

The most global – purely phonetic – level is given by the variation in 'tone of voice' and 'voice quality' (cf. Laver 1980). By 'tone of voice' the focus of attention is given to the specific long-term 'setting' (Honikman 1964) of the speech apparatus as a whole whereas 'voice quality' concentrates on the (long-term) features of the laryngeal source. Besides their pragmatic function – as e.g. a high-pitched loud and harsh voice with staccato articulation in to be strictly followed orders or a whispery voice appealing to intimacy – 'tone of voice' and 'voice quality' can be used to express speaker dependent features. Individual speakers as well as social groups may be characterized by e.g. a generally nasalized style of speaking or as speaking with a retracted and fairly immobile jaw or with an e.g. murmured or harsh voice. A sociolinguistically relevant example of voice quality differences is the gender and age specific extremely harsh "growl" mode of phonation found in the Zhenhai dialect of Wu that is typical for old men and least for women

(Rose 1989). Variation at this level can be described on the basis of transcription (e.g. voice profiles; cf. Laver/Wirz/Mackenzie/Hiller 1991) as well as quantitatively measured by e.g. the 'spectral tilt' (the relations between different frequency bands) or the amplitude differences between the first two harmonics in the acoustic signal (cf. §3 below).

The second level – partly phonetic, partly phonological (i.e. pertaining to the linguistic system) – is the so-called suprasegmental level, including the intonation proper (pitch/ f_0 -contour) as well as rhythmic and durational (excluding segmental, i.e. phonological, quantity) properties of the utterance. The variation at this level again can be described on the basis of conventional intonational notations (Armstrong/Ward 1931) or phonologically oriented tonal descriptions (as the tone and break index notation ToBI; cf. Beckman/Elam 1997) on the one hand and acoustically measured as f_0 -contours and segmental (see below) durations on the other hand.

The third level – mainly in focus of sociolinguistic research up to now – is the segmental one, dealing – at the phonological level (cf. article 64) – with the differences in the phoneme systems and sociologically motivated allophonic variation in the pronunciation of single phonemes at the level of phonetics (cf. §2.3 below).

2.2. Variation with respect to what?

Variation in pronunciation has to be defined in relation to a standard along some chosen dimension. In Germany, e.g. this oral standard is traditionally defined by the (phonological) structure of New High German with the phonetics implemented as in Low German. Variation is (or was) mainly defined along the dimension standard vs dialect with the often poorly defined so-called 'Umgangssprache' (colloquial variant) in between (cf. Barbour/Stevenson 1990, Kohler 1995). In contrast to Germany in Great Britain the standard is given by the 'Received Pronunciation' (RP) of the boarding schools or by the BBC pronunciation in broadcasting and when speaking about variation the focus of interest normally lies on the dimension of sociologically determined deviation from this norm (Kohler 1995).

2.3. Sociolinguistic variables

A central concept since early sociolinguistic studies – not restricted to the level of sound –

is the 'sociolinguistic variable' and its 'variants' (Labov 1966, Trudgill 1974): 'Sociolinguistic variables' at the sound level denote those phonemes of the standard system that are produced as distinct 'variants' (sometimes crossing phoneme boundaries of the standard; cf. below) by sociologically different groups of speakers. In his study on Norwich English Trudgill (1974) established e.g. the variable (t) with the variants (t)-1, ... 3, i.e. the phonetic realizations [t], [tʰ], [ʔ] of the phoneme /t/ showing decreasing levels of social prestige. This means that the higher numbered variants are used less frequently by higher-status groups and in more formal speech styles and relatively more frequently by lower-status groups in less formal styles of speaking. Another consonantal variable (ng) for underlying standard phonemic /ŋ/ which is to be found in many English speech communities is realized as variant (ng)-1 [ŋ] or (ng)-2 [n] in the suffix *ing*. A clear dissociation between the idea-communicating/representational function of speech and the socio-symbolic expressive/appealing function can be seen in the vocalic variable (eh) of New York City (Labov 1966) – as in *bad*, phonemically /æ/ – whose variants from [a:] to [ɪʳ] cross multiple phoneme boundaries with respect to the standard system: The [ɪʳ] variant is fairly substantially stigmatized as pronunciation of the vowel nucleus of *bad* in contrast to its occurrence in *bid*. Of course these different systems of sound – the communicative and the sociosymbolic one – interact to a certain degree so that they may result in a change of the phonological system (cf. §4f below).

As a descriptive tool the 'index' of a variable (Chambers/Trudgill 1980) at different levels of speaking style for the different social groups is used. It is calculated from the number of occurrences of the nonstandard variants and their respective levels of deviation in the individual utterances. Terminologically, sociolinguistic variables are subdivided into social 'markers' that change their index with the stylistic level of the utterance and social 'indicators' which do not. An example of the latter category is the fronting of /ɑ:/ to [ä:] or [ɑ:] in Norwich (Trudgill 1974). Of course, the sociophonetic variables are not only influenced by social class and stylistic level but show influences of quite different factors (for a summary cf. Chambers 1995) as, among others, regional ones (cf. §5 below), social mobility (cf. the lower index of the (th)/(dh)-variable in the direction of stan-

standard [θ]/[ð] in New York City English in groups of upward mobility; Labov 1966b) and homogenization – even in the direction of larger differences to the standard (cf. the Milton Keynes study on the (ou)-variable of Kerswill/Williams 1992). A summarizing description of the complex interaction of factors determining the occurrence of variants can be found in the discussion of the /r/-less varieties of English in Downes (1998).

As a German example one may cite the findings of Schlobinski (1987) on the relative ranking of variables in the Berlin urban vernacular (cf. Dittmar/Schlobinsk/Wachs 1986): With larger distance from the dialectal pole the variants of the following variables get lost in the following order: (ai) [e:] as in *meine*, (au²) [ū] as in *auf*, (s) [t] as in *was*, (g) [j] as in *ganz*, (ç) [k] as in *ich* and finally (au¹) [o:] as in *kaufen*.

3. Instrumental analysis

Since sociolinguistic studies of variation in pronunciation ask for larger data samples the instrumental phonetic analysis is mainly restricted to the analysis of the acoustic speech signal (for an overview cf. Ladefoged 1996 and – also including other instrumental techniques used in field work studies – Ladefoged 1997; 2003).

The most influential invention in acoustic phonetics was the development of the sonagraph during World War II (cf. Potter/Kopp/Green 1947) and of the techniques of digital signal processing for the spectral analysis of acoustic speech recordings (e.g. DFT/FFT, LPC; cf. Rabiner/Schafer 1978).

For the study of variation in pronunciation the spectral parameters as e.g. vowel formant frequencies (marked by dots in figure 63.1.)

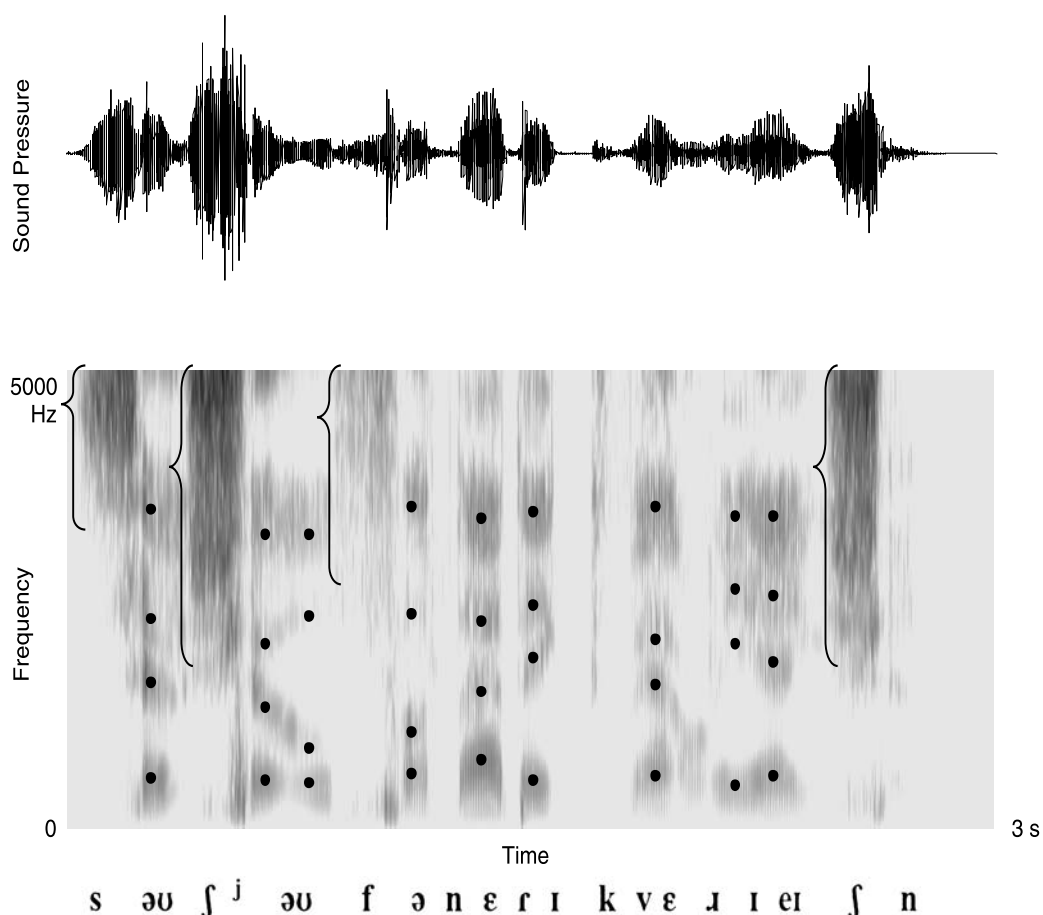


Figure 63.1: The utterance 'sociophonetic variation' shown as audio signal (upper panel) and sonagram (frequency over time, amplitude represented by gray scaling; lower panel) with time aligned segmental transcription

or the spectral distribution of noisy sound energy in fricatives (marked by curled brackets in figure 63.1.) are of central interest since they show – in contrast to the sound pressure signal as registered by a microphone (cf. upper panel of figure 63.1.) – a nearly segmental timing structure. (For an introduction to acoustic phonetics cf. Ladefoged (1996), for a detailed account Stevens (1998)).

Thus, in the sonagram so-called acoustic cues, necessary for the perception of distinctive sound segments can be detected (for a summary description of perceptually evaluated cues cf. the classical account by Liberman/Cooper/Shankweiler/Studdert-Kennedy 1967 or the summary in Pickett 1980):

The relative frequencies of the first and second formant thus correlate with the descriptive categories of tongue height and tongue position as exemplified in figure 63.2. – low F1: close vowels, high F1: open vowels, low F2: back vowels, high F2: front vowels (cf. also figure 63.7. below).

[Since the exact formant frequencies of the different vowel qualities are dependent on the individual characteristics of the vocal tract – mainly its gender and age specific length – in statistically founded sociolinguistic studies depending on threshold values and the like (cf. §5 below) the raw measurement values have to be normalized with respect to the different informants.]

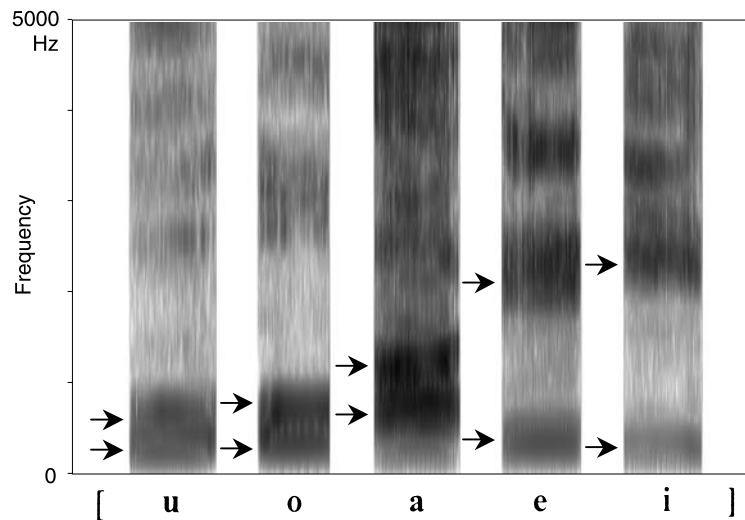


Figure 63.2: Sonagram of isolated vowels with frequencies of their first two formants marked by arrows

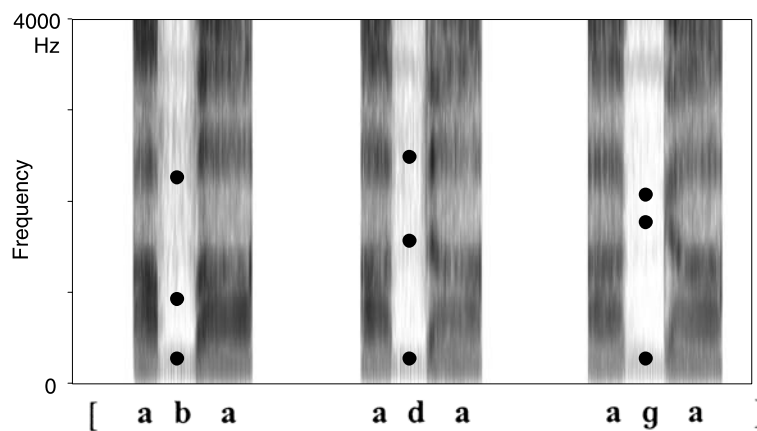


Figure 63.3: Sonagram of VCV utterances with different consonantal places of articulation (dots marking the loci of the formant transitions)

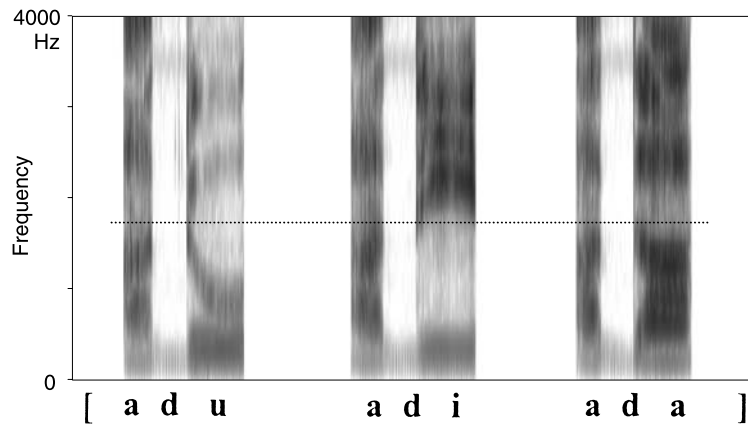


Figure 63.4: Sonagram of VCV utterances with different final vowels resulting in different consonantal transitions for [d] (the dotted line marking the constant F2 locus)

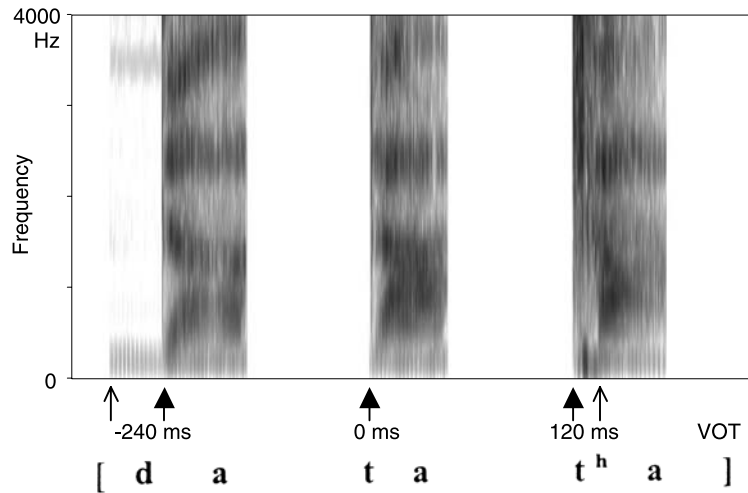


Figure 63.5: Sonagram of plosive vowel utterances illustrating different voicing categories (filled arrows marking plosive release, open arrows the onset of voicing)

The consonantal formant transitions – the movements of formants occupying about 40–80 ms – best characterized by the frequency they are pointing at – the so-called ‘locus’ frequency – as shown in figure 63.3. and 63.4. correlate with the consonantal place of articulation – low F1 locus: oral vs pharyngeal constriction, low F2/F3 locus: bilabial, medium F2/high F3 locus: alveolar, high F2/low F3 locus: velar – their duration with manner of articulation – short transitions: stop consonants as well as fricatives and nasals vs long transitions: approximants.

The difference in timing between the oral stop release and the onset of glottal pulsing – the so-called ‘voice onset time’ (VOT; Lisker/

Abramson 1964) – differentiates between the descriptive categories voiced, voiceless and aspirated. In the sonagram the ‘burst’ at stop release is visible as a short term vertical structure – sometimes followed by noisy (stochastic) signal parts – and voicing onset as the beginning of a regular vertical striation of the formant pattern (cf. figure 63.5).

The spectral distribution of the noise (the quasi random grey shadowing in the sonagram; cf. figure 63.1.) is dependent on the length of the cavity in front of the turbulent sound source – more back articulation thus show a lower cut-off frequency and a stronger formant-like structuring (‘artikulatorische Tiefe’; cf. Tillmann 1980).

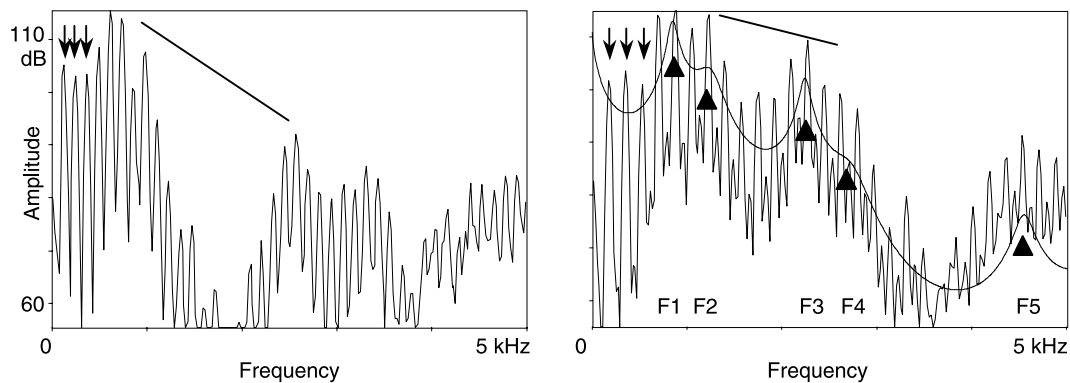


Figure 63.6: Narrow band spectrum of breathy voice (left) and modal voice (right; arrows mark the first three harmonics; lines indicate the different spectral tilt; superimposed smoothed spectrum with black triangles marking formants F1 ... F5)

As already mentioned, acoustical measurements are not restricted to variation in segmental properties but also highly relevant for those on the suprasegmental and ‘tone of voice’ level: Figure 63.6. illustrates the acoustical difference between an utterance of the central vowel [a] with a breathy voice in contrast to an utterance of the same vowel produced in modal voice at a slightly higher pitch.

4. Evaluation of sociolinguistic variation at the level of sound

The sociologically induced variation in pronunciation may be evaluated in two distinct ways asking for different statistical procedures: On the one hand the (descriptively categorized or acoustically measured) variation itself can be studied with respect to the conditioning sociological variables and on the other hand the observed variations may be evaluated with respect to their sociologically diversified acceptance since “speech communities may be defined more precisely by agreement in subjective judgements rather than by agreement in speech behavior” (Labov 1971, 209).

As an example of the first methodology at the descriptive phonetic level the Berlin urban vernacular study by Schlobinski (1987; cf. §2.3 above) may be cited. At the instrumental phonetic level one may cite the American Telsur project (described below in §5) with its geographically orientated vowel formant analyses (Labov/Ash/Boberg in prep.). The alternative methodology is used e.g. in the German study of the Konstanz vernacular by Auer (1990).

When analyzing sociolinguistic variation by instrumental phonetic means one furthermore has to take account of the hearer’s behavior, too. The speakers might be unable to hear the differences they produce consistently (according to the acoustical measurements) when uttering minimal pairs, an effect that has been described as the ‘failure of commutation tests’ by Labov/Yaeger/Steiner (1972). In this case sociolinguistic variation at the phonetic level will eventually lead to a sound change, i.e. a change in the phonological segmental inventory.

5. An illustrative example: sound change in progress

With respect to sociolinguistic questions instrumental phonetic analyses are of major importance. Incidentally, one of the earliest instrumental phonetic studies (Rousselot 1892) as well as quite recent acoustical phonetic analyses in sociolinguistics (Labov/Ash/Boberg in prep., Harrington/Paethorp/Watson 2000) are addressing the same question, namely sound change in progress.

The Telsur project, resulting in the Phonological Atlas of North American English (henceforth PANAE; Labov/Ash/Boberg in prep.) analyzed the acoustic data of a telephone survey covering all urbanized areas of North America with over 50,000 population and a number of smaller cities to achieve a more even geographic coverage. From 1992 till 2000 for every region two speakers, including at least one woman between the age of 20 and 40, were recorded, allowing up to four additional speakers for the large metropolitan areas, which resulted in 704 speakers alto-

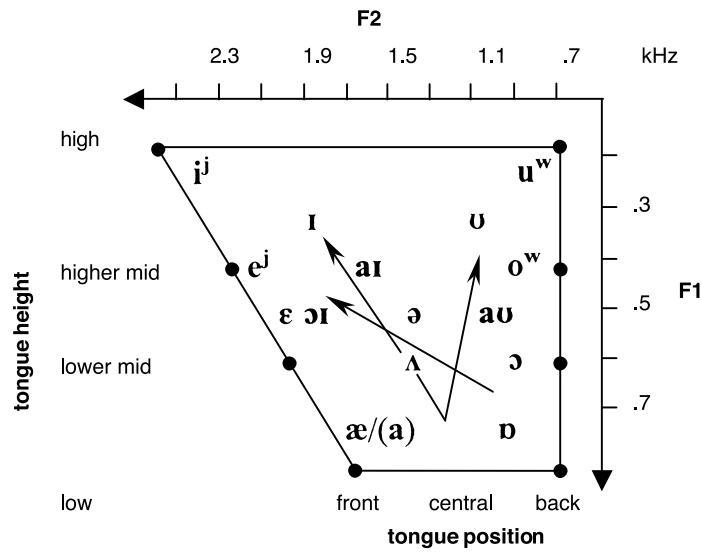


Figure 63.7: The vowel system of American English

gether. 300 to 500 vowel utterances for every single speaker were LPC-analyzed with respect to the frequency of their first two formants using the Kay Elemetrics CSL program. These F1 and F2 values were then log-mean normalized (Nearey 1977) for all individual vowel systems. From these measurements different quantitative parameters (e.g. thresholds of specific variables, difference values, etc.) are computed and statistically analyzed.

From these quantitative analyses ongoing changes in pronunciation are detectable that sometimes even may not be conscious to the speakers/hearers themselves. The geographical distribution of these parameters on the other hand exhibit close resemblances to dialectal isoglosses found in lexical studies (Carver 1987). Regionally and sociologically different sound changes in progress can thus be quantitatively studied as illustrated by the following figures.

Figure 63.7 schematically depicts the correlation between the traditional IPA-system of vowel classification along the parameters of tongue height and tongue position with reference to the cardinal vowels (filled circles; cf. IPA 1999) and normalized measured formant frequencies (F1, F2) together with the (assumed) most conservative vowel system of American English (in contrast to PANAE the transcription is strictly IPA-conform; the (diphthongal) tense high and mid vowels are treated as consisting of a nucleus and an offglide (cf.

IPA 1999) in contrast to the true diphthongs given in bold lettering with arrows visualising their trajectories; PANAE transcription correspondences are e.g. $i^j = /iy/$, $I = /i/$, $e^j = /ey/$, $\epsilon = /e/$, $\text{ɒ} = /o/$, $\text{ɔ} = /oh/$).

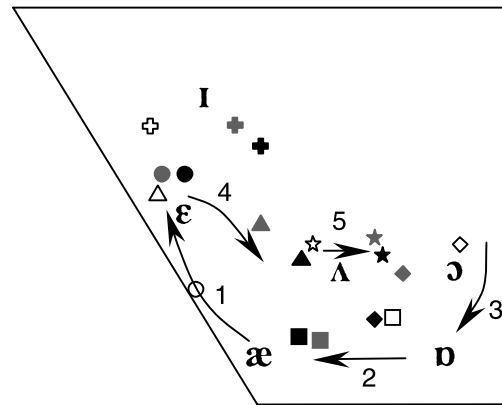


Figure 63.8: The Northern Cities Shift

Figure 63.8 shows part of the American vowel system relevant for one of the chain shifts (cf. article 64) currently in progress, i.e. the Northern Cities Shift. The symbols represent the normalized formant values for the different sound categories (circle = æ , square = ɒ , diamond = ɔ , triangle = ϵ , star = ə , cross = I) for three women representing different stages of this shift: a 42 years old

from Muncie, Indiana (open symbols), a 42 years old from Detroit (grey filled symbols) and a 35 years old from Rochester (black filled symbols).

The numbered arrows represent the different stages of this Northern Cities Shift: (1) there is a raising of æ, followed by (2) a fronting of ɒ, (3) a lowering of ɔ, then occupying the position of the former, (4) a lowering of ε and (5) a backing of ʌ. (and (6) a lowering/centralizing of I). A reliable diagnostic for this shift is the difference between the F2 frequencies of ε and ɔ: the defining threshold for the Northern Cities Shift being < 375 Hz.

The same diagnostic can be used to define the opposing ongoing Southern Shift (with a threshold of > 800 Hz) that can be described by the following stages: (1) ai monophthongization, (2) e^j and i^j centralizing and lowering, (3) æ, ε, ɪ, raising and decentralizing and (4) a fronting of u^w and o^w.

With the same technique of formant frequency evaluation it was also possible to reveal a change in the direction to near RP pronunciation in the Queen's Christmas broadcasts over the last decades (Harrington/Palethorpe/Watson 2000).

6. The primarily prosodic base of the sociosymbolic functioning of spoken utterances

Concluding this survey concerning the role of phonetics in sociolinguistics one should stress that from a phonetic point of view the sociologically conditioned variations in spoken utterances are to be understood as mainly prosodically founded. This is contrasting the more segmentally orientated focus at higher levels of linguistic description.

Generally, all speech utterances can be characterized as modulated at three distinct timing levels (cf. Tillmann 1980): The A-prosodic level representing modulations of acoustic parameters at a slow rate that are perceptible as changes in a specific auditory quality, the faster B-prosodic level that gives rise to the perception of rhythmic beats and the C-prosodic level with its fastest acoustic changes that result in the perception of segmentally structured utterances.

Linguistically, the A-prosodic level is given by intonation and the B-prosody by the syllabic structure of spoken utterances which in turn may be modulated in an

A-fashion through variation in speech rate. Sociolinguistically relevant A-prosodic modulation is not restricted to intonation. It also manifests itself in the quality of the carrier signal of this modulation and its parameters of variation with respect to voice quality and 'tone of voice'. At the A-prosodic level one may even state a modulation with respect to the elaboration of the segmental articulation between the poles of hyper- and hypospeech (cf. Lindblom 1990).

Long term voice quality adjustments on the other hand may also influence variation at the other levels of modulation as e.g. a 'velarized' voice quality as found in the American English accent of the Bronx in New York or in the accent of Birmingham and Liverpool: This velarization compresses the utilized vowel space in a backward and upward direction.

The carrier quality as well as the prosodic variation at all three levels are subject to conventional interpretation (cf. Laver 1993): In a specific speech community the imitation of another's utterance in a falsetto voice may be interpreted as an accusation of boasting, in another as an accusation of complaint. In yet another a falsetto utterance may act as an honoric device acknowledging respect for the addressee.

From the sociolinguistic perspective the phonetic description of spoken utterances thus should be able to fix the regularities distinguishing between different accentual variants, different levels of formality of style, differences with respect to the addressee and the situational context. In the paralinguistic domain it should also be able to characterize the conventional voice quality adjustments for signalling specific attitudes and emotions as well as the conventional cues controlling the flow of verbal interaction in conversation.

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64. Phonology/Phonologie

1. The relevance of phonological theory for sociolinguistics
2. Fundamental notions and recent developments
3. Phonological levels of variation
4. Markedness
5. Literature (selected)

1. The relevance of phonological theory for sociolinguistics

Since Saussure's (1916) distinction between *langue* and *parole*, theoretical linguistics has focused mostly on the description of the abstract, invariant knowledge of language, the *langue*, or 'competence' in Chomsky's (1965) terms. Grammar is supposed to model this competence, ignoring *parole*, or 'performance', i.e. the concrete realization of language in use. Language variation, encompassing regional, social and historical variation, is viewed as part of performance and is therefore not included in grammatical descriptions. This dichotomy between performance and competence is still observable in present-day linguistics, with more theoretically-oriented fields such as phonology on the one hand and more data-driven fields such as sociolinguistics on the other. As a result, the contributions that both disciplines could make to each other are largely ignored. Reynolds (1994, 3) points out that there is a firm tendency amongst phonologists to dismiss the relevance of sociolinguistic studies of variation, and at the same time, a similarly "strong tendency for sociolinguists to disregard the implications of current developments in phonology for their own field" (ibid.). Sociolinguistics often neglects recent developments in phonology and sociolinguistic studies are hence mostly descriptive, focusing on variation and its statistical measurement, ignoring the implications that abstractions of the processes at hand could have for a thoroughly understanding of the data and application to further studies. Phonology, on the other hand, tends to dismiss social variation and focuses on the analysis of either a standard form or a dialectal system, and the derivation from one via the other, but not on variation within speakers. This dismissal is based on the fact that variation in general poses a problem for phonological theories, as these theories assume ab-

stractions such as segments and syllables and are concerned with the motivation for these abstractions, not with their variable realizations.

The role of phonological analysis in sociolinguistics should be to provide a tool for the description and explanation of variance. A recent example for such an attempt is the work edited by Hinskens et al. (1997) with case studies that explicitly address the unification of phonological variation and theoretical abstraction.

An important problem that has to be tackled in phonology is the question of whether and how to account for the frequency distribution of variable forms. As Guy (1994, 127) points out, grammar in the traditional, generative sense has no quantitative and probabilistic component. And a large number of phonologists holds onto the idea that it is not the objective of phonological theory to incorporate information on the statistical occurrence of forms in the grammar, e.g. Smith (1994, 298) who says that "the place for statistics is outside, not inside, grammar." Anttila (1994, 49) is not disinclined to the idea of deriving probabilities from grammar but points out that the extent to which "extragrammatical factors are needed in deriving accurate statistics remains an empirical question" (ibid.).

Closely connected to this problem is the question of how the simultaneous existence of variant forms is represented in a theory. One possibility is to assume one grammar that generates all variants. Another option is to assume that variation comes from separate, competing grammars, one grammar for each variation system (e.g. Kiparsky 1993). Optimality Theory, as described in section 2.2., yields a formalism that is able to deal with both options.

A final point to be made before we go on to some of the major developments in recent phonological theory is the problem of drawing a borderline between phonetic and phonological variation, cf. art. 63. The gradient nature of variation becomes obvious when we realize that a purely phonetic alternation in one dialect can be a phonological rule in another. Furthermore, phonological changes typically originate as subphonemic changes in pronunciation. The defining criterion for a distinction between phonological and

phonetic variation is therefore not the process itself but its result; the phonological variation results in a change in category whereas the phonetic variation is a variable process with no impact on the categories of the language in question.

2. Fundamental notions and recent developments in phonology

The following section focuses on the most important concepts and recent developments which are relevant for sociolinguistics. It does not, however, aim at a comprehensive survey of phonological theory. Starting with the fundamental notion of distinctive features and their use in generative phonology, it moves on to the modification of distinctive features in the framework of Feature Geometry. This part is followed by two recent phonological approaches, namely Optimality Theory and Functional Phonology. These two are chosen from a variety of phonological theories as they are able to deal with variation and therefore seem to be able to make useful contributions to the further development of sociolinguistics.

Phonological frameworks that have been successfully applied to sociolinguistic data in the past but which could not be elaborated here for lack of space are Variable Lexical Phonology by Guy (1992), based on the theory of Lexical Phonology (Mohan 1982), and Auer's (1990) use of Natural Phonology.

2.1. Distinctive features and Feature Geometry

One of the most important concepts in phonology for the description of segments and rules is that of distinctive features. The interest in features and their development sprang from the realization that the phoneme, i.e. the contrastive sound in a language, is not the appropriate primitive for phonological description. Many phonological processes involve only some characteristics of a segment but not the whole, thus a smaller unit than the phoneme is needed as phonological primitive.

This observation was made as early as the beginning of the 20th century and the Prague school, especially Jakobson (1929), was the first to explicitly introduce the notion of distinctive features. The main ideas developed by Jakobson are that segments can be de-

composed into features and that features are assigned the essential function of distinguishing natural classes, i.e. all segments sharing a feature belong to the same natural class.

Only in the fifties Jakobson, Fant & Halle (1952) elaborated a complete system of distinctive features. Jakobson et al.'s features are defined primarily in an acoustic way, with additional articulatory explanations. These features are binary, i.e. can have a plus and minus value, and universal, in the sense that individual languages choose their distinctive features from this small, universal feature set.

In *The Sound Patterns of English* (SPE), Chomsky & Halle (1968) introduce a system of purely articulatorily defined features, which are also binary and universal in the Jakobsonian sense. According to this system, every segment can be characterized by a bundle of features and represented as a feature matrix. The phoneme /b/, e.g., is represented by the following matrix:

(1)

+ consonantal
- vocalic
- sonorant
- approximant
- nasal
+ voiced
- coronal
+ anterior

/b/ shares the features [+consonantal], [-coronal] and [+anterior] with other labial consonants such as /p, f, v, m/, which indicates that these segments form a natural class. The more general the class is, the fewer distinctive features are needed to describe it. Bigger units such as morphemes or words are composed of strings of the corresponding matrices, hence this representation is referred to as 'linear'.

The feature system proposed by Chomsky & Halle became the basis for the majority of subsequent work on features, and up to now, Chomsky & Halle's features are used throughout the phonological literature, though with significant modifications.

Phonological processes involving segmental changes can be described in Chomsky & Halle's feature system as a change of the whole feature matrix by using generative rules. These rules transform an abstract, underlying form into a surface form. (2)

shows an example of the transformation of an underlying /l/ into a surface velarized l in the word *help* by rule of velarization:

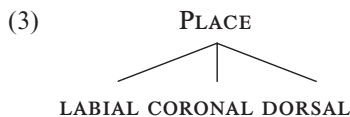
$$(2) \text{ Underlying form: } /hɛlp/$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ lateral} \\ + \text{ anterior} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ back} \\ + \text{ high} \end{bmatrix} \# _C$$

Surface form: [hɛɫp]

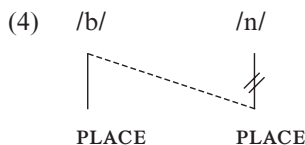
SPE features and rules had a large impact on sociolinguistics. Labov and his followers used them for sociolinguistic analyses, where dialectal forms were derived from standard forms (see e.g. Labov 1972).

Later developments in feature theory depart from the linear representation of segments as unordered feature bundles. In Feature Geometry (e.g. Clements 1985, or Sagey 1986), a hierarchical order of features is assumed. Herein, features are dominated by another feature (a 'feature node') to express the fact that all dependant features share the dominating one and therefore belong to the same natural class. An example for features structured under a node is given here with the PLACE node. PLACE dominates the nodes LABIAL, CORONAL, and DORSAL, as they all describe places of articulation, cf. (3).



Phonological rules can affect individual features or bundle of features united under one node by spreading only this feature or the whole node. It is no longer necessary to exchange the whole matrix of features.

An example for spreading of the PLACE node can be given by the process of nasal assimilation in Constanze German, e.g. /hʌbən/ [hʌb̃m] 'to have' (Auer 1990, 49). This process can be described as the deletion of the PLACE node of the nasal and a concurrent spreading of the PLACE node from the plosive, cf. (4).



Feature Geometry is a theory that emerged within autosegmental phonology, as introduced by Goldstein (1979). Herein, segmen-

tal as well as non-segmental features such as tone all constitute their own tier, and the different tiers are linked to the segment. Spreading of a single feature is then possible even from non-adjacent segments, as long as the nodes are adjacent on the specific tier.

Sociolinguistics can profit from autosegmental theories as they simplify the description of e.g. socially induced stress shifts (cf. 3.5) and the cross-linguistic comparison of such processes.

2.2. Optimality Theory

Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993, McCarthy and Prince 1993) is undoubtedly one of the most successful linguistic theories of the 1990s. In contrast to standard generative phonology in which rules and generalizations to be postulated can hold at 'abstract' stages in the derivation, in Optimality Theory (henceforth OT) universal constraints evaluate surface representations. However, they are not claimed to be true on a surface level. On the contrary, constraints are violable and therefore do not have to be surface-true.

One of the novel features of OT is the way it deals with universal and language specific requirements imposed on linguistic theories. OT postulates a set of constraints (CON), which is assumed to be part of Universal Grammar (UG). The constraints express a universal well-formedness along all linguistically relevant components: phonology, phonetics, morphology, syntax and semantics. They are often in conflict with each other because they express contradictory statements. But their ranking shows which constraint is more decisive and has influence on the selection of a candidate. The ranking of constraints is different from language to language and therefore the diversity in the grammars of the languages of the world is attested.

Two main types of constraints include *markedness constraints*, which generally prohibit marked structures, and *faithfulness constraints*, which militate against deviations from input forms. The idea of markedness plays a central role in OT because the constraints, being universal, are claimed to express markedness statements which in phonology refer to both segmental and prosodic level, (for a general statements concerning markedness see section 4).

As mentioned above, constraints are violable but violation in OT is minimal, i.e., the candidate which satisfies best a strict hierarchy of constraints is chosen as optimal. It incurs the fewest violations in the strict domination sense, i.e. the higher a constraint is, the more selective power it has. Therefore, multiple violations of a lower ranked constraint cannot override a single violation of a higher ranked constraint.

Another important idea of OT is constraint interaction. Since constraints refer to many different linguistic dimensions, they are often in conflict with each other. It is often not possible that outputs can fulfill different requirements with respect to phonotactics, prosodic wellformedness, etc. and be faithful to the input at the same time. In order to resolve different types of conflicts, constraints are crucially ranked with respect to each other.

Evaluation of linguistic outputs is conventionally presented in form of a tableau, as shown in (5).

(5)

Input	A	B	C	D	...
candidate i		*!			
☞ candidate ii				*	
candidate iii			*!		

The tableau in (5) presents a competition between three candidates. The first one is excluded because of a violation of the high-ranked constraint B. The candidates that further compete are candidate ii and candidate iii because both of them satisfy the high-ranking constraints A and B. Since candidate ii fares better on the next constraint (C) in the ranking it is selected as the optimal output.

From a formal point of view some notation conventions are assumed. The selection of the optimal candidate is indicated by the pointing hand '☞'. An asterisk (*) appears if a given constraint is violated. A fatal violation is indicated by an exclamation mark '!'. This is the point where the candidate in question loses against other more successful candidates. After the fatal violation the loser's cells are shaded; the winner's cells are shaded when the selection is carried out.

The scheme presented in (6) illustrates how the generation and evaluation of candi-

dates works. The function GEN(erator), taking input as a basis, produces a potentially infinite set of output candidates. The candidates produced by GEN are simultaneously evaluated on the basis of a language-specific ranking by another function called EVAL(uator). EVAL selects the most optimal candidate from the set of possible candidates.

(6)



The selected candidate, even though it may contain violations, still satisfies the ranking in the best way because it fares better on higher-ranked constraints than its competitors. Therefore, it is selected as the most optimal output.

OT is also able to describe variation and sound change. There are some descriptive models in OT which differ in both a formal way of expressing variation and sound change as well as in their explanatory adequacy. In the following two of them will be presented: the Free – Variationist Model and the 'Promotion of the Unmarked' model. The Free-Variationist Model, as proposed e.g. by Antilla (1995), makes use of constraints which are not ranked with respect to each other. Generally, three stages are assumed in order to account for a sound change. The first stage should be regarded as a starting point where just one output of an underlying representation is produced. In the next stage variation is attested: the homogeneity of one possible output is disturbed by speakers who begin to produce another variant of the same input. In some cases there might be three or more outputs of the same input. This stage is often referred to as 'free variation stage'. At some point one of the possible outputs will be preferred which leads to the selection of the preferred candidate as the only possible one. In most cases, the selected candidate of the last stage is different from the output in the first stage, resulting in sound change.

These three stages are formally presented as follows. In the first stage, illustrated in (7), all constraints are crucially ranked with respect to each other, which results in one optimal output, cf. also Löhken (1997 85f.).

(7) 1st stage: crucial ranking of constraints

A >> B >> C >> D

	A	B	C	D
candidate i		*!		*
☞ candidate ii			*	*
candidate iii	*!			

The third candidate in (7) is excluded due to a violation of the high-ranked constraint A. The second candidate fares better on the constraint B than the first candidate and therefore it emerges as optimal. This is the only possible output produced by speakers under the same circumstances.

In the next stage, the two constraints B and C shift from being crucially ranked B >> C to being unranked. This variation stage is represented in the tableau in (8), where a dotted line expresses unranked constraints.

(8) 2nd stage: unranking of constraints → free variation
A >> B; C >> D

	A	B	C	D
☞ candidate i		*		*
☞ candidate ii			*	*
candidate iii	*!			

The variation in (8) is expressed by the fact that the candidates (i) and (ii) are equally good and therefore both selected as optimal. The number of optimal candidates is formally not restricted because there is no limit concerning the number of constraints which are not crucially ranked with respect to each other.

Finally, in the third stage, the two constraints B and C become ranked again. Since two possibilities of constraint ranking are possible, i.e. B >> C or C >> B, the optimal output can be either the original one, candidate (ii), or a new one, candidate (i). Both cases are exemplified in (9a) and (9b), respectively.

(9) 3rd phase: selection of the winning candidate

a. A >> B >> C >> D

	A	B	C	D
candidate i		*!		*
☞ candidate ii			*	*
candidate iii	*!			

b. A >> C >> B >> D

	A	C	B	D
☞ candidate i			*	*
candidate ii		*!		*
candidate iii	*!			

In (9a) the candidate (ii) is selected as optimal. This is exactly the same candidate as in (7). A different situation is shown in (9b), where candidate (i) emerges as optimal. The reversal of constraints B and C is responsible for the selection of the new candidate.

Although it is possible to express variation within the Free-Variationists Model, there are some arguments against it. First, it fails to capture the fact that speakers prefer one variant over another depending on sociolinguistic factors, cf. examples given below. For this reason free variation is rejected by many linguists, cf. Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968), Labov (1972). Since not only language internal but also language external factors contribute to variation, it is highly improbable that a speaker produces two nonpreferential outputs under the same circumstances. Rather, there exists a strong preference depending on sociological, geographic, generational, context situative and other factors.

The second objection raised against the Free-Variationist Model (see Green 1997, 20) is that “it is general practice in OT to say that when two candidates tie on a set of constraints, the tie is broken by a lower constraint.”

As far as the second objection is concerned, it is indeed true that the lower-ranked constraints are violated but in the Free-Variationist Model it is just a tie of violations of unranked constraints that is directly responsible for free variation, i.e. selected candidates are expected to fare on lower ranked constraints equally well. And if constraints which are responsible for all differences between optimal candidates are unranked with respect to each other, then there exists no possibility of selecting just one of them. In other words, the underlying assumption of unranked constraints leading to the emergence of more than one candidate is theoretically correct.

An alternative model proposes that free variation be accounted for with multiple grammars expressed by varying constraint rankings, cf. Kiparsky (1993), or Green

(1997). In contrast to the Free-Variationist Model, this approach accounts for the sociolinguistic factors that determine variation in language. On the other hand, the multiple grammars proposal seems to be an uneconomical solution since it allows for redundancies in terms of multiplying the same sequences in constraint rankings which are not responsible for a particular variation.

The model proposed by Green (1997) called Promotion of the Unmarked deals also with the problem of markedness in sound change. It is an outgrowth of the theory of the Emergence of Unmarked (McCarthy and Prince 1994). The latter assumes that constraints which are violated in a given language as a whole might be exactly obeyed in particular domains of this language. Therefore their effects can still be observed in certain domains and under certain conditions. The main idea behind Promotion of the Unmarked is that a constraint which militates against markedness, hence favoring unmarked structures, is promoted up the constraint hierarchy, thereby passing other constraints. According to Green (1997,13) "phonological change results when an unmarked pattern comes to predominate in phonology." If a given constraint is promoted, then it often passes not one but several constraints. This process might result in violation of different constraints at different stages and it is to be reflected in different successive sound changes. For example, there are some changes attested in the process of promotion of the so-called Open Syllable Law of Proto-Slavic, cf. Green (1997,14), e.g. the loss of word-final obstruents (Proto-Indo European *suh₂nus* > Proto-Slavic *synŭ* 'son'), the reduction of consonant clusters to only those that were permissible onsets (early Proto-Slavic *ob.vla:kŭ* > *o.bla:ŭ* 'cloud'), the emergence of long nasalized vowels from vowel and tautosyllabic nasal (*ron.ka:* > *rō:ka:* 'hand'), metathesis (in West and South Slavic: *gor.dŭ* > *gra:ŭ* 'city') or epenthesis (in East Proto-Slavic: *gor.dŭ* > *go.ro.dŭ*). All these seemingly unrelated phonological changes can be captured by Promotion of the Unmarked with one generalization, namely, the markedness constraint prohibiting closed syllables (NoCoda) was promoted over other constraints throughout Proto-Slavic.

The models presented above show how variation and sound change can be pre-

sented in the framework of Optimality Theory. The two models differ extremely because they assume either one ranking by not accounting for sociolinguistic factors or as many grammars as possible by taking into account sociolinguistic factors. An alternative model was proposed by Reynolds (1994) who assumes so-called floating constraints which can change their position within a certain well-defined area of the ranking while anchored constraints are not involved in variation and remain at the same positions in the ranking. If a floating constraint changes its position, a different output form is selected as optimal. In contrast to the models presented above, this approach offers an account for variation within one ranking.

2.3. Functional Phonology

Functional Phonology (henceforth FP) was developed by Boersma (1998) and diverges from OT assumptions as it does not assume a Universal Grammar but accounts for processes that can be found in all languages by their functionality. Functionality is explained by functional principles such as maximum of perceptibility and minimum of articulatory effort. These ideas go back as far as Passy (1891) and can be found in other phonological theories such as Natural Phonology (Stampe 1979) or Grounded Phonology (Archangeli & Pulleyblank 1994). Functional principles are in conflict with each other, which can be depicted by conflicting constraints in an OT framework.

Departing from mainstream phonological theories which are based on articulatory representations only, FP reintroduces perceptual representations along with the articulatory ones. In this model, articulatory representations are evaluated according to articulatory effort constraints, whereas perceptual representations are necessary for constraints on perceptibility.

As with all other phonological approaches represented in this article (and in general), social (i.e. external) factors for variation cannot be included in FP, but the model is able to incorporate the production of variable forms and their probability. This is done by assigning every constraint a ranking value along a continuous scale. To demonstrate this, let us look at tableau (10) with two candidates, which are variants of one input form and which differ only with respect to constraint A and B. Candidate (i) is

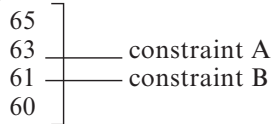
the variant that violates the higher ranked constraint A and occurs less often than candidate (ii).

(10)

Input	A	B
candidate i	*!	
☞ candidate ii		*

The ranking of the two constraints A and B on the continuous ranking scale looks as in (11), where highest ranked, unviolable constraints are assumed to have a ranking-value of 100 and lowest ranked constraints one of 0.

(11)



Thus, the constraint which causes the more frequent variant to win has a higher ranking value than the other. These ranking values are assumed to be flexible, i.e. the speaker derives them according to several factors. The likelihood that the closely ranked constraint B outranks A and therefore causes candidate (i) to win is determined by so-called disharmonies, which are calculated from the ranking value and an additive, 5% random noise variable (see Boersma 1998, 331 for details). This inclusion of variation, besides its emphasis on perception, is what makes FP an attractive model for sociolinguistics.

3. Phonological levels of variation

As elaborated in the first section, phonological variation (socially induced or other) results in a systematic change of phonological categories. These categories can be segments, as described by bundle of features, or suprasegments such as stress and tone. Segmental processes involve epenthesis, reduction, metathesis, split, assimilation and substitution whereas suprasegmental ones are stress, tone, intonation patterns, and sandhi phenomena.

In the following, some examples for present day segmental variations which are caused by sociolinguistic factors are described, namely merger, deletion, substitution, and stress shift. Furthermore, the behavior of borrowings with respect to some of these phenomena is illustrated.

3.1. Merger

In merger, the contrast between two phonemes is lost, and they are combined into one output phoneme. For example, the distinction between dental and retroflex lateral in the socially more prestigious dialect of Oslo is leveled in the Norwegian spoken in Østfold, where the dental is replaced by the retroflex (Jahr 1988, 331f.), cf. (12).

(12)

	Oslo	Østfold	
<i>ball</i>	[baɫ]	[ba]	‘ball’
<i>pol</i>	[pu:]	[pu:]	‘pole’

As a result, the dialect spoken in Østfold has only one phoneme where Oslo dialect distinguishes two.

Merger does not necessarily have to affect single segments. There are cases attested in which a whole natural class is involved in the process. In the phonemic inventory of Standard Polish the following coronal fricatives and affricates are attested, cf. (13).

(13) Alveolars Retroflexes Alveolo-palatals

s	z	ʃ	ʒ	ç	ʒ
ts̄	dz̄	tʃ̄	dʒ̄	tʃ̄	dʒ̄

In Polish dialects spoken in Mazovia (except the extreme northeast), in Małopolska (except the areas between the rivers Wisłok i San, the Upper Wieprz and Bug) and in northern Silesia all retroflexes are realized as alveolars, cf. examples in (14)

(14) Standard Polish Mazovian

[z]yto	[z]yto	‘rye’
[tʃ̄]as	[tʃ]as	‘time’

In the Kashubian dialect spoken in the northern part of Poland, the alveolo-palatal fricatives and affricates are realized as alveolars. This is illustrated by the examples in (15)

(15) Standard Polish Kashubian

[çt̄ç]ana	[sts̄]auna	‘wall’
[d̄ʒ̄]ik	[d̄z̄]ek	‘boar’

In the dialects spoken in the northeastern regions of Poland (around Malbork, Ostróda, Lubawa and eastern Warmia) and in the small area in the southern part of Poland

(around Jabłonków) neither retroflexes nor alveolo-palatal fricatives and affricates are attested. Both series, /ʂ z̥ tʂ d̥z̥/ and /ç z̥ tç d̥z̥/, merged into an intermediate one: palatalized retroflexes, cf. examples in (16).

(16) Standard	Jabłonków &
Polish	Mazurian
[z̥]yto	‘rye’
[tʂ]as	dialects
[ç]ano	‘time’
	[z̥ʲ]yto
	‘hay’
	[tʂʲ]as
	[çʲ]ano

These examples show that Polish dialects dispense with the complex system of coronal fricatives and affricates of Standard Polish by reducing three groups to two groups.

3.2. Deletion

Deletion describes the loss of a segment or a feature from a word and depends on the speech style, speech rate and frequency of segment occurrence. This process is usually further distinguished according to the prosodic position of the deleted segment into word-initial, word-medial (syncope) and word-final deletion (apocope).

An example for word-initial deletion is j-deletion in the urban vernacular of the German city of Constance, ‘Konstanzer Stadtsprache’, e.g. /jetzt/ [ets] ‘now’ (Auer 1990, 55). A well-known example for apocope in sociolinguistics is the deletion of coronal stops in English, *wes(t) side*, *mis(t)*, *tol(d)*, e.g. Kiparsky (1993) or Guy (1994, 133). This process is also observable in the example from Constance German given before. Further examples from Constance German are *ist* [ɪf] ‘is’, *heisst* [haɪf] ‘being named’, cf. (Auer 1990, 48).

Deletion of consonants especially occurs in languages with complex consonant clusters. In Polish, which is well-known for complex consonant clusters, drastic simplifications of clusters containing affricates and fricatives are attested. As far as word-medial clusters are concerned, the reduction occurs most frequently in one grammatical category, i.e., numerals. For example, /dvad̥zɛtʂa/ ‘twenty’ nom. is pronounced in a formal style as [dvad̥zɛtʂa]. In the most simplified version, in very informal situations, it is pronounced as [dvæçtʂa] or [dvætʂa]. In the pronunciation of another numeral, [ʂɛtʂɛt] ‘six hundred’ nom. the cluster tʂç is replaced with a glide in its most informal and simplified version: [ʂɛjset].

In the same vein, fricatives occurring in four-member clusters are very often simplified to three-member clusters by eliding the first fricative /v/. Relevant examples are provided in (17).

(17) terenozna/vstv/o	terenozna[stf]o
	‘topography’
kulturozna/vstv/o	kulturozna[stf]o
	‘cultural studies’
marnotra/vstv/o	marnotra[stf]o
	‘waste’

There are even words in which the reduction is reflected in the orthography, e.g. *myślistwo* myśli[stf]o ‘shooting’ and *ojcostwo* ojco[stf]o ‘fatherhood’.

Deletions affect not only segments but also secondary articulation by not changing the primary one. In Polish, the palatalized velar plosives k and g undergo depalatalization, especially in foreign words. As diachronic investigations show, sequences like /ge/ and /ke/ were invariably pronounced as [gʲe] or [kʲe] (Surface Velar Palatalization, henceforth SVP) over a hundred years ago. In the fifties some of the words which underwent SVP started to be pronounced without a secondary articulation. Others, however, are still pronounced with palatalized velar plosives. The nonpalatalized variant is preferred by the younger generation, while the palatalized is used by the older generation, born before 1920, cf. Rubach (1984, 175). The older generation, however, is also gradually adopting the pronunciation without a secondary palatalization. This change is illustrated in (18).

(18) al[ɡʲ]ebra → al[ɡ]ebra	‘algebra’
le[ɡʲ]enda → le[ɡ]enda	‘fable’

3.3. Substitution

When a phoneme, not only a single feature, is replaced by another phoneme, this process is called substitution. An example for substitution is the rule of ‘palatalization’ in Constance German (Auer 1990, 58), where the alveolar [s] is replaced by a palato-alveolar [ʃ] before a plosive unless a morpheme boundary intervenes.

(19) /bɪst/	[bɪʃd]	‘are’ (2pers sg.)
/vɛspə/	[vɛʃp]	‘wasp’

Another example was shown already under 3.1, where the dental lateral is systematically substituted by a retroflex lateral in the Østfold dialect of Norwegian, cf. (12).

3.4. Stress shift

Stress shift is observable in two sociolects of Oslo; the upper class variety spoken in West Oslo does not change stress in loanwords, whereas the working class Eastern Oslo variety shifts the stress to the first syllable, as it is obligatory in most Norwegian words, see (20).

(20) East Oslo	West Oslo	
ballét	bállet	'ballet'
alárm	áalarm	'alarm'

Different stress patterns can also give more information about the education of speakers. In Polish, which has regular stress on the penultima, there are some words in which the stress shows variation. It can either fall on the penultima or antepenultima. If a speaker uses the second more marked option, it indicates that he is well-educated. Examples are presented in (21).

(21) przywie[źli]śmy	przy[wie]źliśmy
	'we brought'
odwiedzi[lí]ście	odwie[dzí]liście
	'we visited'

3.5. Borrowings

Borrowings play a special role in phonology, as they are usually exceptions to systematic rule applications. This special status is lost as soon as these words or segments are integrated into the native lexicon and not perceived as foreign any longer. An example for this process at the suprasegmental level is the stress shift in West Oslo Norwegian, cf. 3.4, where loanwords receive native stress on the first syllable, whereas the same words keep their original stress in East Oslo Norwegian, as the higher educated speakers in Eastern Oslo are probably aware of the foreign status of these words.

Apart from borrowings of words, there are changes attested that are caused by the influence of neighbouring languages. For example, Belorussian palatalized alveolars are pronounced with an enhanced palatalization in the eastern part of the country in contrast to pronunciation of palatalized alveolars in the western part. This difference is explained by the influence of Polish which has alveolopalatals derived historically from palatalized alveolars in its phonemic inventory.

4. Markedness

Does markedness play a role in accounting for phonological variation caused by sociol-

inguistic factors? Does the existence of a marked structure contribute to variation in a language?

Before answering these questions let us briefly summarize the main criteria responsible for the determination of markedness. For the concept of markedness cf. also Trubetzkoy (1931), Chomsky and Halle (1968), Stampe (1979) and Vennemann (1988).

Structures are considered to be marked if they are found less frequently in inventories across languages, as opposed to unmarked structures, which are supposed to be present cross-linguistically. Maddieson (1984) shows that most languages have front unrounded vowels but only a few of them also include front rounded vowels. There are several reasons why certain structures are consistently absent in contrast to others, e.g., their articulatory complexity or their lack of perceptible saliency. Furthermore, a marked structure crucially differs from an unmarked one with respect to the order of acquisition, i.e., children acquire marked structures considerably later than unmarked ones, cf. Jakobson (1941). The trill /r/ is a marked sound because the process of its acquisition takes longer than acquiring plosives or nasals. This is connected with the articulatory difficulty of trills.

Another markedness criterion pertains to implicational universals, according to which the presence of a marked segment implies the presence of its unmarked counterpart, cf. Jakobson (1971). For example, if a palatalized labial [pʲ] occurs in a language, its presence implies the presence of plain ones, i.e. [p] in the same inventory. Implications of several types can be found not only on the segmental level but also in other domains.

Another diagnostic of a marked structure can be gained from diachronic changes: a marked segment or structure tend to be lost earlier than an unmarked one, assuming the same circumstances, cf. Jakobson (1941).

From all the criteria mentioned above, one could draw the conclusion that marked structures are disfavored in inventories across languages. Following this line of reasoning one could expect that in a language where variation is attested, the selected variant form will be less marked than the original one. Many studies on synchronic and diachronic changes show indeed that complex, marked sounds or structures are often reduced or replaced by simple and unmarked ones. Investigations into pidginization and creolization processes also stress the fact

that unmarked sounds are more likely to survive pidginization and creolization than their marked counterparts, cf. Holm (1988).

However, it is not always the case that an unmarked structure emerges from variation. Slavic languages are generally known for their complex syllable structure which was created after the loss of vowels. But in order to state whether the outputs are really more marked we have to evaluate them along different dimensions. It is often the case that an emerging structure is not marked along one dimension but marked along another, e.g. the complex syllable structure in many Slavic languages is a result of optimization of prosody and creation of a trochaic foot. This leads to the conclusion that the selected variants cannot be absolutely judged as unmarked or marked but have to be evaluated in a broad linguistic context, cf. Vennemann (1998). As the examples cited above show (cf. section 3) many changes which are triggered or influenced by sociolinguistic factors can be additionally motivated by the reduction of markedness.

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65. Morphologie/Morphology

1. Soziale Symbolik der Morphologie
2. Soziale Korrelate morphologischer Varianz
3. „Natürliche“ Sozio-Morphologie: Zum Verhältnis von systemischer und sozialer Markiertheit
4. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Soziale Symbolik der Morphologie

Soziale Bedeutung gewinnt die Morphologie wie andere Ebenen sprachlicher Organisation durch ihre Variabilität. Eine Varietäten-Morphologie beschreibt daher nicht nur die einzelnen beteiligten morphologischen Systeme, sondern auch die Relationen zwischen ihnen (Klein 1974; Wurzel 1978). Dabei stellt sie nicht nur systemlinguistische Beziehungen zwischen den morphologischen Variablen her (durch Ableitungs- oder Bezugsregeln), sondern korreliert die morphologische Variation auch mit außersprachlichen, hier v.a. sozialen, Variablen. Die Varianz kann sozial „horizontal“ sein, etwa wenn gesellschaftlich gleichberechtigte Gruppen mit sozial gleich hoch bewerteten Varietäten koexistieren. Varianz kann aber auch sozial „vertikal“ sein (oder „vertikalisiert“ werden), so wenn gesellschaftlich ungleiche Gruppen mit sozial unterschiedlich hoch bewerteten Varietäten koexistieren. In dem Falle kann die Varianz stabil sein, so wenn innerhalb einer mehrsprachigen Gruppe eine ausgewogene funktionale und auf Gebrauchsdomänen festgelegte „symmetrische Diglossie“ herrscht, oder sie kann instabil sein, so wenn in einer mehrsprachigen Gruppe „asymmetrische Diglossie“ herrscht, bei der die eine Varietät die andere in allen Domänen bedroht. Da Varietäten immer an soziale Wesen (ihre in Gruppen organisierten Sprecher) gekoppelt sind, wird sprachliche Differenz sogar in den meisten Fällen unmittelbar nach Parametern der sozialen Ungleichheit bewertet: s. Beispiele in Kap. 2 für sozialsymbolische morphologische (oft fast „schibboleth“-artige) Formen, an denen unterschiedlich große Sprechergruppen zu erkennen sind, die von Sprachgruppen in einem Land mit mehreren heterogenetischen Sprachen über Bevölkerungen in unterschiedlichen Ländern eines homogenetischen, aber polyzentrischen Sprachraums bis zu nationalen Minderheiten und gesellschaftlichen Klein- und Kleinstgruppen reichen.

Sozial-symbolisch ist die Morphologie einerseits als Teilkomponente von den an der Variation beteiligten Gesamtsystemen, andererseits hat die Morphologie eine eigene, ihrer Rolle qua Morphologie geschuldete spezifische soziale Bedeutung. Morphologie als einer der zentralen Bereiche der Grammatik ist dadurch, dass ihre Elemente im Bewusstsein der Sprecher relativ geschlossene Klassen bilden, normativ stark fixiert, d.h. die Formen sind relativ strikt vorgeschrieben, Abweichungen werden deutlich wahrgenommen, nehmen in „Fehler“-Hierarchien obere Ränge ein und werden direkter sozial bewertet als Variablen anderer Teil(dia)systeme (Aussprache, Lexik, syntaktische Serialisierung usw.). Schon Schulanfänger verbessern sich gegenseitig mit Belehrungen wie *das heißt nicht „ge-ließ-en“ – das heißt „ge-lass-t“* („gelassen“). Auch morphologieintern werden „Fehler“ von schwerer bis weniger schwer gestaffelt. Z.B. wird Unkenntnis der Stammformen „unregelmäßiger“ Verben des Englischen als sehr schwerer Fehler eingeschätzt (Nickel 1973). Bei Sprechern eines amerikanischen Kleinstadtdialekts sind „falsche“ Präterita nochmals nach abnehmender Fehlerschwere von *come* über *seen* und *knowed* zu *hold* hierarchisiert (Radden 1979). Formen wie (*ich*) *gang* zählt Schirmunski (1962, 592) zu den „primären“ Dialektmerkmalen, die abgebaut würden (hier zu *geh*), solche wie umlautloses (*er*) *fahrt* zu den „sekundären“, die stabiler seien. Auch die Umdeutung von „Fehlern“ in Hyperkorrekturen ist in der Morphologie sehr verbreitet (Fasold 1972, 131). So suffigieren dialektsprechende Kinder, die in ihrer dialektalen Varietät das *t*-Suffix der Verbalflexion immer mit dem stammauslautenden *dlt* verschmelzen wie bei (*er*) *red-t*, *bet-t* und daraufhin oft in *red-et*, *bet-et* verbessert worden sind, womöglich *-et* auch dann, wenn Verschmelzung im Standard Norm ist: (*es*) *gilt* > *gilt-et*. Die Umwandlung der Dichotomie „so oder anders“ („Differenz“-Hypothese) in eine Dichotomie „richtig oder falsch“ bei der Bewertung von Varietäten bewirkt, dass diejenigen im unteren Bereich der vertikalen Skala stigmatisiert, als prestigearm/-los oder gar mangelhaft eingeschätzt werden („Defizit“-Hypothese).

Die Deutlichkeit in der Wahrnehmung sozio-morphologischer Variation kann auch

bei Standardisierungsbemühungen hinderlich sein. So habe es bei der Vereinheitlichung der malaiischen Varietäten Indonesiens (MI) und Malaysias (MM) Normkonflikte gegeben, weil das pure verbale ‚Aktiv‘-Präfix *me-* von MI für Sprecher von MM „falsch“ sei, denn in ihrer Varietät gelte entweder *be*-Präfix oder zirkumfigiertes *me-* und *-kan* (z. B. *me-rasa* vs. *be-rasa* oder *me-rasa-kan*; Omar 1969).

Vor dem Hintergrund dieser starken Empfindlichkeit der Morphologie für soziale Faktoren überrascht es, dass Plädoyers für eine „Sozio-Grammatik“ zwar die Subkomponenten der Sozio-Phonetik/-Syntax/-Lexik/-Phraseologie/-Onomastik/-Textgrammatik nennen, eine Sozio-Morphologie aber nicht (Löffler 1994, 187). Das wird auch nicht dadurch kompensiert, dass soziomorphologische Erscheinungen bei anderen Komponenten mitbehandelt werden könnten: etwa morphosyntaktische wie die Varianten (*dass man es*) *kommen ge-sehen hat* vs. (*dass man es*) *hat kommen Ø-sehen* in untergeordneten Nebensätzen bei der Sozio-Syntax; morphophonologische wie die Varianten *ge-sehen* vs. obd. *g-sehen* oder engl. *chang-ing* vs. *chang-in'* bei der Sozio-Phonetik; in Varietäten neu entstandene morphosemantische Kategorien wie beim *a*-Präfix an *ing*-Verben mit ‚perpetuativer‘ Bedeutung (*the times they are a-changin'*) in einer Sozio-Semantik usw. Denn viele soziomorphologische Erscheinungen sind genuin morphologisch bedingt, so wenn wie in Pidgins durch mangelhaftes „Bedeutungserlebnis“ beim Wahrnehmen von v. a. gebundenen kategorialen Morphemen diese Morpheme getilgt werden (Lüdtke 1988) oder wenn in Substandards innerparadigmatischen Vereinfachungen (Ausgleich der 3.Sg. Präs. *go-es* zu *go* nach dem Rest des Paradigmas; Wolfram 1988) bereitwilliger nachgegeben wird als in Standardvarietäten. Fasold (1972) hat in einer exemplarischen Studie das komplexe Gefüge von Faktoren unterschiedlicher sprachlicher Ebenen herausgearbeitet, die den Grad des postkonsonantischen *t*-Schwunds bedingen. Hier wirken die jeweiligen Kombinationen von Ausprägungen morphologischer Faktoren wie [\pm Morphemgrenze zwischen den Konsonanten] (*miss-edl/mist*) und phonologischer wie [\pm konsonantischer Anlaut des Folgeworts] zusammen und bedingen bei Angehörigen unterschiedlicher sozialer Schichten unterschiedliche Grade der Vereinfachung der Endungssubstanz mit Folgen für die Oberflächen-Morphologie.

Hier werden nur solche morphologischen Symbole („Marker“ oder „Indikatoren“) behandelt, die nicht selbst soziale Kategorien ausdrücken, sondern deren soziale Symbolik im morphologischen Ausdruck anderer als sozialer Kategorien liegt. Für den Bereich der morphologischen Enkodierung sozialer Kategorien selbst (z. B. durch die „Pronomina der Macht und der Solidarität“ oder durch Genus-Marker mit Sexus-Bezug) sei hier nur auf die Ausführungen von Wolfram (1988, Kap. 3) verwiesen. Die morphologische Sozio-Symbolik kann vom Sender als Kundgabe intendiert sein und vom Empfänger als entsprechender Appell verstanden werden (bewusst eingesetzte Gruppensprache) oder ungewolltes Symptom sozialer Zugehörigkeit sein und bestimmte Sozialstrukturmerkmale der Sprecher ‚verraten‘ (Hess-Lüttich 1988).

2. Soziale Korrelate morphologischer Varianz

Morphologische Varianz findet sich auf diastatischen, diatopischen, diachronischen und weiteren diasystemischen (z. B. diaphasischen) Skalen. Während die diastatische Skala genuin sozial ist, kommen für die soziomorphologische Varianz die andern Skalen nur in ihren sozialrelevanten Eigenschaften in Betracht. So interessiert diatopische morphologische Varianz (Formen-Geographie) hier nur insofern, als z. B. unterschiedliche Dialektgebiete unterschiedliches Prestige genießen (Jakob 1992), diachronische Varianz (Formen-Wandel) nur insofern, als z. B. unterschiedlicher Sprachgebrauch an das Sozialstrukturmerkmal ‚Alter der Sprecher‘ gekoppelt ist oder morphologischer „Wandel“ durch sozial bedingte Übernahme sprachlicher Elemente zustande kommt, also – in Analogie zur soziophonetischen Unterscheidung in „Lautwandel“ und „Lautwechsel“ – morphologischen „Wechsel“ darstellt usw.

Die Skalen lassen sich also nicht streng voneinander trennen, sondern hängen in mehrfacher Weise zusammen. Z. B. erscheint ein Parameter wie ‚Stadt/Land‘ (bei ostfrk. (*er*) *laift/läfft* ‚läuft‘) oder ‚Dorfgemeinschaft/Einsiedelhof‘ (bei steir. *wisn/wisn-an* ‚Wiesen‘; Tatzreiter 1978) zunächst rein diatopisch, doch durch die sozioökonomischen Unterschiede zwischen Stadt, Dorf und Einsiedelhof erhält er eine diastatische Di-

mension (‚bürgerlich/dörflich/rein bäuerlich‘); dadurch, dass in Städten neuere Ausgleichsdialekte geformt werden, gegenüber denen die Dorfmundarten und erst recht die Mundarten von Einzelgehöften in Streusiedlung archaisch wirken, auch eine diachronische. Dagegen erscheint der Parameter ‚Dialekt/Umgangssprache/Standard‘ zunächst rein diastratisch geschichtet, da er u. a. mit Berufs- und Bildungsgruppen korreliert, doch unter dem Aspekt unterschiedlicher kommunikativer ‚Reichweiten‘ hat er auch eine diatopische Komponente, unter dem Aspekt, dass die Ausbildung großräumigerer Dialektlandschaften auf Kosten der sprachgeographischen Kleinfächerung ein jüngerer Prozess ist, auch eine diachronische. Wenn Wörterbücher z. B. in älteren Auflagen die Pluralformen *Viol-en* oder *Pizza-s* nennen und in jüngeren auch *Viola-s* und *Pizz-en*, so ist damit nicht unbedingt (nur) die Diachronie des Formengebrauchs dokumentiert, sondern daraus möglicherweise (auch oder nur) die lexikographische Praxis ersichtlich, den diastratischen Variantenraum zu vergrößern, hier um das nicht-fachsprachlich-umgangssprachliche *Viola-s* und das schon auf eine stärkere Integration in die entlehrende Sprechergemeinschaftweisende *Pizz-en*.

Ferner sind gruppenspezifische Sprachgebräuche zunächst immer gleichzeitig mit allen möglichen sozialen Merkmalen, welche die Gruppe determinieren, verbunden (‚Alter‘, ‚Schicht‘ und ‚Ethnie‘ etwa bei den „younger working-class African Americans“ bei Wolfram/Schilling-Estes 1998, 240). Situative Faktoren kommen hinzu. So sind etwa nach der Untersuchung von Cheshire (1982) zum vernakularen Englisch von Jugendlichen (Parameter ‚Alter‘) aus Reading (Parameter ‚Ort‘ mit weiteren, z. B. sprachgeographischen oder ökonomischen Implikationen) die weiteren Parameter des ‚Geschlechts‘ (Jungen/Mädchen), der elternhausabhängigen ‚Erzogenheit‘ (‚good/bad‘ boys/girls) und des lokalen bzw. situativen Rahmens der Gespräche (Schule/Spielplatz) immer gleichzeitig an bestimmte sprachliche Merkmale, z. B. die morphologischen Varianten (*we*) *goe-s*, (*you*) *was*, Prät. (*he*) *come* (*yesterday*) usw. gekoppelt, die auch in andern Nichtstandard-Varietäten des Englischen wie dem „Black English“ vorkommen (Fasold 1972; zur phänomenalen Konvergenz unterschiedlicher Varietäten Kap. 3). Diese mehrfache Verschränkung

der diasystematischen Skalen muss man im Auge behalten, wenn man die folgenden Beispiele für morphologische Varianz in ihrer Korrelation mit genuin sozialen oder zu sozialer Geltung umgeformten andern außersprachlichen Variablen betrachtet.

In hohem Maße determinierend sind sprachliche Merkmale im Falle des „Schibboleths“, so wenn an der Form *you’ns* ‚you Pl.‘ die Vernakular-Sprecher Pittsburgs zu erkennen sind (Wolfram/Schilling-Estes 1998, 239), an präfigierten suffixlosen Infinitiven wie (*ich koo’s*) *ge-seh-Ø* ‚(ich kann es) Ø-seh-en‘ und verbalmorphologischen Klammergefügen wie (*der hat’s*) *nei_i-lass_f-fall_i* ‚(er hat es) hineinfallen_i lassen_f‘ Dialekt-sprecher aus Unterfranken, die man wegen dieser Erkennungsmerkmale als *Unter-ge-franken* bzw. mit der morphologischen Spott-Klammerbildung *foto_i-lass_f-grafier_i* ‚fotografieren_i lassen_f‘ neckt (Werner 1994). Suffigiertes Subjektspronomen *-ccu* ‚es‘ statt *-du* im dravid. Kanarese verrät die Angehörigen der nichtbrahmanischen Kaste (Bright/Ramanujan 1964), genusneutrale deparitizipiale Pluralformen wie *Studier-end-e* (statt generisch *Studenten* msk.) die gesellschaftliche Gruppe der (sprach)politisch korrekten Feminist(inn)en. Spielerisch erfundene Verbalsuffixe wie (*wir*) *ess-asler-leb-as* ‚essen/erleben‘ identifizieren den weiblichen Partner in der exklusiven Kommunikation des Liebespaares aus Tucholskys Roma „Schloß Gripsholm“, die morphologischen Eigentümlichkeiten der Briefstellen *should have took[!]*, *yours[!]* and *theirs[!]* *fault*, *cursen[!]* das Verbrecher-Individuum des „Yorkshire Rippers“ unter andern möglichen Tätern (Lewis 1990).

Weniger deterministisch aneinander gekoppelt sind sprachliche Merkmale und außersprachliche Parameter bei den folgenden exemplarischen Fällen von Varianz in der Flexions- oder Wortbildungsmorphologie: Präfix-Existenz/-Absenz bzw. Suffixallomorphie der Varianten *gə-bis-ən/gə-bis-n/gə-bis-ə/Ø-bis-ə* ‚gebissen‘ korreliert mit der Sprachschichtenstratifikation ‚Standard/Umgangssprache/Landmundart‘ im Schwäbischen. *Bett-en/Bett-er*, *ge-bracht/Ø-brong-e* oder *er-zählen/ver-zählen*, *dreck-ig/dreck-et* sind sozio-allomorphische Flexiv- bzw. Derivat-varianten im Diastratum ‚Standarddeutsch/Schwäbisch‘.

Morphologische Stratifikation findet hier im Rahmen von Binnen-Diglossie statt. Bei „dachlosen Außenmundarten“ vergrößert

sich durch den Kontakt heterogenetischer Sprachen die Varianz, wenn z.B. auf der einen Seite das elsässische Standarddeutsch unter Einfluss der heterogenetischen Dachsprache Französisch (*er näherte sich * des Chauffeur-s* Gen. statt Dat.) oder des homogenetischen elsässischen Dialekts (**gutmein-ig* statt *gutmein-end*; *mit Fässer-∅* statt *-n*) gerät (Magenau 1962), auf der anderen Seite das elsässische Standardfranzösisch vom heterogenetischen Deutschen in Form seiner Hochsprache und/oder des elsässischen Dialekts beeinflusst wird (*l'air est *frais* statt *fraich-e*; Wolf 1983). Diastratisch verteilt sind auch fach- und nicht-fachsprachliche morphologische Varianten, so wenn Chemiker von *Aroma-ta*, Bankfachleute von *Kont-i* oder Kunsthistoriker von *Putt-i* sprechen, aber Laien von *Aroma-s*, *Konto-s*, *Putto-s* oder – in diastratischer Zwischenlage – allenfalls von *Arom-en*, *Kont-en*, *Putt-en* Pl., thüringische Bauern mit Bezug auf ‚Flachs-Brechen‘ die PP-Form *ge-brach-t* ‚gebrecht‘ verwenden, ohne diesen fachspezifischen Bezug aber die Normalform *ge-bruch-n* ‚gebrochen‘. Nach Wustmann (1966, 22) sind periphere fremdsprachliche Pluralformen in singularischer Verwendung (*ein Koll-i*) und Hyperplurale daraus (*zwei Koll-i-s*) sprachsoziologisches Statuskennzeichen für ‚Markthelfer‘ und ‚Laufburschen‘. Mediale Schichtung ist zu beobachten, wenn z.B. in geschriebener Sprache (und bei Kenntnis der Ausgangssprachlichen Morphologie) die Sg./Pl.-Alternanten *Rom/Rom-a*, *Sint-ol/Sint-i* und *Talib/Talib-an* gewählt werden, in der gesprochenen (und bei Unkenntnis der Ausgangsformen) dagegen *Roma/Roma-s*, *Sintil/Sinti-s* und *Taliban/Taliban-∅*. Solche binnen- und zwischensprachlichen Interferenzen führen unter normativen Bedingungen zu ‚Fehlern‘, wenn die Variante der einen Varietät in den Gebrauch der anderen gerät. ‚Fehler‘ ist dann nicht nur die L[ow]-Variante in der H[igh]-Varietät (hd. *er *bätt sich sonnabends* mit thür. Verbform), sondern auch die H-Variante in der L-Varietät (thür. *ar *badet siech sunnomds* mit hd. Verbform).

Nicht durch Interferenz, sondern durch Vermeidung morphologischer Schwierigkeiten im Rahmen genereller Spracherwerbsmechanismen (Klein/Dittmar 1979) entstehen Sprachformen wie *wir hab-∅ zwei Kind-∅* ‚wir hab-en zwei Kind-er‘ im sog. ‚Gastarbeiterdeutsch‘, das durch diese Strategie trotz unterschiedlicher Herkunfts-

sprachen seiner Verwender ziemlich einheitlich ist. Eine ähnlich reduzierte Morphologie weist das auf die ‚Gastarbeiter‘ eingestellte Deutsch der Muttersprachler („Foreigner Talk“) auf: *du trink-en gestern zu viel* ‚du ha-st (gestern) zu viel ge-trunken‘. Wenn beim ‚Gastarbeiterdeutsch‘ auch die Zielsprache nicht exportiert wurde und auch nicht als Drittsprache zwischen Sprechergruppen nichtdeutscher Muttersprache entstand, stellt es doch eine ‚Pidgin‘-Sprache im weiteren Sinne dar, da bei ihm (und dem ‚Foreigner Talk‘) universelle Vereinfachungsstrategien zu beobachten sind (Barbour/Stevenson 1998; s. u. Kap. 3 zur phänomenalen Konvergenz unterschiedlicher Varietäten).

Natürliche Sozialstrukturmerkmale mit möglicher Korrelation zu morphologischer Varianz sind ferner ‚Geschlecht‘ und ‚Alter‘. Bei Sexus geht es hier nicht wie in der umfangreichen Literatur zu ‚Frauensprachen‘ (kritisch dazu Glück 1979) um die Referenz morphologischer Marker auf ohnehin sexusrelevante Kategorien wie Genus (it. *sono furios-ol-a* ‚ich bin wütend‘ m./f.), sondern darum, wie das natürliche Geschlecht der Sprecher mit ändern als sexus/genus-relevanten Kategorien, etwa der Pluralbildung, korreliert. So wiesen Puristen auf die Vorliebe von Mädchen für grundformflektierenden *s*-Plural von Fremdwörtern (*Villa-s*) und auf die von Jungen bevorzugte Stammflexion mit Alternation von fremdsprachlichem Nennformensuffix und nehmersprachlichem *en*-Plural (*Vill-en*) hin (nach Rettig 1972, 102). Allerdings wirkt der Faktor ‚Geschlecht‘ hier nur indirekt, da die morphologische Variation nicht an diesen biologischen Parameter an sich gekoppelt ist, sondern geschlechtsspezifisch nur die gesellschaftlich präferierte Wahl von sprachbautypologisch unterschiedlichen Fremdsprachen war: Französisch (mit agglutinierendem *-s*) bei Mädchen, Latein (mit Suffixalternation) bei Jungen. Variation wie bei *d-aus-t-n/dr-aus-n* ‚draußen‘ (lokalsemantische Affixmorphologie) oder *Biar-∅/Bear-n* ‚Birne‘ (Stammbildung) im österreichischen Deutsch (Muhr 1981) sind generationenbedingt (‚Ältere/Jüngere‘). Daran, dass die Sprache der Jüngeren (Kriterium ‚Alter‘) gleichzeitig die der Berufspendler ist (sozioökonomisches Kriterium), sieht man wieder die Verquickung sozialer Parameter. Was hier als diachrone Entwicklung erscheint, ist aus einer synchronen diastratischen Variation hervorgegangen, wie sie etwa in der Rede

des „Ribbeck auf Ribbeck im Havelland“ (Fontane) belegt ist („platt“ *wiste 'ne Beer-Ø* ‚willst du eine Birne?‘ vs. ugs. *ick hebb 'ne Bir-n* ‚ich habe eine Birne‘) und die stets den Keim zum sprachlichen Wandel in sich trägt. Ebenfalls nur soziolinguistisch zu erklären ist der morphologische Wandel (besser: „Wechsel“; s. o.) von unpräfigiertem PP, das im Ostfälischen um 1880 weit verbreitet war und je nach Ort und Verb mehr oder weniger mit *e*-Präfix variierte (*Ø-bliebenle-blieben* ‚geblieben‘), zu durchgehend mit *e*-präfigiertem PP um 1990 (Stellmacher/Föllner 1995). Das Beispiel zeigt, dass „Dialektabbau“ nicht zwangsläufig in der Standardvariante endet, sondern auch eine regionale Substandardform verallgemeinert werden kann, wenn sie Prestige hat. Über regionalen Dialekten und Umgangssprachen liegen die diatopischen Varietäten der Standardsprache. Je größer Standardsprachräume sind, desto wahrscheinlicher sind sie „polyzentrisch“ und weisen geographische, im Deutschen z. B. Nord/Süd-Varianten auf (Pl.-Varianz *Kragen/Krägen*, Stammbildungs-/Genusunterschied *die Back-e / der Back-en*), die nicht allein diatopisch, sondern dann, wenn Sprachlandschaften unterschiedliches Ansehen genießen, auch diastatisch bewertet werden (Hundt 1992). Nach dem im deutschen Sprachraum herrschenden Vorurteilsgefälle werden überwiegend die oberdeutschen (südlichen) Varianten als „Abweichungen“ markiert, die aber, wenn sie sich mit Identitätsfaktoren wie ‚nationaler Geltung‘ decken, von der betreffenden Sprachgruppe positiv bewertet sein können (z. B. „österreichisches Deutsch“ mit Formvarianten wie Pl. *Scheit-er*, fugenlose Komposition *Blas-Ø-balg*, PP *Ø-lassen* statt *Scheit-e*, *Blas-e-balg*, *ge-lassen*; Tatzreiter 1988). Andere Beispiele für polyzentrisch verteilte Sozio-Allomorphie von Standardsprachen sind flexivische Varianten des amerikanischen/britischen Englisch wie bei *the team washwere winning* oder innerdeutsche Ost/West-Unterschiede in Derivation (*Plast-el/Plast-ik*) oder bei Stamm- (und Plural-) Bildung, wo sich z. B. die im Osten stärker alltagssprachlich gewordene Variante *Datsch-e* (Pl. *Datsch-e-n*) und die im Westen eher fremd gebliebene Variante *Datsch-a* (Pl. *Datsch-a-s*) gegenüberstehen. Mit religiösen Variablen decken sich sprachgeographische bei der historischen Auseinandersetzung zwischen dem katholischen Südosten des deutschen Sprachgebiets und dem protestantischen ostmittel-

deutschen Raum um das ‚richtige‘ Hochdeutsch (Eichinger 1983) oder beim Kampf um das sog. „lutherische *-e*“ in allen möglichen morphologischen Bereichen (Kluge 1904): Subst. Pl. *Leut(-e)*, nominale Stammbildung bei Subst. *Seel(-e)* und Adj. *schön(-e)*, Personalflexion (*ich*) *lass(-e)*. Religiöse oder konfessionelle Varietäten treten aber auch syntopisch auf. So hat Robert Hinderling im Kontaktgebiet des protestantischen Ostfranken und der katholischen altbayerischen Oberpfalz „Konfessiolekte“ beobachtet, die sich auch morphologisch äußern: *Kerch-es-tirm/Kirch-tirm* ‚Kirchtürme‘ mit/ohne Fugenmorphem, (*die*) *Schmitt / (d') Schmitt-n* ‚die Schmiede‘ ohne/mit Stammbildungssuffix, (*ihr*) *kumm-t / (enk) kumm-ts* ‚ihr kommt‘ mit unterschiedlichem Personalflexiv. Sie treten formal als ostfränkisch-nordbairische Variation in Erscheinung, sind aber hier nicht diatopisch gestaffelt, sondern innerörtlich geschichtet und korrelieren mit der Variable ‚evangelisch/katholisch‘. In Iranisch Aserbeidschan und Kurdistan treten in der Verbmorphologie Unterschiede zwischen koterritorialen neu-aramäischen Diasporadialekten von Christen und Juden auf, während es weder beim Diasporadialekt der Christen noch bei dem der Juden größere regionale Unterschiede zwischen den z. T. weit voneinander siedelnden Angehörigen ein und derselbe religiösen Gruppe gibt (vgl. Jastrow 1997, 348).

3. „Natürliche“ Sozio-Morphologie: Zum Verhältnis von systemischer und sozialer Markiertheit

Es fehlt nicht an Versuchen, Beziehungen zwischen morphologischer Komplexität/Einfachheit bzw. Markiertheit/Natürlichkeit einerseits und sozialem Status der Varietäten mit ihren morphologischen Varianten andererseits herzustellen. Weit verbreitet ist die pauschale Qualifizierung, dass L-Varietäten „einfacher“, in ihrer Komplexität reduzierter, in ihren Formen „regelmäßiger“, dem Sprachbautyp nach eher analytisch und isolierend und in ihren Ausdrucksmitteln bis hin zu „Defiziten“ beschränkt („restricted“) seien, die H-Varietäten dagegen komplexer, konservativer im – stark normbedingten – Festhalten an „Unregelmäßigkeiten“, typologisch eher synthetisch und (intro)flektierend und in ihren Ausdrucksmitteln stärker ausgebaut („ela-

borated“). Neben dieses statische Verteilungsbild treten entsprechende Vorstellungen von den diachronischen Beziehungen zwischen den beteiligten Varietäten (von der „Entstehung“ der einen aus der andern oder den Entwicklungen, die bei Sprachkontakt in Gang kommen usw.) und dem sozialen Rahmen dafür. Stichwörter wären hier etwa die Einschätzungen von L-Varietäten als aus den H-Varietäten nieder „gesunkenem Kulturgut“ oder die Abschätzigkeit, die in der Qualifizierung von Varianten als „Pidgins“ liegt. Zwar bringt der Typ von Kontakt- und Spracherwerbssituation, wie er bei Pidgins, modernen Migrantenvarietäten wie dem Gastarbeiterdeutsch oder dem sich darauf einstellenden Foreigner Talk von Muttersprachlern gegeben ist, morphologische „Vereinfachungs“-Prozesse hervor: polymorphe Wörter werden zu Ketten monomorpher Wörter; flexivische Kategorien und mit ihnen ihre morphologischen Marker gehen aus semantischen Gründen verloren, weil bei ihrem Hören keine „Bedeutungserlebnisse“ gemacht werden (s. o.) oder der Kategorienverlust angesichts schwieriger Morphologie als kleineres Übel hingenommen wird (Kategorien der rein syntaktischen Organisation wie Kasus werden eher aufgegeben als semantische wie Plural; Orlovic-Schwarzwald 1979); flexivische Marker und mit ihnen die durch sie symbolisierten Kategorien werden aus lautlichen Gründen, oft durch phonotaktische Elisionsprozesse, getilgt; Allomorphie wird reduziert usw. Auch kann es durch Entwicklungen in L-Varietäten zu regelmäßigeren Strukturen als in den entsprechenden homogenetischen H-Varietäten kommen: etwa Aufhebung des „Rückumlauts“ bei ostfrk. *ge-kenn-t*, *ge-kann-t*; Übertritte in die regelmäßige Flexion der „schwachen“ Verben bei ostfrk. *angfang-t* ‚angefang-en‘; im Nichtstandard-Englischen Flexivschwund bei (*he*) *run-Ø*, *run-s*‘ oder Suffixgenese bei (*it's*) *mine-s* ‚mine‘ jeweils als analogische Regularisierung nach dem Rest des Paradigmas; *mach-t-e Bogen* (analytische Konstruktion mit regelmäßigem Präteritum) als Schülerstrategie zur Vermeidung des fehlerträchtigen unregelmäßigen synthetischen Präteritums *bog*.

Doch lassen sich umgekehrt in L-Varietäten auch Erscheinungen reicherer und komplizierterer Morphologie als in H-Varietäten finden: dial. *frägtlfrug* mit Introflexion statt hd. *fragtlfrage* mit rein agglutinierenden

Markern; *hat-ər-ər-3-n* (*gab'm*) mit beinahe suffixischer Agglutination enklitischer Funktionswörter ans Verb statt *hat er ihr es denn* (*gegeben*) mit syntaktischer Reihung; (*die hat*) *miss-Ø sitz-n bleib-e* mit Formverschiedenheit drei funktionell unterschiedlicher infinitiver Verbformen gegenüber einheitlich suffigiertem (*sie hat*) *sitz-en bleib-en muss-en*; (*he was*) *a-hunting* mit *a*-Präfix für die im appalaach. Englisch generierte morphosemantische Kategorie ‚ongoing action‘, die dem Standard fehlt usw.

Eine Quelle ‚höherer‘ und sozial höher bewerteter Komplexität der H-Varietäten wird darin gesehen, dass diese unter stärkerem Normzwang Unregelmäßigkeiten konservierten, wo L-Varietäten morphologischen Vereinfachungstendenzen eher nachgäben und deshalb sozial auch als ‚einfältiger‘ bewertet würden: *kennen/gekann* in H vs. *kennen/gekennt* in L. Doch konservieren die H-Varietäten unter Normzwang natürlich auch Regelmäßigkeiten, wo L-Varietäten morphologischen Irregularisierungstendenzen bereitwilliger nachgeben: *fragen/fragte* in H vs. *fragen/frug* in L.

Es liegen also keine Eins-zu-eins-Beziehungen zwischen morphologischer und sozialer Markiertheit vor, soziale Markiertheitswerte stellen vielmehr ein eigenes außersprachliches Bewertungssystem dar. Dass einmal komplexere Formen sozial höher bewertet werden, ein andermal einfachere, ist der beste Beweis dafür, dass Varietäten nach dem Ansehen ihrer Sprecher oder nach sonstigen sozialpsychologischen Faktoren und nicht nach Kriterien irgendwelcher sprachlicher ‚Güte‘ hierarchisiert werden. So bewerten Sprachhüter einmal den allomorphischen Auxiliar-‚Reichtum‘ *shall/will* im Standardenglisch höher als die Einheitsform *will* im Substandard, ein andermal die morphosemantische ‚Armut‘ von H beim Pronomen *you* höher als die Numerusdifferenzierung bei *you/you-s* Sg./Pl. in L (Milroy/Milroy 1987, 14).

Es gibt sogar ernsthafte Argumente dafür, dass „kleinere Sprachen“, d. h. Varietäten kleinerer sozialer Gruppen, eine kompliziertere Morphologie tolerieren (Braunmüller 1984) und gerade Ausgleichssprachen, im Extremfall Plansprachen wie das Esperanto, zu stärkerer morphologischer Vereinfachung tendieren. Hieraus kann man ableiten, dass bei Natürlichkeitskonflikten zwischen Phonologie und Morphologie die Sprecher von kleineren und oft auch isolier-

ten (kontaktarmen) Varietäten eher Prozesse der lautlichen Natürlichkeit zulassen und dadurch morphologische Irregularisierung hinnehmen, während die Sprecher von größeren, kontakt- und ausgleichsfreudigeren Varietäten auf eine einfachere, zumindest eine von lautlichen Störungen nicht opak gemachte Morphologie achten. Z.B. werden im Standarddeutschen Verschmelzungsprozesse von Stammauslaut- und Suffixkonsonant nur toleriert, wenn der damit verbundene Ikonitätsverlust durch Stammvokalwechsel kompensiert werden kann (*halt-en* / **hält-t* = *hält*, aber *meld-en* / **meld-t* > *meld-et*), während im thür. Substandard auch die phonotaktische Verschmelzung **meld-t* = *melt* hingenommen wird (Harnisch 1998).

Zu diesen Befunden passt, dass im Pidgin-Stadium, einer ausgeprägt auf Ausgleich gerichteten Kontaktsituation, Morphologie vereinfacht wird, während in der Kreolisierung, einer Phase der Systemkonsolidierung nach innen, morphologische Komplexität wiederaufgebaut wird (Lüdtke 1988, 1640). An rein sprachliche Struktureigenschaften wie – unter anderm – morphologische Regelmäßigkeit („grammatische Stromlinienförmigkeit“ bei Markey 1987; kritisch dazu Eichinger 1989) sind in sprachdarwinistischer Weise sogar verschiedentlich die Überlebenschancen von Sprachen/Varietäten geknüpft worden. Andererseits sind Regularisierungsprozesse wie „reduction of allomorphy“ oder „levelling of paradigms“, die nach obiger Ansicht das Überleben gerade gewährleisten müssten, als Begleiterscheinungen und/oder Folgen des Sprachtodesprozesses dargestellt und negativ als „loss in morphology“ bezeichnet worden (Grinevald Craig 1997). Morphologische Auf- und Abbauvorgänge können also phänomenal gleich oder sehr ähnlich aussehen, aber in ganz unterschiedlichen kausalen Zusammenhängen stehen. So kann morphologische Einfachheit dazu beitragen, Varietäten zu Ausgleichssprachen mit großer kommunikativer Reichweite und guter Erlernbarkeit für viele Sprecher zu machen, aber auch, sie zur kommunikativen Funktionsuntüchtigkeit verkümmern zu lassen oder in ihren Domänen massiv zu beschränken. Wenn es auch schwer zu bestimmen sein mag, was Ursache und was Wirkung morphologischer Wandel- und Wechselprozesse ist, stellen doch rein strukturelle sprachliche Systemeigenschaften, darunter morphologi-

sche, kaum den alleinigen Grund für den Erfolg oder Misserfolg einer Varietät im sprachlichen Konkurrenzkampf dar.

Im Kräftefeld aus inner- und außersprachlichen Faktoren einer variationistischen und diachronischen Morphologie bietet natürlicher grammatischer Wandel in der Morphologie, der in Form von universellen morphologischen Präferenzen eher Regularisierung fördert, in Form von einzelsprachbezogener morphologischer Systemangemessenheit auch Irregularisierung bewirken kann und der bei Störung durch natürliche lautliche Prozesse oft zu morphologischer Unregelmäßigkeit führt, ständig neue morphologische Varianten an. Über die Annahme oder Ablehnung des einen oder andern Angebots in dieser oder jener Varietät entscheiden dann jedoch Faktoren wie die kommunikative Funktion (größere/kleinere, offener/isoliertere, eher ausgleichende/selbstbeschränkte Varietät), das Ansehen der Varietäten (Prestige/Stigma statt Äquivalenz) und andere außersprachliche Kräfte, v. a. die sprachliche Norm („richtig/falsch“ statt „so/anders“). Anhand von Schwankungen zwischen starker und schwacher Flexion bei deutschen Verben und Adjektiven haben u. a. Theobald (1992) und Voeste (1999) nachgewiesen, dass sich morphologische (Teil-)Systeme nur verändern können, wenn sich die Norm ändert. Auf sie nehmen normative Instanzen, die von der publizistischen Sprachkritik über privat- oder öffentlich-rechtliche Einrichtungen bis zu Sprachwissenschaftlern reichen, starken Einfluss. Letztere sind oft geneigt, über die Zulässigkeit von Veränderungen und deren normative Kodifizierung nach dem Maßstab zu entscheiden, ob dieser Wandel „im System angelegt“ oder auf sonst eine Weise „natürlich“ bedingt ist. So würden sie anders als manche Sprachkritiker den Sprechern nicht nur erlauben, analog zu den Modalverben „*brauchen* ohne *zu* zu gebrauchen“ (syntaktischer Wandel), sondern auch ohne Flexiv der 3. Pers. Sg. (*sie brauch-Ø nicht Ø kommen* wie *sie muss-Ø nicht Ø kommen*) und mit Umlaut im Konj. Prät. (*er bräuchte* wie *er müsste*). Solche Positionen (z. B. Oksaar 1968) sind, nicht zuletzt wegen ihrer Abhängigkeit von bestimmten systemlinguistischen Theorien wie der über den „natürlichen grammatischen Wandel“ (Wurzel 1987), nicht unproblematisch und wurden von soziolinguistischer Seite entsprechend angegriffen (Schröder 1979).

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66. Lexicon/Lexikon

1. Words and language
2. Lexis and language variation
3. Lexical engineering
4. Lexicon and ethnicity
5. Diglossia and bilingualism
6. Interactional sociolinguistics
7. Conclusion
8. Literature (selected)

1. Words and language

1.1. *Lexicon* is a Greek word meaning ‘dictionary’. It is the term used by linguists to refer to those aspects of a language which relate to words, otherwise known as its lexical aspects. *Lexicon* is based on the term *lexis*, whose Greek meaning is ‘word’, but which is used as a collective expression in linguistic terminology in the sense of ‘vocabulary’. The study of lexis and the lexicon is called *lexicology*.

The specialist study of language has always been highly word-centred. In phonology, one of the tests for phonemic distinctions is that of lexical differentiation – that is, whether a particular sound distinction differentiates between words (as in English *pan/ban*, *rub/rum*, *lazellate*, etc.). In grammar, the distinction between syntax and morphology is lexically based. Thus, the term *syntax* denotes regularities observable in the combination of sentence components (and the study of such regularities), and

these components are largely identifiable as words and groups of words. The term *morphology* denotes the internal structure of words (and the study thereof). Semantics is also much bound up with words. Although its scope extends beyond the limits of the lexicon, word meaning has always been the starting point for semantic study.

Awareness of words is not confined to literate societies or individuals. When Sapir was working with Native Americans in the early part of the last century, he found that, although his informants were illiterate, they had no serious difficulty in dictating a text to him word by word, and that they were also capable of isolating individual words and repeating them as units (see Sapir 1921, 33–34). Young children also have an awareness of words, correcting themselves when they make errors with words before they start self-correcting in the area of sentence construction (see, e.g., Brédart/Rondal 1982, 29–33).

1.2. Central though the word concept may be, defining this concept poses problems (see, e.g., Ullmann 1962; Lyons 1968; Cruse 1986; Carter 1998). In terms of counting words in a text, taking actual occurrences of items – word *tokens* – as the basis of a count yields a different result from taking word *types* – items with different identities. In another

sense of word, one can think of the word as a 'family' of related forms (e.g. *sing, sings, singing, sang, sung*) or as an abstract unit which is realized by one or other of these forms as the linguistic environment demands. Words can also be seen in different perspectives according to the level of linguistic classification being applied. Thus a given word may be analysed phonologically as a sequence of phonemes, orthographically as a series of letters, grammatically as a syntactic category, and semantically in terms of its meaning components and relations. In the light of the foregoing, it is not surprising that linguists' attempts to provide a general characterization of the word have explored a wide range of possible defining properties.

An orthographic definition of the word would characterize it as a collection of letters or characters bounded on either side by a blank space. This works up to a point for languages using alphabetic writing systems, but not for languages (like Chinese and Japanese) whose writing systems do not consistently mark word boundaries, or for language varieties which rarely appear in written form (e.g. local varieties of Colloquial Arabic) or which have never been written down (e.g. many of the indigenous languages of the Americas). Defining words in terms of letter-sequences and spaces is a form-oriented exercise which takes no account of more abstract conceptions of the word.

Other form-oriented approaches focus on the spoken medium. One of these suggests that words are identifiable in terms of general phonetic features such as pauses. However, individual words can rarely be pinpointed physically in the flow of speech, in which pauses are relatively rare. Pausing is possible between words, and field linguists can make use of the 'potential pause' criterion when gathering data – as Sapir did (see above) – but, since speakers do not normally pause between words, this criterion has limited value. Another approach defines words phonologically – i.e. on the basis of their characteristics in particular sound systems. This also has its limits. For example, using the phenomenon of word stress (in respect, e.g., of English) as a criterial feature would run into the problem that many words typically do not take stress – e.g. *and, but, by, if, the*, etc. – and that often only one main stress is applied to an entire group of words, e.g. *feel good factor*.

Nor can words be defined as basic units of meaning. While some individual units of meaning are expressed in single, simple words – *door, fast, see*, etc. – there are units below the level of the word which function as semantic units. For example, the word *unwise-ly* has the word *wise* as its core but also contains two non-word elements (*un-* and *-ly*) which are vital to its meaning. The characterization of the word that seems to be least problematic is that which defines words in grammatical terms using the criteria of 'positional mobility' and 'internal stability'. Words are said to be 'positionally mobile' in the sense that they are not fixed to specific places in a sentence. 'Internal stability' refers to the fact that within words the order of constituent elements remains consistent. Defining the word in such terms works relatively well across languages.

1.3. Defining the lexicon is a task which goes well beyond that of defining the word. Just as in any practical dictionary the material provided under each entry contains far more than a mere specification of form and meaning – including inter alia grammatical information, geographical information (American English, British English, etc.), and stylistic information (formal, colloquial, etc.) – so the lexicon of any language must consist of a great deal more than just an inventory of forms and meanings.

The reason for this is that the use of any given word takes account of and has repercussions for a variety of dimensions of the linguistic environment. At the grammatical level, the choice of one word or another may have predictable syntactic consequences. For example, the choice of the verb *forbid* requires the subsequent structure *to* + BASE FORM OF VERB (e.g. *We are forbidden to smoke*), whereas the choice of *prohibit* requires the structure *from* + GERUNDIVE (e.g. *We are prohibited from smoking*). However, the lexicon interacts with much more than just grammar (cf. Singleton 2000). In particular it is a locus of language variability.

2. Lexis and language variation

2.1. We have seen that words loom large in the popular conception of language. They also play a major role in the general view of how languages are differentiated from each other. This is particularly true perhaps when languages are close to each other, as in the

case of Standard Swedish and Standard Danish which – despite many similarities – are readily distinguishable in terms of the fact that, for example, whereas in the former *två* is used for ‘two’, in the latter the word used is *to*. We find a similar situation with respect to pairs in Castilian (Standard Spanish) and Catalan, respectively, as in *ciudad* vs. *ciutat* ‘city’, *descuento* vs. *descompte* ‘discount’, *mas* vs. *més* ‘more’, and *tambien* vs. *també* ‘also’.

The same point holds true for variation *within languages*. For example, the difference between varieties of English used in Britain and varieties of English used in the United States is to a large extent seen in terms of lexical differences such as the following as in the British and American pairs *nappy/diaper*, *tap/faucet*, *petroll/gasoline*, and *boot* (of a car)/*trunk*.

This is of course a simplification. Linguistic varieties are not necessarily characterized by the absolute presence or the absolute absence of a particular word or form of a word. For example, whereas a lexical difference between American English and British English is supposed to be that the Americans use *apartment* for what the British call a *flat*, in fact, the term *flat* is used by many speakers of American English (especially in the North, North Midlands, and Pacific regions – see Cassidy/Hall 1991, 465), and the term *apartment* is frequently used by speakers of British English. Neither is it true that particular morphological patterns which are supposed to be ‘American’ are in fact limited to American usage; for example, *snuck* (as the preterite form of *sneak*) and *gotten* (as the past participle of *get*) are certainly not confined to North American English.

Similarly, it is a cliché to say that the number system operates differently in Belgian and Swiss French from the way in which it operates in the French of France. In France the expressions used for ‘seventy’, ‘eighty’, and ‘ninety’ are, respectively, *soixante-dix* (literally ‘sixty-ten’), *quatre-vingts* (literally ‘four-twenties’), and *quatre-vingt-dix* (literally ‘four-twenty-ten’). In Belgium and Switzerland, on the other hand, the comparable words are, respectively, *septante*, *huitante* (or *octante*), and *nonante* (Walter 1988, 265). However, in fact, (a) many Belgian and Swiss Francophones use the term *quatre-vingts* and (b) the use of the terms *septante*, *huitante/octante*, and *nonante* is not absolutely restricted to Belgium and

Switzerland; these latter terms are also used by some speakers in parts of eastern France, though ‘confined’, as Ewert (1966, 148) loftily remarks, ‘to patois’. With regard to lexis as with regard to other variables, any designation of a particular variety by reference to national borders is at best rough and ready, at worst misleading. By way of further illustration, let us take the case of equivalents for British *motorway* used in the United States: in California the relevant term is *freeway*; in New York, on the other hand, the word *thruway* is used, in New Jersey *parkway*, and in other areas *expressway* or *turnpike* (Fromkin/Rodman 1997, 404). Actually, even designating usage in terms of regional or state boundaries is only a crude approximation, since the deployment of the items concerned will vary to a considerable extent within the areas in question.

2.2. Among speakers of ‘the same language’ a particularly problematic aspect of lexical variation in communicative terms is the existence of ‘false friends’ – words which seem to be identical across varieties but which differ semantically. The metaphorical use of the expression *pissed* is a case in point. In colloquial British English *I’m really pissed* means ‘I’m really drunk’; in American English, however, it means ‘I’m very annoyed’ (which British English speakers can express by adding *off*: *I’m really pissed off*). A British English speaker buying a small item – e.g. a card – in America may also be surprised to be asked ‘*Do you want a sack for that?*’; the word *sack*, which in some varieties of American English can be applied to bags of any description, is in British English applied only to very large bags – such as those used for coal or fertilizer. Similar cases are those of *subway* (American: ‘underground passenger train’; British: ‘pedestrian underpass’), *suspenders* (American: ‘fastening for holding up trousers’; British: ‘fastening for holding up stockings’), and *vest* (American: ‘close-fitting waist-length garment worn over the shirt and under the jacket’; British: ‘undergarment worn on the upper part of the body’).

Numerous further instances of such false friends can be found if one compares Castilian with Latin American Spanish. For instance, the word *carro*, which in Castilian means ‘cart’ or ‘wagon’, also means ‘car’ in America (= Castilian *coche*); the word *est-ampilla*, which in Castilian means ‘rubber

stamp', is also used in Latin America for 'postage stamp' (= Castilian *sello*); and the word *coger*, which in Castilian has the meaning 'to take hold of', in Latin America is a slang word for 'to have sex with' (= Castilian *joder*).

2.3. So far we have been focusing on geographically related lexical variation. Socially related lexical variation is for obvious reasons a more sensitive matter. One early attempt to analyse lexical usage in social terms was immediately put at the service of elitist attitudes and became widely known outside linguistic science. This was the (largely impressionistic) work of the English linguist Ross (Ross 1954), which set out to isolate markers of upper-class ('U') and non-upper-class ('non-U') use of language – especially of lexis. For example, in the U/non-U scheme of things, the first words in each pair are supposedly 'U', while the second words are their 'non-U' equivalents: *bicycle* or *bikel cycle*; *looking glass/mirror*; *lavatory/toilet*; *scent/perfume*; *pudding/sweet*. Interestingly, the so-called 'U' variants in many cases precisely coincide with the variants used in working-class circles at the time of the appearance of Ross's article.

An even earlier (and more scientific) attempt to examine the relationship between language and social class was Fries's (1940) comparison of a number of aspects of the language used in letters on similar topics sent to the same destination by lower working class and professional correspondents (see discussion in Robinson 1972, 150–154). Among the lexical differences that emerged from Fries's work were the following: (a) the professional subjects in the study tended to use intensifiers ending in *-ly* (as in *awfully difficult*), whereas the more common intensifiers used by the working class subjects were items like *awful*, *mighty*, *pretty*, *real*, *right*; (b) the professional subjects used a single form *you*, whereas the working class subjects often used forms such as *youse*, *you all*, *you people* to indicate plurality; and (c) the working class subjects often used double prepositions such as *off from*, whereas the professional subjects tended not to use such forms.

Another early study from the 1950s (again discussed by Robinson 1972, 150–154), found that on being interviewed about a tornado in Arkansas, working class speakers, unlike middle-class speakers, used *we*, *they*,

and persons' names (without further explanation), and used expressions like *and stuff like that* instead of going into detail.

The relationship between lexical use and social class was later explored in the context of Bernstein's research into 'restricted code' and 'elaborated code' (see, e.g., Bernstein 1961). Restricted code, according to Bernstein, is the code of intimacy, the code in circumstances where much can be communicated without the need for explicitness because of shared information and shared expectations, whereas elaborated code is used in situations where explicit contextualization is required. Bernstein contended that while all users of a language have access to restricted code, lower working class speakers have little experience of elaborated code. With regard to the lexicon, what Bernstein essentially claimed was that lower working class language users produce fewer conjunctions, adjectives, and adverbs than middle class language users, and in fact some studies appear to show that this is the case (Bernstein 1962; Lawton 1968; Robinson 1965). However, Bernstein's claims and his interpretation of what he saw as supportive evidence has been challenged on both empirical and methodological grounds by Labov (1969; 1972a;b), Coulthard (1969), Rosen (1972), and others. Whether or not it is true that different social groups have different vocabulary sizes and/or lexical strengths and weaknesses in different grammatical classes remains an open question.

2.4. Gender-related lexical variation may in some cases be very clear. Thus, in Gros Ventre, a Native American language, words which male speakers pronounce with a /dj/ sound are pronounced by women with a /kj/ sound; and in Japanese female speakers indicate their gender by using the particles *ne* or *wa* at the end of sentences they produce (for further discussion of these and other examples, see Wardaugh 1998: Chapter 13). In other cases the differences between male and female speech are subtler. With regard to English, for example, the differences are often said to relate to the tendency of female language use to be closer to the 'prestige variety' than male language use; explanations for this tendency are complex, however, and lie outside the scope of this discussion.

A test case for 'good behaviour' among women as far as language is concerned is that

of 'swear-words'. Historically, in English at least, the use of taboo words was regarded as a largely male preserve. Queen Elizabeth I of England was depicted as having 'sworn like a man' (Shirley 1979, 10 – cited by Hughes 1998, 103). This implies that in Renaissance England – at least in well-to-do circles – swearing was associated more with men than with women, although it also implies that individual women refused to be bound by this convention. In seventeenth century England the association between maleness and swearing was still apparently in place. Defoe wrote in 1697 that '[t]he Grace of Swearing has not obtain'd to be a Mode yet among the Women; does not sit well upon a Female Tongue; it seems to be a Masculine Vice' (cited by Hughes, 1998, 209). To bring the discussion a little closer to our own times Lakoff claimed in 1975 that '[i]f a little girl "talks rough" like a boy, she will be ostracized, scolded or made fun of' (Lakoff, 1975, 5). She provided the examples (a) *Oh dear, you've put the peanut butter in the refrigerator again* and (b) *Shit, you've put the peanut butter in the refrigerator again*, predicting that people would classify (a) as 'women's language' and (b) as 'men's language' (Lakoff 1975, 10). Later research (see, for example, de Klerk 1992) has, however, challenged Lakoff's generalization, and shown that much more research is needed on quantitative, qualitative, and psycholinguistic aspects of gender and taboo language use.

Lakoff also claimed that some other words are more frequently used by women than by men. For example, she maintained that certain colour words such as *aquamarine*, *chartreuse*, *lavender*, and *magenta* were more likely to be produced by women than by men, and that the same applied to adjectives such as *adorable*, *divine*, and *precious*. Cook, who tends on the whole to be somewhat dismissive of such differences, nevertheless found in an informal survey that 90% of his 48 respondents identified expressions such as *absolutely gorgeous* and *it's nice, isn't it?* as coming from female speakers (Cook 1997, 160).

3. Lexical engineering

3.1. A further aspect of the gender issue in relation to the lexicon is the way in which attempts have been made to change aspects of lexical usage which are perceived as sex-

ist. Such attempts have also been made in respect of racist, classist, and ageist usages and in respect of the lexicalization of sexual orientation and mental and physical handicap. The focus in what follows is largely on gender-related 'lexical engineering' but it can be taken that endeavours in other areas follow a similar pattern.

A large number of expressions have been identified by feminists as demeaning to women. Such terms are said to insult women by dehumanising them (comparing them to other species, e.g. *bird*, *chick*), diminishing them (implying they are immature, e.g. *girl*; comparing them to small creatures, e.g. *wren*; or representing them via diminutives, e.g. *popsy*), or by classifying them in male terms (representing them as non-males, as in *chapess*). The feminist view of such expressions is that they should simply be expunged as ways of referring to women, and this view has been seen to prevail in many parts of the world, at least as far as discourse with any kind of public dimension is concerned.

Feminists also object to the fact that certain professional functions have traditionally been designated by terms which imply male incumbency, e.g. *chairman*, *salesman*, etc. In this case there seem to be two options: to create 'female versions' of the words in question – *chairwoman*, *saleswoman*, etc., or to create gender-neutral versions of such items – *chair(person)*, *salesperson*, etc. In English, both strategies have been implemented to some extent, although the latter strategy has tended to predominate.

There is sometimes a gap between the perceptions of those who wish to modify the lexicon and those of the groups to whom the purportedly offensive terms are applied. For example, the 'politically correct' expression *hearing-impaired* is totally rejected by large numbers of deaf people, who dislike the implicit 'medicalization' of their situation; they prefer to identify themselves as the Deaf (the capital D making the point that they constitute a culture). Even the status of an apparently clearly racist term like *nigger* is not necessarily as straightforward as it might appear. As Cook (1997, 244–246) notes, 'the solidarity principle asserts itself and these discriminatory terms become signs of group membership' to the point where a group 'may wear the detested term with pride as a badge of identity'. In support of his point he cites the Black rap group who

call themselves *Niggas with Attitude* and the Mikey Smith poem 'Nigger Talk' (see also Baugh 1999, 86–98). Though semantic inversion is a well-known part of African American Vernacular English (Holt 1972), a similar principle can be seen in the 'Queer' cultural movement: whereas *queer* has been used as an anti-homosexual term of abuse, the conscious adoption of the term by those involved in the language and culture of homosexuality (see Hall/Livia 1997 on language) demonstrates another example of inversion for in-group solidarity. Ultimately, of course, the crucial question in relation to conscious attempts to address what are perceived as socio-politically undesirable features of the lexicon is how far such attempts can of themselves substantially change attitudes.

4. Lexicon and ethnicity

4.1. *Ethnolects*, or varieties of language associated with particular ethnic groups, are typically defined on grounds which may be phonological, syntactic, discursal, or lexical: definitions are often made on a combination of these and other factors. A complex of varieties such as African American English cannot be treated in any detail here (see Kochman 1972; Dundes 1981; Smitherman 1994; Lanehart 2001 for relevant discussion), but it includes at least three significant lexical trends: (1) what Spears (1982, 850) refers to as *camouflaged forms*, in which the same item is used by different language varieties (possibly including the so-called 'standard') but in semantically distinct ways, (2) coinages, extensions, inversions, and other developments which yield new lexical items not found in other varieties of English (unless, of course, borrowed into them subsequently), and (3) retentions from African languages. The first category includes such items as *steady*, an aspectual marker denoting that the action of the following verb is 'intense, consistent, and continuous' (Baugh 1999, 104), not to be equated with 'standard' English *steadily* or the adjective *steady*. Examples of the second type are voluminous, and come from a variety of cultural and slang uses (see Major 1994; on slang generally, see below). As a case study, we note Morgan's (2001) work on the lexicon of the Hip Hop musical subculture, which relies on semantic inversion and extension in order to give radically different meanings to words

found in 'standard' English (e.g. *wack* 'unbelievably inept, inadequate, and deficient' from *wacky* and *ill* for 'extremely positive') and to create new words such as *dis* 'reject, ignore and embarrass' (cf. *disrespect*, *dispose*, *disdain*); *mackadocious* referring to 'power to control', and *gaffle* 'harassment by the police'. The African element in the African-American English lexicon has long been a subject of discussion and controversy (see Mufwene 1993), but as Holloway and Vass (1993) demonstrate, African etymologies can be demonstrated for a wide range of personal and placenames as well as elements of the general lexicon of African American English. These words range from those which have become well-known in general American or world English (e.g. *chigger* < Wolof *jiga* 'insect, sand flea', *goober* < Bantu *nguba* 'peanut', *banjo* < Kimbundu *mbanzo*) to those which remain more specifically ethnicized and, in some cases, localised (e.g. *jenk* < Bantu *njika* 'reserve, reticence, inhibition'. "*To spread my jenk*": 'relax, have a goodtime'.)

4.2. To the extent that members of different ethnic groups speak different languages, ethnolectal variation is often related to bilingualism, which will be discussed below. It is, however, frequently the case that lexical items are associated with particular ethnic groups even when the languages from which these items come are not spoken productively. Wilson's (1980) study of the descendants of German immigrants to central Texas focuses on speakers who are three or four generations removed from their ancestral immigration to the United States and who have not, in the youngest generation at least, maintained German as a community language. Nevertheless, he cites many examples of German influence in this variety of English which are more like camouflaged forms – e.g., *chicken bone* 'leg, drumstick' (from German *Bein* 'leg'), *to mix* (cards, dominoes, etc.) 'to shuffle' (German *mischen*), and *rainworm* 'earthworm' (German *Regenwurm*) – than obvious loanwords (such as *Striezel* 'a sort of raisin coffee cake', *Fusswanne* 'a small low bucket', literally 'foot tub', and *dumppfig* 'stuffy, dank').

One of the most complex such instances occurs within a field sometimes known as 'Jewish interlinguistics', referring to linguistic interaction among two or more (usually more) languages within Jewish communities

and across boundaries with other social groups. Historically, Hebrew – the language of the Bible, teaching and commentary, and the everyday life of prayer and ritual – has been at the core of Jewish linguistic life, but speakers of Hebrew have long been in contact with other languages. In particular, Yiddish in the Germanic/Slavic area and Judeo-Spanish (or Ladino) in Spain and areas to which Jews migrated following their expulsion in the late 15th century, have created specific languages heavily associated with Jewish ethnicity, yielding in many areas at least a three-way linguistic repertoire consisting of Hebrew, Yiddish or Judeo-Spanish, and local languages of the non-Jewish population. Thus while core Hebrew terminology (sometimes in localised form) contributes a vocabulary which can be readily embedded in any language (e.g. *shabbat* ‘sabbath’; *mitzvah* ‘commandment/injunction’, *yom tov* literally, ‘good day’, referring to Jewish holy days; *kosher* ‘ritually fit’; etc.), it may exist side by side with vocabulary taken from an ethnically-identified language (cf. Yiddish *schnorrer* ‘beggar’; *milchik* ‘dairy foods’ within the system of Jewish dietary laws, ‘pale, sickly-looking’; *mishegoss* ‘craziness, madness’), and any relevant local language. The resulting combination of lexical and morphological items readily leads to lexical hybrids: as Rosten (1968) shows, Yiddish verbs and nouns are regularly Anglicized in their morphology to adapt to American English. Such cases demonstrate ways in which a socially dominant language may be used by some speakers in ways that become ethnically marked due to the presence of lexical items from other languages with ethnic significance – even where the latter languages do not form part of the productive repertoire of the speaker.

5. Diglossia and bilingualism

5.1. In many speech communities, two varieties of the same language show major differences in grammar, phonology, and lexicon; the distribution between the two varieties is usually determined by the domain of usage. Ferguson (1959) coined the term *diglossia* to refer to such situations. Diglossia frequently establishes sets of lexical parallels. In Greek, for example, Ferguson noted that the superposed H or ‘high’ variety (or *katharévusa*) associated at the time with formal contexts provided a list of

words, usually based on forms related to Ancient Greek, that contrasted with their referential equivalents in *dhimotiki*, the L or ‘low’ variety in general spoken usage and less formal writing. Contrasts between *katharévusa* and *dhimotiki*, respectively, which Ferguson notes include *ikos* vs. *spíti* ‘house’, *idhor* vs. *neró* ‘water’, and *éteke* vs. *eyénise* ‘gave birth’.

Though diglossia, strictly speaking, refers to systems of language which embrace much more than lexicon, differences of *register* are often lexically marked and linked to specific social groups. Some specialist terminology is purely technical (e.g. that associated with activities as diverse as weaving, shoemaking, haircutting, printing, commercial food production, or air traffic control), while that referred to as *slang* or *argot* can include more elaborate systems of novel word formation, covert reference (especially to taboo or illicit topics), and the expression of social attitudes which merit study in their own right (cf. Partridge 1989 and, in a different vein, Calvet 1993; 1994).

Ferguson (1959) referred only to cases where two varieties of a single language co-exist, yet later work has extended the concept of differentiation by domain to include relationships between separate languages. A fossilized inter-language diglossia can be found in many specialized lexical domains. When considering euphemism and dysphemism in English, for example, we may note that terms which are considered ‘polite’ or appropriate to medical discourse come from Latin or Greek (*saliva*, *stomach*, *mucus*, *faeces*), while their non-medical counterparts (*spit*, *belly*, *snot*, *shit*) all have Germanic etymologies. English contains many such compartments of diglossia: much legal language comes from Latin (as in *habeas corpus*, *ex parte*, *amicus curiae*, *ex officio*), many specialised cooking terms from French (*cuisine*, *sauté*, *flambé*, *julienne*, *gratin*, etc.), and there is a small set of contrasting terms between French-based words for animals served as food (*mutton*, *beef*, *pork*) and their Germanic-based equivalents as farmyard animals (*sheep*, *cow*, *swine* and probably *pig*).

5.2. Societal and individual bilingualism, not restricted by domain as with diglossia, gives rise to lexical exchanges between languages which are not necessarily ethnically marked, but which may become characteristic of a society as a whole. A distinguishing

feature of national versions of international languages is frequently found in the contribution of words from indigenous languages. Dixon/Ramson/Thomas (1990), for example, cite hundreds of words in Australian English coming from various aboriginal languages (many for fauna and flora such as *warrigal* and *dingo* 'wild or domestic dog', *gilgie* 'a type of crayfish', *yelka* 'an edible tuber', but others such as *wongi* 'to talk, or to tell' and *quamby* 'to lie down, to camp'). Conversely, they note words which have been borrowed into Australian languages from English, such as *kamula*, *kamulpa* 'camel', *jarge*, *tharraki* 'turkey', *yurrayilway* 'train/railway', and *duraj*, *gawun* 'dress' (the latter from *gown*). Compare the following passage of Indian English from a popular newspaper gossip column cited by Mehrotra (1998, 104; Hindi words in italics and glosses based on Mehrotra): "What is all this *khit pit* ['hub-bub'] about the Pakistani National Day?" His friend replied, "*Phokat ka natak* ['a drama costing nothing'] if you ask me. And these *press wallahs* [people belonging to the press] are simply giving *bekaar ka bhaav* ['useless gimmicky posture'] to that Shahryar fellow". The absorption of words from the Irish language and from Scots into national and regional varieties of English in Ireland is demonstrated by Ó Muirthe (1996) and Macafee (1996), respectively; many Irish words have, in turn, become part of the regionally distinctive vocabulary of Newfoundland (Story/Kirwin/Widdowson 1990), even in the absence of significant Irish-language maintenance in Newfoundland.

Given particular conditions of multilingual contact, language learning, and social structure, the evolution of *pidgin* and *creole* language varieties puts the role of the lexicon in language contact to the test. The *lexifier* language of a creole variety may provide a critical mass of lexical items, but even these items may differ in meaning, syntax, or lexical development from their historical antecedents: words from other source languages will also be common, and these languages may exert a profound impact on syntax and other aspects of grammar. As Allsopp (1980) shows, creole developments include new semantic categories (e.g. English-based Caribbean creole *put dong ai-wata* 'weep insincerely' vs. *krai bad* 'weep sincerely', where *ai-wata* is derived from Yoruba *omi ojù* 'water' + 'eye'), calques based on other languages (*haad-ez* (Barbados and

Guyana) and *eez-haad* (Belize) 'characterized by disobedience with covert stubbornness', lexified in English from '*hard eyes*', but based on a Twi pattern as in *Aso* *yE dEN* 'ear(s) be hard', said of 'stubbornly disobedient' people), and re-interpretations as in (Barbados) '*Stop 'N Bar*' (a 'rural wayside bar', based on analogy with *Stop 'n shop*, where the historical verb *shop* is re-interpreted as a noun like *bar*). Language interaction also produces new structural patterns, as shown by Frake (1971, 231 ff.) for Philippine Creole Spanish. Frake demonstrates the co-existence of large numbers of words of Spanish and Philippine origin, according to a pattern whereby 'when a Philippine and a Spanish-derived form participate in a marked-unmarked relationship in the same contrast set, the Philippine form will designate the marked category': hence Spanish-derived terms such as *gránde* 'large', *áto* 'tall', *kórre* 'fast', *dúlse* 'sweet', *bunító* 'pretty', *nwébo* 'new', and *plóres* 'blossom' are in semantic contrast with the Philippine-derived terms *dyútay* 'small', *pandak* 'short', *pátal* 'slow', *mapalit* 'bitter', *lumálin* 'ugly', *dálan* 'old', and *putut* 'bud'. This semantic pattern is not absolute, but, according to Frake, where it does occur, the Spanish-derived term is marked for formality and politeness.

6. Interactional sociolinguistics

6.1. The lexicon is not alone a repository of lexical items, it is a fund of linguistic strategies which can be used to order, regulate, and negotiate social relations. As Brown/Gilman (1960), Lambert/Tucker (1976), and others show, the choice of lexical items can have a major impact on indicating or affecting the horizontal social *distance* (or degree of solidarity) between speakers and the hierarchical arrangement of *power* between them. Brown/Gilman demonstrated the significance of reciprocity in the choice of address terms such as French *tulvous* or German *dul/Sie*. Considering a diversity of cases in French and Spanish, Lambert/Tucker further show that reciprocity across a range of lexical items interacts significantly with other factors such as sex, setting, social class, group boundary maintenance, social role, and social status in establishing and regulating many social relationships.

Politeness theory as developed by Brown/Levinson (1987) focuses on the degree to

which any speech act can be seen as ‘face-threatening’, i.e. as a threat to a person’s ‘public self-image’. Since a wide range of acts (complaints, demands, invitations, compliments, etc.) all have the potential to be face-threatening, it is an essential part of politeness to find ways of minimising such threats. Using fieldwork from Irish English as a case study, we can see many ways in which lexically-encoded politeness strategies bear out the Brown/Levinson model. Positive politeness, emphasizing the values of others, is seen in the use of superlatives (*grand*, including the collocations *only grand*, *grand out*, and *grand altogether*; *gorgeous*; *brilliant* and related *brill*, *brillo*; *deadly*; *marvellous*, *fantastic*; which may be combined with modifiers in lexicalised emphatic phrases, depending on the stylistic level, as in *only gorgeous*, *bleedin marvellous*) and in-group identity markers (e.g., *girlie*, especially common in the Cork area as a female solidarity tag, as in *How’re ye, girlie?*; and code switches to Irish as in *maith thú* or *maith an fear*, roughly translatable as ‘good on you’ and ‘good man’, used as solidary terms of encouragement).

Negative politeness, minimising imposition, can be lexicalised through diminutive nominalizations (a *drop* of milk in tea or a *drop* of whiskey, when a full measure is actually referred to) and diminutive verbs (a nurse handing a paper hospital gown to a patient in a cubicle requires them to take off their clothes, put on the gown, and sit on an examining table, but the instruction is often simply to *slip this on* and *pop up here*, where *slip* and *pop* both lessen the threat to face) or by intensifiers of pessimistic expression (*You wouldn’t ever look and see if you have that*, where *ever* is not a temporal reference, but a politeness marker that often receives emphatic intonation). These and other lexicalisations of politeness strategies demonstrate ways in which lexical choice can both reflect and regulate social relationships.

7. Conclusion

7.1. It is impossible to separate the sociolinguistics of the lexicon from other sociolinguistic currents. Language variation, language engineering, bilingualism, and the relationship between language and social relations are all intimately connected with the lexicon. The lexicon assumes a unique role in language because it is, in the sense de-

veloped in semiotic theory, intensely *indexical*. Words point to other things – whether they are ‘things’ in the sense understood by theories of semantic reference or the ‘things’ of social origins, relations, status, and change – and sometimes the choice of even a single word can say much about who a person is, what they value, and how they view themselves (and are viewed by others) within the social world.

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67. Syntax/Syntax

1. Introduction
2. Social stratification
3. Variable syntax
4. Pandialectal grammars
5. Literature (selected)

1. Introduction

Syntactic variation is a complex phenomenon involving different parameters, of which the interconnections are still poorly understood. Many earlier sociolinguistic studies took the standard variety of a language as their point of reference and analysed variability as divergence from this variety. But it must be considered that the standard variety is the result of a process of selection between variants ordering a horizontal set of available variants vertically in a gradient between variants acceptable in the standard variety and more or less nonstandard variants. The variants available in the repertoire of a language are the primary linguistic fact and their selection and standardisation is a secondary process (cf. Barbour/Stevenson 1998).

Therefore sociolinguistic analysis of syntactic variation has to start with a description of the repertoire of available variants for a certain communicative function and their regional and social distribution, and then must analyse their relations.

The variants for a communicative function can either be independent constructions or variants related along a path or cline of grammaticalization or by parametrized constraints.

An example for a cline of grammaticalization are the relations between full pronouns and clitical pronouns in varieties of German:

- (1) Er hat es mir gegeben.
- (1') Er hotmas gebm. (Mittelbairisch)
- (1'') Er hotsma gebm. (Mittelbairisch)

The variants (1') and (1'') are farther advanced on a cline of grammaticalization leading from full pronouns to clitics than the standard variant in (1). A case of independent variants is the marking of counterfactual antecedents:

- (2) Wenn er käme ...
- (2') Wenn er kommen würde ...
(nonstandard varieties)
- (2'') Wanna kuman tat ... (Mittelbairisch)

The standardized variant uses as a synthetic verbform the subjunctive of the past

tense, while many nonstandard variants use an analytic verbform with the subjunctive of the auxiliary "werden", and Mittelbairisch uses the subjunctive of the auxiliary "tun". The three constructions are independent from one another, although all three of them use the subjunctive as a grammatical marker and two of them use analytic verb constructions.

It is a question of historical linguistics to show where and when these independent constructions were developed and by which processes of selection they became vertically ordered on the continuum between standard variety and non-standard varieties.

Both in the case of grammaticalization and in the case of independent constructions the variants have not only a different syntactic structure but also different semantic and pragmatic properties. For independent constructions like in (2) to (2'') this is obvious because different lexical elements have been grammaticalized in them, but it is also true for a cline of grammaticalization as in the following uses of an analytical form for a perfect:

- (3) Er hat ihn gesehen.
- (3') Er sah ihn.
- (3'') Er hotn gsegn. (Mittelbairisch)

While (3), the standard variant, is a perfective in contrast to the imperfective in (3'), the variant (3'') is a simple past tense marking, because it does not stand in opposition to an imperfective variant. On the cline of grammaticalization, which was reconstructed by Bybee et alii. the grammaticalization of an analytic construction using the auxiliary "haben" starts as a resultative and then proceeds via the meaning of an anterior to that of a perfective, till it ends as a simple past tense marking. The standard variant has developed less far on this universal cline in comparison to the Bavarian variant, and therefore the meaning of the two variants is different.

The choice of variants and the cooccurrence restrictions between variants in a spoken or written text are based on a highly complex system of parameters including written versus spoken discourse, regional and social borders, age, sex, degree of formality, situation, speech genre etc. Syntactic variants are often highly marked for some of these parameters and have rather strong cooccurrence restrictions, compare:

(4) Das war ein sehr guter Film.

(4') Das war echt der gute Film.

While (4) is an unmarked syntactic variant along many of the parameters mentioned, (4') is a highly marked variant for age, is restricted to youth language and can occur only with variants marked on the same parameter, not with conflicting parameters.

2. Social stratification

Early studies of the social stratification of syntax were strongly influenced by Labov's studies of the social stratification of phonological variables in New York English and by his analysis of syntactic variants in Black English. But because the parameters influencing the choice of a syntactic variant are so complex they cannot be lumped together in an index marking the social stratum in which it is used. Therefore the analytic tool of the variable rule is only of limited use for the description of the social stratification of syntactic variants. The methodology of statistical analysis of correlations between linguistic variants and complex sets of factors influencing the use of the variants was mainly developed by David Sankoff and his group researching variants of the French of Montreal. A typical case for this method of analysis of syntactic variation is the variability of *avoir/être* in compound tenses or the use of *qu'est ce que/ce que* in headless relatives, which was correlated with a variable of participation in the linguistic market, assessed on the basis of partial biographies of the 120 speakers by 8 independent judges. A problem for this type of evaluation is the conscious use of syntactic variants as markers of ingroup/outgroup membership. An example of such marking is the one exemplified on the basis of the sociolinguistic studies of varieties of Mannheim discourse by Keim, Kallmeyer et al., and on the basis of a sociolinguistically based dialectology by Wiesinger (regarding the present state of phonetic-phonological description of dialects see Mattheier/Wiesinger 1994).

Following Gumperz's concept of discourse strategies the Mannheim project shows that the use of variants is a conscious marker of social identity in many discourse contexts.

In the chapter "Phonologische Variation als Mittel der Symbolisierung sozialer Identität in der Filsbachwelt" the narrator speaking lower class Mannheimisch characterizes a social worker by using phonological variants close to the written standard:

(5) un no kummd di fra Hansen raus ...
un mach die tür auf ... also nach de straß
sie können heut nicht rein heut ist geschlossene gesellschaft
un na hawwisch gsacht
ja was für e geschlossini gssellschafd

Frau Hansen, the social worker, is characterized by the use of "geschlossene gesellschaft", while the speaker's variant is "geschlossini gssellschafd", a variant closer to the Mannheim vernacular. On the other hand in the chapter "Sprachliche Formen der sozialen Abgrenzung einer Jugendgruppe in Vogelstang" suburban middle class youngsters use phonological, lexical and syntactic markers to ridicule their lower-class neighbours. Although there are no special chapters on the use of syntactic variants as social markers it is obvious, that syntactic constructions are used to characterize ingroup and outgroup linguistic behaviour. One of the properties of informal spoken varieties close to a vernacular are the uses of left dislocation, right dislocation and topicalization for marking topics and afterthoughts:

(6) jetz wenn die Fasnacht losgehd ...

(6') Wenn jetzt die Fastnacht losgeht ...

In (6) "jetz" is topicalized into the specifier position of the complementizer, a variant not allowed in standard spoken or written German, as the variant (6') shows. Therefore the use of such a form of topicalization is highly marked socially and regionally. The topicalization of DPs into the specifier position of C is a regional feature typical of Bavarian:

(7) Den Kerl wenn ich erwisch ...

Left dislocation makes spoken varieties of German strongly topic-prominent.

(8) Das Auto, das muß in die Reparatur

Using Middle Bavarian as an example, it can be shown that several topics can be stacked in a left dislocation construction, of which the one with the narrowest scopus is the antecedent for the resumptive pronoun:

(9) Mei Vota, der Traktor, der Vergaser, den miasma repariern lossn

If the functions of DPs are graded for accessibility along the scale proposed by Keenan and Comrie for relativization, it can be seen that DPs in all functions are available for left dislocation:

(10) Mei Bruada, mit dem kannma net redn

(10¹) Mei Bruada, dem sei Frau spinnt
 (10²) Mei Bruada, gscheiter wia der bin i
 no imma

(10³) Mei Bruada, so gscheit wia der bin
 i no imma

In spoken discourse left dislocation is mainly used for the introduction of new topics. In contrast to this use right dislocation serves as an afterthought mainly in the function of a restrictive specification of reference:

(11) Der war schon wieda da, der Mann
 von der Erna

Right dislocation for DPs is allowed in accessibility positions only as far as the indirect object; PPs and objects of comparison must be dislocated together with their P or marker of comparison:

(12) I hob schon mit ihm gredt, mit meim
 Bruada

(12^{*}) * I hob schon mit ihm gredt, meim
 Bruada

(13) I bin gscheita wia der, wia mei Bruada

(13^{*}) * I bin gscheita wia der, mei Bruada

The function of marking restrictive specification is valid also for restrictive relative clauses, which can be left or right extraposed in spoken varieties:

(14) Der gestern da war, mit dem Mann
 hab ich geredet

(14^{*}) Ich hab mit dem Mann geredet, der
 gestern da war

The extraposed relative clause is often marked with a pronominal head:

(15) Der, der gestern da war, der Mann
 hat wieder nach dir gefragt

(15^{*}) Der Mann hat wieder nach dir ge-
 fragt, der, der gestern da war

Topic prominence by the use of topicalization and dislocation is a property of spoken registers, most of its uses are not allowed in written German (cf. Werlen 1994).

3. Variable syntax

The first attempt to integrate techniques of variation analysis into a theory of syntax were Labovs studies of vernacular Black English. In these studies it turned out that different lects were not only characterized by the presence versus absence of certain variants of a syntactic variable but also by the frequency of use of such variants (cf. art. 119). A well known case of this sort is the use of full forms, cliticized forms and deletion of the copula in varieties of American English in the Mississippi Delta:

Full	Cliticized	Deleted
She is nice	She's nice	She nice
We are going	We're going	We going

The speech of white and black speakers is characterized by different percentages of the use of these forms:

	Is		are	
	Black	White	Black	White
Full	54	38	17	34
Cliticized	18	60	6	45
Deleted	38	2	77	21

The percentages characterize differences between lects, but they are difficult to interpret sociolinguistically. Different social groups are advanced to different levels on the way of grammaticalization of specific constructions. In many cases order can be found in the distribution of variants for a variable by considering the different contexts in which they are used. An example can be found in Feagins (1979) study of default singulars in Anniston, Alabama. The relevant context for default singulars is the type of subject used in the sentence:

(A) They was all born in Georgia, mama
 and my daddy both

(B) All the student teachers was comin'
 out to Wellborn

(C) We was in an ideal place for it

(D) You was a majorette?

(E) There was about twenty-somethin'
 boys and just four girls

The contexts in (A) to (E) form an implicational scale; every lect allowing (A) allows all the contexts below it and so on down the scale. There are five lects ordered on the basis of allowing from minimally context (E) up to allowing all the contexts from (E) to (A).

An important approach to the study of syntactic variation was introduced by Chomskys Principles and Parameters theory, which studies syntactic variants as the result of parametrization of certain general rules and principles. This approach was applied to several areas of variability, e.g. by Liliane Haegeman to clitics in West Flemish, Joseph Bayer to Comp in Bavarian and other constructions of Bavarian, by Iwar Werlen and Zvi Penner to scrambling in Berndeutsch, Dittmar/Schlobinski and Wachs' analysis of the recipient passive in Berlinese and by others to various constructions of German dialects. A representative collection of articles can be found in Abraham and Bayer's "Dialektsyntax". An example for the use of

parametrization is verb-raising in Berndeutsch (cf. Penner 1991):

- (16) dass er het sire Frou wöue es Gschänk mache
 mache
 dass er het sire Frou es Gschänk wöue mache
 mache
 dass er sire Frou es Gschänk het wöue mache
 mache
 dass er sire Frou het es Gschänk wöue mache
 mache

All the variants in (16) are grammatical in Berndeutsch, while the variant with the finite verb in final position, which is regular in standard German, is ungrammatical in Berndeutsch:

- (16') * dass er sire Frou es Gschänk mache wöue het

The variants can be explained by assuming that verb raising is parametrized as obligatory for the auxiliary “ha” in the context of “wölle”:

- ((((sire frou) (es gschänk) choufe) wölle) het) verb-raising:

Het (((sire frou) (es gschänk) choufe) wölle)

Verb-raising can optionally be applied to “wölle”, leading to:

Het (wölle ((sire frou) (es gschänk) choufe))

Topicalization of “es gschänk” leads to the missing variant of (16). In this way simple parametrization of the general rule of verb-raising can explain the distribution of the variants in Berndeutsch. Another case of variation explainable by parametrization are the variants of possessive constructions in varieties lacking the genitive case:

- (17) Meinem Vater sein Auto

Mein Vater sein Auto

The possessive pronoun has the syntactic function of a DP modifying the NP “Auto” in the same way a genitive phrase would function. In the standard variety of German such a DP cannot have a complement, while in the varieties allowing (17) it is parametrized for such a complement casemarked for dative or accusative. A similar explanation by parametrization is relevant for the change of relativization strategy due to a breakoff point along the scale of noun phrase accessibility postulated by Keenan and Comrie; cf. the data from Berndeutsch (Iwar Werlen 1994):

- (18) der ma wo em lisi t arbeit gschribe het
 d arbeit wo der ma em lisi gschribe het
 ds meitli wo-n-em der otto d arbeit gschribe het

Der ma wo ts lisi von-em t arbeit het la schribe

The relative marker in Berndeutsch is “wo”; relativization of a subject DP is marked by deletion of the DP coreferent to the head; in the same way relativization of the direct object as the next position on the accessibility hierarchy is marked. If an indirect object is relativized, the coreferent DP has to be marked by a resumptive pronoun cliticized to the relative marker, and the same strategy is used for the relativization of PPs. The standard variety of German, which uses casemarked relative pronouns instead of the relative marker “wo” does not have such a change in the relativization strategies. Another case of parametrization are the constraints on Wh-movement in different varieties of German (cf. Bayer 1984):

- (19) * Wen glaubst du, daß Emma t liebt?

(19') wem moanstn, dass da Franz troffa hot? (Mittelbairisch)

Wh-movement out of a CP is not allowed in standard German, while for Bavarian this constraint is not relevant. Even wh-movement out of the subject position is possible, although this leads usually to problems with the that-trace filter:

- (19'') wer moanst, daß t di Erna heirat?

A wellknown case of parametrization is the phenomenon of doubly filled complementizers in varieties of Southern Germany:

- (20) *Ich weiß nicht, warum daß er zu spät kommt

(20') I woäß nit, warum dass er nit kimmt (Mittelbairisch)

(20'') i weiss nid warum dass er z schpaat chunt (Berndeutsch)

While the standard German variety does not allow the specifier position of C as a landing site for Wh-movement, so that (20) is ungrammatical, Bavarian and Swiss varieties allow this type of movement creating the doubly-filled comp construction. Another case of parametrization explains the differences in the sequence constraints between full pronouns in standard German and clitical pronouns in varieties of Southern German. In standard German full pronouns land in the Wackernagel position in a sequence direct object pronoun before indirect object pronoun:

- (21) Er hat es ihm gesagt

*Er hat ihm es gesagt

In Bavarian as analyzed by Werner Abraham and in Berndeutsch analyzed by Zvi

Penner both possible sequences are allowed for clitic pronouns:

- (22) er hotmas gsogt
Er hotsma gsogt (Mittelbairisch)
(23) i weiss dass-er-im-s zeigt hat
I weiss dass-er-s-im zeigt hat

The sequence constraint for clitical pronouns in these varieties requires only that subject clitics appear before object clitics, but the sequence of object clitics is free. In the same way the pro-drop parameter is differently marked in standard German and Southern German varieties in the second person singular:

- (24) Bist du schon wieder zu spät gekommen?
*Bist schon wieder zu spät gekommen?
(24') bist scho wieda zspat kemman? (Mittelbairisch)
Bisch scho wider z schpaat cho? (Berndeutsch)

Southern German varieties could be called semi-pro-drop languages, because pro-drop is optional in them for second person singular. An interesting construction showing that in German the finite verb in main clauses is in the C position is the possibility of person marking on complementizers in varieties like Bavarian or Berlinese:

- (25) wenn – ste jehn willst, dann jeh
(Berlinese)
Wann – st gehen wüllst, dann geh
(Mittelbairisch)

The second-person marker “st” for subject agreement is so free in (25), that it is not only copied onto the verb stem but also onto the complementizer. Standard German is not parametrized for this option.

In many varieties of German progressive aspect is expressed by a nominalization construction using the preposition “am” as head:

- (26) Ich bin am Essen
If the nominalized verb has a complement, it has to be raised by object-to-object raising into the object position of the auxiliary, if it is definite, and it cannot be raised in this way, if it is indefinite:
(27) Ich bin am Suppe essen
*Ich bin Suppe am essen
(27') Ich bin die Suppe am essen
*Ich bin am die Suppe essen

Another nonstandard construction, the topicalization of the deictic part of pronominal adverbs is constrained by boundedness within a CP:

- (28) Er hat davon gesprochen

Da hat er von gesprochen (Westfälische Umgangssprache)

- (28') Ich weiß, dass er davon gesprochen hat
*Da weiß ich, dass er von gesprochen hat

A useful approach to the analysis of syntactic variation is optimality theory, because in this theory constraints can be ordered for their relevance to a syntactic variety, and varieties differ in the relevance they assign to constraints. A case in point are the variants with doubly filled comp and with the marker “wo” in relative clauses. Relevant constraints are “left edge”, “telegraph” and “speak head” according to Gereon Müller (2000). “Left edge” requires that the head of the CP should be positioned at the left edge of the CP, “telegraph” requires that functional words should not be realized in phonological form, and “speak head” requires that heads should be present in their domains. Different varieties of German put these constraints into different orders of relevance and therefore choose different variants as optimal.

Standard German breaks the constraints of “left edge” and of “speak head” but ranks “telegraph” highest:

Candidates:	TEL	LR(CP)	SH
Eine Frau (CP die (C--) ich t mag		*	*
Eine Frau (CP die (C wo) ich t mag	*	*	
Eine Frau (CP – (C wo) ich t mag	*		*

Because TEL is the highest ranking constraint for standard German the two variants breaking it are excluded and the one following it is optimal. In Bavarian the ranking of constraints is different: the most important constraint is LR(CP), next in importance follows SH and least important is TEL:

Candidates:	LR(CP)	SH	TEL
Eine Frau (CP – (C wo) ich t mag		*	*
Eine Frau (CP die (C wo) ich t mag	*		*
Eine Frau (CP die (C--) ich t mag	*	*	

The ranking predicts, that in Bavarian the variant using the marker “wo” should be optimal and the standard variant should be worst. Optimality theoretic syntax has so far not been applied systematically to problems of syntactic variation, but it is to be expected that it will lead to interesting results.

4. Pandialectal grammars

The idea of a pandialectal grammar describing the range of syntactic variation within a language was established in the context of Labov's analysis of syntactic variation in Black English and afterwards in the concept of polylectal grammars for the explanation of variation in Creole languages. Bickerton's concept of polylectal grammars tried to explain the range of variation in a postcreole continuum between basilect constructions closest to the original Creole, mesolect constructions closer to the constructions of the dominant language and acrolect constructions closest to those constructions. An early attempt to develop a formalism for pandialectal grammars was Klein/Dittmar's variety grammar (1979), which decomposed phrase structure rules into blocks of rules, assigning a probability value for individual speakers to each rule in the block. These values allowed the prediction of the choice of variants for different speakers in the noun phrase structure of the German of workers in Heidelberg or Spanish and Italian first language. The notion of pandialectal grammars assumed new importance by the development of the methods of linguistic typology. In linguistic typology areas of variability such as word order variation, head-marking versus dependent marking, expression of case relations etc. are isolated and analysed.

The typological analysis consists either of a deductive postulation of universal linguistic constraints and the variability of their application in different languages or of an inductive collection of the means of expression available in different languages for one of the areas of variability and the ordering of this space of variability (Croft 1998). The ordering of the variant means of expression is done mainly by implicational rules of a type similar to the implicational scales of sociolinguistics.

Typological analysis can be applied to a sample of the languages of the world, to the languages of a restricted area (as in the EURO-TYP project for European languages), to a language family (e.g. Sten Vikners Verb Movement and Expletive Subjects in the Germanic Languages) or to the varieties of a single language leading to a pandialectal grammar. Thorsten Roelcke (*Sprachtypologie des Deutschen*) calls the latter application interior typology and tries to sketch some of the areas of interior typology of

German such as word order variability, syntactic relations or subject versus topic prominence in varieties of German. While his treatment is rather sketchy, the so far most elaborated fragment of a pandialectal grammar of German has been proposed by Beate Henn-Memmesheimer in *Nonstandardmuster*, a pandialectal grammar of German nounphrases. Although she bases her approach on Coseriu's distinction between system as the space of possible expressions in a language and norm as the habitualized subset of this space used in a certain variety, her methods can be subsumed in the field of typological methods.

The relation between the systemic constraints of a language and the normative constraints of a variety is that of an implicational scale, the norm implying the constraints of the system; the standardized variant is in her analysis a variety among others. An example of her method is her treatment of indefinite determiners with mass terms in non-standard varieties:

- (29) Ich habe Durst
 (29') Ich habe einen Durst
 (29'') Ich habe einen großen Durst

While (29) and (29') are grammatical in standard German, (29'') is grammatical only in Nonstandard varieties. Henn-Memmesheimer uses simplified dependency grammar as her grammatical framework. So her formulation of the systemic constraint is:

- (i) Mass terms can have indefinite determiners as dependents

The non-standard norm in this case has no further constraints, while the standard norm follows further constraints:

- (ii) an indefinite determiner can be a dependent of a mass term if there is a modifier (like adjective, DP or clause) dependent from the mass term

The mass term is "Brot" etc.

Although this relation between constraints can explain some areas of variability, there are many cases of variability in a pandialectal grammar it cannot explain, e.g. the availability of a progressive construction in one variety versus its lack in another one. Nevertheless the approach of Henn-Memmesheimer should be followed up by an analysis of further areas of variability in a pandialectal grammar. Many areas difficult to treat with her approach can be handled by the theory of grammaticalization as sketched in Christian Lehmann's Grammaticalization and related changes in contemporary German.

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68. Semantik/Semantics

1. Einführung
2. Semantische Analysen
3. Variationslinguistik
4. Schichtspezifischer Sprachgebrauch im Bereich der Lexik
5. Bedeutungsdifferenzierungen in anderen Sprachbereichen
6. Weitere soziale Faktoren
7. Fazit
8. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Einführung

Obgleich es viele Berührungspunkte zwischen Soziolinguistik und Semantik gibt, sind diese bislang noch kaum thematisiert. So findet man auch in Darstellungen zur Soziolin-

guistik im Allgemeinen keine expliziten Verweise auf semantische Probleme. Nichtsdestotrotz gibt es viele Verbindungen zwischen beiden Untersuchungsbereichen (vgl. hierzu insbesondere Downes 1998, 233 ff., 323 ff.). Zahlreiche Untersuchungen und Ansätze aus dem Bereich der Soziolinguistik weisen darauf hin, dass sich die Beziehungen zwischen Ausdrucksformen und Bedeutungen in sprachlichen Varietäten in Abhängigkeit von sozialen Variablen unterscheiden können. So können im Sprachgebrauch verschiedener sozialer Gruppen und Varietäten für die gleichen Bedeutungen unterschiedliche Ausdrucksformen existieren oder auch umgekehrt, die selben Ausdrucksformen mit

unterschiedlichen Bedeutungen verknüpft sein.

Entsprechende Zusammenhänge gehen insbesondere aus Analysen der Variationslinguistik und Studien zu schichtspezifischen Unterschieden im lexikalischen Bereich hervor. Zusammenhänge zeigen sich aber auch für andere sprachliche Bereiche und soziale Faktoren. So sind zum Beispiel Altersunterschiede und Zugehörigkeiten zu Kommunikationsgemeinschaften (Ost-West), die durch unterschiedliche politische und soziale Systeme geprägt sind, relevant (für einen Überblick zu soziolinguistischen Variablen allgemein vgl. insbesondere Steger 1980, 355).

Da sich bei genauerer Betrachtung zeigt, dass eine Vielzahl soziolinguistischer Studien Befunde aufweist, die diesbezüglich interessant sind, kann die folgende Darstellung nur als Präsentation einer vergleichsweise kleinen Auswahl verstanden werden. Vorangestellt ist unter Punkt 2 die Darlegung methodischer Ansätze aus dem Bereich der Semantik, die für die Verortung der soziolinguistischen Analysen von Bedeutung sind. Unter Punkt 3 wird auf die Variationslinguistik eingegangen, da es sich um einen Ansatz handelt, der für viele Untersuchungen aus dem Bereich der Soziolinguistik bestimmend war und ist. Unter Punkt 4 werden Befunde zum schichtspezifischen Sprachgebrauch aus dem Bereich der Lexik präsentiert. Solche Untersuchungen bildeten lange Zeit den Kernbereich der Forschung. Sie werden unter Punkt 5.1 und 5.2 um Befunde zu anderen sprachlichen Bereichen erweitert (Konnektoren und Wortstellung sowie Modalpartikeln), die ebenso in Abhängigkeit von sozialen Faktoren variieren und in Punkt 6 durch Ausführungen zu anderen, neben der Schicht ebenfalls relevanten sozialen Dimensionen wie Geschlecht, ethnische Herkunft und Alter ergänzt.

2. Semantische Analysen

Semantik kann klassisch definiert werden mit Morris als „the relations of signs to the objects to which the signs are applicable“ (vgl. z. B. Lyons 1977, I 115). Halliday verdeutlicht, dass sich die Frage der Bedeutung in sehr viel breiterer Weise stellt. So unterscheidet er zwischen ‚experiential meaning‘ als Referenz, ‚logical meaning‘ als den Beziehungen zwischen Zuständen und zwischen Phänomenen, ‚interpersonal meaning‘, unter Berücksichtigung der Sprecherperspek-

tive und des Verhältnisses zwischen den miteinander Kommunizierenden, sowie ‚textual meaning‘, unter Berücksichtigung des sprachlichen und des außersprachlichen Kontextes (vgl. z. B. Hasan 1992, 90). Im Bereich der Soziolinguistik konzentrieren sich Untersuchungen primär auf den Kernbereich der Lexik. Dabei interessiert insbesondere, ob es zu sozial spezifischen Zuordnungen von Ausdrucksformen und Bedeutungen kommt. Anknüpfungspunkte boten zunächst anthropologische Studien, wie sie zum Beispiel zur sprachlichen Erfassung von Verwandtschaftssystemen vorliegen. An ihnen kann auch exemplarisch die Frage nach der sprachlichen Relativität untersucht werden. (vgl. zur sprachlichen Relativität ausführlich Art. 140).

Für die Durchführung semantischer Analysen ergeben sich methodisch unterschiedliche Möglichkeiten. Es kann onomasiologisch von Bedeutungen ausgegangen werden, denen dann sprachliche Ausdrucksformen zugeordnet werden; so lässt sich beispielsweise zeigen, dass auf ‚Geld‘ in bestimmten sozialen Gruppen mit *Moos*, *Eier* oder *Kohle* verwiesen werden kann. Der semasiologische Ansatz ordnet den sprachlichen Ausdrucksformen Bedeutungen zu; so lässt sich beispielsweise zeigen, dass mit *Schlampe*, in Abhängigkeit von sozialen Variablen, auf die äußere Erscheinung einer Frau oder auf ihr Sexualverhalten verwiesen werden kann (vgl. z. B. Wiegand/Wolski 1980, 204f.). Semantische Analysen sind unterschiedlich breit angelegt. Sie können den gesamten Wortschatz einer Sprache, ein Wortfeld oder ein einzelnes sprachliches Zeichen betreffen. Wortfelder, worunter, je nach theoretischem Ansatz, ein Sinnbereich einer Sprache oder ein Subsystem aus lexikalischen Einheiten mit geteilten Bedeutungskomponenten gefasst wird, finden in der Soziolinguistik inzwischen besondere Berücksichtigung (vgl. Punkt 4). Theoretisch ist für semantische Analysen zu unterscheiden zwischen Ansätzen, die sich am Strukturalismus orientieren (z. B. Greimas, Geckeler) und solchen, die von der generativen Transformationsgrammatik beeinflusst sind (z. B. Katz, Fillmore). Bei einer konkreten Bestimmung von Bedeutungen sind drei Perspektiven zu berücksichtigen. Zum einen gilt es, die syntagmatischen und die paradigmatischen Beziehungen zu erfassen, in denen ein sprachlicher Ausdruck in unterschiedlichen, sprachlichen Kontexten stehen kann (distributionelle Semantik).

Dieser Ansatz wurde durch eine Berücksichtigung des außersprachlichen Kontextes erweitert. Zweitens sind Bedeutungskomponenten zu isolieren, die ein sprachliches Zeichen mit anderen sprachlichen Zeichen teilt oder durch die es sich von anderen sprachlichen Zeichen unterscheidet (Komponentenanalyse). Bei diesem Verfahren kommt es zu unterschiedlichen Graden der Abstraktion und der Formalisierung. Drittens ist es möglich, Bedeutungsdimensionen durch Zeichen der Logik zueinander in Beziehung zu setzen (logische Semantik) (vgl. Wildgen 1977, 114–125, 128).

Bei einer Annäherung an die Semantik aus eher soziolinguistischer Perspektive (vgl. hierzu z. B. Hannappel/Melenk 1984) scheinen zwei Aspekte zentral. Zum einen ist zu fragen, wie soziale Phänomene im Sprachsystem semantisch verarbeitet werden. So kann zum Beispiel untersucht werden, wie die Unterscheidung zwischen weiblichen und männlichen Wesen sprachlich berücksichtigt wird (vgl. 6.) Zum anderen ist von Interesse, ob bestimmte semantische Zuordnungen mit sozialen Merkmalen der Kommunizierenden variieren. So kann sich beispielsweise beim Sprachgebrauch von Vorschulkindern der Einfluss der sozialen Schicht besonders deutlich zeigen (vgl. 4., siehe auch Heath 1988, 1161; Art. 66). Da sich die Auseinandersetzungen mit entsprechenden Zusammenhängen vor allem auf den Bereich der Lexik und auf die Schichtzugehörigkeit als sozialen Faktor konzentrieren, wird im Folgenden versucht, zu zeigen, dass auch weitere Sprachbereiche und andere soziale Faktoren von Interesse sind. Insgesamt sind soziolinguistisch orientierte semantische Studien selten (vgl. Punkt 1; Hasan 1992, 110f.). Allerdings gingen wichtige Impulse von Studien zum schichtspezifischen Sprachgebrauch und von der Variationslinguistik aus.

3. Variationslinguistik

Der Ansatz der Variationslinguistik – auch bezeichnet als ‚soziale Dialektologie‘ oder ‚korrelative Soziolinguistik‘ (vgl. hierzu Dittmar 1997, 51) – ist im Hinblick auf die Verbindung der Untersuchungsbereiche Soziolinguistik und Semantik von besonderer Bedeutung, da die Beziehungen zwischen Äußerungsformen und Bedeutungen sowie deren Korrelation mit sozialen Faktoren zentraler Untersuchungsgegenstand sind.

Als ‚linguistische Variable‘ werden sprachliche Segmente betrachtet, die unterschiedlich realisiert werden können. Diese sprachlichen Varianten werden als unterschiedliche Ausdrucksformen untersucht, die eine gleiche oder zumindest vergleichbare Bedeutungen haben. Charakteristisch für die Variationsanalyse ist, dass große Datenmengen in Bezug auf Vorkommenshäufigkeiten untersucht werden. Die Beschreibung des Zusammenhangs zwischen der Variation und sozialen Faktoren erfolgt über sog. ‚Variablenregeln‘. Die Analysen zielen darauf ab, festzustellen, welche Formen alternieren und in welchen Umgebungen sie dies tun, um Beschränkungen für alternative Realisierungsmöglichkeiten aufzudecken. Diese Restriktionen können sprachlicher oder – hier von besonderem Interesse – sozialer Art sein. Da sich in Sankoff (Art. 117) eine ausführliche Auseinandersetzung mit diesem Ansatz und der Problematik der Erstellung von Variablenregeln findet, werden im Folgenden nur zwei Beispiele angeführt, die in Bezug auf Äußerungsvariation und Bedeutungsrelationen von besonderem Interesse sind.

Ein klassisches Beispiel aus den Arbeiten von Labov ist die Untersuchung zu *working* und *workin* im Hinblick auf den Wechsel zwischen velarem und apico-velarem Nasal (vgl. Labov 1972c). Für diese Varianten werden sowohl sprachliche als auch soziale Beschränkungen festgestellt: „in“ erscheint häufiger bei Progressiven und Partikeln als bei Gerundium, was mit unterschiedlichen historischen Entwicklungen zu tun hat. „In“ erscheint zudem häufiger bei Arbeiterschicht als bei der Mittelschicht und bei Männern seltener als bei Frauen. Außerdem realisieren alle Sprecher „in“ häufiger bei ‚speaking casually‘ als bei einem Sprachstil, der als ‚carefully‘ charakterisiert ist, wobei Stile nach Graden an Aufmerksamkeit differenziert und nach Formalitätsgraden geordnet werden.

In Hinblick auf die Existenz unterschiedlicher Varianten ist auch bedeutsam, dass diese unterschiedlichen Bewertungen unterliegen. Meist gelten die von der Unterschicht benutzten Varianten als ‚stigmatisiert‘, die von der Mittelschicht als ‚prestigebesetzt‘. Bedeutsam ist diesbezüglich auch, dass diese Bewertungen von allen, d. h. von Unterschicht und Mittelschicht gleichermaßen geteilt werden. Hier werden auch enge Zusammenhänge mit Prozessen des Sprachwandels gesehen (vgl. Labov 1978a).

Aufschlussreich in Bezug auf die ‚Schnittstelle‘ Soziolinguistik und Semantik sind besonders auch Labovs Untersuchungen zur Logik des ‚Non-Standard English‘ (vgl. Labov 1970; 1972a sowie deutsch 1972b). Die Analysen zur Negation im Englisch von schwarzen und weißen Jugendlichen zielen darauf ab zu zeigen, dass zwar erhebliche Kontraste in den Formen – hier z. B. doppelte Verneinung vs. einfache Verneinung – existieren können, aber – aus herrschender weißer Sicht oft verkannt – die Funktion der Negierung die gleiche ist. Anliegen dieser Untersuchungen von Labov war in diesem Zusammenhang auch, die Sicht auf Standard- und Non-Standard-Varietäten zu verändern und letztere aufzuwerten.

Kritik an der Variationsanalyse bezieht sich vor allem darauf, dass sich traditionelle Studien auf semantische Varianten (‚semantically equivalent variants‘) beschränken (wollen), wobei Bezugspunkt Formulierungen wie „such as having the same truth value“ oder „alternative ways of saying the same thing“ sind (vgl. Labov 1972a). Kritisch angemerkt wird dabei vor allem, dass die Bestimmung von Äquivalenzen oder gar ‚sameness‘, nicht immer unproblematisch ist (vgl. hierzu insbes. Lavandera 1978 und Labov 1978b, sowie Lavandera 1984; Thibault 1988; Sankoff 1988; Dittmar 1997, 60; Schiffrin 1994, 288). Von daher wurde auch gefordert, nicht von semantischer sondern von funktionaler Äquivalenz zu sprechen.

4. Schichtspezifischer Sprachgebrauch im Bereich der Lexik

Aus den 60er Jahren gibt es eine Reihe von Untersuchungen, die schichtspezifischen Unterschieden speziell im Bereich der Lexik nachgehen (z. B. Riesmann 1962).

Diese Analysen kommen zu dem Ergebnis, dass sich der Wortschatz von Unterschichtskindern zwar von dem von Mittelschichtskindern unterscheidet, dass aber die vorherrschende Annahme, dass der Wortschatz der Unterschichtskinder begrenzter sei, nur bedingt zutrifft. So zeigt Thomas (1962), dass sich der Wortschatz der Unterschichtskinder mit dem in Lesebüchern repräsentierten Wortschatz nur zu 50% deckt. Andere Studien kommen zu dem Ergebnis, dass sich der Wortschatz von Unterschichtskindern vor allem durch besonders expressive Ausdrücke auszeichnet. Insbesondere für das Wortfeld ‚Polizei‘ und

‚Geld‘ sowie Abkürzungen und Spitznamen werden hier Beispiele angeführt. Taylor (1962) stellt zudem ein breiteres Assoziationsspektrum fest. Kennzeichnend für diese Untersuchungen ist, dass sie Unterschiede in Art und Umfang des Wortschatzes auch mit unterschiedlichen Bildungschancen für Unterschicht und Mittelschicht in Verbindung bringen.

Zu einem Klassiker wurden die Studien von Bernstein und seinen Mitarbeitern zum schichtspezifischen Sprachgebrauch, wobei auch wesentliche Befunde zu semantischen Aspekten vorliegen (Brandis/Henderson 1970). Untersucht wurden die Häufigkeit bestimmter Wortarten und die Breite des Wortschatzes in Äußerungen von 50 Vorschulkindern der Mittel- und 60 Vorschulkindern der Unterschicht. Die Erhebungssituation wurde mit Hilfe von Spielen so gestaltet, dass die Kinder narrative, beschreibende und argumentative Sprachsequenzen produzierten. Es ergab sich eine höhere Zahl von Nomen und Verben in den Äußerungen der Mittelschichtskinder. Außerdem war bei ihnen das verwendete Vokabular innerhalb der Wortarten Nomen, Verb und Adjektiv breiter (a.a.O., 20ff.). Die Ergebnisse der Bernstein-Studie werden dahingehend interpretiert, dass der Wortschatz der Unterschichtskinder defizitär sei. Dieser Defizithypothese wird später die Differenzhypothese gegenübergestellt, die von der Gleichrangigkeit unterschiedlicher Wortschatzrepertoires ausgeht und die Möglichkeit der funktionalen Äquivalenz unterschiedlicher Äußerungsformen einbezieht (vgl. z. B. Dittmar 1973, insbes. 158).

Zu den Vertretern der heute breiter akzeptierten Differenzhypothese zählt neben dem prominenten Labov unter anderem Neuland, die schichtspezifischen Unterschiede im Gebrauch der Lexik bei Kindern im deutschsprachigen Raum untersucht hat (Neuland 1975). Im Unterschied zu früheren Analysen, die auf die Untersuchung von Unterschieden im Wortschatz-Repertoire begrenzt sind, versucht Neuland auch, Unterschiede auf der Bedeutungsebene zu erfassen. Die Studie stützt sich auf eine Stichprobe von N = 40 Kindern und auf ein Wortcorpus von 32000 Wörtern (1975, 226). Es zeigt sich, dass es bei Mittelschicht- und Unterschichtskindern zum einen einen gemeinsamen Wortschatz und zum anderen ‚schichtspezifische‘ Teile des Wortschatzrepertoires gibt. Als ‚schichtspezifisch‘ gilt Wortschatz,

der in der einen Gruppe eine höhere Auftretswahrscheinlichkeit hat als in der anderen. Unterschiede wurden für verschiedene Wortarten festgestellt. Beispiele für Substantive sind bei Mittelschichts-Kindern: *Dieb, Fußballplatz*; und bei Unterschichts-Kindern: *Brötchen, Wucht*. Beispiele für Verben sind bei Mittelschichts-Kindern: *balancieren, drankommen*; und bei Unterschichts-Kindern: *versohlen, abholen*. Beispiele für Adjektive sind bei Mittelschichts-Kindern: *lustig, kariert*; und bei Unterschichts-Kindern: *ruhig, sauber* (1975, 132). Als Anteile für die schichtspezifischen Wortschatzrepertoires werden, bezogen auf den Gesamtwortschatz, 46,5% für die Mittelschicht und 44,9% für die Unterschicht genannt.

Hervorzuheben sind aber vor allem die Ergebnisse zu Unterschieden auf der Bedeutungsebene. Diese wurden über Assoziations-tests erhoben. Die Assoziationsreaktionen zu einzelnen Reizwörtern wurden nach übergeordneten Gesichtspunkten zusammengefasst und dann in Kreissektorendarstellungen, sog. ‚Semantographen‘, überführt. Das Bedeutungsspektrum für *Arbeiter* weist besonders große Unterschiede auf. Für Mittelschicht-Kinder ist der Prototyp des Arbeiters der im Alltag zu beobachtende Bauarbeiter. Unterschicht-Kinder bringen dagegen den Begriff *Arbeiter* mit wesentlich differenzierteren Tätigkeiten und Details wie ‚Ausrüstungen‘ in Verbindung. Auch in Hinblick auf *arm* zeigen sich Unterschiede: So wird die Verbindung *kein Geld haben* häufiger von Unterschichts-Kindern verwendet. Zudem bestehen unterschiedliche Vorstellungen über Abhilfe, wie dies z. B. in Äußerungen der Mittelschichts-Kinder *da muß man zu einer Sparkasse gehn* gegenüber Äußerungen der Unterschichts-Kinder, wie *arbeiten, Geld verdienen* zum Ausdruck kommt. Erhebliche Unterschiede zeigen sich auch bei *Heim, zu Hause, ordentlich, toben, Polizei, verboten, klauen* (1975, 139f.). Als Ergebnisse für ‚schichtspezifische Bedeutungselemente‘ insgesamt werden, bezogen auf die Gesamtzahl der Bedeutungselemente, 31,8% für die Mittelschicht und 48,0% für die Unterschicht genannt (1975, 221f.).

Die Differenzen im Wortschatz werden auf unterschiedliche Lebenswelten zurückgeführt. Als besonders deutliche Anzeichen hierfür werden Bezüge zur Arbeitswelt gesehen, wie sie zum Beispiel in *Universität, Chefin* (Mittelschicht) und *Arbeitsstelle, Arbeitszeug, Eisen* (Unterschicht) deutlich werden.

Ein unterschiedlicher Erziehungsstil scheint erkennbar bei *Popohaue* (Mittelschicht) und *Arsch versohlen* (Unterschicht) (1975, 204). Ebenfalls auf Unterschiede in der Lebenswelt werden eine stärkere Ausdifferenzierung des Bereiches *Kleidungsstücke* (Mittelschicht) und des Bereiches *Süßigkeiten* (Unterschicht) zurückgeführt (1975, 133).

Neuland sieht durch ihre Ergebnisse die These gestützt, dass der Wortschatz der Vorschulkinder nicht defizitär ist, sondern ‚nur‘ Differenzen ignoriert werden. So werde der schichtspezifische Wortschatz der Vorschulkinder gängiger Weise nur zu einem Drittel erfasst (1975, 205). Auch wenn ihre Quantifizierungen und methodischen Annäherungen zuweilen nicht unproblematisch sind, geht aus der Studie deutlich hervor, dass sich schichtspezifische Unterschiede nicht nur auf der Ebene von Wortschatz-Repertoires, sondern auch auf der Ebene von Bedeutungen zeigen.

Ein etwas anders gelagerter Ansatz findet sich in einer Untersuchung von Sankoff/Thibault/Bérubé (1978). Die Autoren überprüfen in Montreal für die Wortfelder ‚dwell‘, ‚work‘ und ‚thing‘, ob die sprachlichen Realisierungen mit der sozialen Schichtzugehörigkeit der Sprecher variieren. Deutliche schichtspezifische Unterschiede zeigen sich für ‚work‘. ‚Work‘ wird realisiert durch die Ausdrücke *travail, ouvrage, emploi, job, position, situation* und *poste*, mit zum Teil spezifischen Bedeutungskomponenten (1987, 33). Es zeigt sich zum einen, dass die Sprecher der drei unterschiedenen sozialen Schichten bestimmte Bedeutungsvarianten und bestimmte Ausdrücke bevorzugen. So ist zum Beispiel belegt, dass die untere Schicht die Bedeutung ‚paid employment‘ häufiger gebraucht als die mittlere und die obere Schicht und dass sie diese Bedeutung häufiger verwendet als die Bedeutung ‚task‘. Dokumentiert ist auch, dass für die Bedeutung ‚paid employment‘ die untere Schicht eher *job*, die mittlere Schicht eher *travail* und die obere Schicht eher *emploi* verwendet, während bei der Bedeutung ‚task‘ in der unteren und in der mittleren Schicht *ouvrage* und in der oberen Schicht *travail* dominieren (1978, 36f.). Darüber hinaus wird vermutet, dass das Wortfeld ‚work‘ in seiner Gesamtheit eine schichtspezifische Strukturierung aufweist, wobei sich insbesondere unterschiedliche Gewichtungen und Zuordnungen der erwähnten Bedeutungsdimensionen ‚paid employment‘ und ‚task‘ zeigen (1978, 34–36). Durch die

Untersuchung von Wortfeldstrukturen weist die Arbeit in interessanter Weise über die zuvor dargestellte Art der Berücksichtigung von Bedeutungsunterschieden hinaus.

Während der 60er und 70er Jahre waren Analysen zur sozialen Schicht verbreitet und häufig mit einem gewissen gesellschaftspolitischen Engagement verknüpft. Solche Studien sind heute seltener geworden. Bemerkenswert ist aber, dass sich die wenigen vorliegenden Arbeiten zur sozialen Schicht, trotz der heftigen Debatte um die Defizithypothese, nach wie vor an den Studien von Bernstein orientieren (vgl. z. B. Haslett 1990).

5. Bedeutungsdifferenzierungen in anderen Sprachbereichen

Die meisten neueren Untersuchungen und Befunde, die in Bezug auf das Spannungsverhältnis Soziolinguistik und Semantik von Interesse sind, können als Ausdruck eines ganz anders garteten ‚linguistischen Zeitgeistes‘ interpretiert werden. Im Zentrum des Interesses steht die Befassung mit Sprachstrukturen; soziale Bezüge sind zweitrangig. Erst in Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass vor allem im Bereich der ‚Gesprochenen-Sprache-Forschung‘ bestimmte Erscheinungen nur unter Rückgriff auf außersprachliche Variablen interpretierbar sind, werden dann wieder auch soziolinguistische Variation bzw. soziale Variablen als Erklärungsmöglichkeiten für Variationen im Sprachgebrauch herangezogen. Allerdings werden hier als Variablen weniger Schichtunterschiede, sondern vielmehr regionale Unterschiede, Altersgruppen oder allgemeinere Prestigephänomene (Ost-West) thematisiert. Als ein typisches Beispiel kann die Auseinandersetzung mit Nebensätzen, d. h. speziell die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Konnektor *weil* und der Wortstellung in dem mit *weil* eingeleiteten Nebensatz, angesehen werden.

5.1. Bedeutungsdifferenzierung bei Konnektoren und Wortstellung

Es wird für die mündliche Rede eine zunehmende Tendenz festgestellt, nach *weil* nicht die in Nebensätzen ‚eigentlich‘ erforderliche Verbendstellung, sondern Verb-Zweitstellung (wie im Hauptsatz) zu produzieren (vgl. Wegener 1993; Günthner 1993). Vor diesem Hintergrund wird nach den sprachlichen und außersprachlichen Kontextfaktoren gefragt, die dies begünstigen.

Es wurde zunächst vor allem ein Zusammenhang mit regionalen Varianten gesehen und angenommen, dass die ‚*weil*+Verb-Zweit‘-Verbreitung von Süd nach Nord verläuft (vgl. Dittmar 2000, 93). Außerdem ist ein altersspezifischer Gebrauch belegt. So ist die Konstruktion bei Jugendlichen in informellen Kontexten besonders häufig (vgl. Schlobinski 1992). Unterschiedliche Ergebnisse zeigen sich ebenfalls für das Spannungsfeld Ost-West. *Weil*+Verb-Zweit-Stellung wird von Sprechern aus den neuen Bundesländern als ‚typisch Westen‘ klassifiziert (Dittmar/Bredel 1999). Dabei zeigt sich, ebenso wie in anderen Bereichen, eine Tendenz zur Übernahme westlicher Muster, was darauf zurückgeführt werden kann, dass diesen ‚mehr Prestige‘ zugeschrieben wird (vgl. ähnliche Befunde zu Modalpartikeln unter 5.2.). Prestigephänomene und das häufige Vorkommen in der Jugendsprache verweisen hier auch auf Prozesse eines Sprachwandels.

Die Tendenz zur Übernahme von *weil*+Verb-Zweitstellung wird auch mit einer Bedeutungsdifferenzierung in Zusammenhang gebracht. So interpretiert Dittmar die Entwicklung als ein Bedürfnis nach ‚größerer stilistischer Vielfalt‘ oder ‚Registerdifferenzierung‘ (Dittmar 1997, 293; 2000, 93). Es zeigt sich auch, dass oft Einschübe direkt nach der Konjunktion realisiert werden, die die nach *weil* folgende Begründung durch ein eingeschobenes Element stützen (2000, 95). Zudem gehen nach Wegener (1993) mit Verb-Zweit-Konstruktionen Skopus-Unterschiede einher, durch die auch auf der Begründungsebene unterschiedliche semantische Relationen entstehen. Außerdem kann bei Verb-Zweit-Stellung der zweite Teil als rhematisch angesehen werden (Dittmar 1997; 295; Günthner 1993; 1996). Ein Zusammenhang mit dem Ausdruck von Emotionalität wird ebenfalls gesehen. Dittmar (2000, 96) argumentiert, dass die Formulierung in Hauptsatzform „eine stärkere prosodische Emotionalisierung der Rechtfertigung“ bedinge.

Analysen dieser Art weisen darauf hin, dass es sich bei *weil*+Verb-Zweit- und *weil*+Verb-Letzt-Stellung nicht allein um strukturelle Unterschiede handelt, sondern dass mit parallelem Gebrauch auch semantische Unterschiede einhergehen. Da der Gebrauch alternativer Konstruktionen mit bestimmten sozialen Variablen wie der Zugehörigkeit ‚Ost-West‘ oder der Altersgruppe

variiert, handelt es sich wiederum um ein Phänomen, das für die Schnittstelle Semantik/Soziolinguistik von Interesse ist. Ähnliche Tendenzen zeigen sich auch im Gebrauch von Modalpartikeln.

5.2. Variation und Bedeutungs-differenzierungen bei Modalpartikeln

Die Modalpartikel *eben* und *halt* wurden im Deutschen lange als fast bedeutungsgleich angesehen. Dabei wurde auch davon ausgegangen, dass es sich ‚lediglich‘ um regionale Varianten und Distributionen handelt. So geht beispielsweise der Atlas von Eichhoff (1978) zur gesprochenen Sprache von einer strikten Trennung zwischen Nord- und Süd-Deutschland aus (*halt* im Süden, *eben* im Norden).

In neueren empirischen Untersuchungen (für eine zusammenfassende Darstellung vgl. auch Dittmar 1997, 297ff.) wird jedoch eine Ausbreitung der Partikel *halt* speziell für den Ostberliner Raum und den nördlichen Brandenburger Raum beobachtet, für die sonst die MP *eben(t)* als typisch gilt. Die Ausbreitung von *halt* wird einerseits auf die Rolle der Medien zurückgeführt, andererseits – im Spannungsverhältnis Ost-West – wiederum mit einem möglichen Prestigeerwerb in Zusammenhang gesehen. Von daher kann auch hier (wie unter Punkt 5.1. für *weil*+Verb-Zweit-Stellung) eine Verbindung mit Prozessen des Sprachwandels angenommen werden.

Interessant ist zudem, dass es verschiedene Benutzertypen gibt, und es sich oft nicht nur um eine Substitution handelt (was ebenso möglich ist, da der Gebrauch der Modalpartikel *eben(t)* bei einzelnen Sprechern auch einfach durch den der Modalpartikel ‚halt‘ ersetzt werden kann), sondern dass es auch zum gemeinsamen Gebrauch der beiden Partikeln kommt (zu Partikelkombinationen allgemein vgl. insb. Thurmair 1989). Diese Tendenz kann wiederum mit semantischen Differenzierungen in Verbindung gebracht werden. Einen Bedeutungsunterschied in Zusammenhang mit argumentativen Funktionen sieht Rost-Roth (1998), da *eben* vor allem in Zusammenhang mit Schlussfolgerungen erscheint, und eine andere Distribution in argumentativen Texten zeigt. Nach Dittmar (1997, 299) „beginnen die beiden MP sich auch gegeneinander abzugrenzen, ihre eigene Semantik zu entwickeln“. Dabei scheint *halt* im Unterschied zu *eben* „freundlicher, persönlicher, ‚überzeugender‘ zu wirken“. Daher wird die

Übernahme der Partikel *halt* auch damit in Zusammenhang gebracht, dass ein ‚kommunikativer Mehrwert‘ durch stilistische und semantische Differenzierung entsteht.

Entsprechende Analysen verdeutlichen, dass auch von Untersuchungen zur gesprochenen Sprache interessante Impulse für eine Neuorientierung an der Schnittstelle Soziolinguistik/Semantik ausgehen können, insofern sehr unterschiedliche Sprachbereiche und soziale Faktoren angesprochen werden.

6. Weitere soziale Faktoren

Ausgehend von einzelnen sprachlichen Phänomenen wurde deutlich, dass die Zuordnung von Bedeutungen und Ausdrucksformen mit unterschiedlichen sozialen Faktoren variiert. Angesprochen wurden hier neben der sozialen Schicht bereits Geschlechtszugehörigkeiten und Alter sowie ethnische Zugehörigkeit (Black vs. White) und spezifisch deutsche Ost-West-Unterschiede. Für die wichtigsten sozialen Faktoren liegen Art. 42–61 vor, die auch semantische Aspekte berücksichtigen. Deshalb soll sich die Darstellung hier auf drei Dimensionen beschränken, die in der soziologischen Ungleichheitsforschung in zunehmendem Maße Berücksichtigung finden, und zwar Geschlecht, Alter und Ethnie. Es geht dabei wiederum nicht um umfassende Darstellungen. Herausgegriffen werden einzelne Erscheinungen, die für die Schnittstelle Semantik/Soziolinguistik von besonderem Interesse sind.

An der sozialen Dimension Geschlecht lässt sich zeigen, dass für die Soziolinguistik auch die Zuordnung von Bedeutung und Ausdrucksform innerhalb des Sprachsystems von Interesse ist. In das deutsche Sprachsystem ist Geschlecht in erster Linie als Genus bei der Artikelwahl und als Sexus bei der Bezeichnung von männlichen und weiblichen Wesen eingeschrieben. Da Genus und Sexus häufig korrespondieren, können bei der Genuszuordnung Sexus betreffende Vorstellungen mitschwingen. Dies wird für bestimmte Tiere angenommen (z.B. *der Hund, der Löwe* aber *die Katze, die Maus*) (vgl. Doleschal 1992, 25, gestützt auf Mills 1986) und ist beispielsweise belegt für auf *-a* bzw. auf *-o* endende italienische Phantasiewörter sowie für auf *-mut* endende Nomen des Deutschen (vgl. Romaine 1997, 65f., gestützt auf Ervin 1962 und Zubin/Köpcke 1981). Bei Verweisen auf weibliche und

männliche Personen bestehen zum Teil deutliche Asymmetrien: So zeigt die früher übliche Unterscheidung *Frau/Fräulein/Mann*, dass das Merkmal ‚verheiratet‘ für eine Einordnung von Frauen stärker gewichtet wurde. Die analoge Konstruktion von franz. *femme publique* (Prostituierte) und *homme publique* (Politiker) verdeutlicht, dass der öffentliche Raum traditionell als legitimer Aufenthaltsort des Mannes gilt.

Im Hinblick auf die soziale Dimension Alter sind Lebensalter, Lebensphase und historische Zeit relevant. Die meisten semantisch orientierten soziolinguistischen Arbeiten beschäftigen sich mit bestimmten Lebensphasen. Häufig sind Studien zum Jugendalter. Hier zeigt sich für bestimmte Bereiche eine besonders starke lexikalische Ausdifferenzierung und Abgrenzung. Ehmann (1992) berücksichtigt in diesem Zusammenhang auch regionale Unterschiede. In der Studie sind für ‚Lehrer‘ beispielsweise unter anderem die Ausdrücke *Pauker* (Hamburg), *Bohrmaschine* (Leipzig) und *Kommagärtner* (Bern) belegt (a.a.O. 141).

Recht gut erforscht sind semantische Fragen ebenfalls für einzelne historische Perioden. Dies gilt insbesondere für die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus (vgl. Kinne/Switala 1994, 18–23 sowie beispielsweise Brackbauer/Birkenhauer 1988). Auch bei einem Vergleich zwischen dem Sprachgebrauch in der DDR und in der alten Bundesrepublik zeigen sich semantische Unterschiede. Hier gibt es sowohl bei unterschiedlichen Formen gleiche Bedeutung (z. B. *Plaste, Plastik*) als auch gleiche Formen mit unterschiedlicher Bedeutung (z. B. *Jägerschnitzel*). Manche Unterschiede im Vokabular (z. B. *GmbH, VEB*) und in der Wortfrequenz (z. B. *friedliebend, freiheitlich*) hängen deutlich mit gesellschaftsspezifischen Institutionen und unterschiedlichen Weltbildern zusammen. In Bezug auf Wandlungen und Wertungen ist hier nicht uninteressant, dass es gegenwärtig zahlreiche populärwissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen zum Wortschatz der DDR gibt, die häufig nostalgische Züge tragen (vgl. z. B. Röhl 1991).

Kaum untersucht hingegen ist der Sprachgebrauch unterschiedlicher Generationen. Von diesen ist zu sprechen, wenn Kohorten über gemeinsame oder analoge Erfahrungen verfügen. Mannheims (1964) Generationenkonzept ermöglicht Differenzierungen, die hier exemplarisch auf Ostdeutschland bezogen werden sollen. Wenn in der alten BRD

Geborene von *Overheadprojektor* und in der DDR Geborene eher von *Polylux* sprechen, kann dies als eine lexikalische Markierung einer Generationslagerung, also des Hineingeborenwerdens in den selben „historisch-sozialen Raum“ (1964, 542) interpretiert werden. Ein Generationszusammenhang, der bei einer „geistigen und sozialen Auseinandersetzung mit demselben, sie alle betreffenden historisch-aktuellen Schicksal“ (1964, 544) besteht, könnte sich lexikalisch in Ostdeutschland zum Beispiel in einer generationsspezifischen Konnotation von *Banane* zeigen. Generationseinheiten, das heißt „Gruppen, die innerhalb desselben Generationszusammenhangs in jeweils verschiedener Weise diese Erlebnisse verarbeiten“ (a.a.O.), könnten in Ostdeutschland beispielsweise in generationsspezifischen Strukturierungen des Wortfeldes ‚Stasi‘ zum Ausdruck kommen. Das in der Soziologie zur Zeit sehr populäre Generationenkonzept von Mannheim wurde meines Wissens in der semantisch orientierten Soziolinguistik bisher noch nicht genutzt.

Im Bereich der interkulturellen Kommunikation dominieren seit einiger Zeit diskurs- und konversationsanalytische Ansätze (vgl. z. B. Hinnenkamp 1994). Im Hinblick auf semantische Fragen sind Merkmale des gegenüber Fremden verwendbaren ‚foreigner talk‘, wobei u. a. auch lexikalische Simplifizierung eine Rolle spielt (vgl. z. B. Hinnenkamp 1982). Lexikalische Variation zeigt sich ebenfalls bei den sogenannten ‚ethnic speech markers‘, die insbesondere auch von ethnisch dominierten Sprechern verwendet werden (vgl. Giles 1979, 263–265). Auf Fremde wird nicht nur mit neutralen, sondern auch mit positiv oder negativ konnotierten Begriffen referiert (z. B. *Nigger, Blackie*). In diesem Bereich ist ein Sprachwandel zu beobachten. Es kommt dabei nicht nur zur Entwicklung immer neuer Schimpfwörter, sondern auch zu Bemühungen um ‚political correctness‘ (z. B. *Schüler nichtdeutscher Herkunftssprache*). Die auffallend dynamische Sprachentwicklung kann mit dem Phänomen der Stigmatisierung in Zusammenhang gebracht werden. Dies gilt auch für Umwertungen durch Stigmatisierte selbst (z. B. *Kanacke*). An Fällen wie diesen zeigt sich darüber hinaus, dass mit dem Gebrauch durch Personen unterschiedlicher Zugehörigkeiten auch die mit bestimmten Ausdrucksformen verbundenen Wertungen und Konnotationen variieren können.

7. Fazit

Die Analysen, die hier angesprochen wurden, um zu illustrieren, dass aus dem Bereich der Soziolinguistik aufschlussreiche Befunde zu semantischen Differenzen und Differenzierungen vorliegen, sind bei weitem nicht erschöpfend. Es konnten nur einige Beispiele für ausgewählte Sprachbereiche angeführt werden, um zu zeigen, dass die Relationen zwischen sprachlichen Ausdrucksformen und semantischen Differenzierungen in Abhängigkeit von sozialen Variablen variieren, bzw. sich in Abhängigkeit von letzteren entwickeln und das hiervon unterschiedliche Sprachbereiche betroffen sind. Entsprechende Zusammenhänge zeigen sich nicht nur im Hinblick auf die Lexik, sondern auch bei anderen sprachlichen Ausdrucksmitteln wie morpho-phonologischen oder syntaktischen Varianten. Dabei können im Prinzip zwei Arten von Differenzierungen unterschieden werden: Zum einen haben bzw. erhalten gleiche Ausdrucksmittel in Abhängigkeit vom Sprachgebrauch unterschiedlicher sozialer Gruppen unterschiedliche Bedeutungen. Zum anderen werden gleiche Bedeutungen mit unterschiedlichen sprachlichen Varianten zum Ausdruck gebracht. Der Befund, dass Differenzierungen in Ausdrucksformen und Bedeutungen mit sozialen Variablen korrelieren, verweist darauf, dass sich bei einer Analyse dieser Entwicklungen die Perspektiven der Semantik und der Soziolinguistik sinnvoll ergänzen.

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69. Pragmatik/Pragmatics

1. Sprechakt – Sprechhandlung
2. Sequenzen sprachlicher Handlungen vs. Sprechaktsequenzen
3. Muster, Handlungstypen, Handlungsschema
4. Ebenen-Konzepte
5. Kontext ≠ Konstellation
6. Kooperation: Prinzipien/Maximen und kommunikative Apparate
7. Verstehen, Verständigung
8. Sprachliche Felder, sprachliche Prozeduren
9. Pragmatik und Grammatik
10. Äußerungsakte, empirisch
11. Wissen
12. Formen und Funktionen von Text und Diskurs
13. Sprache in Institutionen und Instituten
14. Entwicklungen und Perspektiven
15. Literatur (in Auswahl)

Der Beginn der neueren Pragmatik dürfte in dem zeichentheoretischen Programm von Morris 1938 anzusiedeln sein, in dem sie als behavioristische Teildisziplin der Semiotik (neben Syntaktik und Semantik) für die *Verwendung* des Zeichens vorgesehen war. Die Ursprünge der Pragmatik lassen sich jedoch bis zur universalistischen Anthropologie Kants (Kant 1798) zurückverfolgen, die über die Common-sense-Philosophie des amerikanischen Pragmatismus (Peirce) auf Morris gewirkt hat (s. Apel 1967). Auch im logischen Empirismus (Carnap) wurde der Pragmatik eine wichtige Stellung zugewiesen. Mit der Rezeption der Sprachphilosophie Austins (Oxford) und der Sprechakttheorie Searles (Berkeley) zu Beginn der 70er Jahre fand die Pragmatik Eingang in die Sprachwissenschaft. Je nach wissenschaftlicher Tradition wurde sie dort unterschiedlich aufgenommen und weiterentwickelt (Linguistische Pragmatik, logisch-semantische Pragmatik, Pragmalinguistik/Praktische Semantik, Pragmatik der Kooperationsprinzipien, Universalpragmatik, Funktionale Pragmatik, Textpragmatik, rhetorical pragmatics, kognitive Pragmatik, historische Sprachpragmatik). Freilich ist es in einem kurzen Artikel unmöglich, diesen vielfältigen und kontroversen Richtungen gleichermaßen gerecht zu werden (s. jedoch Braunroth/Seyfert/Siegel/Vahle 1975; Schlieben-Lange 1979; Verschueren 1978–1983; 1999; Davis 1991; Jucker 1995; Verschueren/Oestman/Blommaert 1995; Kasher 1998; Mey 1998; Feilke 2000; Fritz/Jucker 2000; Levinson 1983/2000; Blublitz

2001; Meibauer 2001; Wagner 2001). Wir beschränken uns deshalb weitgehend auf jene Entwicklungen, die unter „Pragmatik“ die Theoretisierung sprachlichen Handelns verstehen und damit zur Begründung der Pragmatik als einer methodologisch reflektierten und zugleich empirischen linguistischen Disziplin beitragen, in der nach einem systematischen (nicht-additiven) Verhältnis der Sprache zur Gesellschaft gefragt wird (s. Ehlich/Rehbein 1977b; Ehlich 1993b; Rehbein/Grießhaber 1996; Rehbein 1994a; Rehbein/Mazeland 1991; Redder 2001 vgl. Art. 123; 100). Über eine ganz andere Richtung der Sprachwissenschaft, die „Pragmatik“ als Komponente einer Universalgrammatik betrachtet, informiert der Überblick von Abraham 1986.

1. Sprechakt – Sprechhandlung

Eines der zentralen Konzepte der Pragmatik ist das der „Illokution“. Austin entdeckte, dass die Äußerung (utterance) performativer Ausdrücke soziale Handlungen in Gang setzt, ohne dass diese Ausdrücke wahrheitsfähig im Sinn deskriptiver Aussagesätze sind. So sind die Äußerungen „Ich taufe dieses Schiff auf den Namen Queen Elizabeth“ oder „Ich vermache meine Uhr meinem Bruder“, vorgebracht „in the appropriate circumstances“ (Austin 1962, 5f.), durch die performativen Formeln „ich taufe ...“, „ich vermache ...“ soziale Handlungen einer Schiffstaufe bzw. eines Vermächtnisses. Diese Handlungsqualität der Sprache wurde als „illocutionary force“ (act) zu einer zentralen Komponente der sprachlichen Äußerung. Wenn auch diese Entdeckung sich dem glücklichen Umstand verdanken mag, dass mit der Verwendung einer sprachlichen Formel zugleich eine soziale Handlung, deren Charakteristika in der sprachlichen Formel thematisiert werden, vollzogen wird, so liegt in ihr doch ein Anfang einer handlungstheoretisch orientierten Pragmatik. (Auf die Rezeption weiterer Konzeptionen des Handelns durch die sprachwissenschaftliche Pragmatik können wir hier nicht eingehen) (s. hierzu Rehbein 1979).

Der „Sprechakt“ mit den drei Teilakten „illokutionärer Akt“, „propositionaler Akt“ und „Äußerungsakt“ wurde von J.R. Searle 1969 am Beispiel des Versprechens in einer

Abfolge von Bedingungen (und dann von Regeln) erfasst. Zwar gingen „propositionale Attitüden“ und Hörer-Bezug in die Formulierung dieser Bedingungen ein, charakteristisch für Searle war jedoch, dass alle Bedingungen des Sprechakt-Beschreibungsapparats im Sprecher verankert werden und sich auf Formulierungen des Typs beziehen: „Given that a speaker S utters a sentence T in the presence of a hearer H, then ...“ (Searle 1965, 48; 1969, 57). Damit schrieb Searle bereits im Ansatz die Komponenten eines Sprechaktes auf die Äußerung eines Satzes (mit illokutiver Kraft und Proposition) fest, eine Analyse, die in der Folge von vielen Sprechakttheoretikern nicht grundsätzlich in Frage gestellt wurde (Wunderlich, Grewendorf u. a.). Später wurde dieser Sachverhalt denn auch als „Fehltritt der Sprechakttheorie“ und als „Re-Grammatikalisierung“ zurecht kritisiert (Leech 1983). Die Ursprünge einer gesellschaftlich-handlungstheoretisch orientierten Pragmatik liegen also eher bei Austin als bei Searle.

In Kritik an der ausschließlichen Sprecherseitigkeit der Bedingungen des „Glückens und Gelingens“ haben dann Maas und Wunderlich 1972 hörerseitige Bedingungen als notwendige Erweiterung des Sprechaktkonzepts gefordert.

Im Arbeitszusammenhang der „Linguistischen Pragmatik“ (s. Wunderlich 1972) wurde die Erkenntnis zentral, dass Sprache prinzipiell als ein auf Sprecher (S) und Hörer (H) basierender Prozess zu verstehen ist; dadurch erwies sich eine selbständige Kategorie „perlokutionärer Akt“ zur Bezeichnung hörerseitiger Vollzüge als theoretisch irreführend. Erst mit diesem Schritt entwickelte die Pragmatik eine grundlegend gesellschaftliche Sprachauffassung, ja, eine Theorie, die gesellschaftliche Grundlagen reflektiert. Im Zusammenhang damit wurde eine terminologische und sachliche Unterscheidung getroffen: „Sprechakte“ beziehen sich auf das satzlinguistische Regel-Konzept à la Searle, „Sprechhandlungen“ sind Handlungsvollzüge mittels Sprache, die S und H gleichermaßen umfassen und den Status gesellschaftlich ausgearbeiteter, verbindlicher Formen haben (Ehlich 1972). (Im Folgenden verstehen sich „S“ und „H“ durchgehend als Abkürzungen sowohl für die feminine als auch für die maskuline Nominalform „Sprecher/in“ und „Hörer/in“.)

2. Sequenzen sprachlicher Handlungen vs. Sprechaktsequenzen

Sprachliches Handeln ist nicht nur in einer einzigen Sprechhandlung organisiert, sondern kann eine ganze Abfolge sprachlicher Handlungen umfassen. So besteht Grüßen charakteristischerweise aus Gruß und Gegengruß, Frage-Antwort-Abfolgen sind dreistufig mit der Frage in initialer Stellung, der Antwort in medialer und der Reaktion des Fragenden in terminaler. An der Abfolge Vorwerfen-Rechtfertigen/Entschuldigen-Honorieren (Rehbein 1972) zeigte sich, dass Sequenzen sprachlicher Handlungen als Teil einer systematischen Gesamtkonfiguration von Handlungen anzusehen sind, die eine innere Struktur hat und im allgemeinen phasiert ist. Einzelanalysen sprachlicher Handlungen haben also deren Einbettung in ein Ganzes zu berücksichtigen.

Die Conversational Analysis (CA) (vgl. Art. 9; 122) versteht unter „sequence“ demgegenüber die lokale (= unmittelbare) Aufeinanderfolge zweier Redebeiträge (= turns), die so genannten „adjacency pairs“, z. B. bei „question“-„answer“ oder greetings usw. Programmatisch handelt es sich dabei nicht um systematisch miteinander verbundene Sprechhandlungsfolgen, sondern gerade um eine Vorkommensauffälligkeit in der Interaktion (Ehlich 1993a, 9).

In anderer Weise wurden dann von der Dialoggrammatik Sprechakt-Sequenzen als Abfolgen von Äußerungen, genauer, von Sätzen verstanden, die jemand, der sich z. B. rechtfertigt, äußern könnte (Fritz/Hundsnurscher 1975); diese fiktiven Äußerungen werden lexikalischen Einträgen, z. B. „Rechtfertigen“, zugeordnet, die unanalysiert als „Handlungen“ hypostasiert werden. Mit dieser Fassung wurde nun die Grundidee von der Sprechhandlungssequenz als einer zugrunde liegenden, gesellschaftlich verbindlichen Handlungsfolge eliminiert zugunsten der Vorstellung einer Reihung fiktiver Einzeläußerungen, d. h. von sprachlichen Oberflächenelementen (bzw. lexikalischen Einträgen), deren Menge offen und deren Abfolge letzten Endes beliebig ist. Entsprechend wurde von der Dialoggrammatik eine empirische, diskursanalytische Erfassung von Sequenzen nicht angestrebt (Franke 1990; Fritz/Hundsnurscher 1994; Hundsnurscher 2001). (Dies trifft auch auf die in diesem Rahmen skizzierten Sprechakt-Taxonomien zu.)

3. Muster, Handlungstypen, Handlungsschema

In einem weiteren Schritt in Richtung einer empirisch orientierten Pragmatik wurde die Einzelhandlung als analytische Elementarkategorie überwunden und der Blick auf Diskursstrukturen geöffnet. Hier ergaben sich unterschiedliche Entwicklungen.

Auf der einen Seite sind die Arbeiten der *Conversational Analysis* (H. Sacks, E. Schegloff, G. Jefferson) zu nennen (Atkinson/Heritage 1984; Heritage 1995), des weiteren von Kallmeyer und Schütze (z. B. Kallmeyer/Schütze 1976); hier wurden kommunikative Oberflächenstrukturen wie *turn-taking* (Sprecherwechsel), *closings* (Abschlüsse) usw. thematisiert. Auch W. Labov bezieht schon früh Diskursstrukturen als eigenständige soziale Formen in die soziolinguistische Analyse mit ein (Labov/Waletzky 1967; Labov 1972; Labov/Fanshel 1977).

Auf der anderen Seite wurde in der Weiterentwicklung der Sprechhandlungstheorie erkannt, dass Sprechhandlungssequenzen auf spezifischen Potentialen von Abläufen basieren, aus denen die Aktanten je nach Konstellation die Handlungen sprachlich realisieren. So läuft z. B. eine Assertion anders ab, je nachdem, ob der Sprecher vom Hörer gefragt wird oder initiativ von sich aus das vermutete Wissensdefizit beseitigt. Solche Ablaufpotentiale sind „Handlungsmuster“ (Ehlich/Rehbein 1979; Rehbein 1977). Muster sind kommunikative und damit soziale Tiefenstrukturen. Zu berücksichtigen ist, dass die Verhältnisse von Mustern zur Oberflächenrealisierung vielfältig sind und dass sich die sprachliche Oberfläche nicht flächendeckend allein auf Musterrealisierung zurückführen lässt, sondern auch Realisierungen anderer Strukturen (wie etwa des kommunikativen Apparats; s. u. §5) darstellen (Ehlich/Rehbein 1986; Rehbein/Kameyama/Maleck 1994; Kameyama 1997; Rehbein 2001a).

Zentrale Bestimmung des Musters ist der „Zweck“; darin wird dessen gesellschaftliche Funktion manifest. So ist der Zweck des Bittens, dem Sprecher etwas zu überlassen, was der Hörer nicht braucht, aber hat; so wird durch ein sprachliches Muster die Konstellation der Defizienz beseitigt. Der Zweck etwa des Begründens ist es, das Nichtverstehen einer Handlung beim Hörer zu deren Verstehen zu verändern (Ehlich/Rehbein 1986), der Zweck des Berichtens,

dem Hörer einschätzungsrelevante Formulierungen eines vergangenen Vorgangs zu liefern (Rehbein 1984a). In der Kategorie des Zwecks wird die umfassende Struktur des Musters in dessen Formcharakter vermittelt (Musterinhärenz des Zwecks). Demgegenüber betrifft die Kategorie des „Ziels“ den Handlungsprozess der Aktanten (zur Kategorie des „Ziels“ vgl. auch Techtmeier 1984). Analytisch-empirisch ist daher relevant, herauszufinden, welches der jeweilige gesellschaftliche Zweck eines Musters ist (Ehlich 1986b). Entsprechend verlaufen die Handlungsprozesse der Aktanten innerhalb von Mustern; sie sind nach Vorgeschichte, Geschichte und Nachgeschichte gestuft und in Stadien (den Handlungsplänen gemäß) gegliedert.

Muster bestehen aus Typen von Handlungen: mentale Handlungen, sprachliche Handlungen (Interaktionen) und Aktionen, Hörer- und Sprecherseitig. Diese Handlungstypen haben unterschiedliche Strukturen (in Verlauf, Komplexität, Medium): So können sie gesamte Handlungen oder Prozeduren (s. u. §8) oder einfache Akte sein. All diese Elemente von Mustern haben ihrerseits ganz unterschiedliche Funktionen, d. h. Handlungsqualität (diese ist also nicht auf die Illokution einer Äußerung beschränkt). In besonderer Weise werden Muster realisiert, indem sie strategisch-umfunktionalisiert, taktisch-zitierend, stilistisch oder routinisiert im sprachlichen Handeln eingesetzt werden (s. Ehlich/Rehbein 1977b; 1986; Griebhaber 1987; Rehbein 1977; 1979; 1983; 2001a). – Als essentiell anzusehen ist die analytische Trennung des sprachlichen Handelns nach Sachverhalt, Wissen und propositionalen Strukturen, sowie die Ausdifferenzierung der Kategorien des Handlungsraums zu verschiedenen mentalen Räumen und die Einbeziehung von Wahrnehmungs- und Vorstellungsräumen, Rede- und Textraum in die Diskursanalyse (Ehlich 1979; Redder 2000a). – Die mit einem derartigen (auf der Musteranalyse basierenden) begrifflichen und methodischen Instrumentarium ausgestattete Theorie nennt sich Funktionale Pragmatik (s. Ehlich 1986b; 1999b; Redder 2001; Rehbein 1994a; 2001a).

In der deutschen Fassung der „Konversationsanalyse“ wurde mit dem „Handlungsschema“ ein zum Musterkonzept der Funktionalen Pragmatik alternatives, individualsoziologisches Konzept zur Erfassung von Interaktion entwickelt (Kallmeyer/Schütze

1976). Für ein Handlungsschema ist ebenfalls ein Ablauf charakteristisch; auch Schemata sind also strukturierte Abfolgen von Äußerungen. Sie werden jeweils im Gespräch konstituiert und durch einen Akt der (gemeinsamen) Ratifizierung abgeschlossen. Man mag darüber streiten, ob konstituierende Handlungen und Ratifizierungen jedes Mal empirisch nachzuweisen sind (vgl. die Kritik am Terminus „Aushandeln“ durch Dieckmann/Paul 1983) – charakteristisch ist jedoch die linear konzipierte Struktur des Handlungsschemas; denn damit wird eine Identität von Oberflächensukzession und Struktur der Kommunikation angenommen (vgl. Schütze 1978); soziale Strukturen hätten demnach linearen Charakter. Demgegenüber ist an einer methodologisch strikten Trennung von Oberfläche (je besonderer Fall) und Struktur (gesellschaftlich ausgearbeitete allgemeine Form) festzuhalten. Eine Sprachanalyse, die auf die Erschließung des gesellschaftlichen Charakters sprachlichen Handelns gerichtet ist, muss eine Funktionsbestimmung der im Ablauf präsentierten sprachlichen Formen erarbeiten. Im übrigen erscheint es dann erst möglich – wie Flader/von Trotha 1988 in ihrer Kritik am gesellschaftlichen und sprachlichen Agnostizismus der ethnomethodologischen Konversationsanalyse (Garfinkel, Atkinson u. a.) ausführen –, in einem einzelnen Transkript die zugrunde liegenden gesellschaftlichen Strukturen, denen die Interaktionspartner immer schon folgen, zu erkennen und so die Zufälligkeit des Einzelalles analytisch aufzuheben.

4. Ebenen-Konzepte

Eine Problematik, die die Sprechakt-Diskussion von Anbeginn mitbestimmt hat, war die Beobachtung Austins, dass wir eine Handlung, „indem/dadurch, dass“ wir etwas sagen, mit einer anderen verknüpfen. In der Folge wurde daraus die Verknüpfung ganzer Handlungsebenen, die eine Äußerung und deren Interpretation durchlaufen kann (s. z. B. Goldman 1970). Wir erwähnen zwei unterschiedliche Auffassungen.

4.1. Direkt – Indirekt

Wenn jemand in einem Fahrstuhl die Assertion macht: „ich kriege hier keine Luft mehr“, dann kann das „eigentlich“ eine Aufforderung an einen rauchenden Mitfahrer sein, seine Zigarette auszumachen. Die

Zerlegung einer Äußerung in einen „uneigentlichen“ und einen „eigentlichen“ Sprechakt erschien problematisch, da sie ein linguistisch-reduktionistisches Verständnis einer sprachlichen Äußerung deutlich machte (vgl. Leech 1983). Bei genauerer Berücksichtigung des für die Sprechsituation maßgeblichen Handlungszusammenhangs liegt ja gar keine Assertion vor, vielmehr wird das Rauchen mittels der Benennung seiner Wirkung („keine Luft mehr kriegen“) dem Verursacher gegenüber negativ qualifiziert und damit auf ein Element des Handlungszusammenhangs sprachlich Bezug genommen. Die Debatte über „direkt/nicht-direkt (indirekt)“ führte unter anderem dazu, für die Analyse einer Sprechhandlung Elemente der Handlungssituation additiv hinzuzuziehen (s. Ehrlich/Saile 1972; Franck 1975; Sökeland 1980), ohne das Konzept der Indirektheit als Ganzes in Frage zu stellen. Allgemein krankt dies aber an seiner Basierung auf nicht-authentischen Satzisolaten und deren „Interpretation“.

4.2. Hierarchisierung des Handelns

Im Zusammenhang der Halliday-Schule entwickelten Sinclair/Coulthard 1975 ein empirisches Verfahren zur Bestimmung von Handlungen im Klassenzimmer (sie verstanden es zugleich als Beitrag zu einer allgemeinen Discourse Analysis). Sie gingen von einer Ebene von „acts“ aus (in die sie auch die grammatische Ebene einbauten), die ihrerseits über „moves“ und „changes“ zur Ebene der „transactions“ und schließlich der „Unterrichtsstunde“ hierarchisch aufsummiert werden. Durch die hierarchische Beziehung erfordert jeder Akt der „untersten Ebene“ in einer flächendeckenden Interpretation eine Re-Deskription auf höherer Ebene. Der Versuch, mit diesem Verfahren die Funktionen der sprachlichen Handlungen im Diskurs zu bestimmen, führt jedoch empirisch zu Verwirrungen (vgl. Ehlich/Rehbein 1976).

Im Rahmen der Lunder Symposien zu „Sprache und Pragmatik“ wurde – unter Bezug auf die Theorie der „Makro- und Mikrostrukturen“ (Ballmer 1976; van Dijk 1980; Ferrara 1980) – die Vorstellung einer „Illokutionshierarchie“ von Texten entwickelt (s. Brandt/Koch/Motsch/Rosengren/Vieheweger 1983). Dementsprechend wird etwa einem Text die Gesamtlokution „Geschäftsbrief“ zugeordnet, der die einzelnen Sätze des Briefes als Teillokutionen hierar-

chisch untergeordnet sind. Bei genauerem Hinsehen handelt es sich hier u.E. nicht um eine pragmatische Theorie im eigentlichen Sinn, sondern um einen Versuch, pragmatische Komponenten in eine „Text-Semantik“ einzubeziehen, wobei von einer Analyse der Realstrukturen des Textes weitgehend abstrahiert werden muss. Das Konzept der „Illokutionshierarchie“ wurde von Gülich/Meyer-Hermann 1983 – unter Rückbezug auf Schmidt 1973 und Franck 1980 – zu dem einer „Interaktionshierarchie“ erweitert. – Auch dem von Holly/Kühn/Püschel 1984 in einem anderen Forschungszusammenhang vorgeschlagenen „Handlungsbegriff“ scheint eine Ebenen-Vorstellung zugrunde zu liegen (s. ebd., 304).

Hinter derartigen Hierarchie-Konzepten steht wohl der Versuch, „kontextuelle Elemente“ (bis hin zur Textsorte), die die einzelne Äußerung bzw. den Satz übergreifen, unterschiedlich zu gewichten. Allerdings ist fraglich, ob die Hierarchisierungsverfahren den – empirisch aufweisbaren – komplexen Verflechtungen zwischen kleineren und größeren Bestimmungselementen eines Textes oder Diskurses gerecht werden, da die Art und Weise ihres Zusammenwirkens weder als einfache Handlungshierarchie noch als lineare Abfolge von Handlungen gegeneinander auszuspielen sind. Entsprechend ist es den Ebenen-Vorstellungen nicht gelungen, handhabbare Kriterien zur Unterscheidung zufälliger und systematischer Ebenen-Verknüpfung zu entwickeln. Vielmehr werden lineare Oberflächenabfolgen in statische Hierarchien transformiert.

5. Kontext ≠ Konstellation

Oft wird unter „Pragmatik“ im objekt- wie im metasprachlichen Gebrauch jene außersprachliche Komponente verstanden, die zu der linguistischen Entität Satz hinzugenommen und dann mit den Begriffen „Kontext“, „Situation“ oder auch „Situationskontext“ u.ä. verbunden wird (folgend Malinowski 1923 auch „context of situation“; vgl. Art. 54). Es ist jedoch zu prüfen, ob eine Pragmatik in diesem Verständnis als eine empirische Disziplin anzusehen ist.

In der modelltheoretischen Semantik sind „Kontexte“ außersprachliche Referenzpunkte sowie oblique Matrizen, die die Interpretation natürlichsprachlicher Propositionen mit beeinflussen (Frege 1892; Wunderlich 1971; Kratzer 1979; Pinkal 1985 u.a.). Den

Einwänden von Auer, dass „Kontext“ hier ein Aggregat von der Interaktion unabhängiger materieller Entitäten sei, die keinen Wissensbezug sowie einen unidirektionalen und probabilistischen Effekt auf die sprachliche Interaktion haben, aber nicht umgekehrt, ist zuzustimmen (Auer 1986, 23). Es wurde auch vorgeschlagen, einer Äußerung mit einem „neutralen Kontext“ über zusätzliche Interpretationsebenen der „situationellen“ und der „institutionellen Pragmatik“ weitere Kontextinformationen zuzuordnen und durch Abbildungsbeziehungen zu „integrieren“ (Wunderlich 1976). In der Folge erwies sich jedoch dieses Vorgehen als nicht geeignet, die sozialen und auch mentalen Größen, die bei einer Äußerung eine Rolle spielen, spezifisch zu erfassen. Dies hat u.a. seinen Grund darin, dass abstrakt alle Faktoren aufgelistet werden müssten, die für eine Einzeläußerung relevant werden können – und so für die anschließende Äußerung –, ohne dass zwischen den Ebenen oder den Äußerungen ein Zusammenhang angenommen wird, der die Komplexität der Faktoren reduzieren könnte – eine empirisch nicht handhabbare Methode, die den Versuch spiegelt, jene Elemente in einer einzelnen Äußerung unterzubringen, die lediglich im Gesamtverlauf eines Diskurses zu erfassen sind.

In der interpretativen Soziolinguistik (Auer/Di Luzio 1992; Auer 1986; vgl. Art. 8) wird der „Kontext“, zu dem auch die soziale Wirklichkeit und der „andere Interaktionspartner“ zählen, durch die Interaktion konstruiert, konstituiert und verändert. „Kontextualisierungsverfahren“ sind jene Verfahren, „mittels derer die Teilnehmer an einer Interaktion“ ... „bestimmte Kontextualisierungshinweise“ ... „auf eine bestimmte Art“ einsetzen, „um Schemata aus dem Hintergrundwissen verfügbar zu machen.“ (Auer 1986, 24) „Schemata“ sind „komplexe Strukturen des Wissens“, die alle möglichen Objekte, Zustände usw. umfassen und linear auf die Interaktion abgebildet werden (s.o. §2 zur Sequenz-Konzeption). „Kontexte sind schematische Wissensbestände, die Informationen verschiedenen Typs unterscheiden, in unterschiedlicher Stärke aneinanderknüpfen und so die Verarbeitung und Produktion sprachlicher und anderer Handlungen erleichtern, indem sie Redundanzen zu erkennen erlauben. Dies ist die zentrale Idee, die hinter dem Kontextualisierungskonzept steckt.“ (Auer 1986, 41).

Gemäß der Konversationsanalyse (z. B. Duranti/Goodwin 1992) produziert jede Äußerung der Interagierenden „für die ihr nachfolgende Äußerung ein kontextuelles Environment, das für die Interpretation der dann nachfolgenden Äußerung bedeutsam ist und deshalb von den Interagierenden bei der Interpretation und Produktion von Äußerungen beständig herangezogen wird. Diese „next-positionedness“ (Sacks) ist als Interpretationsfolie und kontextueller Rahmen dort von besonderer Bedeutung, wo durch eine Äußerung eine normative Erwartung im Hinblick auf den Typus der Nachfolgeäußerung – also ein sequentieller Kontext – aufgebaut wird. In derartigen Äußerungssequenzen mit ihren vor- und zurückgreifenden Bezügen und Verweisungen findet die von Garfinkel herausgestellte *zeitliche Organisation von sozialer Wirklichkeit als einer Vollzugswirklichkeit* ihren sichtbarsten Ausdruck. ... auf diesem Hintergrund wird verständlich, weshalb die Sequenzanalyse die für die KA typische Form der Kontextanalyse ist.“ (Bergmann 2001, 922; Hervorhebungen von uns).

Der Kontext-Begriff der Konversationsanalyse ist durch ein großes Maß an Reflexivität charakterisiert, allerdings in einem solchen Umfang, dass das „kontextuelle Environment“ individuell, lokalistisch und ad hoc vom einzelnen Akteur her in die Interaktion hineinkonstruiert wird; „Kontext“ wird dabei hauptsächlich als die Organisation von Interaktion gemäß *zeitlicher* Linearität gesehen. Demgegenüber wird in der interpretativen Soziolinguistik das „kontextuelle Environment“, zu dem auch linguistische Dimensionen wie Grammatik, Morphologie, Prosodie gehören, per Indexikalität auf den einzelnen Akteur projiziert. In beiden Konzeptionen ist jedoch der Bezug von „Kontext“ zu den *sprachlichen Formen* der Äußerung nicht greifbar (vgl. jetzt den instruktiven Überblick über kurrente Ansätze von Kontext- und Situationstheorien bei Deppermann/Spranz-Fogasy 2001, so etwa auch zu dem für eine Vielfalt von Bestimmungsfaktoren beanspruchten Begriff des Kontextes in Entwicklungen der Halliday'schen Schule; vgl. Halliday/Hasan 1985).

In genuin pragmatischen Ansätzen wurden bereits zu Beginn die Elemente der Sprechsituation neu thematisiert (Wunderlich 1971; Ehlich 1979; Rehbein 1977 usw.): Die Sprechsituation wurde als Handlungssituation bestimmt, in der grammatische

Elemente wie „Personalpronomina“, Satztyp usw. einen neuen Stellenwert erhielten (s. die Diskussion um Deixis und Anapher in Jarvella/Klein 1982). Zum ersten Mal in einem pragmatischen Sinn wurde die Situation für das „Subjekt“-Konzept in der „Satz“-Bestimmung Wegeners 1885 und dessen Exposition für die mentalen Prädikationsleistungen des Hörers relevant; sie geht auch als bestimmende Größe in das Bühlersche Konzept der Sprechsituation ein (s. Bühler 1934; Rehbein 2001c). – In der Funktionalen Pragmatik (vgl. Rehbein 1977, Ehlich/Rehbein 1979, Bühlig 1992) wird „Konstellation“ (als Gegenentwurf zu „Kontext“) wie folgt gesehen:

- (1) Handlungen bearbeiten Situationen gemeinsamen Handelns, *Konstellationen*, um diese den Bedürfnissen und Zielen der Aktanten anzupassen und sie in kommunikativen Tiefenstrukturen, wie Mustern, zu verändern. Während ihrer kommunikativen Realisierung werden Muster wiederum an der (ständig veränderten) Konstellation überprüft. Die Konstellation wird also in einer systematischen Bindung an Muster gesehen, und zwar einerseits als ein Potential für den Ansatzpunkt alternativer Muster, andererseits als Ergebnis der durch den Handlungsprozess erzeugten Veränderung der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit durch die Muster. – Übergänge zwischen Mustern werden durch Konstellationsänderungen bewirkt und oft durch sprachliche Gliederungselemente (Konnectoren) realisiert (vgl. Forschner 2001).
- (2) Die Konstellation hat ihrerseits eine gewisse Verlaufsstruktur; zentral ist dabei der durch die Illokution hergestellte Ansatzpunkt einer sprachlichen Handlung in einer Situation (Rehbein 1977, §11). – Die Konstellation wird zwar durch die Art des Diskurses, Textes, des empirischen Handlungszusammenhangs, des institutionellen Handelns usw. spezifiziert, ist jedoch damit nicht gleichzusetzen (so etwa Deppermann/Spranz-Fogasy 2001, 1156).
- (3) In der Weiterentwicklung durch Bühlig 1992 besteht eine Konstellation nicht nur aus äußeren situativen Komponenten, sondern aus systematischen Konfigurationen mentaler Handlungsdimensionen und deren Veränderung durch mentale Prozesse. Auszugehen ist dabei

- von den Kategorien des Handlungsraums (Handlungsfelder, Kontrollfeld, Wahrnehmung, Bedürfnis/Motivation, Wissen/Glauben, Bewerten, Einschätzung usw.). Entsprechend variieren beim Musterdurchlauf die verschiedenen Kategorien des Handlungsraums und wirken sich als Variation der sprachlichen Oberfläche, in sprachlichen Handlungsrealisierungen, aus. Hier besteht eine enge Beziehung zur pragmatischen Rolle des Stils (vgl. Rehbein 1983; vgl. Art. 22).
- (4) Die Konstellation spielt insbesondere bei der pragmatischen Analyse des Modus von Äußerungen eine zentrale Rolle. So sortiert Grammatik über die an die Mittel des Modus gebundenen mentalen Prozesse die jeweilige Handlungskonstellation der Aktanten (Rehbein 1999b). In der Kommunikation beziehen die Modi den propositionalen Gehalt auf eine Basiskonfiguration mit einer jeweils spezifischen hörerseitigen Verarbeitungsrichtung; die Bewegung ist dabei als eine „Basisillokution“ zu verstehen. „Illokutionäre Basisakte“ (Ehlich 1974) wie Frage, Assertion und Aufforderung sind nicht nur systematisch-theoretisch, sondern auch onto- und phylogenetisch primär. Halliday spricht von vier „fundamental types of speech roles, which lie behind all the more specific types that we may eventually be able to recognize ...“ (Halliday 1994, 68). Er charakterisiert sie so: (I) *Geben: Information* (Assertion) vs. *Verlangen: Information* (Frage); (II) *Geben: goods/services* (Angebot) vs. *Verlangen: goods/services* (Aufforderung).
- (5) Empirisch sind *Konstellationsbeschreibungen* notwendige Ergänzungen zu den Transkriptionen, die ihrerseits individuelle Fragmente sprachlichen Handelns darstellen. Einige Elemente der Konstellationsbeschreibung gehen bereits in die Legende der Transkription ein (s. Rehbein et al. 1993). Insbesondere werden in der Konstellationsbeschreibung Elemente der Situation stichwortartig festgehalten. Die Konstellationsbeschreibung supplementiert also die Transkription und zählt nicht bloß eine situative „Faktorenkomplexion“ auf, die eine offene Liste beliebiger Oberflächendaten wäre.
- (6) Im Konzept der *Sprachenkonstellation* werden die verschiedenen an einer mehrsprachigen Kommunikation beteiligten Sprachen in ihrer jeweiligen sprachlichen Handlungsqualität aufgenommen (vgl. Rehbein 2001b).
- ### 6. Kooperation: Prinzipien/Maximen und kommunikative Apparate
- Ein wichtiges Thema der Pragmatik ist das Zusammenhandeln von Aktanten.
- Am einflussreichsten im angelsächsischen Raum ist die von dem Philosophen H.P. Grice in den 60er Jahren aufgestellte Konzeption der „Kooperations-Maximen“ geworden (Grice 1975). Diesen entsprechend halten sich die Teilnehmer eines Gesprächs („Konversation“) an die Maximen der Quantität („Sei so informativ wie erforderlich, aber nicht informativer als erforderlich“), der Qualität („Behaupte nichts Falsches“), der Relation („Sei relevant“) und der Art und Weise („Sei verständlich“). Über Schlussprozeduren ermitteln die Gesprächsteilnehmer jeweils die „konversationelle Implikatur“ und damit den für die Interpretation der Äußerung des Gegenübers „relevanten Kontext“ (Grice 1981). Diese – zunächst abstrakt entwickelte – Maximenlehre des Gesprächs wurde durch Gazdar 1979 logisch-semantisch weitergeführt und in den linguistischen Ansätzen der Sprechakttheorie unter anderem von Arbeiten in Rolf 1997 aufgenommen.
- Leech 1983 fügte den Kooperationsprinzipien das Konzept einer means-ends-Analyse des „Sprachverhaltens“ hinzu und erweiterte diese Version der Pragmatik um Maximen einer „interpersonalen Rhetorik“ (Neufassung rhetorischer Formen wie Ironie, Metapher, Hyperbel usw.). Auch diese in sich konzise Darstellung verbleibt im Rahmen einer „Pragmatik“ der fiktiven Einzeläußerung, um Sprecher- und Hörerbezug herumfabriziert.
- Levinson 1983/2000 hat dann die Grice'sche Maximenlehre mit der Conversational Analysis (CA) verknüpft und so mit einem empirischen Anspruch ausgestattet.
- Sperber und Wilson entwickelten in Auseinandersetzung mit den Kooperations-Maximen von Grice eine Theorie, basierend auf einem einzigen Prinzip – der Relevanz –, die jeden „Akt inferentieller Kommunikation“ steuert. Dieses universelle Prinzip besagt, dass sich die menschlichen kognitiven Ver-

arbeitungsmechanismen phylogenetisch so entwickelt haben, dass automatisch potentiell relevante Information aus einem Kontext selektiert, potentiell relevantes Wissen aktiviert und mit minimalem Aufwand sowie maximalem Effekt inferentiell verarbeitet wird. Die Relevanztheorie erhebt den Anspruch, mittels falsifizierbarer Erklärungssätze, ableitbar aus dem Relevanzprinzip, die Phänomene, die im Rahmen der Pragmatik behandelt werden, konsistent erklären zu können (Blakemore 1992; Sperber/Wilson 1986; 2002; Wilson/Sperber 1981; forthcoming; Liedtke 2001).

Diese Konzepte legen gesellschafts- und kommunikationstheoretische Einwände nahe. So sind die Aktanten in nicht-konventionelle gesellschaftliche Handlungszusammenhänge, die unterschiedliche Qualität haben, jedoch nicht von ihnen im Gespräch festgelegt werden können, vorgängig eingebunden (Maas 1976; Rehbein 1979). Die strukturellen Grundlagen der Kommunikation sind nicht nach Maximen/Prinzipien (etwa durch einen Sprecher-Hörer-Kontrakt) festlegbar und auf der Basis einer lokal-interaktional getroffenen Übereinkunft durch andere Konventionen (etwa wie im Spiel) ersetzbar (wie dies die Kommunikationstheorie von Lewis 1969 suggeriert). Vielmehr ist das Zusammenhandeln von Sprecher und Hörer nicht nur materiell, sondern auch unabhängig von ihrem Willen formal geregelt (Ehlich 1987a) durch kommunikative Apparate, so z. B. durch die Sprecher-Hörersteuerung, den Turn-Mechanismus (Sachs/Schegloff/Jefferson 1974), den Reparaturmechanismus (Schegloff/Jefferson/Sachs 1977), die durch die Kopräsenz von Sprecher und Hörer im sprachlichen Handlungsraum bedingt sind. Selbst wenn die Kommunikation den Zielen der Beteiligten gemäß durch „lokales Interaktionsmanagement“ (Franck 1980) frei variierbar erscheint – bei divergierenden Zielen anders als bei konvergierenden –, erfolgt eine Orientierung an den formalen (vorgängig verbindlichen) Mechanismen der Kooperation.

Auf der Grice'schen Sprachphilosophie gründet sich das Konzept der „Missverständnisse“ zwischen Angehörigen verschiedener „social groups“ (meist ethnischen Gruppen) bei Gumperz (Gumperz 1982a). So wird bei Konflikten eine „abgehackte Intonation“ durch englische Muttersprachler als aggressiv (Verletzung von Kooperationsprinzipien), durch pakistanische Englisch-

sprecher als höflich (Einhaltung von Kooperationsprinzipien) interpretiert. Die Zuordnung von sprachlichen Formen und Interpretationsprozeduren zu sozialen Gruppen wurde erweitert zu „Kontextualisierungshinweisen“, mit denen soziale Gruppen spezifisch ausgestattet sind. Wenngleich in diesem Rahmen übergreifende Diskursformen thematisiert werden (s. Gumperz 1982b), gelingt es dennoch nicht, sie in ihrer Ablaufstruktur zusammenhängend-systematisch zu erschließen; vielmehr wird auch hier durch die einzelne Äußerung und ihre Rezeption die soziale Form, innerhalb derer gehandelt wird, erst hergestellt (s. Redder/Rehbein 1987).

7. Verstehen, Verständigung

Sprachliches Handeln umfasst sprecher- und hörerseitiges Handeln – den Vollzug durch S *und* den Mitvollzug durch H. Der hörerseitige Mitvollzug mit der zentralen Komponente des „Verstehens“ erfordert eine „Verständigung“ zwischen S und H (so schon Paul 1880, § 85).

Ausgehend von möglichen Verletzungen des Grice'schen Kooperationsprinzips, die verschiedene Arten von Missverstehen bewirken, macht bereits Dascal 1985 auf die Abarbeitung von „Schichten“ beim Verstehen von Illokution und Proposition von Sprechakten aufmerksam. Eine auf deutschen (protokollierten) und englischen (literarischen) Fällen basierte, empiriebezogene Analyse von Missverstehen und Missverständnissen im Rahmen eines pragmatisch orientierten Kommunikationsmodells präsentiert Falkner 1997 (zum „misunderstanding talk“ vgl. jetzt Hausel/Kasper/Ross 2003).

Handlungstheoretisch wurde die hörerseitige Verarbeitung einer sprachlichen Handlung, die zu einem „Verstehen“ führt („Rezeption“), als „Rekonstruktion des Sprecherplans“ aufgrund der in der Äußerung inskribierten sprachlichen Akte analysiert. Hierbei vollzieht H die Veränderungen, die S mit illokutiven, propositionalen und Äußerungsakten interaktional bewirkt, als aktive Tätigkeit, die zu einer Veränderung seiner mentalen Konstitution führt, mit. Eine solche Sichtweise erfordert die systematische Unterscheidung zwischen Sprecher- und Hörer-Handeln (Rehbein 2001a), bei letzterem noch einmal eine Unterscheidung zwischen den aktiven mentalen Vorgängen der Rezeption und den hörerbasierten Inter-

Vorgeschichte	(I) (II)	Situationseinschätzung Hörererwartungen
Geschichte	(III) (IV) *(V) (VI) (VII)	Perzeption (Hören des Äußerungsakts oder von Elementen des Äußerungsakts, Identifizieren des propositionalen und illokutiven Akts bzw. propositionaler oder illokutiver Elemente) Hörerplanbildung (Hörerfokus, Schemabildung, Plan der Äußerung von S) Rekonstruktion der engeren Vorgeschichte zum Plan von S (Rekonstruktion des Ziels, der Motivation, der Situationseinschätzung von S) Prüfen der Übereinstimmung von (IV) mit (II) *und von (V) mit (I) Planübernahme
Nachgeschichte	(VIII)	Anschlusshandlung

Abb. 69.1: „Rezeption“ durch den Hörer H mit Vor- und Nachgeschichte (* ist optional)

aktionen. Die Rezeption erfordert von H eine permanente aktive Tätigkeit, die *Mit-Konstruktion* genannt wurde (Ehlich 1979, 298 und 772f.).

Die Rezeption lässt sich in Weiterentwicklung von Rehbein 1977; Ehlich/Rehbein 1986 und Bührig 1996 schematisch in folgende Stadien bzw. Stufen untergliedern (vgl. im einzelnen Kameyama 2002; vgl. Abb. 69.1).

Die „Vorgeschichte“ der „Rezeption“ besteht darin, dass H basierend auf dem Vorwissen eine „Situationseinschätzung“ vollzieht und entsprechend „Hörererwartungen“ ausbildet. Diese steuern die Rezeption und werden umgekehrt auch laufend der Rezeption angepasst. H rezipiert die sprachliche Handlung von S also in einem spezifischen Handlungszusammenhang, dem eine spezifische Handlungsstruktur und -konstellation zugrunde liegt. Während S die sprachliche Handlung ausführt, „perzipiert“ H diese, d. h. er identifiziert den in den Äußerungsakt inskribierten illokutiven und propositionalen Akt, indem er die sprachliche Äußerung gemäß der Handlungscharakteristik der darin enthaltenen sprachlichen Prozeduren verarbeitet. Mit der „Hörerplanbildung“ rekonstruiert H den Plan der Äußerung von S. Ob H weiter die dazugehörige engere Vorgeschichte rekonstruiert und anschließend die Übereinstimmung der Situationseinschätzungen überprüft, hängt davon ab, ob dies für das Verstehen der Gesamthandlung erforderlich ist. Schon während der Hörerplanbildung wird laufend die Übereinstimmung des Hörerplans mit der Hörererwartung geprüft.

Entscheidend für das Verstehen ist also nicht das lineare Durchlaufen aller Rekonstruktionsstufen, sondern, ob H den illokutiven Punkt des sprecherseitigen Teils der

Gesamthandlung mitvollzieht und aufgrund dessen in der Lage ist, den Plan von S als Plan für den hörerseitigen Teil der Gesamthandlung zu übernehmen (Planübernahme). Die Ausführung des hörerseitigen Teils der Gesamthandlung selbst – einer Anschluss-handlung – gehört zur Nachgeschichte der Rezeption.

Im Diskurs wird der mentale Prozess von H durch hörerbasierte Interaktionen begleitet. (Umgekehrt gesehen sind Höreräußerungen Hinweise auf eine „Hörerplanbildung“.) Die hörerbasierten Interaktionen dienen der „Verständigung“ i.S. einer formalen Kooperation; die „Verständigung“ ist durch den kommunikativen Apparat der Sprecher-Hörer-Steuerung (kurz: Steuerungsapparat) geregelt. Treten im Verständigungsprozess Rezeptionsdefizite auf, wird das sprecherbasierte Handeln zugunsten der Verständigung sistiert, der Verständigungsprozess selbst zum Zweck erhoben und die Defizite mittels verständnissicherndem Handeln (Kameyama 2002) reparativ bearbeitet.

Im Text kommt es zu einer Zerdehnung (Dissoziation) der Sprechsituation (Ehlich 1983), wodurch die Rezeptionssituation des Textes von der Sprechsituation der Textproduktion abgekoppelt wird. Auf der Basis dieser Konzeption hat Schramm 2001 am fremdsprachlichen Leseprozess empirisch (durch aufgezeichnetes lautes Denken und retrospektive Interviews) herausgearbeitet, dass die Rezeption, die zu einem (kongruenten) Verstehen führt, als (komplexe) Leserplanbildung zu modellieren ist. Entstehen im Laufe des Leseprozesses Inkonsistenzen, so versucht der Leser diese mittels kompensatorischen Integrierens sowie kompensatorischen integrativen Schließens im Rahmen

eines kognitiv-operativen Begründens (Ehlich/Rehbein 1986) aufzulösen. – Das Verstehen grammatischer Konstruktionen in fremdsprachlichen Texten durch norwegische Lerner untersucht Fabricius-Hansen 1999. (Zum Verstehen und zur Verständlichkeit von Texten allgemein vgl. die Bibliographie von Biere 1991).

In der Konversationsanalyse wird demgegenüber (gesellschaftliche) Wirklichkeit radikal-konstruktivistisch als Vollzugswirklichkeit aufgefasst; sie muss im sinnhaft konzentrierten Handeln durch fortwährende Sinnzuschreibungen und -deutungen immer wieder neu interaktiv konstituiert werden (Bergmann 2001). Hier richtete sich das Erkenntnisinteresse zunächst auf die „Methoden“ (Garfinkel), auf die „Interpretationsverfahren“ und „Accounts“ (Cicourel), mittels derer Sprecher interaktiv Sinn konstituieren, nicht jedoch auf die mentalen Mit-Konstruktionen sprachlicher Handlungen durch einen Hörer.

Konversationsanalytisch gesehen, haben Zeichen als Mittel zur Sinnkonstitution die Eigenschaft, „innerhalb der Wissensbestände einer Ethnie auf *vielfältige* Kontexte zu verweisen“ (Patzelt 1987). Nach Gumperz verwenden Sprecher „Kontextualisierungshinweise“ prosodischer, phonologischer, morphosyntaktischer, lexikalischer Art, bis hin zu formelhaften Ausdrücken (Gumperz 1982a), um Zeichen auf bestimmte Kontexte zu beziehen; diese ermöglichen ein *Verstehen*, indem sie Inferenzprozesse auf der Ebene der Perzeption, der kommunikativen Intention sowie in einem umfassenderen Sinn auf der Ebene der Aktivität anstoßen (Gumperz 1992).

8. Sprachliche Felder, sprachliche Prozeduren

In der weiteren Entwicklung hielten die nicht-empirischen Richtungen am Konzept des „Sprechakts“ fest, während in der funktionalen Pragmatik die „Sprechhandlung“ in die „Akte“ der Illokution, der Proposition und der Äußerung analysiert und diese Akte selbst weiter zerlegt wurden, nicht zuletzt, um die konkrete sprachliche Umsetzung der Akte in Transkriptionen und Texten nachzuweisen und zu erklären. Deshalb wurde nach kleineren Handlungseinheiten geforscht, die in der Kommunikation die sprachliche Realisierung von Handlungen, Apparaten sowie Diskurs- und Textarten tragen und als

Scharniere zwischen S, H und übergreifenden Strukturkomponenten dienen, in denen sich die sprachlichen Funktionen, wie sie sich in den mentalen Prozessen hörerseitig niederschlagen, formal erfassen lassen und damit den bekannten linguistischen Analyse-Instrumentarien öffnen. Diese die sprachliche Oberflächen- und die kommunikative Tiefenstruktur en détail vermittelnde, diskurs- und textanalytische Komponente ist die Kategorie der *sprachlichen Prozedur*; sie beruht auf der Theorie der „sprachlichen Felder“, die von Ehlich (1979; 1986c; 1999b) in Aufnahme der Bühlerschen Unterscheidung von *Zeigfeld* und *Symbolfeld* (Bühler 1934) entworfen wurde. Sprachliche Prozeduren entfalten als kleinste Handlungseinheiten eine dem zugehörigen Feld entsprechende spezifische Handlungsdynamik; sie haben eine formal-interaktionale und eine mentale Seite. Im folgenden seien die bislang bekannten sprachlichen Felder und einige ihrer typischen Prozeduren aufgeführt (vgl. den Überblick in Abb. 69.2):

- die *expressiven* Prozeduren des Malfeldes wie Imitationen, geheimnisvolle oder expressive Intonation („Riesenkawenzmann“), die in Atmosphärisches involvieren (Redder 1994);
- die *expeditiven* Prozeduren des Lenkfeldes wie Interjektionen, Imperativ und Vokativ, die in verschiedene psychische Dimensionen des Handelns und des Handlungsprozesses bei H unmittelbar eingreifen, ohne einen „Umweg“ über propositionale Strukturen zu nehmen (Ehlich 1986c; Liedke 1994; Rasoloson 1994);
- die *deiktischen* Prozeduren des Zeigfeldes wie „da“, „hier“, „jetzt“, „dann“, „dort“ „du“, „ich“ usw., die (ausgehend von einer Origo der Sprechsituation) die Aufmerksamkeit von H in verschiedenen Räumen (Wahrnehmungsraum, Vorstellungsraum, Rede- bzw. Textraum) auf bestimmte außersprachliche Objekte fokussieren (Ehlich 1979; 1987b; Redder 2000a);
- durch die *nennenden* Prozeduren des Symbolfeldes z.B. in Nomen, Verben, Adjektiven, Präpositionen (traditionell: in deren *lexikalischen* Bestandteilen) wird ein Element der Wirklichkeit versprachlicht, dadurch aus seiner situationellen Bindung ablösbar und durch andere Aktanten, die über die Benennung verfügen, identifizierbar. Wenn also S eine nennende Prozedur verwendet, wird H dadurch instand gesetzt, aufgrund seines Wissens das be-

- nannte Element der Wirklichkeit zu finden. Die Symbolfeldausdrücke stellen also ein sprachliches Potential für Verbalisieren und Rezipieren von Wissenspartikeln bereit; im Diskurs/Text als dem synsemantischen Umfeld wird die sprachliche Benennung der Wirklichkeit mit der Kategorie des Wissens vermittelt (Rehbein 1998b);
- die *operativen* Prozeduren des Operationsfeldes wie phorische Prozeduren mit den Ausdrücken „er“, „sie“, „es“ oder Konjunktionen (Redder 1990) oder auch die Satzform (Hoffmann 1996; Ehlich 1999a), die die Verarbeitung des sprachlichen Wissens (u. a. das Verstehen) bei H bewirken.

Feldtranspositionen sprachlicher Formen (Ehlich 1994) sind diskursanalytisch wichtig: So wechselt z. B. der Symbolfeldausdruck „danken“ unter der Einwirkung der Apparate der Sprecher-Hörersteuerung und der Höflichkeit in para-expeditives „danke!“ (Redder 1999b; Reisigl 1999; Rehbein 2002a), pluralisches „sie“ (operatives Feld) wird zu der para-deiktischen Höflichkeitsform „Sie“ (Rehbein 2002a), auch „oben“, „unten“ usw. in Texten ist para-deiktisch (Ehlich 1992a); viele sprachliche Formeln (Redewendungen) (Coulmas 1981; Peters 1983) kombinieren Feldtranspositionen zu einer para-symbolischen Struktur (mit eingebundenen Konstellationskomponenten). – Nach Bühler entfaltet sich der Feldcharakter sprachlicher Ausdrucksformen, d. h. deren prozedurales Potential, erst im Diskurs und im Text (vgl. Bühlig/Rehbein 1996).

Heute können auch Sprachen als Systeme sprachlichen Handelns betrachtet werden

und ihr Sprachbau – im ganzen wie im einzelnen – auf der Basis einer Systematizität miteinander in ein Verhältnis gesetzt werden (Rehbein 1995c; 2002c). Holistische Charakteristiken von Sprachen als Ganzheiten sind dabei nicht unbedingt gegen Aussagen über ihre Einzelstrukturen auszuspielen. Dabei ist davon auszugehen, dass die sprachlichen Felder von jeder Sprache spezifiziert genutzt werden, jedoch in einem typologisch gesteuerten Zugriff. Mittels der Bestimmung der prozeduralen Qualität einer sprachlichen Form ist ihre Funktion herauszuarbeiten und so auch ihr jeweiliger sprachtypologischer Stellenwert festzulegen. Die Humboldtsche Idee von der Relativität der Einzelsprachen konkretisiert sich z. B. insbesondere im Symbolfeld (vgl. die sich kognitiv-linguistisch verstehenden Arbeiten von Talmy 2000; Gumperz/Levinson 1996; Pütz/Verspoor 2000; vgl. Art. 140); anhand lexikographischer Kontrastierungen wird von Ayivi 2000 das in den Symbolfeldern von Ewe vs. Deutsch niedergelegte Wissen behandelt. Eine erhebliche Erweiterung erfuhr die Klassifikation des Symbolfeldes deutscher Verben durch das umfassende Werk von Ballmer/Brennenstuhl 1986 (s. auch §12).

9. Pragmatik und Grammatik

Wie wirkt sich die Konzeption von der Komplexität des Handelns für die Analyse des grammatischen Formbestands der Sprache – und der Sprachen – aus?

Das Verhältnis von Grammatik und Pragmatik war und ist neu zu bedenken; so etwa

sprachliche Prozedur	sprachliches Feld	Realisierungsformen der sprachlichen Prozeduren						mentaler Bereich des Hörers (: H)
		Einheiten/ Einzelwörter	Morpheme	Intonation i.w.S	Satzform	NVK	Aktion	
expressiv	Malfeld		+	+				Involvierung in Atmosphärisches
expeditiv	Lenkfeld	+	+				+	unmittelbarer Eingriff in d. Handlungsprozess v. H.
deiktisch	Zeigfeld	+	+				+	Fokussierung des H auf Objekte in verschied. Räumen
nennend	Symbolfeld	+						Aktualisierung von Wissen-Konzept-Wirklichkeit
operativ	Operationsfeld	+	+		+			Verarbeitung von Sprache als Sprache (im sprachlichen Wissen)

Abb. 69.2: Tabelle nach Ehlich 1986b, 139 (mit Realisierungsformen für das Deutsche)

die Tempus-Frage (Weinrich 1964; Klein 1994), die Modalverben (Ehlich/Rehbein 1972a) und andere Bereiche (Ehrlich/Finke 1975; Stickel 1984). Gehört die Pragmatik integral in die Basis der Grammatik, wie dies zumindest ansatzweise in der „Functional Grammar“ konzipiert wird (Dik 1978; s. jetzt die Arbeiten zu Thema-Rhema, Operatoren und koordinierenden Konjunktionen in verschiedenen Sprachen in Connolly/Vismans/Butler/Gatward 1997), oder ist sie eher als „zentrales Modul“ (Ducrot 1984; Moeschler/Reboul 1994) bzw. lediglich als „peripheres Modul“ (z. B. Reis 1987) anzusehen? In der radikalen Sichtweise einer gesellschaftlichen Perspektive auf Sprache stellt die Grammatik abstrakte formale Mittel bereit, die für die sprachlich-kommunikative Realisierung gesellschaftlicher Handlungszwecke in geeigneter Weise funktionalisiert werden können. Die Analyse grammatischer Formen ist denn auch unter der Frage, welche Form welche Zwecke erfüllt, vorzunehmen. Pragmatisch betrachtet, sind dabei Syntax, Morphologie und Prosodie dem Äußerungsakt von S zuzuordnen, der wiederum die formal-grammatischen Mittel dieser Bereiche auch mit illokutivem und propositionalem Akt verbindet und die mentalen Verarbeitungen (Prozesse) von H organisiert (Redder/Rehbein 1999 und die dort behandelten Grammatikansätze; vgl. Art. 12). Ein wichtiger Schlüsselbegriff für eine pragmatisch orientierte Funktionsanalyse grammatischer Strukturen ist der Begriff der *Konstruktion*. Stellt man Grammatik in der genannten radikalen Sichtweise in den Handlungszusammenhang von Sprecher *und* Hörer, dann lässt sie sich als Gesamtheit von *Konstruktionen* bestimmen, die S beim sprachlichen Handeln (in Vorauskonstruktionen) plant und verbalisiert und H bei der Rezeption umsetzt. Im Konstruieren und Mit-Konstruieren greifen S und H auf *gemeinsame* Strukturen wie Präsuppositionen und Wissensstrukturen (s. u. § 11) zu und verarbeiten auch ihr grammatisches Wissen als gemeinsames. Die gemeinsamen Strukturen dienen als Basis für hörerseitige Schlussprozeduren.

Es sind nun sprachliche Prozeduren, die erlauben, Grammatik handlungstheoretisch aufzudröseln und – pointiert gesagt – Grammatik als Pragmatik funktional zu rekonstruieren. So können auch die nicht zur Phrasenstruktur gehörenden sprachlichen Elemente (wie etwa Partikeln) in ihrer Funk-

ionalität erfasst werden; darüber hinaus nichtgrammatische Strukturen wie etwa Interjektionen, Malfeldausdrücke usw. „Sprachliche Prozeduren“ liefern damit eine methodologische Basis für eine Form-Funktions-Bestimmung grammatischer Strukturen. So ist das Verhältnis von Grammatik, Diskurs und Text in Konstellationen des Handelns zu untersuchen, indem Konstruktionen gefunden werden, die es ermöglichen, die mit bestimmten grammatischen Verfahren verknüpften mentalen Prozesse zu rekonstruieren. Damit soll das Verhältnis von Grammatik zu Text und Diskurs bzw. „Konversation“ nicht als additives (vgl. etwa Ochs/Schegloff/Thompson 1996), sondern als funktionales modelliert werden. Eine Untersuchung der Modalverben, die die grammatische Analyse mit der von Funktionen im institutionellen Diskurs verbindet, hat Redder 1984 vorgelegt.

Im folgenden kann nur eine Auswahl von Arbeiten gegeben werden. Die Grundidee einer pragmatischen Analyse grammatischer Formen ist dabei, dass die sprachlichen Prozeduren einen formalen Mechanismus entwickeln, der den Ausdruckselementen inhärent ist und sich morphosyntaktisch nachweisen lässt; wie z. B. Komplementierer (Redder 1990) oder das Finitum (Redder 1992; Rehbein 1995c). Die Satzform selbst (Hoffmann 1996; Ehlich 1997; 1999a) wird als eine *Prozedurenintegration* angesehen, die operativen Prozeduren der Wortstellung bearbeiten den sprachspezifischen Wissensaufbau des Hörers (Rehbein 1992; Matras 1994). Untersucht wurden die Verfahren der Klammerung (Eroms 1999), der Konnektivität türkischer Konverbien (Rehbein 1999a), einzelner Konnektoren wie „auch“, „und“, „deshalb“, „aber“ usw. (etwa Redder 1987; Ehlich 1992a; Graefen 1997; Matras 1995; Rehbein 1989; 1995a), die Modi von Äußerungen als *Prozedurenensembles* aus verschiedenen Feldern (Rehbein 1999b), Präpositionalkonstruktionen als relationierende Prozeduren in Schülertexten (Grießhaber 1998). Bednarsky 2002 kontrastiert deutsche und tschechische als para-operative Ausdrücke (aus dem Symbolfeld) mit unterschiedlichen Kasusmerkmalen. Die *Prozedurenkombinationen* des Relativums in deutschen und arabischen Texten (Eissenhauer 1999) und nicht zuletzt der komplexe prozedurale Aufbau des deutschen Verbs (Redder 1992; 1999a) machen eine theoretische Einbindung der Grammatik in die Dis-

kursanalyse plausibel. Auch Abweichungen von der Standardsatzform wie Anakoluthe, Ellipsen und Analepsen (Hoffmann 1991; 1997b; 1998; 1999) entfalten ihre Funktionalität erst im Diskurs. Herkenrath/Karakoç/Rehbein 2002 liefern eine einheitliche Bestimmung interrogativ und nicht-interrogativ verwendeter WH-Elemente als operative Prozedurenkombination im Türkischen und im Deutschen. (vgl. auch Art. 113)

10. Äußerungsakte, empirisch

Das Erscheinungsbild sprachlichen Handelns in Text und Diskurs (Rede) wird durch Äußerungsakte gegliedert. Sprache als Rede erscheint zwar manchen Beobachtern als ein unstrukturierter Fluss von Lauten, allenfalls von Wörtern, für Rezipienten und Produzenten aber als Folge strukturierter Ganzheiten, mit denen die Kommunikation in fragloser Weise funktioniert. Diese strukturierten Ganzheiten, jene die Linearität übergreifenden Zusammengehörigkeiten von Ausdrücken, kurz, die Gliederungen der Sprache, werden „Segmente“ genannt. Die Segmente wurden in Ehlich/Rehbein 1977b als „sprachliche Handlungseinheiten“ abgegliedert, werden jedoch heute nach noch feineren Handlungsstrukturen, den sprachlichen Prozeduren, gefiltert. Während in Texten die Äußerungsakte „satzähnliche“ Formen vom Autor gekennzeichnet und von den Lesern entsprechend perzipiert werden, werden sie beim Reden nach allen Dimensionen der Sprache, also nach, prosodischen, phonologisch-phonetischen, morphosyntaktischen usw. sowie nonverbalen Kriterien, segmentiert (cf. Ehlich/Rehbein 1986; Keseling 1992; Redder/Ehlich 1994; Ehlich 1996 sowie Rehbein 1995b und die dort angegebene Literatur).

Das *Segmentieren* beruht also auf dem Konzept des „*Äußerungsakts*“, er ist die grundlegende Segmentierungseinheit. „*Äußerungsakte*“ sind typisierende Strukturelemente der Sprache (sowohl von Text als auch von Diskurs), „*Segmente*“ sind typisierende Strukturelemente der (analytischen) Erfassung von Sprache und insbesondere der Verschriftlichung (: Transkription). Beim Transkribieren wird durch die konventionelle Interpunktion, die *auch* Charakteristika gesprochener Sprache reflektiert, bereits eine Segmentierung eingearbeitet. Segmente werden im Transkript linear gezählt und können bei statistischen Analysen

als Maßeinheit von Diskursen zugrunde gelegt werden.

Charakteristisch für die Segmentierung ist ihr interpretativer Charakter, d.h. ihre doppelte Revidierbarkeit im Zuge der kommunikativen Tiefenanalyse und der Hörkorrekturen beim Transkribieren. Eine typologisierende Systematik des Segmentierens wird in Rehbein 1995b begründet, ein Handbuch für das Segmentieren nach Äußerungsakten beim Transkribieren ist Rehbein/Grießhaber/ Löning/Hartung/Bühlig 1993; Hohenstein/Kameyama 2000 zeigen das Segmentieren japanischer Diskurse; zum Konzept der „Äußerung“ in der diskursanalytischen Forschungsliteratur, vgl. Art. 123. Anzustreben ist überdies die standardisierte Segmentierung von Äußerungen in elektronischen Transkriptionen, um so Datenbankspeicherung, Weiterverarbeitbarkeit und weltweiten Datenaustausch systemübergreifend und langfristig zu ermöglichen (vgl. Rehbein et al. 1983; Schmidt 2002).

11. Wissen

Wissen, Wissensstrukturen und Wissenssysteme stellen mental-kollektive Verarbeitungen und zugleich Bestimmungsgrößen gesellschaftlicher Strukturen dar; „Wissen“ ist demnach nicht homogen-einheitlich bzw. subjektiv-teilnehmerbezogen zu fassen (wie etwa in der Ethnomethodologie). Während in einer Reihe von Arbeiten Wissen bzw. Wissenssysteme mit den in der Kognitionswissenschaft entwickelten Begriffen „script“, „schemata“ und „frame“ modelliert werden (vgl. die Überblicke in Mandl/Spada 1988; Scherner 2000; Strohner 2000; Strohner/Brose 2001), wurde in der Pragmatik eine sprachbezogene und transindividuelle Wissenskonzeption entwickelt (vgl. Ehlich/Rehbein 1977); sie greift einerseits Marxsche und Hegelsche, andererseits französische ethnologische sowie Traditionen der Wissenssoziologie, der Gestaltpsychologie und der Ethnomethodologie auf. Entsprechend werden Wissensstrukturen, ähnlich repetitiv wie Muster und Apparate, nicht lokal ausgehandelt; sie sind meist mit gesellschaftlichen Rollen, Klassen und Gruppen verbunden (vgl. Art. 47; 48). Ohne Wissensstrukturen ist repetitives sprachliches Handeln mit verschiedenen Aktanten insbesondere in Institutionen undenkbar (Ehlich/Rehbein 1972b; Rehbein/Löning 1995).

Wissensstrukturen bestehen aus drei Komponenten und einer Operation etwa wie

folgt: (i) Es ist S, der/die weiß, dass ein Gewusstes einem anderen Gewussten *zukommt*, d.h. Wissen ist eine *dreistellige Relation*; (ii) S unterzieht die spezifische Zukommensrelation einem *Bewerten*. Wissensstrukturtypen sind mit unterschiedlichem Allgemeinheitsgrad spezifiziert in partikuläres Erfahrungswissen, Einschätzungen, Bilder, Sentenzen, Maximen, Routine- und Musterwissen (= „Aktantenwissen“; cf. Ehlich/Rehbein 1977a).

Sprachliches Handeln bearbeitet Wissen in unterschiedlicher Weise: So können Wissensstrukturen übertragen (z.B. in Lehr-Lern-Diskursen; s. Brünner 1987), bei H aktiviert (etwa beim Begründen), verallgemeinert (etwa im politischen Diskurs; vgl. Rehbein 1993b), an H adaptiert (Bührig 1996) bzw. im homileischen Diskurs gruppenmäßig stabilisiert werden. Im psychoanalytischen Diskurs wird von Wissensstrukturtypen Gebrauch gemacht (Flader 1995), der Erfolg des mathematischen Diskurses hängt an der kommunikativen Aktivierung von Wissensstrukturtypen (von Kügelgen 1994). Auch gibt es im und durch den Diskurs Übergänge von Einschätzungen zu Bildern und Sentenzen und umgekehrt auch eine Weiterentwicklung des Vor-Urteils mittels Kritik (vgl. Ehlich 1998). Demgegenüber sind weder Stereotype (s. Redder 1995; Quasthoff 1998) noch „Zuschreibungen“ (Askriptionen) in Psychologie und Soziologie oder „Mentalitäten“ in Ethnologie und Geschichtswissenschaft Wissensstrukturen (de Jong 2000).

Im institutionellen Handeln ist das Wissen auf die Agenten der Institutionen anders als auf die Klienten verteilt. Bei fachinternem Diskurs wird zwischen den Agenten professionelles Wissen versprachlicht, vom Arzt dem Patienten gegenüber semiprofessionelles Wissen, vom Patienten Alltagswissen und u.U. paraprofessionelles Wissen (Löning 1994; Rehbein/Löning 1995; Rehbein 1993a; 1994b). Viele Textsorten dienen der Vermittlung von Wissen zwischen Agenten („fachintern“) bzw. von Agenten an Klienten („fachextern“; s. Möhn 2000). In interdisziplinären Diskursen und Texten kann eine noch breitere Spezifikation des Wissens (professionelles, semiprofessionelles, allgemein wissenschaftliches Wissen, Wahrnehmungswissen und visualisiertes Wissen) unter Bezug auf entsprechende Sachverhaltsrepräsentationen versprachlicht werden (vgl. Rehbein 1998b). In den Dateien von Ämtern und Behörden findet zuneh-

mend eine De-Textualisierung, ja, geradezu eine Entsprachlichung von Wissensbeständen statt (vgl. Rehbein 1998a). Der Umgang mit Wissen kann sich wiederum in spezifischen Handlungsmustern niederschlagen, wie z.B. in den Illustrationen von Schülererzählungen (s. Becker-Mrotzek 1989), aber vor allem auch in den Ausprägungen der Frage als des ausgezeichneten Musters für S, von H die Füllung von Wissensdefiziten anzufordern (vgl. z.B. Ehlich 1981; Ehlich/Rehbein 1986; Rehbein 1993a; 1999b). Die wissenschaftliche Ausbildung der sprachlichen Handlung des Einschätzens, mit der Wissensstrukturen in Bezug gesetzt werden, diskutiert Redder 2002.

Der Bereich des Wissens, in verschiedenen Arbeiten zusammenfassend mit „II-Bereich“ bezeichnet, und sein Verhältnis zu Sprache und Wirklichkeit ist zwar noch relativ unerforscht, jedoch gibt es bereits Untersuchungen auf der Basis sprachlich-dokumentarischen Materials (Grewenig 1980). Dies Verhältnis variiert unter anderem nach Text und Diskurs: Während im Diskurs durch die Aktanten als Wissensträger Diskurswissen *sur place* prozessiert wird (vgl. Rehbein/ Kameyama/Maleck 1994), das seinerseits nach Vorder- und Hintergrund strukturiert ist (vgl. Chafe 1994; Hoffmann 1995), ist der Text die sprachliche Form, in der Wissen von einer Konstellation in andere, zeitlich diskrete Konstellationen tradiert wird. Für Text und Diskurs ist gleichermaßen die Thema-Rhema-Organisation ein sprachliches Strukturierungsmittel (vgl. Eros 1986; Hoffmann 1992; 1997c; 2000; Grafen 1997; Ehlich/Rehbein 1986; Rehbein 1992).

Wissensstrukturen lassen sich aus den propositionalen Akten von Äußerungen durch klassifizierende Schritte gewinnen. Aufgrund ihrer funktionalen Verknüpfung mit Strukturen des propositionalen Akts sind die sprachlichen Prozeduren des Nennens (Symbolfeldausdrücke) und Zeigens (Deiktika) sowie die operativen Prozeduren für den Wissensaufbau bei H relevant. Insbesondere wird in Diskursen die Affinität zwischen komplexen Symbolfeldausdrücken (sprachlichen Formeln), spezifischen gesellschaftlichen Konstellationen (P-Bereich) und gesellschaftlichen Wissensstrukturtypen relevant (Feilke 1996); dies wird im Erzählen besonders funktional (s. auch Eisenmann 1995; Reershemius 1997; Fienemann 1999; Bredel 1999).

12. Formen und Funktionen von Text und Diskurs

Folgen sprachlicher Handlungen (komplexe Handlungen) mit eigenem gesellschaftlichen Oberflächencharakter – gesellschaftliche Strukturen der Kommunikation, die weder Institutionen noch einfache sprachliche Muster sind – werden in der Literatur mit Termini, die jeweils unterschiedliche Aspekte von Sequenzialität und Konkatenativität (s. Hohenstein 2002) reflektieren, zusammengefasst (vgl. den instruktiven Überblick in Bühlig/ten Thije in Art. 123). Im folgenden werden – wie bereits oben – die Termini „Diskurs“ und „Text“ gewählt (vgl. Brünner/Graefen 1994).

In der Pragmatik werden *Diskurse* als sprachliche Tätigkeiten von zwei oder mehr Aktanten verstanden, die in einer Sprechsituation kopräsent sind. Demgegenüber werden *Texte* ohne H-Präsenz hergestellt mit dem Zweck, sich verflüchtiges sprachliches Handeln zu „verdauern“ (Ehlich 1999a) und so Wissen in versprachlichter Form an Rezipienten in zeitlich differierten Konstellationen zu tradieren. Der Text ist also durch eine dissoziierte Sprechsituation gekennzeichnet (Ehlich 1983; 1984a; vgl. Art. 73). Werden Texte aus dem Gedächtnis reproduziert, spricht man von mündlichen Texten, etwa in der oralen Tradition oder beim Nacherzählen (Hanna/Liedke 1994) – eine Leistung, die dem menschlichen Aktanten durch das Medium der Schrift abgenommen wird (Ohg 1982; Ehlich/Coulmos/Graefen 1996; Ehlich 1996). Da Diskurse durch die Sprechsituation (allgemeiner: die Handlungskonstellation) „getragen“ werden, Texte jedoch die Konstellationselemente in verbalisierter Form enthalten, ergeben sich einige phänographische Unterschiede: Während im Diskurs Sequenzen und Verkettungen sprachlicher Handlungen emergieren, werden in Texten sprachliche Handlungen ausschließlich verkettet; während im Diskurs die Aktanten auf außersprachliche Objekte im Wahrnehmungsraum und in anderen Räumen deiktisch orientieren, wird im Text Wissen eher lexikalisiert (: symbolisiert) und in propositionaler Struktur präsentiert; in Texten haben Äußerungen gewöhnlich – im Unterschied zum Diskurs – Satzform (speziell hier kann die Textlinguistik ansetzen, vgl. z.B. Brinker 1993; Heinemann/Viehweger 1991). Nicht zuletzt sind Diskurse in nonverbal-korporelle Kommu-

nikation eingebettet (vgl. Ehlich/Rehbein 1982; Sager 2001), Texte hingegen auf mediale Repräsentationen angewiesen.

Eine *Klassifizierung* von Diskursen und Texten nach Formen und Arten bindet die Kategorien der Konstellation (Sprechsituation), spezifischer Aktanten, deren Ziele und Zwecke sowie eine Gesamtcharakteristik des betreffenden diskursiven/textuellen *Handlungsvollzugs* an spezifische sprachliche Wendungen sowie an standardmäßig damit erreichte Änderungen der Konstellation. Damit sind in Diskurs- und Textarten jeweils Ausschnitte gesellschaftlicher Wirklichkeit vor-organisiert. – Bereits der Alttestamentler Gunkel arbeitete für Textgattungen des alten Testaments, die Psalmen, den „Sitz im Leben“ als Charakteristikum heraus – eine Zweckbestimmung, die avant la lettre pragmatische Kategorien nutzt (vgl. Gunkel 1913; Ehlich 2000; zu „Textsorten“ s. die Bibliographie von Adamzik 1995).

Im Zusammenhang mit dem Problem einer Taxonomie von „Sprechakten“ – jedoch auch unabhängig davon – stellte sich die Frage nach diesen übergreifenden Organisationsformen menschlicher Rede und deren Bezug zu den gesellschaftlichen Gruppen und Klassen. Hier wird der Gedanke der „Komplexität“ (= der Zusammengesetztheit) des sprachlichen Handelns unmittelbar relevant. In der Linguistischen Pragmatik war die Untersuchung komplexer Diskurs- und Textformen allerdings schon an der Tagesordnung, bevor sie Levinson 1979 unter dem Etikett „activity type“ für die Konversationsanalyse als Bezugsgröße „entdeckte“.

Bereits Austin 1962 hatte auf der Basis von knapp hundert Verben eine Klassifizierung vorgeschlagen; Searle 1975 und andere haben sie ohne wesentliche Erweiterung fortgeschrieben. Was bislang fehlt, ist eine systematisch-analytische Erfassung der Sachbereiche auf der Basis eines ausreichend großen Corpus. Die Probleme einer präzisen Applikation von Klassifizierungen auf empirische Diskurse werden in Rehbein/Mazeland 1991 anhand von lautem Denken von Kodierern diskutiert.

Für eine Typologie von Text- und Diskursformen (s. Kallmeyer 1986) werden im folgenden einige prinzipielle Unterscheidungen für die empirische Klassifikation von Diskursformen vorgeschlagen.

- 1) Einer der wichtigsten Gesichtspunkte bei einer Klassifikation sollte die Erarbeitung und Feststellung der *Zwecke*

- der Formen, d.h. ihrer Funktionen sein; daraus sind die einzelnen Formmerkmale zu bestimmen. In diesem Sinn hat der französische Sprachsoziologe Marcel Cohen 1971 ein Spektrum unterschiedlicher Diskurs- und Textformen nach ihrem gesellschaftlichen Ort (Funktionsbereich) geordnet.
- 2) Wir können uns bei der Klassifikation teilweise an den Bezeichnungen der Alltagssprache orientieren, jedoch haben diese historische Dimensionen (s. Nies 1978 für das Französische, Sitta 1980). – Auszugehen ist jedenfalls von einem ausreichenden Corpus, das unter Leitung von Alltagsbezeichnungen durchanalysiert werden kann. Anzustreben sind corpusbezogene Klassifikationskriterien (zur Gewinnung des Freiburger Corpus wurden Redekonstellationsmerkmale entwickelt, s. Steger u. a. 1974).
 - 3) Die Struktur einer Form ist jeweils mit und ohne Kopräsenz des Adressaten eine andere (Schlieben-Lange 1983; Ehlich 1983); deshalb ist es unzureichend, Diskurs- und Textformen unterschiedslos als „Textsorten“ (Gülich/Raible 1972) zu qualifizieren.
 - 4) Zu unterscheiden sind sequentielle Großformen qualitativ nach Grad und Umfang, wie etwa Unterhaltung, Gespräch, Schwatz, Konversation, Diskussion, Unterredung, usw. Handelt es sich um Gattungen, Arten, Typen, Subtypen oder andere Strukturen?
 - 5) Global ist zwischen der institutionsspezifischen Kommunikation, die verbindlich-zielgerichtete Formen hervorbringt, und dem homileischen Diskurs, der durch den Zweck des geselligen Beisammenseins, der Unterhaltung, charakterisiert ist, zu unterscheiden (Ehlich/Rehbein 1980). Beispielsweise haben bewertende Kommentare innerhalb eines homileischen Diskurses eine andere Funktion als in einem Lehr-Lern-Diskurs.
- 6.1) Es werden institutionsspezifische und durch die Institution veränderte alltägliche Diskursformen entwickelt z. B. Plädoyers vor Gericht (Hoffmann 1983), juristische Akten (Seibert 1981), Visitengespräche im Krankenhaus (Bliesener 1982), Sprache in religiösen Zusammenhängen (Gülich 1981; Cölfen/Enninger 1999), viele Diskurs- und Textformen in der Verwaltung (Rehbein 1998b; Becker-Mrotzek 2001), bei der Abwicklung von Kauf-Verkauf (bei den Eipo regulieren Besuchsreden das Geben und Nehmen zwischen den Dörfern (Heeschen 1985; vgl. auch Art. 91)), im Betrieb (z. B. Brünner 1987; 2000; Fiehler 1980; Mattheier 1986 zu schriftlichen Formen in Industriebetrieben des 19. Jahrhunderts (s. auch Buhofer 1985)), Diskursformen in der Politik (in der Französischen Revolution haben sich neue Formen mündlicher Rede in politischen Versammlungen herausgebildet (Schlieben-Lange 1983)) und/oder in den Medien (Schlickau 1995; Sucharowski 1985, wo Strategien innerhalb einer politischen Diskussion diskutiert werden; Drescher 2001) einschließlich Formen des Widersprechens (s. Spranz-Fogasy 1986). Das Verhandeln – auch international (Stalpers 1987; Ehlich/Wagner 1995; Rehbein 1995d; 2001d) – hat hier seinen Ort. Anders diskutieren informelle Gruppen, die etwa gemeinsam planen (Fritz 1975) oder argumentieren, streiten und schlichten (Wohlrapp 1995; Deppermann 1997; Gruber 1996, Schwitalla 2001). Hervorzuheben ist der therapeutische Diskurs als eigener komplexer Diskurstyp (Labov/Fanshel 1977; Flader/Grodzicki/Schröter 1982; vgl. Art. 252).
 - 6.2) Im homileischen Diskurs werden „Idealisierungen der Realität“ (Fiktionalisierung, Ästhetisierung usw.) gemeinsam von Sprecher und Hörer gemacht. Diskursformen wie Witzemachen, Scherzen (Kotthoff 1994; 1998), Klatsch und Tratsch (Bergmann 1987), Erzählen usw. etwa gehören, wie die ethnographische und ethnolinguistische Literatur zeigt (Fuchs 1984; vgl. Art. 137), funktional in den Zusammenhang des homileischen Diskurses. Schon früh hatte die einflussreiche Untersuchung Labov/Waletzky 1967 den komplexen Aufbau der Erfahrungsrekonstruktion mittels Erzählen von Todesangst gezeigt. Eine Großform der Rekonstruktion sozialer Erfahrung ist das biographische Erzählen (s. Schütze 1982; Kohli/Robert 1984; Rehbein 1982; 1989; Linde 1987). Erwähnt sei in diesem Funktionsbereich der fiktionale Diskurs in Alltagserzählungen (Stempel 1980; Schütte 2001 zu Alltagsgesprächen) bzw. in der oralen Literatur.

- 6.3) Bei den spezifisch homileischen Diskursformen spielt auch die Institution eine einflussreiche Rolle. So werden z. B. Erzählungen im Unterricht (Flader/Hurrelmann 1984), vor Gericht (Hoffmann 1983; 1989; 2001), in Beratungen (Rehbein 1980), auf dem Sozialamt (Quasthoff 1980) gegenüber ihrer Alltagsverwendung spezifisch verändert, ausländische Arbeiter erzählen im Deutschen anders (Dittmar/Thielicke 1979) als in der Muttersprache (Rehbein 1986), Rätselraten und Problemlösen in der Kindergruppe werden von der Institution Schule funktionalisiert und in ihrer Formqualität spezifisch verändert (Ehlich/Rehbein 1986).
- 7) Sprachsoziologisch interessant sind Varianten komplexerer Formen des Redens, z. B. des Erklärens (Hohenstein 2002), Berichtens, Erläuterns, Argumentierens, Begründens usw., in verschiedenen Konstellationen (s. o. §5). Um die Einwirkung strukturierter gesellschaftlicher Zusammenhänge, wie etwa Institutionen bzw. Institute, auf komplexe Handlungsfolgen zu untersuchen, können z. B. Frage-Sequenzen (Levinson 1979; Rehbein 1984b) bei der Polizei, im Examen, vor Gericht, in der soziolinguistischen Datenerhebung (vgl. Art. 104), im Unterricht und beim Arzt miteinander verglichen werden, wenn möglich, in verschiedenen Gesellschaften. Die Spezifik der jeweiligen Formen kann dabei auch durch eine Art konfrontativer Analyse (Rehbein 1984a) herausgearbeitet werden: So Beschreiben vs. Erzählen, Erklären vs. Beschreiben, Rechtfertigen vs. Begründen bzw. vs. Entschuldigen, Ankündigen vs. Einleiten usw.; hier gibt es präzise historisch-systematische interpretative Instrumentarien des konfrontativen Vorgehens, um Grundstruktur und Varianz zu gewinnen. – Die pragmatisch orientierte Stilistik (Sandig 1986; van Peer/ Renkema 1984) hat in dieser Domäne ein breites Arbeitsfeld.
- 8) Bei der Bestimmung des Sitzes im Leben ist die empirische Einbindung (Bühler 1934) von Diskurs- und Textformen ein Kriterium. So sind Gebrauchsanweisungen und Erklärungen an die Präsenz des zu erklärenden Sachverhalts (zumindest als Modell) gekoppelt (Ehlich/Noack/Scheiter eds. 1994). Dem gegenüber stehen Gattungen wie Berichte, in denen absente Erfahrung verbalisiert wird. All diese können wieder im Rahmen von Medien (Zeitungen) als Text auftreten. Die hier erwähnten Diskurs- und Textformen gehören in den Funktionsbereich der Weitergabe von Information und der gezielten Übertragung von Handlungsplänen an Koaktanten.
- 9) Für andere Diskursformen ist die Erfassung und Analyse permanent ablaufender Bewertungsprozesse und deren Integration zu Entscheidungsstrukturen von zentraler Wichtigkeit (vgl. Rehbein 1995d). Griefhaber 1987 hat herausgefunden, dass der Diskurstyp „Bewerbungsgespräch“ durch seine Übernahme in einen anderen Diskurstyp, den Lehr-Lern-Diskurs, lediglich in einigen, sprachlich-interaktionalen Handlungen zitiert wird, jedoch mentale Handlungen, die das Bewerbungsgespräch als Entscheidungsdiskurs charakterisieren, suspendiert werden: eine spezifische Funktionalisierung einer Diskursform durch eine Institution. In der Arzt-Patienten-Kommunikation sind professionelle Wissensstrukturen ebenso diskursstrukturierend als auch nahezu unrekonstruierbar durch den Patienten, da die ärztlichen Entscheidungsprozesse selbst kaum verbalisiert werden (Rehbein 1986a).
- 10) Für die Analyse der Diskursformen ist nicht zuletzt ein bislang zu wenig berücksichtigter Aspekt als essentiell anzusehen: nämlich die mentalen Dimensionen des Handelns. So ist für die Diskursart des Beschreibens essentiell, dass der Sprecher mit dem Hörer einen gemeinsamen Vorstellungsraum etabliert: Deshalb beginnen etwa Wohnraumbeschreibungen (Linde/Labov 1975; Ullmer-Ehrich 1979) meist bei der Tür als dem gemeinsamen Ansatzpunkt in der Vorstellung bzw. geben Wegbeschreibungen dem Hörer über einen konkreten Weg zum Ziel eine Vorstellung mittels deiktischer Prozeduren im Vorstellungsraum (Klein 1979; Wunderlich 1978; Rehbein 1977). Von der Kategorie des Vorstellungsraums zu unterscheiden sind die fiktiven Räume beim Erzählen, ebenso die Bewertungsoperationen beim Entscheidungsdiskurs sowie die Begriffsbildungsvorgänge beim

- Berichten (Hoffmann 1984; Rehbein 1984) usw.
- 11) Diskursformen des menschlichen Umgangs, wie Einladen, Bitten (Heeschen 1980), Trösten und Glückwünschen, Grüßen (Antos 1986) usw. haben vor allem die Etablierung, Perpetuierung und Reiterierung sozialer Handlungssysteme zur Aufgabe.
 - 12) Labov 1972 hat gezeigt, dass in Gruppen schwarzer New Yorker Jugendlicher interne Auseinandersetzungen durch wechselseitige Beschimpfungen höchst kunstvoll ausgearbeiteter Form ausgetragen werden. Gesellschaftlich gehören diese Formen dem Funktionsbereich von Konflikt, Auseinandersetzung und deren Regulierungen zu. Handlungen wie Beleidigen gehen ebenfalls über in den Funktionsbereich Konflikt. Sie werden innerhalb und außerhalb von Institutionen vorgenommen. Rechtfertigungen, Bezichtigungen, Anklagen usw. gehören in den Funktionsbereich von Norm und Recht.
 - 13) Es gibt metakommunikative Sprechhandlungsformen, die wiederum in verschiedenen Kontexten unterschiedlich bearbeitet werden und unterschiedliche Formen bedingen. Dieser Aspekt führte bei einigen Autoren zur Diskussion „metasprachlicher“ Sprechhandlungen (s. Meyer-Hermann 1978; Techtmeier 2001) wie Paraphrasierungen (s. Gülich/Kotschi 1987; Kotschi 2001). Bührig 1996 gibt anhand von Transkripten aus verschiedenen Institutionen eine Musteranalyse der reformulierenden Handlungen „Rephrasieren“, „Umformulieren“ und „Zusammenfassen“ (vgl. aus sprechakttheoretischer Sicht auch Hagemann 1997).
 - 14) Die thematische Organisation des Diskurses betreffen eine Reihe von Prozeduren beim Formulieren (Antos 1982); Prozeduren beim Themaverlauf und Themapräsentation nehmen Wissens-elemente und überführen sie im Zuge der Verbalisierung in die propositionale Struktur des Diskurses (z. B. Hoffmann 1992; 2000).
 - 15) Die Sprache literarischer Texte wird mit funktional-pragmatischen Methoden untersucht von Riedner 1996; 2000; Ehlich 1984b; 1992d; 1997; Redder 1996; 2000b; 2000c; Bührig/Redder 2000; Bührig 2000; von Kügelgen 2000).

13. Sprache in Institutionen und Instituten

Institutionen und Institute bieten den gesellschaftlich Handelnden (Aktanten) vorstrukturierte Handlungsabläufe an (für einen historischen Überblick vgl. Ellul 1961–1969; vgl. Art. 58). Aufgabe der Institutionsanalyse (Ehlich/Rehbein 1994) ist es, Konstellationen, Wissen und Zwecke von Formen sprachlichen Handelns in Standardabläufen zu ermitteln sowie ihre Verflechtungen in die umfassenden Prozesse von Produktion, Zirkulation und Konsumtion herauszuarbeiten. Zentrale theoretische Größen sind dabei die Funktionalisierung ideologischer und produktiver Wissensstrukturen sowie von Handlungsstrukturen (Muster u. a.) für die institutionellen Zwecke. – Die gesellschaftlichen Konzeptionen von Institutionen und Instituten schlagen sich im Wortschatz, d. h. den Symbolfeldausdrücken, der Einzelsprachen nieder und können daraus funktional-etymologisch partiell rekonstruiert werden (vgl. Benveniste 1969). – Arbeitsteiligkeit und Komplexität solcher Abläufe führen zu einer Vielzahl von Text- und Diskursformen in Institutionen. Nicht jede Kommunikation am Arbeitsplatz dient aber unmittelbar institutionsspezifischen Zwecken: auch homileische Diskurse haben ihren Ort im institutionellen Alltag.

Als – die einzelne Diskursform übersteigender – Typ hat sich aus dem alltäglichen Muster des Ratgebens das Beraten ein *Institut* eigener Art entwickelt, in dem Expertenwissen aktualisiert und für Klienten formuliert wird, um die Kluft zwischen professionellem und Alltagswissen zu überbrücken und professionelle Lösungsvorschläge in die Alltagspraxis zu transponieren (Schank 1981; Schröder 1985; Nothdurft 1984; Rehbein 1985b; cf. insbesondere Hartog 1996).

Bei der Analyse gesellschaftlichen Redens ist die Pragmatik bereits früh zu einer Analyse gesellschaftlicher Einrichtungen und ihrer Handlungsabläufe gekommen (am Beispiel des Speiserestaurants, Ehlich/Rehbein 1972b). Jede Institution verfügt über ein spezifisches Ensemble solcher Abläufe. In den meisten Institutionen bildet das sprachliche Handeln eine wichtige Untergruppe der insgesamt institutionell realisierten Handlungen. Besonders die Ethnomethodologie, die Ethnographie des Sprechens, die Conversational Analysis, die Konversationsanalyse

und insbesondere die Funktionale Pragmatik haben in den letzten 30 Jahren eine Vielzahl konkreter feldbezogener und damit datenbezogener Untersuchungen zur Kommunikation in Institutionen vorgelegt (vgl. die Überblicksarbeiten Ehlich/Rehbein 1980; Redder 1983; die Publikationsreihe „Kommunikation und Institution“; Becker-Mrotzek 1992; 1994; Koerfer 1994; Ehlich/Redder 1994; vgl. Art. 156). Allgemein vermitteln die Institutionen als gesellschaftliche Apparate (Gramsci 1983; Althusser 1977; Poulantzas 1975) gesellschaftliche Basisstrukturen (Marx 1857/58) mit der kommunikativen Oberfläche – sind also Vermittlungsglieder zwischen den Gesamtmechanismen einer Gesellschaft und den Erscheinungsformen der Interaktion. Institutionen stellen damit funktionale Scharniere für die Vermittlung der gesellschaftlichen Gesamtarchitektur und der gesellschaftlichen Klassen und Gruppen in die Handlungsstruktur der Aktanten dar; sie sind in Entstehung und Ausdifferenzierung abhängig von der historischen Entwicklung arbeitsteiliger Prozesse.

Die in der Institution Handelnden, die Aktanten, zerfallen in zwei große Gruppen: Die erste besteht aus denjenigen, die die Zwecke der Institution ausführen – meist in einer professionalisierten Form, z. B. Lehrer, Richter, Ärzte und Krankenschwestern; sie sind die Vertreter der Institution, deren „Agenten“. Die zweite große Gruppe sind diejenigen, die in den Handlungsbereich der Agenten – meist als Nicht-Experten – eintreten, sei es, weil sie von der Institution eigene Handlungszwecke realisieren lassen wollen (z. B. Kauf-Verkauf), sei es, weil sie in die Handlungssphäre der Institution hineingezogen werden (z. B. Gericht); dies ist die Gruppe der „Klienten“ der Institution (Ehlich/Rehbein 1977a/b; 1986).

Beide Gruppen verfügen über sehr unterschiedliche kommunikative Möglichkeiten und über ein sehr unterschiedliches Wissen. Das Agentenwissen ist als professionalisiertes Wissen meist systematisch durchstrukturiert; es enthält verschiedene Wissenstypen, etwa Einschätzungen, Bilder, Sentenzen, Maximen, Routinewissen usw. Das Klientenwissen hingegen ist oft auf partikuläres Erlebniswissen festgelegt und darauf angewiesen, meist recht als schlecht alltägliche kommunikative Formen den besonderen Zwecken der institutionellen Kommunikation anzupassen (Schüler, Patienten, Angeklagte usw.). Die unterschiedlichen Wissens-

repertoires von Agenten und Klienten sind Quelle permanenter kommunikativer Probleme, die durch die partielle Widersprüchlichkeit bzw. Verselbständigung der institutionellen Zwecke gegenüber denen des einzelnen Klienten noch besonders verschärft werden. Manche Institutionen bringen es mit sich, dass auch die Klienten selbst professionalisiert werden, zum Beispiel in der *Schule* (Fienemann/von Kügelgen 2002; vgl. Art. 237), noch mehr in der *Hochschule* (Bühlig/Grießhaber 1999; Wiesmann 1999; Sucharowski 2001); dieser Umstand schlägt sich in der Entwicklung des Klientenwissens spezifisch nieder. Die Kommunikation in den Institutionen verläuft in Mustern. Die Muster sind teils institutionsspezifisch (Ermahnen in der Schule, besondere sprachliche Handlungen vor *Gericht* (Hoffmann 1983; 1989; 2001)), teils Funktionalisierungen alltäglichen außerinstitutionellen Handelns. Auch die soziolinguistische Registerforschung macht Beiträge zu der Sprache in Institutionen (vgl. Art. 23).

Es können nur einige Arbeiten zu einigen Institutionen genannt werden: Institutionen der *Wirtschaft* tragen allgemein zur Befriedigung materieller Bedürfnisse bei, indem sie Waren produzieren oder zirkulieren bzw. Dienstleistungen anbieten. Charakteristisch für diese Institutionsform sind also Formen sprachlichen Handelns, die nicht nur allgemein für „materiale Kooperation“ stehen, sondern speziell der „materiellen Kooperation“ (Ehlich 1987a) von Aktanten dienen. In diesem Bereich sind eine ganze Reihe an empiriebasierten diskurs- und konversationsanalytischen Untersuchungen entstanden: Überblicke gibt Brünner 2000, 2001; ökonomische Diskursformen sind Verkaufsgespräche (Brons-Albert 1995; Brünner 1994; Hundsnurscher/Franke eds. 1985; Pothmann 1997; Rehbein 1995d), Reklamationen (Ohama 1987; Fiehler/Kindt/Schnieders 1999), Servicegespräche (Beneke 1992) zwischen Agent und Klient; Verhandlungen (Ehlich/Wagner eds. 1995; Firth ed. 1995; Rehbein 2001d); Besprechungen (Boden 1994; Dannerer 1999; Helmolt 1997; Lenz 1989; Meier 1997; Menz 2000; Müller 1997; Poro 1999; Schwandt 1995; Yamada 1997) zwischen Agent und Agent (betriebsintern und betriebsübergreifend); Lehr-Lern-Diskurse (Brünner 1987; Brünner /Fiehler 1983), die der Vermittlung professionellen Wissens dienen, sowie Bewerbungsgespräche (Grießhaber 1987; Lepschy 1995).

Die handlungstheoretische Analyse von Texten und Diskursen in Institutionen erfordert eine auf die Zwecke der jeweiligen Institution bezogene Rekonstruktion involvierter Handlungsmuster. Ausschnitte von Diskursen aus verschiedenen Institutionen werden in Redder ed. 1994 anhand von Transkriptausschnitten analysiert. Zu *medizinischer und therapeutischer Kommunikation* liegen u. a. folgende Bände vor: Ehlich/Koerfer/Redder/Weingarten 1990; Löning/Rehbein 1993; Redder/Wiese 1994; Löning 2001. Die Einbeziehung der Musteranalyse in die Institutionsanalyse (Ehlich/Rehbein 1994) stellt also eine zentrale Aufgabe für die Untersuchung der Kommunikation in Institutionen dar. Während bislang vor allem die Kommunikation zwischen Agent und Klient untersucht wurde, richtet sich das Forschungsinteresse mehr und mehr auf die Kommunikation zwischen den Agenten selbst (etwa: Kommunikation in der *Verwaltung* (vgl. Rehbein 1998a), zwischen ärztlichem Personal usw.); hier gewinnt die Pragmatik ein Arbeitsfeld für die Untersuchung professionalisierter Kommunikation und deren Weiterentwicklung. Eine besondere Thematik ist dabei die Tendenz zu immer umfassenderer Schriftlichkeit (Ong 1982) und des Einsatzes technischer Medien in der interagentiellen Kommunikation. Allerdings sind hier die Daten erheblich schwerer zugänglich als bei der Agent-Klient-Kommunikation, da im Forschungsprozess selbst eine Kooperation zwischen professionalisierten Agenten und Linguisten erforderlich ist.

14. Entwicklungen und Perspektiven

Die Pragmatik hat sich in den letzten 30 Jahren zu einer empirischen Disziplin entwickelt, die tendenziell systematisch und rekonstruktiv zugleich ist und zunehmend die verschiedenen Dimensionen der Sprache integriert. Ihre Teilgebiete sind im einzelnen jedoch kaum noch zu überblicken. Auch konnte die zugrunde liegende Methodologie nur bisweilen angesprochen, aber hier nicht dargestellt werden (vgl. ein Überblick in Henne/Rehbock 1982, zur musterbezogenen Diskursanalyse Ehlich/Rehbein 1986; Ehlich 1999; Rehbein 2001a; Rehbein/Kameyama (in Vorber.)), wenngleich sich einige Forschungsdesiderate formulieren lassen:

- Sprache und Kommunikation in den verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Institutio-

nen, insbesondere kulturvergleichend-ethnographisch und historisch sowie Aspekte professionalisierter Kommunikation harren der Untersuchung. Hervorzuheben ist insbesondere das Defizit in der Erforschung sprachlichen Handelns in der Familie (vgl. aber Watts 1991; Blum-Kulka 1997; vgl. Art. 72).

- Die Erarbeitung eines umfangreichen Corpus gesprochener Sprache (authentischer Kommunikationsdaten) ist vonnöten, um die leeren Flecken bei der empirischen Begründung einer gesellschaftsbezogenen Diskurs- und Textformenlehre und -klassifikation zu füllen. Voraussetzung dafür wäre eine – seit langem in der Pragmatik geforderte – Vereinheitlichung der Notationssysteme (vgl. Ehlich/Switalla 1976; Edwards/Lampert 1993; Dittmar 2002) sowie die Entwicklung von relationalen Datenbanken, die über ausgearbeitete Verfahren der Segmentierung von Äußerungen an die Transkriptionsverfahren angeschlossen werden können (Schmidt 2002; Rehbein et al. 1993; Rehbein 1995b).
- Auch in der Wissenschaftssprache der Pragmatik wäre eine internationale Relationierung der unterschiedlichen Begriffe wünschenswert (vgl. jetzt für die Funktionale Pragmatik Ehlich/Mackenzie/Rehbein/ten Thije 2000).
- In größerem Umfang ließen sich dann grammatische Strukturen und einzelne Ausdrücke in ihren funktionalen Dimensionen konkret und quantitativ gesichert analysieren, insbesondere die sprachlichen Felder und ihre verschiedenen sprachlichen Prozeduren in kreuzlinguistisch vergleichender Sicht. Dann wären die Bereiche Mehrsprachigkeit, Sprachtypologie und Diskursanalyse unter pragmatischer Sichtweise zusammenzuführen. Als besonderes Forschungsgebiet zeichnet sich eine pragmatisch orientierte Untersuchung interkultureller Kommunikation in verschiedenen mehrsprachigen Konstellationen ab, die ebenfalls mit größeren Datenmengen zu unterfüttern wäre (vgl. z.B. Blum-Kulka/House/Kasper 1989; Koole/ten Thije 1994; Di Luzio/Günthner/Orletti 2001; Bührig/tenThije (in Vorber.); Rehbein 2002c).
- Interdisziplinäre Kooperation in sprachpsychologischen Fragen wäre sinnvoll, insbesondere nach dem Wissen in der Kommunikation und nach der Genese neuer Wissensstrukturen zu fragen.

- Unterscheidungskriterien für Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit der Kommunikation sind ebenfalls auf breiter Basis zu erarbeiten.
- Die Pragmatik prosodischer Parameter wäre weiter auszuarbeiten.
- Die Komponenten nonverbalen Handelns in ihrem Zusammenspiel mit dem sprachlichen Handeln sind zu erforschen, insbesondere im Zeitalter der visuellen Medien (z. B. Sager 2001; vgl. Art. 77, 157).
- Im Zusammenhang der Sprachkontaktforschung wäre nach pragmatisch begründeten Varietäten und auch nach der Entstehung von Varietäten in der Kommunikation zu fragen.
- Als weitgehend unerforscht bleibt das Symbolfeld der Sprache/n zu konstatieren, obwohl mehr als Dreiviertel aller sprachlichen Formen diesem Feld zuzurechnen sind.
- Nicht zuletzt ist das sprachliche Handeln der Höflichkeit ein Gebiet von zunehmender gesellschaftlicher Bedeutung. Zwar gibt es eine Reihe von Vorschlägen (vgl. z. B. Haferland/Paul 1996; Fraser 2001; Rehbein 2001c), jedoch fehlen auch hier die Untersuchungen konkreter Kommunikation, insbesondere im Kulturvergleich.

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70. Code-Switching/Sprachwechsel

1. Linguistic manifestations of language contact
2. Theories of CS
3. Fitting theory to data
4. The data of CS
5. Community strategies for CS
6. Summary
7. Literature (selected)

1. Linguistic manifestations of language contact

Code-switching (CS) is but one of a number of the linguistic manifestations of language contact and mixing, which variously include borrowing on the lexical and syntactic levels, language transfer, linguistic convergence, interference, language attrition, language death, pidginization and creolization, among others. There is little consensus in the literature over which aspects should be subsumed under the label *code-switching*. In this article, CS refers to the utterance-internal juxtaposition, in unintegrated form, of overt linguistic elements from two or more languages, with no necessary change of interlocutor or topic.

Mixing may take place at any level of linguistic structure, and a long research tradition has grown up around questions of language choice and language negotiation among interlocutors in bilingual contexts (Gumperz 1976/1982; Heller 1982). But the combination of languages within the confines of a single sentence, constituent or even word, has proved most intriguing to linguists. This article surveys the treatment in the literature, linguistic and social, of such intra-sentential CS.

2. Theories of CS

First dismissed as random and deviant (e.g., Weinreich 1953/1968) intra-sentential CS is now known to be grammatically constrained. The basis for this is the empirical observation that bilinguals tend to switch intra-sententially at certain (morpho)syntactic boundaries and not at others. Early efforts to describe these tendencies (e.g., Gumperz 1976/1982; Timm 1975) offered taxonomies of sites in the sentence where CS could and could not occur (e.g., between pronominal subjects and verbs or between

conjunctions and their conjuncts), but these were soon met with a host of counter-examples.

The first general account of the distribution of CS stemmed from the observation that CS is favored at the kinds of syntactic boundaries which occur in both languages. The *Equivalence Constraint* (Poplack 1980) states that switched sentences are made up of concatenated fragments of alternating languages, each of which is grammatical in the language of its provenance (see also Lipski 1978; Muysken 2000; Pfaff 1979). The boundary between adjacent fragments occurs between two constituents that are ordered in the same way in both languages, ensuring the linear coherence of sentence structure without omitting or duplicating lexical content.

That general principles, rather than atomistic constraints, govern CS is now widely accepted, though there is little consensus as to what they are or how they should be represented. Many theories assume that the mechanisms for language switching are directly predictable from general principles of (monolingual) grammar. As extensions of the formal linguistic theories successively in vogue, these tend to appeal to such abstract grammatical properties as inter-constituent relationships (e.g., government, case assignment) and/or language-specific features of lexical categories (i.e., subcategorization of grammatical arguments, inherent morphological features).

Di Sciullo et al. (1986), for example, identified the relevant relations as C-command and government: CS cannot occur where a government relation holds. Replacement of the function of government in standard theory by the notion of feature agreement led to a parallel focus on feature matching in CS studies. The *Functional Head Constraint* (Belazi et al. 1994) adds language choice to the features instantiated in functional and lexical categories, prohibiting CS where a mismatch occurs. MacSwan's (1999) adaptation of the Minimalist proposal restricts CS at structural sites showing cross-language differences in monolingual features.

The distinction between lexical and functional categories is a hallmark of theories invoking the complement structure of individual lexical items to characterize permissible

CS sites (e.g., Joshi 1985 and its sequel, the *Null Theory of CS* (Santorini/Mahootian 1995); see also Bentahila/Davies' *Subcategorisation Constraint* (1983)). Perhaps the most detailed model involving the contrast between lexical properties and functional (or "system") morphemes is the *Matrix Language Frame* model (Azuma 1993; Myers-Scotton 1993). Here, structural constraints on CS result from a complex interaction between a dominant matrix language and the prohibition against embedding "system" morphemes from the "embedded" language in matrix language structure.

The assumption that bilingual syntax can be explained by general principles of monolingual grammar has not been substantiated. While such formal theories of grammar may account well for monolingual language structure (including that of the monolingual fragments in CS discourse), there is no evidence that the *juxtaposition* of two languages can be explained in the same way. As described in ensuing sections, bilingual communities exhibit widely different patterns of adapting monolingual resources in their code-mixing strategies, and these are not predictable through purely linguistic considerations. The equivalence constraint, as formalized by Sankoff (1998a; 1998b; Sankoff/Mainville 1986; Sankoff/Poplack 1981), is a production-based explanation of the facts of CS, which incorporates the notions of structural hierarchy and linear order, and accounts for a number of empirical observations in addition to the equivalent word order characterizing most actual switch sites. These include the well-formedness of the monolingual fragments, the conservation of constituent structure, and the essential unpredictability of CS at any potential CS site.

3. Fitting theory to data

Which of these competing (and often conflicting) models offers the best account of bilingual CS? Testing the fit of theory with the data of CS should be a straightforward matter; however, disparate assumptions, goals and domains of application have thus far hindered such efforts. Assessment of the descriptive adequacy of a theory of CS requires that at least two methodological issues be resolved. One involves identification and principled classification of language mixing phenomena, the other, confronting

the predictions of the theory with the data of actual bilingual behavior.

3.1. CS vs. borrowing

It is uncontroversial that CS differs from the other major manifestation of language contact: *lexical borrowing*. Despite etymological identity with the donor language, established loanwords assume the morphological, syntactic, and often, phonological, identity of the recipient language. They tend to be recurrent in the speech of the individual and widespread across the community. The stock of established loanwords is available to monolingual speakers of the recipient language, along with the remainder of the recipient-language lexicon. Loanwords further differ from CS in that there is no involvement of the morphology, syntax or phonology of the donor language.

3.2. Borrowing vs. nonce borrowing

Recent research on borrowing as a synchronic *process* (e.g., the papers in Poplack/Meechan 1998a; Poplack et al. 1988) has shown it to be far more productive than its result (established loanwords) would imply. Crucially, the social characteristics of recurrence and diffusion need not be satisfied, resulting in what has been called, after Weinreich (1953/1968), *nonce borrowing* (Sankoff et al. 1990). Like its established counterpart, the nonce borrowing tends to involve lone lexical items, generally major-class content words, and to assume the morphological, syntactic, and optionally, phonological identity of the recipient language. Like CS, on the other hand, particular nonce borrowings are neither recurrent nor widespread, and nonce borrowing necessarily requires a certain level of bilingual competence. Distinguishing a nonce borrowing from CS of a lone lexical item is conceptually easy but methodologically difficult, especially when this item surfaces bare (i.e., morphologically uninflected, or in a syntactic slot shared by both languages), giving no apparent indication of language membership.

The classification of such *lone other-language items* is at the heart of a fundamental disagreement among CS researchers over 1) whether the distinction between CS and borrowing should be formally recognized in a theory of CS, 2) whether these and other manifestations of language contact can be identified in bilingual discourse, and 3) criteria for determining whether a given

item was switched or borrowed. Researchers who classify lone other-language items as CS tend to posit an *asymmetrical* relationship, in which one language dominates and other-language items are inserted (e.g., Joshi 1985; Myers-Scotton 1993). On the other hand, for those who focus only on the class of (unambiguous) *multiword* CS, both languages are postulated to play a role (Belazi et al. 1994; Sankoff 1998a; 1998b; Woolford 1983). Muysken (2000) admits the possibility of both strategies.

3.3. Identifying the results of language contact

Quantitative analyses of language mixing phenomena in a wide variety of language pairs have now established that such lone other-language items are by far the most important – in some cases, virtually the only! – component of mixed discourse (e.g., Backus 1992; Berk-Seligson 1986; Budzhak-Jones 1998a; Nortier 1989; Pfaff 1979; Poplack 1989; Poplack et al. 1987; Treffers-Daller 1994). In comparison, CS of *multiword* other-language fragments, other than tags and other frozen forms, while frequent in some communities, is in the aggregate relatively rare.

Both CS and borrowing are based on principled combination of elements of the monolingual vernaculars of the bilingual community. Recent research suggests that the structure of these *source* vernaculars can reveal whether a code-mixed element is behaving like one or the other. Focussing on the structural variability inherent in CS *qua* oral phenomenon, Poplack/Meechan (1998b) developed a method, adumbrated in Sankoff et al. (1990), to compare bilingual structures with the monolingual source languages of the same speakers. Making use of the framework of linguistic variation theory (Labov 1969; Sankoff 1988), the variable patterning of such forms is discovered, and used to determine their status. The method involves cross-linguistic comparison, on a given diagnostic criterion, of the ambiguous lone other-language item, with its counterparts in both the donor and recipient languages, as well as with established loanwords and unambiguous CS.

3.3.1. Morphological measures

If the rate and distribution of morphological marking and/or syntactic positioning of the lone other-language items show quantitative

parallels to those of their counterparts in the recipient language, while at the same time differing from relevant patterns in the donor language, the lone other-language items can be considered to have been *borrowed*, since only the grammar of the recipient language is operative. If they pattern with their counterparts in the monolingual donor language, while at the same time differing from the patterns of the unmixed recipient language, the lone other-language items must result from CS.

3.3.2. Bare forms

Even where lone other-language items surface bare, the comparative method can determine their status. Bare forms have figured prominently in the formulation of code-mixing theories, where they are frequently cited as examples of exceptional or ungrammatical ways of incorporating foreign material (Jake/Myers-Scotton 1997; Picone 1994). Quantitative analysis of actual CS discourse, in contrast, shows that bare other-language forms occur overwhelmingly in just those contexts where they are permitted in the recipient language, and more strikingly, at the same rate (Budzhak-Jones/Poplack 1997; Eze 1998; Ghafar Samar/Meechan 1998; Sankoff et al. 1990; Turpin 1998).

Indeed, code-mixed structures that appear exceptional when compared with an idealized version of the source language generally turn out to conform closely to counterparts in the *spoken* vernaculars of the bilinguals under study. Lack of *productivity* in the recipient language may also explain apparently unusual morphological strategies for incorporating lone other-language items (Poplack/Meechan 1998). Where the status of bare forms is pursued systematically, they are seen to mirror productive use in the recipient language.

Empirical analyses of lone other-language items, marked and bare, with their source-language counterparts (Adalar/Tagliamonte 1998; Budzhak-Jones 1998a; Eze 1998; Ghafar Samar/Meechan 1998; Poplack/Meechan 1998; Turpin 1998) confirm their quantitative parallels with dictionary-attested loanwords. And both pattern like their unmixed counterparts in the recipient language, regardless of the typological properties of the language pair. This is evidence that most lone items are borrowed, if only for the nonce. The same method shows CS, on the other hand, to pattern like *donor-lan-*

guage counterparts, in terms of the same linguistic criteria. Thus a first imperative in developing a theory of CS capable of accounting for the data of CS is to determine the status of the linguistic elements involved.

Most of the voluminous literature on intra-sentential CS, however, especially of the “insertional” type (Muysken 2000), is based on data which represents, properly speaking, lexical borrowing. It follows that many of the theories applying to *both* types of language mixing (e.g., Mahootian 1993; Myers-Scotton 1993) are more properly theories of borrowing. This in turn explains on the one hand, why some *seem* to account for many of the facts of code-mixing (since most of the mixed items are in fact borrowings), and on the other, why their handling of (multiword) CS may appear unwieldy and/or descriptively inadequate (e.g., Myers-Scotton 1993 and many others).

4. The data of CS

The data of CS are relevant both to evaluating theories and to understanding the social role of CS within the community. With respect to evaluation, the literature on CS is largely characterized by the “rule-and-exception” paradigm. Despite the onslaught of counter-examples provoked by successive CS theories, as of this writing, few have been tested systematically against the data of spontaneous bilingual usage. Instead, both the theories and assessments of their applicability tend to be based on isolated examples, drawn from judgements, informant elicitation, linguist introspection or the published literature. The relation between such examples and the recurrent and systematic patterns of everyday interaction is tenuous or non-existent.

In many bilingual communities, speakers conventionally make use of both languages with the same interlocutors, in the same domains, and within the same conversational topic. To understand the social role of CS in such communities, the analyst must observe, uncover and document those conventions, as instantiated in everyday situations, in which spontaneous CS is a discourse norm. This requires first identifying a community in which such situations regularly arise, and characterizing its social structure in terms of language knowledge and language use. Second, samples of sustained discourse includ-

ing CS must be obtained from enough community members in quantities sufficient to detect recurrent *patterns* of speech behaviour. It is in these steps, prior to any linguistic analysis, that social, political, historical and demographic knowledge of the community are most pertinent. These characteristics could then be related to its members’ linguistic production to arrive at a community profile, or “social meaning” of CS.

Curiously, however, although the last three or four decades of research have produced a wealth of data from a wide range of bilingual interactions world-wide, relatively little is known of the bilingual *norms* of the communities from which they are drawn. Nor is it clear how the social forces typically described in such detail (Backus 1996; Gardner-Chloros 1991; Nortier 1989) shaped those norms, let alone the structural form of the language mixes, beyond the fact that two or three languages ended up being spoken. As detailed below, in most bilingual communities empirically studied, one or another manifestation of language contact is (inexplicably) preferred to the detriment of others; thus the social “meaning” of the languages, individually or in combination, reveals little about the differential use of linguistic resources in the social life of a given community. This is because the patterning of utterances containing elements from more than one language is not predictable from community or language typologies. It emerges only from systematic examination of how the languages are *used* by community members.

5. Community strategies for CS

When two languages are combined in a single sentence, various problems of incompatibility may arise. The most obvious derive from word-order differences, but incompatibilities may affect any level of linguistic structure, especially in typologically distinct language pairs. Nonetheless, it has been observed repeatedly in systematic studies of bilingual communities that speakers tend to circumvent these difficulties, producing bilingual structures which are felicitous for the grammars of both languages simultaneously. This is achieved through participation in prevailing community norms, relating to both the overall rate and type of language mixing. In what follows we detail four empirically established community-wide strategies for combining languages

intra-sententially: smooth code-switching at equivalence sites, flagged code-switching, constituent insertion and nonce borrowing.

5.1. Equivalence-based CS

The New York Puerto Rican community, with a high degree of Spanish-English bilingualism, favours smooth intra-sentential CS, grammatically constrained by the equivalence constraint (Poplack 1980). Characteristics of smooth CS include copious occurrences, smooth transitions between languages, and lack of rhetorical effect. Also documented as a norm in other Spanish-English bilingual communities (e.g., Pfaff 1979), this pattern is sometimes attributed to the many typological similarities enjoyed by the Spanish-English pair. However, the operation of the equivalence constraint has been empirically verified in communities featuring such typologically distinct language pairs as Finnish-English (Poplack et al. 1987), Arabic-French (Naït M'Barek/Sankoff 1988), Tamil-English (Sankoff et al. 1990), Fongbe-French and Wolof-French (Meechan/Poplack 1995), Igbo-English (Eze 1998), French-English (Turpin 1998) and Ukrainian-English (Budzhak-Jones 1998a).

5.2. Flagged CS

It is logical that typologically similar language pairs should be particularly propitious to intra-sentential CS, but its occurrence in them is by no means a foregone conclusion. The French/English situation in the bilingual Ottawa-Hull region of Canada is a case in point. Instead of engaging in smooth intra-sentential CS at the many available equivalence sites, French-English bilinguals prefer to *flag* CS and use them for specific rhetorical purposes (Poplack 1985). *Flagged* switches are marked at the discourse level by repetition, metalinguistic commentary, and other means of drawing attention to the switch. One result is the interruption of the speech flow at the switch point, rendering a grammaticality requirement irrelevant. Although an explanation was originally sought in data collection strategies (Poplack 1981), it is now clear that community norms of language mixing are the overriding factor.

Flagging is also a hallmark of the Finnish-English community studied by Poplack, et al. (1987). Here, English-origin material tends to be associated with a disproportionate rate of pauses, hesitation phenomena, ratification markers and flags, which in some

conversations seem to be entirely confined to a switch-signalling function. The distribution of case-marking and discourse flagging of English-origin single nouns shows that these are in near complementary distribution. In contrast to the functional flagging in the typologically similar French-English pair, in the Finnish-English materials, flagging is associated with production difficulties, despite the fact that all the informants are fluent first-generation speakers of Finnish, as well as of English. In their bilingual community, however, neither nonce borrowing nor CS (whether smooth as in the Spanish-English case, or flagged as in the French-English case) is a discourse *norm*.

5.3. Constituent insertion

The role of particular community history is even more apparent in the case of Moroccan Arabic-French bilinguals. Naït M'Barek/Sankoff (1988) documented a large number of bidirectional switches at equivalence sites, as well as many unidirectional borrowings from French into Arabic. By far the most frequent type of intra-sentential language mixture here, however, is insertion of a French NP, including at least determiner and noun (both inflected for person, number and gender) and optionally other elements, in a syntactic slot for an Arabic NP. There are ten times as many NP insertions in all as there are switches at the equivalence site between Arabic determiner and French noun. (That the process responsible for these patterns is *constituent insertion* rather than the *equivalence switching* predominant in the New York Puerto Rican community is further confirmed by a clear statistical tendency for a switch back to Arabic after the French noun, providing the latter is in NP-final position.) This pattern was independently documented for the same language pair by Bentahila Davies (1983). On the other hand, in the structurally identical *Lebanese* Arabic/French language pair, constituent insertions were almost entirely absent! Nor were they reported for Moroccan Arabic in contact with Dutch (Nortier 1989). This confirms that these patterns are dependent on the particular community, rather than on community (or language) typology.

5.4. Nonce borrowing

Lone other-language items are widely documented as the most prevalent type of code-mixing in a wide variety of communities

world-wide. Despite their controversial status in much of the literature (owing in part to their inherent ambiguity *in isolation*), there is now little doubt as to their classification as a set. Whatever the linguistic properties of the language pair examined, ranging from typologically distinct to nearly identical, and the diagnostic employed – phonological, morphological or syntactic, lone other-language items overwhelmingly surface with the *patterns* of the language in which they are incorporated (Adalar/Tagliamonte 1998; Budzhak-Jones 1998a; Eze 1998; Ghafar Samar/Meechan 1998; Poplack/Meechan 1998b; Turpin 1998). This is true not only of the grosser linguistic structures, but more remarkably, of the fine details of the quantitative conditioning of linguistic variability. Such parallels can only be construed as evidence that they have been borrowed, despite the lack of dictionary attestation of diffusion across the community.

Other attested community preferences include the prevalence of lone other-language items in the Moroccan-Dutch community (Nortier 1989), the dearth of tag switches in Igbo-English (Eze 1997), the preference for flagging in Ukrainian-English (Budzhak-Jones 1998b), and for constituent insertion in Fongbe-French (Poplack/Meechan 1995). In some bilingual communities (e.g., the Finnish-English community in Canada (Poplack et al. 1987) or the Ukrainian-English community in Pennsylvania (Budzhak-Jones 1998b)), CS is simply *not* a community norm.

6. Summary

The intriguing facts of CS have incited much theorizing, linguistic and social, but less attention has been paid to confronting the tenets of the theories with bilinguals' use of two or more languages in context. Successive linguistic theories of CS have reflected the monolingual theories in vogue, and social theories are following the same route (Heller 1995; Milroy/Wei 1995; Myers-Scotton/Bolonyai 2001). But although the desirability of linking individual instances of CS to the wider context of language use in the community has become a leitmotif in recent work, this goal is rarely pursued. And, despite the proliferation of linguistic and social categories, which have increased exponentially over the duration, empirical studies of bilingual language *use* show only a few factors to correlate with the production of CS,

over and above the grammatical constraints which constrain the location in the sentence of the CS. These require little recourse to deep theorizing.

One recurrent, and perhaps overriding, factor is bilingual ability: those with greater proficiency in both languages not only switch more, they switch more intra-sententially, and at a wider variety of permissible CS sites (Berk-Seligson 1986; Poplack 1988; Poplack et al. 1988; Treffers-Daller 1994). Those who are less proficient in one of the two languages, on the other hand, do not eschew CS altogether, as might be the case were CS not the eminently social tool that it is, but rather restrict their CS – in number, type and/or discourse location – according to their bilingual ability. The less-proficient thus favor switch sites and types requiring little or even no productive knowledge of the other language, such as tags, routines or frozen phrases. Bilingual proficiency is in no way *causative* of CS. Rather, given the appropriate discourse and social circumstances, speakers who engage in the most complex type of intra-sentential CS generally turn out to be the most proficient in both of the contact languages.

Another recurrent factor is prestige, instantiated at the community level by group membership (often correlated with social class). In contrast to language proficiency, whose effect seems to be universal, the contribution of the prestige factor varies from community to community and may act to promote or inhibit CS: its effect must be established on a case-by-case basis. In one community CS per se may not constitute prestigious behavior, though bilingual display, appropriately flagged, may be. In another, the opposite may hold true.

Why is it that after so many decades of research attention by practitioners of so many fields (including linguists of all stripes, sociologists, anthropologists, educationalists and psychologists), so much controversy continues to reign over such basic facts as who code-switches, where and why? We suggest that the current impasse is directly linked to prevailing methodologies in the study of CS (both linguistic and social), which favor theorizing and post-hoc interpretation of the meaning of isolated code-switches of uncertain provenance over systematic and exhaustive consideration of actual code-switching behavior in the speech of the individual in the context of her community.

The patterning of CS within a community is a historical development over time, but the actual structural form it takes is arbitrary. The literature implies that the type of social history (colonial, immigrant, border, etc.) of the community explains the type of CS observable in it. But even though a wealth of ethnographic and sociological information is now available, and even some data counting, it has not yet elucidated why some communities prefer one pattern and others, in like circumstances, prefer another.

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71. Discourse/Diskurs

1. Introduction
2. Establishing a foundation
3. Discourse analysis of social issues
4. Summary
5. Literature (selected)

1. Introduction

The social world in which we exist depends largely on the use of language. We need language to make and enforce laws; gain access to, and distribute, valued resources; negotiate personal and public relationships; teach and socialize children; engage in scholarly inquiry; preserve our past and plan our future. Analyses of discourse provide a convenient entry point through which to explore not only how we accomplish so large and diverse a set of social tasks through routine social practices, but also how we create, maintain, challenge, or alter the social institutions in which those tasks are normatively accomplished and those practices recur.

The range of discourse approaches that have been applied to the analysis of social tasks, practices and institutions parallels the range of approaches to discourse in general. As discussed in 'Discourse' (see art., current volume; see also Schiffrin 1994), the term 'discourse' has a wide range of meanings and the field of Discourse Analysis has been defined in numerous ways. For some scholars, discourse is akin to the use of language or a level of language structure beyond the boundaries of the sentence. For other scholars, however, the scope of discourse stretches beyond language itself to include 'socially accepted associations among ways of using language, of thinking, valuing, acting and interacting, in the 'right' places and at the 'right' times with the 'right' objects" (Gee 1999, 17). In my overview of how discourse analysis contributes to our understanding of the intertwining of language-based tasks and practices within larger social institutions, I draw upon all these views of discourse, as well as the various methodologies that have developed as ways of analyzing the nexus of language use, structure, and context that accompanies them.

The article proceeds as follows. I begin with a brief discussion of the scholarship of three seminal figures in the development of

sociolinguistics: Dell Hymes, John Gumperz and William Labov (cf. 2.). All three of these scholars developed sociolinguistics in ways that not only assumed the relevance of linguistic theory and analysis to social inquiry, but also presupposed discourse (as text) and Discourse (as language plus other 'stuff' (Gee 1999, 17)) as necessary levels of linguistic analysis. Because so many different aspects of discourse, and sites of language use, have been examined since the beginnings of sociolinguistics, I then provide only a cursory (and selective) overview of the different social issues that have been addressed by discourse analysts. Included are discussions of how discourse analyses can illuminate numerous problems that intersect with one another: identity, voice, and inequality; access to institutional resources; power, conflict, and change (cf. 3.).

2. Establishing a foundation

The foundational work of Dell Hymes, John Gumperz and William Labov established important and long lasting frameworks within which to analyze language in social life. More important for our current purposes, this body of work also assumed the relevance of sociolinguistic research for the explication, and perhaps resolution, of a variety of social problems. Despite the different directions that developed from their early work, and the differences in the specific social issues with which they were concerned, these scholars endorsed two fundamental principles: (1) each presupposed the importance to linguistics of discourse, communication, and context; (2) each delved into detailed analyses of language without losing sight of the fundamental social import, and possible impact, of those analyses. After a brief review of the foundational work of these scholars (summarized from Schiffrin 1994), we see in subsequent sections that current applications of discourse analysis to social issues continue to draw from their initial perspectives.

In his development of the framework known as "ethnography of communication," Hymes argues that communicative patterns should become part of what is conventionally studied by anthropologists and that one could study those patterns through partici-

pant observation, the traditional method of anthropological research. By participating in a wide range of activities endemic to the life of a particular group of people, ethnographers attempt to replace their own ways of thinking, believing, and acting with a framework in which what is done by the members of another group starts to seem “expected” and “natural.” The challenge faced by an ethnographer is thus, in some ways, similar to that faced by any neophyte: to learn what native members already know about how to “make sense” out of experience. Although ways of speaking (and more generally, communicating) are clearly part of this knowledge, recognition and analysis of those patterns were not often goals of anthropological fieldwork.

One concept developed as part of the ethnography of communication was communicative competence: our tacit knowledge of grammar and its appropriate use in our social and cultural world. The way we use language in speech situations, events, and acts helps realize the cultural norms that underlie the way we act toward one another and ‘be’ with one another: culture is continually created, negotiated, and redefined in concrete acts between persons who are participating in some kind of interactive situation. Notice, then, that the way we communicate with each other is not only constrained by culture (simply because it is a part of culture), but it also reveals and sustains culture. And because language use is also a type (and a part) of social behavior in many different institutional realms (e.g. political, economic, religious, family), language is continuously bound and rebound to culture and to the norms that reflect, and help constitute, the social institutions sustained within particular cultures.

The ethnography of communication provides a theoretically and methodologically integrative approach to discourse. Notice, however, that discourse does not just add a new component (“culture”) to the basic material of other approaches to discourse. Rather, to paraphrase Durkheim on the *sui generis* nature of society, an ethnographic approach creates a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts: it *seeks to define* the basic parameters of numerous approaches to discourse simply because it views all phases and aspects of communication (from the cognitive to the political) as part of cultural meaning.

Before turning to discussion of the early work of Gumperz and Labov, it is important to point out that Hymes’ framework was driven by a belief in the dangers of premature positing of universals – whether linguistic, social, or cultural. In his comparison between structural and functional approaches in linguistics, Hymes (1974) presents what can be taken as the core premises of the particularistic orientation of his ethnographic approach. These premises also underlie (at least partially) the approaches developed by Gumperz and Labov. To summarize the tenets of Hymes’ functional approach: one should not assume a closed set of language functions that apply equally to all languages and all speech communities; it is categories of language use (e.g. acts, events), not language structure, that have theoretical priority; language use itself is patterned and structured: these regularities are central to one’s discovery of properties of the linguistic code. What *can* be assumed is diversity: structures and functions are relative adaptations to different cultural systems; a single speech community is itself an organization of diversity; all concepts, including those that seem most fundamental, are problematic and in need of investigation.

Hymes’ caution against universals was coupled with the hope that the particularities of individual cultures, peoples, and languages would not be overlooked in the rush to privilege those having more dominant positions in economies defined by either materialistic or ideological resources. This fundamental drive toward recognizing the validity of all linguistic systems, all people, and all contexts underlies Hymes’ work on Native American ethnopoetics (1981) and on American educational practices (1996).

John Gumperz’s sociolinguistics of interpersonal communication also views language as a socially and culturally constructed symbol system that is used in ways that reflect (and create) communicative meaning. Although Gumperz attends to the larger social and cultural frameworks of meaning, he also focuses on specific features of language and qualities of language use that have an impact on how participants understand (or misunderstand) one another in ongoing concrete social interactions. Thus macro-level social meanings (e.g. stemming from group identity and differences in status) join micro-level social meanings arising from what one is saying and doing at

specific moments in time and place. And the way we use language thus not only reflects our group-based identity, but also provides continual indices as to who we are, what we want to communicate, and how we know how to do so. Our ability to produce and understand these indexical processes as they occur in, and are influenced by, local contexts is thus part of our communicative competence.

In the introduction to a collection of his essays, Gumperz (1982, vii) states that he “seeks to develop interpretive sociolinguistic approaches to the analysis of real time processes in face to face encounters.” As Gumperz explains, however, the means through which we interpret our ongoing interactions are rooted in perceptions and memories that are, themselves, an outcome of culturally determined presuppositions. Peoples’ perceptions of similarities and differences in the world, including their predispositions about language and the way it is used, are culturally bound. Indeed, even for speakers who are operating with two different linguistic systems, effective speaking presupposes “sociolinguistic based inferences about where systemic boundaries lie” and “members have their own socially defined notions of code or grammatical system” (1982, 99).

Whereas Hymes wed his theory building with his concrete concerns with Native American poetic voice and the politics of education in American culture, Gumperz’s theory developed in tandem with a concern for the effects of social and cultural heterogeneity in modern urban societies. Contacts between people from very different social and cultural backgrounds can lead to communicative difficulties, what Gumperz has called cross-talk. To further complicate matters, Gumperz found that it was not only core grammar (e.g. syntax, phonology, semantics) that was open to cultural influence and was a source of communicative difficulty. An equally pervasive source of misunderstanding lies in the so-called marginal features of language, such as intonation, rhythm and lexical, phonetic, and syntactic choice. Since we are typically unaware of how we are using these features, it is all the more difficult for us to realize that they have communicative significance. When communicative misunderstandings occur during crucial gatekeeping transactions (e.g. applying for a job), cross-talk can have devastat-

ing social consequences. What can result is a denial of access to valued resources based not on a lack of formal education or job experience, but on the residual, yet still pervasive, impact of unshared cultural predispositions that have provided the ‘wrong’ basis from which to infer intended meanings.

William Labov’s early research depended upon some of the same assumptions and premises already noted in discussion of the research of Hymes and Gumperz, but put to use in different ways. One of Labov’s interests was in the vernacular: the variety used when speakers pay minimum attention to speech (Labov 1984, 29); it is also that mode of speech acquired in pre-adolescent years (Labov 1984, 29). Labov argues that the highly regular character of the vernacular is a result of the lack of attention to speech, and the fact that the linguistic rules acquired early in life appear to be “more regular than those operating in more formal ‘superposed’ styles that are acquired later in life” (Labov 1984, 29).

It was in seeking to describe the vernacular language system of African Americans – a group in American society that had been systematically excluded from mainstream measures of success – that Labov began to pursue the analysis of discourse. Labov’s interest in narrative, for example, arose not just out of a search for discourse units *per se*, but also out of a set of social and political concerns stemming from the notion of verbal deprivation that:

... leads its sponsors inevitably to the hypothesis of the genetic inferiority of black children that it was originally designed to avoid. The most useful service which linguists can perform today is to clear away the illusion of verbal deprivation and to provide a more adequate notion of the relations between standard and nonstandard dialects (Labov 1972a, 201- 202).

Labov argues that the sort of verbal behavior used as evidence for verbal deprivation is hardly due to a genetic deficit, but to regular sociolinguistic factors operating upon a white adult and black child in an asymmetrical interview situation.

When he shifted the speech situation in which linguistic data was collected from a test-like interview to an informal interview/conversation, Labov found that African American childrens’ narratives of personal experience turned out to be anything but impoverished: narratives reveal that “the Black English Vernacular is the vehicle of com-

munication used by some of the most talented and effective speakers of the English language” (Labov 1972b, 396). Similar arguments for recognizing the validity of African American Vernacular English, and hence the linguistic equality of its speakers, were presented through analyses of the syntactic and semantic regularities of ritual insult exchanges (Labov 1972c) and the logic underlying everyday argument (Labov 1972d). Although the foci of Labov’s discourse analyses were thus properties of grammar, the discourse types that he analyzed (stories, rhetorical arguments, insults) also provided firm evidence of elegant and artful uses of speech that, like Hymes’ focus on verse structure, gave voice to a community whose verbal resources and competence had been pushed aside in the politics of scholarship and society at that time.

In sum, despite differences in orientation and detail (see, for example, Hymes’ 1996, Chapter 7–9, re-analyses of some of the narratives discussed by Labov), Hymes, Gumperz and Labov all worked against the compartmentalization of scholarly and social goals in order to reveal the underlying organization and systematicity of linguistic and communicative resources whose recognition could give voice to those deprived of equality within both academic scholarship and societal structure. In the next sections, we see how contemporary analyses have addressed these goals.

3. Discourse analysis of social issues

The social theorist Anthony Giddens (1991) observes four general oppositions that are claimed to thwart our efforts to situate a “self” in a meaningful way within our phenomenal worlds: unification vs. fragmentation, powerlessness vs. appropriation, authority vs. uncertainty, personalized vs. commodified experience. Giddens places some of the responsibility for these oppositions, and their resulting “tribulations of self”, on the increasing availability of mediated information in modern society. Yet other features of modern urban societies (e.g. the increasing role of bureaucracies, the rise of consumerism, social and geographic mobility, alienation from traditional institutions) can also contribute to, and complicate, our definitions of who we are.

Recent scholarship in linguistics, anthropology, sociology and psychology has

adopted a discursive perspective on our understanding of identity (e.g. De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg (forthcoming)) and, indeed, it is largely within discourse that we find particularized evidence of Giddens’ oppositions, as well as efforts to reconcile (or change) them within the various social domains in which our claims to self-validity and social legitimacy are reinforced, challenged or altered.

In this section, I begin with a discussion of how narrative displays identity. I then move to other types of discourse, including the discourse of social institutions and its relationship to conflict and change. We thus see that issues of identity, voice, and inequality, access to institutional resources, and power, conflict, and change intersect with one another through analyses of discourse that can serve as a vehicle for addressing social issues and problems. We also see that although the analyses to be discussed do not always make reference to the foundational work of Hymes, Gumperz and Labov, they draw upon their concepts and methodologies: they search for particulars through ethnographic methods of participant-observation; they focus on the emergent dynamics of communication during face-to-face interactions; they provide detailed textual analyses of narrative. Likewise, their interdisciplinary reach works not only against compartmentalization within scholarship, but also against the division between scholarly and social goals.

Narrative is one of the most obvious types of discourse in which to search for evidence of discursive identities. Reporting ‘who’ does ‘what’ to ‘whom’ is a crucial component of narrative: it not only provides a schematic foundation for a plot, but also provides a template in which characters and actions can display their own significance through both the nouns that evoke characters and the verbs that predicate their actions. Indeed, it is through sequences of ‘who’ does ‘what’ to ‘whom’ that subtle and subjective attributes of identity are revealed.

Narratives recounting personal experiences with major social and cultural upheavals, such as immigration (e.g. Baynham forthcoming; De Fina 2003; forthcoming), for example, show how differentials of time, place and person are woven together both textually and intertextually in ways that reveal not only geographic displacement, but also social and personal disruption. Within

the narrative structures of displacement, however, are also strategies of integration and collectivity, suggesting that actual physical (and emotional) journeys can be transformed from the personal to the communal, and that the performance of 'self' in interaction with others across time and space can reunite disparate aspects of identity. (See also Wortham 2001 for the role of narrative performance, positioning and voicing on narratives recapitulating personal difficulties.)

Discourse analyses have also explored what happens to narrative – and hence, the representation of identity – when trauma and radical change is less recent and processes of acculturation have started to re-configure the context (both material and emotional) of interpretation. Dittmar (2002), for example, uses a set of sixty narratives told by former East and West Berliners to examine the social identities of adults in Berlin four years after the unification of West and East Berlin. His analyses of three narrative types – what he calls *exploring*, *exemplifying* and *fragmentary* narrations – reveals the management of transitional identities by highlighting how individuals cope with identity loss, and the building of new identities, after radical social change.

Analyses of the life stories of Holocaust survivors over time examine the mediation between old and new identities over a longer time span. Schiffrin (forthcoming) suggests that repeated tellings of the same story, in the more 'normal' personal, social and cultural milieux of survivors' contemporary lives, can lead to more canonical narrative structures. Such structures also create a place for modes of evaluation in which a current self can reflect upon the actions of the past (Schiffrin 2003a), in part, by incorporating *ex post facto* knowledge and stories of others' collective experiences, rather than one's own individual experience (Schiff and Noy forthcoming).

Narratives that report jarring and disruptive events that involve less radical social change, however, can reveal disjunctions of self that fossilize through incorporation into one's longer life story. The recounting of medical encounters, for example, often focuses on the disjunction between medical schemas and personal schemas (Young 1989), which in turn, reflects a possible schism in the interrelationships between the

voices of medicine and the lifeworld (Mishler 1984). When narrative details of one's particular health procedures and medical history hinder the re-emergence of a personal schema, the voice of medicine can provide an overall framework of evaluation in which to re-assess a role within the lifeworld that ends up pervading one's life story (Bell forthcoming).

Whereas some narratives reveal disjunctions and oppositions of self, others display the stability of roles and positions within social institutions. Stories told within, or about the family, for example, can reveal traditional parental roles. For examples of the former: Ochs and Taylor (1992) show how dinner table storytelling helps maintain the role of father as patriarch; Blum-Kulka (1997) shows how dinner table conversations (including, but not limited to, narrative) provide a forum for socializing children into their parents' culture. In analyses of stories told *about* the family, Schiffrin (1996) shows how stories about conflict between adult women in the family reinforce findings that women engage in indirect means of conflict resolution; analysis of a life story about maternal abandonment (Schiffrin 2000) shows that avoidance and indirectness characterize both the mother's role in the story world and the daughter's report of the relationship in the story-telling world.

Analyses of modes of discourse other than narrative also reveal different aspects of identity that can index institutional frameworks through which differences in identity emerge and clash. The juxtaposition of business and economic interests against individual consumers, for example, appears through analyses of bureaucratic language (e.g. in warning labels on everyday products, insurance policies), whose density and complexity has been claimed during legal proceedings to bear some responsibility for damage to individuals who were harmed or misled by reliance on that language (e.g. Shuy 1998). Equally overt clashes – without the benefit of legal representation – appear in written letters exchanged between people in dire need of medical care and representatives of the insurance company for their health provider who rejects their claims (Bastos and Oliveira forthcoming).

In more public domains, analyses of discourse provide many examples of how people publicly position themselves for different audiences and constituencies. Dur-

anti (2003), for example, shows how a political candidate negotiates his message and its delivery in relation to different audiences (see, also, Chilton 1987; Wilson 1990). In another domain of public discourse – memory culture – Schiffrin (2003b) shows how parts of a Holocaust life story interview appear on a Web site in ways that highlight the public relevance of what was a very private experience for one woman by presenting her primarily in terms of her brief encounter with, and reaction to, a famous hero of the Jewish resistance.

The use of communicative styles in ongoing conversation – indirectness (Tannen 1994), argument (Schiffrin 1984), overlapping turns (Tannen 1984) – also index identity. However, because the strategies and practices used are also sequentially motivated, co-occur with other practices, and are themselves variable, a direct indexical link between discourse and identity can be more difficult to establish.

Discursive constructions of identity become still more complex when a differential of power is implicated in one facet of identity over another – when one is less ‘equal’ than the other – or when one participant is granted more prestige than the other (see Lakoff 1990). Although these differences in power and prestige sometimes appear overtly in specific institutional contexts, other discourse types strive to mitigate them. An example is the oral history: a form of discourse that seeks to balance the writing of history by adding the voices of ordinary people affected by social changes to the voices of those who had roles in implementing social change. As Portelli (1997, 6) explains, oral history is a mediating genre through its dependence “to a large extent on the shifting balance between the personal and the social, between biography and history.” Efforts to strike such a balance can result in the appearance of recurrent themes in narratives about what seems to be very different topics: Portelli finds that men’s war stories and women’s hospital tales actually share a plot line and character structure, in which the teller re-enacts personal confrontations with representatives of a public “other.”

Thus far, we have reviewed a variety of ways in which various components and aspects of identity are discursively represented. Some of the voices emerging through those texts are valued and privileged; others

are not. Struggles to rectify or mediate between imbalances appear. As we see below, analyses of discourse have also focused on the institutions in which those voices often appear and on processes of conflict and change that affect those voices.

Institutions are organized sets of stable norms and practices that pursue over time and space, and despite changes in personnel, to fulfill what are thought to be basic needs of society, e.g. educating and socializing children (through family and school), distributing resources (through an economy, through a health care system), regulating behavior (through the legal system). Analyses of institutional discourse examine the language of representatives of those institutions as they carry out their official work. Although the primary focus of such research has often been spoken language during face-to-face interactions between institutional representative and lay persons, analyses also focus on communication among professionals, the use of written texts, non verbal aspects of communication, and the role of technology within the institution.

Since space prevents discussion of the large body of research on the discourse of the classroom, business practices, the legal system and the media (but see representative overviews in Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton 2001), I focus here on a review of some key aspects of institutional discourse related to health care delivery.

Scholars in the fields of sociology, psychology, anthropology and linguistics have examined the language of visits between patients and their physicians. These studies provide insights on a variety of social processes and phenomena, including professional/layperson interaction, professional socialization, decision making, and the representation of science. Whereas some of these studies (e.g. ten Have 1989 on ‘sequence’, ten Have 1991 on co-constructed asymmetry) find generalities, others find particularities shaped by the specialty (Cicourel 1992) of the professional, the native language and cultural differences between professional and patient (Erickson and Rittenberg 1987), the social class (Todd 1984) of the patient, the sex (Ainsworth-Vaughn 1998) of the professional, and the actual medical concern underlying the visit (Hamilton forthcoming).

One strand of analysis focuses on how physician and patient work to co-construct

(not always in congruence with one another) a narrative about 'what is wrong' (Charon 2001; Frankel and Beckman 1989; Hunter 1991). Other studies dwell more on the processes of physician/patient interaction (Fisher and Todd 1983; West 1984), sometimes pointing out conflicts between the narrative form preferred by patients and the question/answer form preferred by physicians (Frankel 1983; Todd 1981), the latter, a form that allows physicians more power over the agenda of the encounter (Ainsworth-Vaughn 1998). Still other scholarship dwells on the genres and registers of medical discourse, including the pervasive metaphors through which patients and doctors conceptualize illness (Fleischman 2001).

Social institutions – including not just medicine, but law, economy, family, religion, and so on – provide rights and obligations incumbent upon whomever is given (or takes upon oneself) access to a social position. Just as individual identity depends upon chains of expectations and obligations embedded within, and replicated by, those positions, so too, social structure re-establishes itself regardless of recurrent changes in the specific occupants of positions within that structure.

Within the seeming stability and self-replication of social institutions, however, arise opportunities for ritual shuffling around of roles (e.g. Goffman 1961 on the 'underlife' of public institutions) as well as what Tannen (1998) calls "agonism" (adapted from Ong 1981): discourse formats that rely on and create ritualized opposition, as distinguished from the actual fighting of physical battle or the rhetorical opposition that grows organically out of true difference of opinion. Agonism is found in the extreme contentiousness of much public discourse, including journalism, politics and law. In journalism, agonism takes the form of conceptualizing all issues as a debate between two polarized extremes, and of a "culture of critique" by which attack and vitriolic criticism are valued and respected, in contrast to other forms of inquiry that are devalued or even ridiculed. In politics and law, the inherently agonistic character of the American two-party political system and the adversarial legal system have become more extremely contentious in rhetorical formats and tactics.

Whereas the studies reviewed thus far *observe* and *analyze* identities and discursive

practices, and their role in social life, the perspective known as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) engages in scholarly *critiques* of discourse, here, explicitly conceptualized as Discourse ("language plus other 'stuff'" (Gee 1999, 17)). The primary focus of CDA is how social power and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted through Discourse, a prime site for different ideologies to contend with one another and struggle for dominance.

Because the multiplicity reflected in the CDA use of the term Discourse assumes the saturation of text by context, ideology, and action, also guaranteed is the constant intertwining of language and power (van Dijk 1989). Although power arises not from language, but from social forces, language can nevertheless challenge, subvert and alter the distribution of power, not only in institutions such as the media (e.g. Fowler 1991) or corporate business (e.g. Boden 1994), but also in the macro and micro-level identities that are realized within institutions and during interactions taking place in our everyday lives. For example, redistributions of power can move from the potential to the actual if gendered identities shift from being different and unequal, to different and equal (e.g. Cameron 1992; Tannen 1990) or if people whose race or religion brands them as the 'other' lose that stigma (e.g. van Dijk 1984; Reisigl and Wodak 2001).

In sum, in this section, we moved from Giddens' observations about tribulations of the self to how discourse reveals identity, the role of discourse in social institutions and the challenge faced by discourse to effect social change. Issues of identity, voice, and inequality, access to institutional resources, and power, conflict, and change intersect with one another through analyses of discourse that fulfill the vision of a socially constituted linguistics (Hymes 1974) and serve as a vehicle for addressing the wide variety of social issues and problems that stem from the nexus of language use, structure, and context.

4. Summary

Contemporary discourse analysis draws upon concepts and methodologies developed within the early days of sociolinguistics: they examine the particulars of communication through ethnographic methods of participant-observation; they focus on

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
2. Universal principles
3. What are politeness forms?
4. How and why are politeness forms used?
5. Literature (selected)

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 polite-

ness 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 doyoubi 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

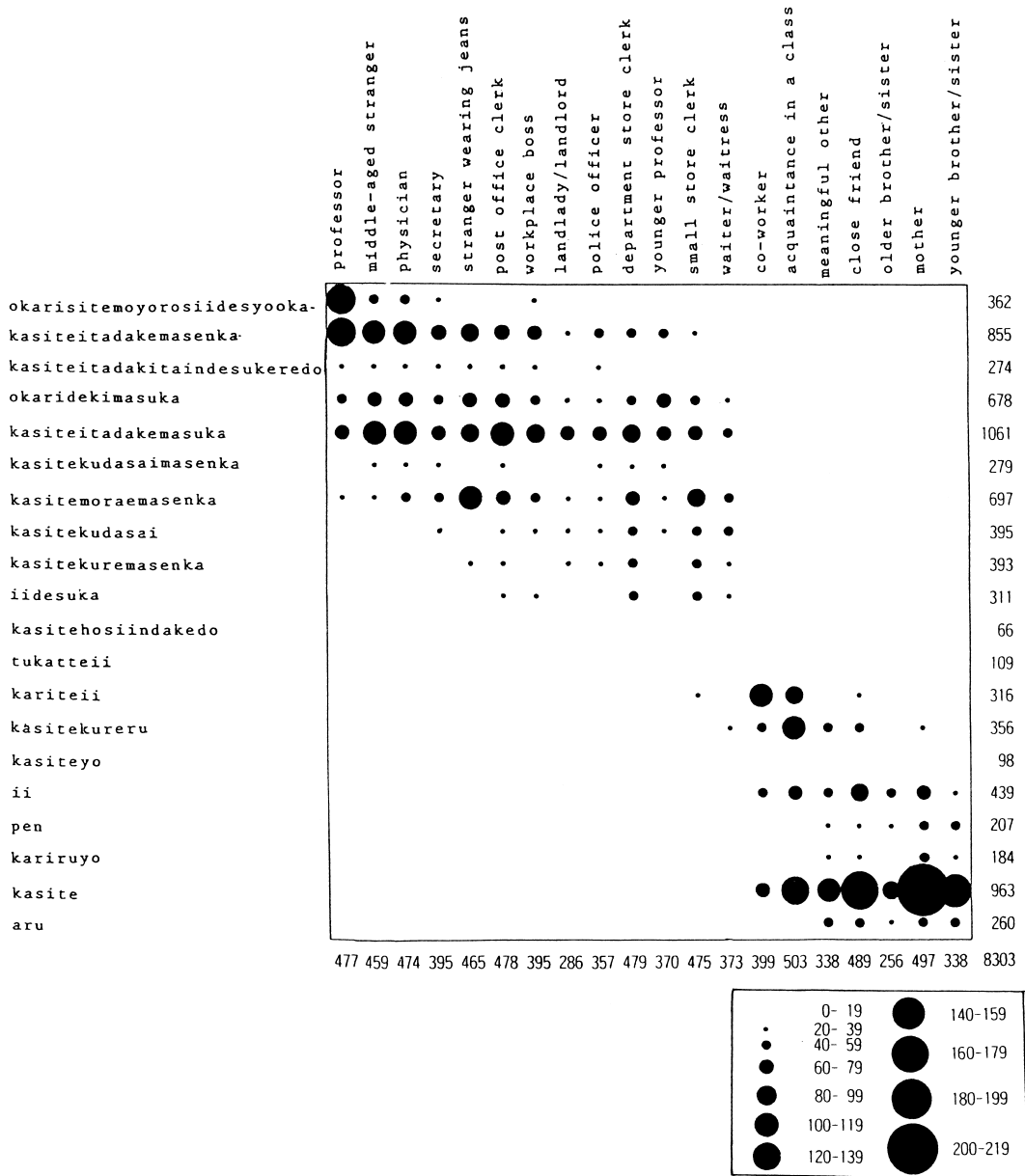


Fig. 72.1: Correlations of Request Forms and People Categories – Japanese

equal status or familiar persons. In other words, expressions used toward *soto* (out-group) 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

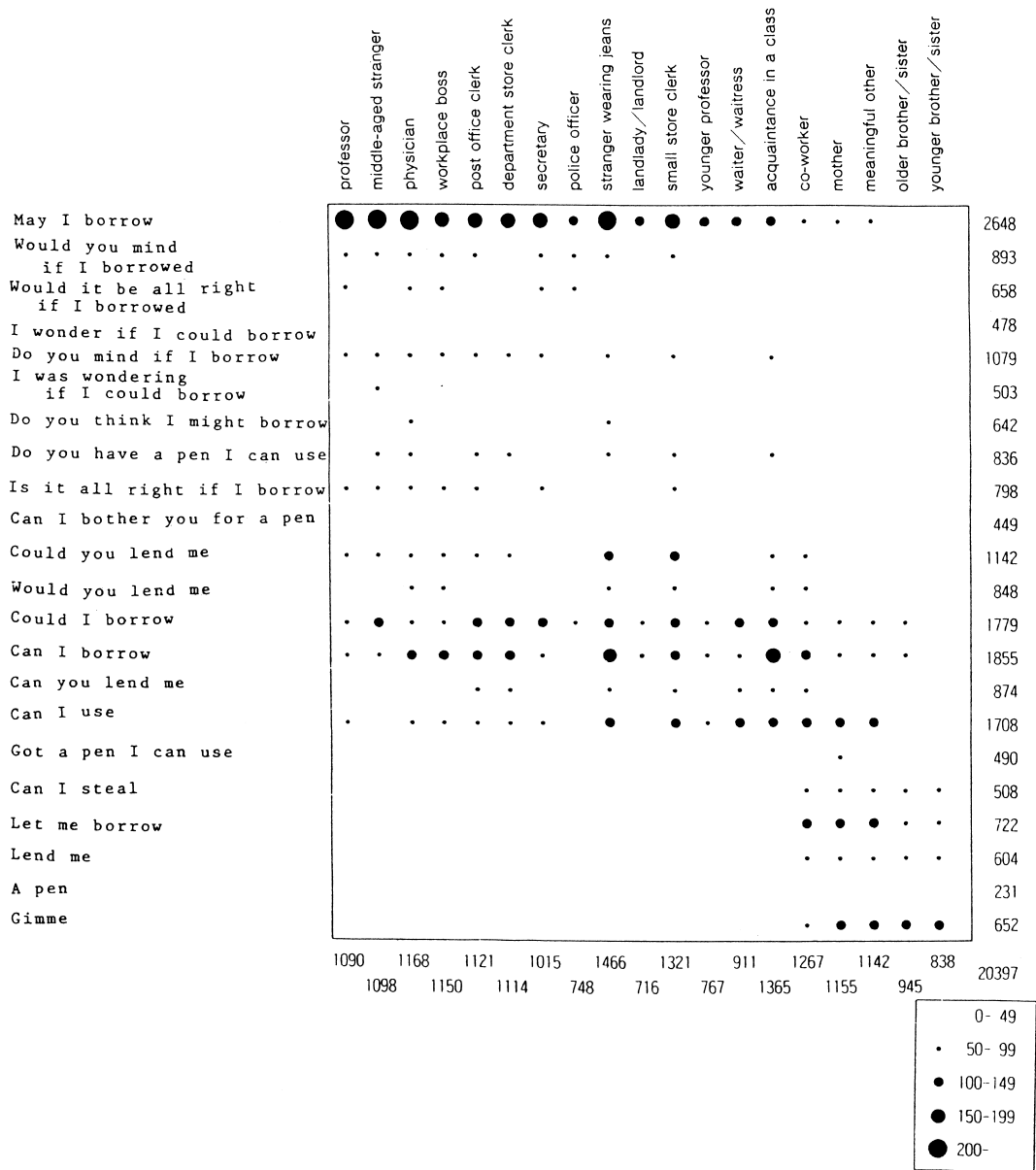


Fig. 72.2: Correlations of Request Forms and People Categories – American English

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 linguistic 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

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
2. Diskurstraditionen – Texttraditionen: Fortschritte in Beschreibung und Modellbildung
3. Die gesellschaftliche Relevanz der Texte/Diskurse
4. Beispiele
5. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Text/Diskurs

1.1. Definitionen

Der Begriff des *Texts* teilt das Schicksal vieler, gerade zentraler Begriffe der Sprachwissenschaft wie etwa *Wort* oder *Satz*: Je

de 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 ein-

geschlossen 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 entfalten zu nächst 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.

Im Anschluss an die definitorischen und klassifikatorischen Fragen werden im zweiten Teil die bereits genannten Diskurstraditionen bzw. Texttypen angesprochen. Die begriffliche Verknüpfung mit Traditionen hat den Vorteil, dass sie die unseres Erachtens fundamentale Bedeutung der geschichtlichen Überlieferung der sozialen Praktiken des Sprechens und Schreibens und der dazugehörigen rezeptiven, keineswegs jedoch inaktiven Rollen des Hörens und Lesens mit sich führt. Die Fortführung, aber auch die Aufgabe bestimmter Konventionen des Sprechens obliegt den Individuen, die ihrerseits in sozialen Gemeinschaften eingebunden sind. Welche Texttraditionen werden von welchen sozialen und kulturellen Gruppen gepflegt, wie werden sie verändert, welche Textbereiche werden zur Sache von Experten erklärt?

1.2. Kriterien der Textualität

Es ist verschiedentlich versucht worden, die Kriterien für das Vorliegen eines Texts aufzustellen, oder, anders gesagt, herauszuarbeiten, welche Elemente die in allen Definitionen im Vordergrund stehende *Einheit* des Texts *konstituieren* und ihn damit *begrenzen*. Die große Vielfalt, die der breiten Verwendung des Begriffs (vgl. 1.1.) zu Grunde liegt, ist ursächlich für die unterschiedliche Fokussierung der Autoren. Während de Beaugrande/Dressler (1981) sieben Kriterien für Textualität nennen, nämlich *Kohäsion*, *Kohärenz*, *Intentionalität*, *Akzeptabilität*, *Informativität*, *Situationalität* und *Intertextualität*, listet Isenberg (1976) acht konstitutive Merkmale auf: gesellschaftliche Legitimität, kommunikative Funktionalität, Semantizität, Situationsbezogenheit, Wohlgeformtheit, Wohlkomponiertheit, Grammatikalität.

Diesen und ähnlichen Katalogen ist gemeinsam, dass zwei Typen von Textkonstitutiva unterschieden werden, solche, die die innere Struktur des Texts betreffen (Kohäsion, Kohärenz) und solche, die seine Einbindung in Situationen und seine kommunikative bzw. soziale Funktion betreffen. Die „Einheit“ eines Texts ergibt sich aus der syntaktischen und semantischen Kohärenz (in einem allgemeinen Sinne verstanden, d.h. auf der Ebene des Sprechens und auf der Ebene der Normen der Einzelsprache) und aus der konstanten Situierung und Finalisierung.

1.3. Ebenen der Textkonstitution

Diese Zweiteilung findet sich auch bei der Beschreibung der Texte wieder. Die *Textgrammatik* beschreibt syntaktische Erscheinungen, die die Reichweite eines Satzes überschreiten (Pronomina, Artikel, Tempusgebrauch usw.) (Fabricius-Hansen 2000; Halliday/Hasan 1976; Kleiber 1994; Kong 1993; Weinrich 1982; 1993; Zifonun 2000) und semantische Phänomene, die den Text betreffen (Wunderlich 1979; bzgl. Isotopien, Themastrukturen vgl. Heinemann 2000; Hoffmann 2000). Die *Textpragmatik* untersucht die situative und intentionale Einbettung der Diskurse (Sprechakte, Redekonstellationen, Gebrauch zum jeweiligen historischen Zeitpunkt) (Auer/di Luzio 1992; Ehlich 1991; Feilke 2000; Giesecke 1983; Grosse/Wellmann 1996; Holly 1982; Kaiser 2002; Kallmeyer/Schütze 1976; Koch/Oesterreicher 2001; Schlieben-Lange 1983; Zollna 2003).

Wenn man daran geht, die Ebenen der Textkonstitution weiter zu entfalten, ist es sicher günstig, sich zunächst zu fragen, welche Organisationsaufgaben ein Diskurs als „realitätssensitive“ (zum interaktionistisch begründeten Begriff Kallmeyer 1985) Einheit des Sprechens lösen muss. Diesen verschiedenen Organisationsaufgaben würden verschiedene Techniken entsprechen. Bezogen auf die Organisation von Gesprächen (zum Unterschied von monologischen und dialogischen Texten s.u.) haben Kallmeyer und Schütze (1976) einen entfalteten Katalog von Organisationsaufgaben erarbeitet:

- Gesprächsorganisation (Austausch von Sprechbeiträgen)
- gemeinsames Handeln (z. B. eine Auskunft einholen, eine Verabredung treffen)
- Sachverhaltsdarstellungen (z. T. in Form komplexer, in sich geschlossener Darstellungen wie Erzählungen, Beschreibungen und Argumentationen)
- soziale Identitäten und Beziehungen (wie Arzt – Patient, Bekanntschaft, Kollegialität usw.)
- Interaktionsmodalitäten (wie Ernst, Scherz, Spiel, institutionelle Verfahrensinteraktion usw.)
- Reziprozitätsherstellung (Formen der Kooperation) (Kallmeyer 1985, 85)

Man könnte die bei dieser Ebenenunterscheidung leitende Fragestellung über die Erfordernisse der Gesprächsorganisation hinaus ausweiten und fragen, welche Aufga-

ben jeder Text lösen muss, welche Ebenen der Textkonstitution zu unterscheiden sind und welche Techniken sich für die Bewältigung dieser Aufgaben ergeben. Wir benennen im Folgenden zwölf Organisationsaufgaben, wobei die Aufgaben 1–6 zum Bereich der allgemeinen Techniken des Sprechens (vgl. Levelt 1989) zählen, also unabhängig von der jeweiligen Einzelsprache auf die universellen Erfordernisse des jeweiligen Diskurses/Textes eingehen müssen, während die Aufgaben 7–10 in einem engeren Sinne textkonstitutiv sind, d. h. auf der aktuellen Ebene angesiedelt werden müssen (zur Unterscheidung der drei Ebenen *universell, historisch, aktuell* bzw. *Sprechen, Sprache, Text* Coseriu 1980; Schlieben-Lange 1983).

- (1) Die Sprecher bzw. Schreiber müssen sich für ein *Medium* entscheiden. Sie verpflichten sich damit, den Text medienadäquat zu verfassen. Damit ist vor allem die Entscheidung für das Medium der Mündlichkeit oder der Schriftlichkeit gemeint, die einen jeweils unterschiedlichen Umgang mit den *Umfeldern*, auf die sich das Sprechen immer bezieht, nötig machen (zum Begriff der Umfelder Bühler 1934; Coseriu 1955/56; Schlieben-Lange 1983; zuletzt Aschenberg 1999, 45–76). Je nach der Ausweitung des Textbegriffs könnte aber auch an die Einbeziehung anderer Zeichensysteme in multimedialer Kommunikation gedacht sein.
- (2) Die Sprecher bzw. Schreiber nehmen auf die *Umfelder* des Sprechens Bezug, d. h. auf die empirische Welt, auf Wissens- und Glaubensbestände, auf den Ko-Text oder auf andere Texte (Intertextualität). Dazu stehen die Techniken der *Referentialisierung* zur Verfügung (vgl. Ehlich 1983), die je nach der Wahl des Mediums unterschiedliche Präferenzen setzen: Deixis und Ostension spielen in mündlichen Texten eine herausragende Rolle, der Ko-Text in schriftverfassten. Innerhalb des gleichen Texts besteht die Erwartung, dass die einmal aufgebaute Referenzwelt konstant bleibt (Schlieben-Lange 1983, 17–25).
- (3) Es müssen *Thema*-Strukturen aufgebaut werden. Auch hier besteht die Erwartung der thematischen Konstanz oder aber einer durchschaubaren Thema-Entwicklung (Kalverkämper 1981; Hoffmann 2000).

- (4) Modalitäten der *Sachverhaltsdarstellung* müssen konstituiert werden. Hier geht es um komplexe und längerfristig gültige Arten des Sprechens über die Welt und der internen Anordnung von Einzelinformationen. Kallmeyer/Schütze (1976) unterscheiden zwischen erzählenden, beschreibenden und argumentativen Sachverhaltsdarstellungen. Die längerfristig wirksamen Ordnungsprinzipien wären in diesem Falle als chronologisch, simultan oder problemorientiert zu charakterisieren.
- (5) Sprecher und Hörer müssen die *Situation* und die *Redekonstellation* interpretieren. Damit ist zunächst die Interpretation als monologische oder dialogische gemeint. Der Begriff der Redekonstellation als eines komplexen Ensembles von Situationselementen ist in der Freiburger Linguistik um Hugo Steger (1974) entwickelt worden. Die Situation kann darüber hinaus noch viel weitergehend als eine solche interpretiert werden, die ein ganz bestimmtes Handlungsmuster erfordert (*frame, script* de Beaugrande/Dressler 1981, 95ff.; zur Problematisierung der Übertragung dieser aus der Artificial Intelligence-Forschung herrührenden Begriffe auf die Textlinguistik siehe van Dijk/Kintch 1983, 307ff.; vgl. auch Figge 2000)
- (6) Im Falle der nicht-monologischen Textgestaltung ergibt sich die Aufgabe der *Gesprächsorganisation*, wie sie in der Gesprächsanalyse untersucht werden (Redebeteiligung, Anzahl und Länge der *turns*, Sprecherwechsel, Unterbrechungen und ihre interaktive Behandlung, Verfahren/Strategien der Durchsetzung und Gestaltung von (längeren) Redebeiträgen (Gesprächskontrolle) vgl. Bierbach 1997)
- (7) Damit die Diskurse bzw. Texte Sinn haben, müssen die am Textgeschehen Beteiligten die damit bedeutete *Handlung konstituieren*. Sie müssen sich um den monologischen oder interaktiven Aufbau einer konstanten (und gemeinsamen) Finalisierung auf ein Ziel verständigen. In diesem Zusammenhang stellt sich die Frage, ob die von der Sprechakttheorie erarbeiteten Handlungstypen auch für die Beschreibung von komplexen Texten Gültigkeit haben (s. u. 2.3.).
- (8) Die Kommunikationsteilnehmer müssen sich über die *Interaktionsmodalitäten* ei-

nigen. Sind die im Text konstituierten Handlungen ernst, scherzhaft oder als Spiel zu verstehen? Welche Gültigkeit und Verbindlichkeit kommt ihnen zu?

- (9) Sprechend und schreibend werden *soziale Identitäten* bestätigt oder problematisiert. In der Verfertigung von Texten werden soziale Identitäten konstituiert in einem sehr direkten Sinne (z.B. Ernennung), in einem allgemeinen (Angebot, Annahme oder Zurückweisung sozialer Rollen) oder in einem vagen Verständnis (Selbstdarstellung oder Fremdeinschätzung als guter Zuhörer, guter Erzähler).
- (10) *Soziale Wertvorstellungen und Normen* werden konstituiert, bestätigt oder problematisiert. In jedem Text stehen nicht nur die Identitäten der an der Textverfertigung Beteiligten zur Disposition, sondern auch die sozialen Normen und Wertvorstellungen, die in der betreffenden Kultur gelten. Höflichkeit oder Indirektheit eines Texts etwa bestätigen die Gültigkeit der Norm des Schutzes von Territorium und Gesicht, Direktheit stellt sie in Frage (auch hier sind die Verfahren und Interpretationen sprachlicher Handlungen in verschiedenen sozialen Gruppen ganz unterschiedlich, vgl. Kallmeyer 1994; Keim 1995; allgemein zu *face* Brown/Levinson 1987; Watts/Sachiko/Ehlich 1992; vgl. auch den programmatischen Titel der Festschrift für Hugo Steger: *Texttyp, Sprechergruppe, Kommunikationsbereich*, hg. von Löffler/Jakob/Kelle 1994; Sabban/Schmitt 1994; Stempel 1971).

1.4. Exkurs: Zur Geschichte der Textlinguistik

Mit Texten und Regeln zu ihrer Produktion beschäftigte sich bis weit ins 18. Jahrhundert hinein die Rhetorik. Die Sprachwissenschaft, die sich erst allmählich als eigene Disziplin im Bereich der Philologie etabliert hatte, wandte sich zunächst von der Ebene des Textes ab, um auch auf der Ebene des Forschungsobjektes ihre Verschiedenheit und damit verknüpft ihr Recht auf Eigenständigkeit zu unterstreichen. Erst in den 60er Jahren entwickelte sie erneut ein Interesse für die Ebene des Texts. Wir müssen uns klar machen, dass die Textlinguistik und die Sprechakttheorie (die in die linguistische Pragmatik einmündete) zunächst getrennte Wege gingen.

Die Textlinguistik entstand in einer Ausdehnung der sprachwissenschaftlichen Analyse über die Satzgrenze hinaus. Dabei wurden zunächst vor allem sprachliche Regeln der Textkonstitution wie Anaphorik, Zeitengebrauch usw. behandelt. Es kamen aber zunehmend Fragen nach der Einheit von Texten, der Kohärenz von Texten, der Typik von Texten usw. ins Blickfeld, Fragen, die sich eigentlich nur aus der pragmatischen Funktion der Texte beantworten lassen. Die ursprüngliche Überschreitung des Satzniveaus mit einem Interesse für die Verknüpfung zwischen Sätzen dehnte sich immer mehr aus und schlug so von einem quantitativen zu einer qualitativen Betrachtungsweise um, die neben dem Kontext auch den Ko-Text berücksichtigte, so dass sie schließlich in der Etablierung dieses neuen Teilbereichs der Sprachwissenschaft gipfelte. Die kommunikative sprachliche Einheit des Texts sollte als Grundkategorie einer möglichen Sprachwissenschaft erprobt werden (Hartmann 1971; Schmidt 1971; Harweg 1968).

Bei der linguistischen Pragmatik wurde ebenfalls vom Satz abstrahiert und zwar indem unter qualitativem Vorzeichen nicht der Satz, sondern der Sprechakt zum Forschungsgegenstand erhoben wurde. Es erwies sich in der linguistischen Pragmatik, dass Sprechakte, die mit Sätzen zusammenfallen, eher die Ausnahme sind. Deshalb wurde diese Einheit als inadäquat empfunden und an ihrer Stelle die sprachlich vollzogene Handlung in den Mittelpunkt gerückt. Diese ihrerseits umfassten häufig mehr als einen Sprechakt, sodass die Ausweitung der Untersuchungen auf Sprechaktsequenzen und kommunikative Ziele und Strategien notwendig wurde.

So konvergierten Textlinguistik und linguistische Pragmatik, die die Ebene des Satzes anfänglich in je verschiedener Weise überschritten hatten, allmählich. Lediglich die Akzente sind verschoben: Bei der Textlinguistik steht die interne Textkonstitution im Vordergrund, bei der linguistischen Pragmatik die sozialen Verpflichtungen sprachlicher Handlungen. Die Entwicklung von Textlinguistik und linguistischer Pragmatik könnte folgendermaßen skizziert werden:

Textlinguistik	<i>Linguistische Pragmatik</i>
Das Satzniveau wird überschritten in Richtung auf	
Text	Sprechhandlung
(quantitative Verlagerung)	(qualitative Verlagerung)
Diese Betrachtungsweise wird ergänzt durch	
Situierung von Texten	Sprechaktsequenzen
(qualitative Ergänzung)	(quantitative Ergänzung)
in Richtung auf eine Sprechhandlungs-/Textwissenschaft mit dem Gegenstand	
„Text-in-Funktion“	

2. Diskurstraditionen– Texttraditionen: Fortschritte in Beschreibung und Modellbildung

2.1. Theoretische Situierung

Wo sind die Diskurse und Texte zu verorten? Wie bereits zu Beginn unserer Ausführungen angesprochen, lassen sich die Texte zunächst als Manifestationen des Sprechens bzw. Schreibens auf der aktuellen Ebene, auf der Ebene der Rede bzw. der Texte begreifen. In einem ersten Schritt können sie auf der historischen Ebene einerseits mittels entsprechender Analyseverfahren Aufschluss über die in umfassendem Sinne grammatischen Strukturen der Einzelsprache geben, andererseits sind sie immer auch Beispiele für die dazugehörigen Diskurstraditionen, also Exemplare bestimmter Textsorten, wobei die am besten erforschten Textsorten die literarischen Gattungen sind. In einem zweiten Schritt lassen sich auf der universellen Ebene bestimmte allgemeine Verfahren der Referentialisierung (der Bezugnahme auf die Welt) und der Alterisierung (wechselseitige Bezugnahme von Subjekten aufeinander) feststellen, die den grundsätzlichen Kommunikationsbedingungen entsprechen.

Hat die Soziolinguistik bisher hauptsächlich phonetische und – zeitlich nachgeordnet – syntaktische Auffälligkeiten fokussiert, so ist unserer Überzeugung nach insbesondere der Bereich der Textsorten und ihrer Tradierung für soziale Gruppen und ihren Wandel kennzeichnend. Die Usancen eines Literaturzirkels sind nur für die Frauen bestimmter sozialer Herkunft relevant (Kallmeyer 1995), die Rezeption der Sportschau und den Austausch über die hier vermittelten Informationen sind wiederum für andere Gruppen typisch.

Textsorten werden in Produktion und Rezeption von verschiedenen sozialen Gruppen in unterschiedlicher, jeweils charakteristischer Weise ausgelegt. Dabei ist zu beachten, dass Textgemeinschaften (d. h. die Gruppe derjenigen, die eine Texttradition weitertragen und über die entsprechende Textkompetenz verfügen) und Sprachgemeinschaften in der Regel nicht zusammenfallen. Die Ebene des Texts ist also einerseits diejenige Ebene, auf der gesellschaftliche Organisation sich am direktesten fassen lässt (direkter als auf der Ebene der Phonetik oder der Morphologie), andererseits der Ort, an dem sich das Individuum unmittelbar manifestiert. Auf keiner anderen Ebene der Sprache ist die Spannung von Sozialem und Individuellem so stark.

2.2. Mikro- und Makrostruktur von Texten

Es liegt nahe, das Handlungskonzept, wie es die Sprechakttheorie entwickelt hat, auf die Diskursebene zu übertragen. Es gibt jedoch eine Reihe von Problemen, was das Verhältnis von einzelner Äußerung und Textganzem angeht. Ein Diskurs kann aus einer Vielzahl unterschiedlicher Sprechhandlungen bestehen. Für die einzelnen Sequenzen können mehr oder weniger verpflichtende Muster bindend sein bis hin zu festgelegten Lautmelodien (Zollna 2003; vgl. auch Schwitalla 1994, 493). Neben erzählenden können deskriptive oder/und argumentative Teile zum festen oder variablen Bestandteil einer Textsorte gehören. Interaktiv müssen die Voraussetzungen erst geschaffen werden, die die Produktion der betreffenden Diskurse ermöglichen (Auer 1992). Die Situationsbindung selbst führt zu zahlreichen Veränderungen, die sich auch auf die Ebene des Diskurses auswirken, potenziert durch

die Möglichkeiten unterschiedlicher Kontextualisierung.

A first property of context to be emphasized is its dynamic character. A context is not just one possible world-state, but at least a sequence of world-states. Moreover, these situations do not remain identical in time, but *change*. Hence, a context is a course of events. (van Dijk 1977, 192).

Außerdem bleibt während eines Diskurses das übergeordnete Handlungsziel nicht notwendigerweise konstant. Das liegt daran, dass Textziele, insbesondere wenn mehrere Personen daran beteiligt sind, gemeinsam im Verlauf erarbeitet werden. Auch in der amerikanischen Konversationsanalyse ist von Sacks (1970/1992, Vol. II, 154–174; Sacks/Schegloff/Jefferson 1974) der Unterschied zwischen *overall-structure* und *turn-by-turn structure* gemacht worden. Zwischen beiden scheint ein kompliziertes Wechselverhältnis zu bestehen. Einerseits entwickeln Diskurse sich sequentiell, andererseits sind sie gleichzeitig auf hierarchisch übergeordnete Zielsetzungen, die sich verändern können, bezogen (Rehbein 1977; Kallmeyer 1985; Motsch 1996; vgl. auch *broad and local sense of context* Cicourel 1992). Außerdem gibt es bereits in den einzelnen Kulturen (und Sprachen) eingeführte Bezeichnungen für einzelne Textsorten, ja je nach dem sogar für komplexe Texttypologien (Gülich 1986), die sich nicht ohne weiteres auf eine Sprechaktklassifikation beziehen lassen.

2.3. Klassifikationskriterien

Die Gesamtheit aller in einer Gemeinschaft zu einem bestimmten historischen Zeitpunkt praktizierten Texttraditionen (*kommunikativer Haushalt* Luckmann 1988; mit einer gesellschaftskritischen Konnotation *marché linguistique* Bourdieu 1984; *set of communicative conventions* van Dijk 1977) zu ordnen, ist eine komplexe Aufgabe, für die eine noch ausstehende, möglichst vollständige Beschreibung der einzelnen Textsorten Voraussetzung ist. Es liegen zahlreiche Klassifikationsvorschläge vor (u.a. Brinker 1988; Göpferich 1995; Große 1976; Isenberg 1984; Werlich 1975), die allerdings über eine aufzählende Reihung kaum hinausgehen (vgl. das von Ehlich benannte Desiderat einer systematischen Klassifikation 1994, 25). Unter der Perspektive der Bewertung und der fundamentalen Interaktionsziele unterscheidet Isenberg (1984)

gnosogene, kopersonale, ergotrope, kalogene, religiotrope und ludophile Texte. So werden beispielsweise unter der Rubrik gnosogene Texte Monographien, wissenschaftliche Diskussionen auf ihre theoretische Adäquatheit hin bewertet, als ihr gemeinsames Interaktionsziel wird die Erzielung eines (sozialen) Erkenntnisgewinns angeführt. Literarische Textsorten werden hinsichtlich ihrer ästhetischen Funktionalität bewertet, sie gelten als Beispiel für kalogene Texte und dienen der Entfaltung sozialer Phantasie. Im Unterschied zu den entlang des Gradatums zwischen Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit angeordneten Diskurstraditionen (Koch/Oesterreicher 1990; Koch 1997a; Jungbluth 2001) fällt die merkwürdige Nähe zwischen so stark formalisierten Textsorten wie der angeführten Monographie und dem zwanglosen Gespräch im Eisenbahnabteil besonders ins Auge.

Wie unter 1.1. bereits ausgeführt, halten wir die Unterscheidung zwischen schriftlichen und mündlichen Texten für derart grundlegend, dass sie auch bei der Klassifizierung der Textsorten berücksichtigt werden muss. Keineswegs soll bestritten werden, dass Textsorten beider Art die jeweiligen Diskursuniversen (s. u.) konstituieren. Allerdings sind die kommunikativen Bedingungen für Diskurse der Nähe, die in der Regel mündlich performiert werden, und für solche der Distanz, die typischer Weise in schriftlicher Form vorliegen, in ihrer extremen Form konträrer Natur.

Dem Schriftlichkeit-Pol entsprechen dabei die Parameterwerte ‚raumzeitliche Distanz‘, ‚öffentlich‘, ‚fremde Partner‘, ‚emotionslos‘, ‚situations- und handlungsentbunden‘, ‚wenig Referenz auf origo‘, ‚keine Kooperationsmöglichkeiten seitens des Rezipienten‘, ‚monologisch‘, ‚reflektiert-geplant‘, ‚fixes Thema‘ usw. (Koch 1994b, 588).

Für den Pol der Mündlichkeiten müssten dann umgekehrt die Parameter ‚raumzeitliche Nähe‘, ‚privat‘, ‚vertraute Partner‘, ‚emotional‘, ‚situations- und handlungsgebunden‘, ‚Referenz auf Origo‘, Kooperationsverpflichtung auf Seiten des Hörers bzw. der Gesprächsteilnehmer insgesamt, ‚dialogisch‘, ‚spontan‘, ‚offenes Thema bzw. interaktiv zu entwickelndes Thema‘ gelten. Für jede einzelne Textsorte ist eine bestimmte Kombination der hier einander gegenübergestellten Merkmale typisch. Wenn sich das von Koch/Oesterreicher (1990; 1994; 2001) vorgeschlagene Kontinuum erst durch

die Reihung der Textsorten konkretisiert (vgl. Graphik Koch 1994b, 588), so muss dieses Konzept insofern verändert werden, als es sich vielmehr um diskrete, jeweils unterscheidbare und in unverwechselbarer Weise zu charakterisierende Einheiten handelt, um ein Gradatum. Textsorten sind die aktuellen oder auch historischen Muster, sie werden auch als Texttraditionen bezeichnet und sind per se historisch gewachsen. Da sie sich durch ganz spezifische Muster auszeichnen, sind kontinuierliche Übergänge zwischen ihnen nicht denkbar. Diese Betrachtungsweise schließt keinesfalls aus, dass Texttraditionen divergieren, konvergieren oder auch interferieren (s. u.). Aber auch diese Bezeichnungen setzen voraus, dass zunächst klar unterschiedene Textsorten bestimmt wurden, die die so zu benennenden Stadien durchlaufen können.

In klassifikatorischer Absicht könnte man jeweils bestimmte Ausschnitte aus der Skala zwischen Nähe und Distanz herauslösen und so die an dieser Stelle zu situierenden Texttypen zu einer Gruppe zusammenfassen. Wahrscheinlich müsste allerdings diese zweidimensionale Sichtweise noch mehrfach ergänzt werden, um zu verhindern, dass so unterschiedliche Texttraditionen wie ein Roman, ein wissenschaftlicher Text und eine juristische Abhandlung, die zweifellos alle am schriftsprachlichen Ende des Gradatums einzuordnen wären, auseinanderzuhalten. Eine erste Ordnung muss die verschiedenen Bezugswelten betreffen, denen die Texte zugeordnet werden können, mit anderen Worten das Nähe-Distanz-Gradatum muss in die verschiedenen Diskurswelten hinein abgebildet werden, die ihrerseits die ihnen zugehörigen Texttypen überdachen.

Diese Betrachtungsweise bringt auch die Träger der jeweiligen Traditionen ins Blickfeld. Die zu unterschiedlichen historischen Zeitpunkten in jeweils spezifischer Weise aus dem allgemeinen Reden ausgegliederten *Diskursuniversen* (Schlieben-Lange 1983, 146ff.) schärfen den Blick dafür, wer die Träger der betreffenden Texttraditionen sind. Häufig werden nämlich die so ausgegliederten Textwelten der Dichtung, der Wissenschaft, der Religion, des Rechts bestimmten ausgewählten und dafür ausgebildeten Mitgliedern der Gesellschaft überantwortet. Entsprechend diesen Ausgliederungen verändert sich der Bereich des allgemeinen Redens erheblich, ohne dass übersehen werden

darf, dass auch in diesem Bereich keineswegs alle Mitglieder in gleicher Weise alle Texttraditionen praktizieren (vgl. *kommunikative Kompetenz der Gesellschaftsmitglieder* Kallmeyer 1995). Muss man in der klassischen *face-to-face* Kommunikation von einem stetigen und konstitutiven Wechsel zwischen den Rollen des Sprechers und Hörers ausgehen, so lässt sich in vielen der in modernen Gesellschaften praktizierten Textsorten eine solche Reziprozität gerade nicht feststellen. Während die einen die Rolle des Produzenten übernehmen, sind andere auf die Rolle der Rezipienten festgelegt oder aber bestimmte Rollen bedingen sich wechselseitig. Auch hier ist ein freier Wechsel nicht vorgesehen, man denke nur an die vielfältigen in Institutionen konventionalisierten Textsorten (s. u.).

Scherner (1984), der unter dem Begriff *Sprachbesitz* die individuelle Sprachkenntnis der am Kommunikationsgeschehen Beteiligten als je individuell „verfügbare Teilmenge“ aus dem „sprachlichen[n] Gesamtpotential einer Sprachgemeinschaft“ (Scherner 1984, 63) versteht, ist in zweifacher Hinsicht zu ergänzen. Zum einen gehört zum Sprachbesitz auch das Wissen über die jeweils gesellschaftlich relevanten Textsorten und ihre möglichen Aufbaumuster, zum anderen ist das Wissen nicht nur individuell, sondern auch sozial gebunden, wie die besondere Situation der für die Praktizierung und Tradierung bestimmter Textsorten ausgewählten Mitglieder bereits illustriert. Keineswegs soll aber geleugnet werden, dass es auch umgekehrt Textsorten gibt, die von in anderer Weise differenter sozialen Gruppen praktiziert werden, die wiederum für Außenstehende unverständlich oder nur bruchstückhaft verständlich sind. So praktizier(t)en die Männer in andalusischen Dörfern *cachondeos*, sich gegenseitig foppende Sprachspiele, die vordergründig der Unterhaltung und dem Zeitvertreib der vorwiegend als Landarbeiter Tätigen dienen, gleichzeitig aber soziale Identität stiften, gemeinsam geteilte Wertvorstellungen und Normen tradieren (Berger/Heßler/Kavemann 1978, 225; vgl. ähnliche Beobachtungen zu *piropos* Beinhauer 1934; Bierbach 1991). Auch beim Mannheimer Projekt *Kommunikation in der Stadt* wird deutlich, dass bestimmte soziale Gruppen sich nicht zuletzt dadurch auszeichnen, dass sie in genau zu beschreibender Weise sprachlich interagieren, also ganz bestimmte Texttra-

ditionen pflegen. Gerade dieser soziale Habitus (Elias 1939/1976), der die Differenz zu den daneben sich formierenden Gruppen notwendigerweise beinhaltet, stiftet für die Mitglieder soziale Identität im innerstädtischen Raum (Kallmeyer 1994/1995; Keim 1995).

Beim augenblicklichen Stand der Forschung sind durch Deduktion gewonnene Klassifikationen favorisiert, die sich auf grundsätzlichen Annahmen über die Zwecke von Texten stützen. Es wäre aber auch denkbar, auf der Basis von umfangreichem empirischem Datenmaterial eine Klassifikation zu entwickeln, die allerdings ihrerseits von Verfahren des zuerst genannten Typs geleitet sein sollte. Eine weitere empirische Vorgehensweise besteht darin, zunächst einmal die Alltagsklassifikationen, wie sie die Sprecher selbst vornehmen, zu untersuchen, um zu ermitteln, welche Kriterien in diesen Alltagsklassifikationen leitend sind (Gülich 1986) und inwieweit sie auch für wissenschaftliche Zwecke fruchtbar gemacht werden können. Wenn man ein solches Vorgehen favorisiert, muss man sich allerdings von der Vorstellung lösen, in jedem Fall einen konkreten Text nur einer Kategorie zuordnen zu wollen, denn die in alltagssprachlichen Konzepten implizierten Unterscheidungen sind auf unterschiedlichen Ebenen angesiedelt: z. B. auf der Ebene der Kommunikationssituation (Brief, Rede, Telefongespräch), auf der der Textfunktion (Befehl, Drohung, Mitteilung) oder auf der Inhaltsebene (Kochrezept, Wetterbericht) (Wilhelm 1996, 23).

Arbeiten zum Entstehen und Verschwinden historischer Textsorten zeigen (Jungbluth 1996; Weiland 1993; Wilhelm 1996), dass Texttraditionen weder aus dem Nichts entstehen, noch sich spurlos auflösen. Vielmehr entwickeln sie sich auf der Basis praktizierter bekannter Textmuster, von denen sie sich nach und nach in signifikanter Weise unterscheiden, bzw. sie konvergieren in neuen, sich allmählich verbreitenden Texttraditionen (Koch 1997a). Wilhelm (1996) ergänzt die Begriffe der Konvergenz und der Divergenz in diesem Zusammenhang noch um den der Interferenz, der unterstreicht, dass der Umgang mit den zu Grunde liegenden Textmustern zwar nicht ungebunden, aber doch häufig relativ frei kombinierbar ist. Da diese Bewegungen eingebettet sind in den sozialen und kulturellen Kontext, ist ein Fortschritt der Beschreibung in diesem Be-

reich nur in enger Kooperation und im Austausch mit anderen Kulturwissenschaften möglich, ein interdisziplinäres Desiderat par excellence.

3. Die gesellschaftliche Relevanz der Texte/Diskurse

3.1. Semantik und Texttraditionen spiegeln die soziale Welt wider

In den beiden ersten Abschnitten wurden Kriterien der Textualität, die für die Texterstellung zu lösenden organisatorischen Aufgaben und einige Probleme der Textlinguistik, besonders das Problem einer sinnvollen Klassifikation erörtert. Dies erlaubt uns nun, gezielt die Frage nach der gesellschaftlichen Bedeutsamkeit der Ebene des Texts zu stellen.

Es ist evident, dass gesellschaftliche Konstitutions- und Organisationsprobleme textförmig bearbeitet werden und auch überhaupt nur in Form von Texten bearbeitet werden können. Dies betrifft so grundlegende Verhältnisse wie die Konstitution von Wahrheit, Identität und Normen. Es betrifft aber auch die Bearbeitung von weiten Bereichen des gesellschaftlichen Lebens (Übermittlung von Wissen, Übermittlung und Garantie von Normen usw.). Bei zunehmender gesellschaftlicher Ausdifferenzierung wächst die Zahl der Aufgaben, die nur in Form von Texten abgearbeitet werden können (Verwaltung, Politik, Wissenschaft usw.). Angesichts dieser offensichtlich engen Beziehung von Gesellschaft und Text ist es sehr verwunderlich, dass die Soziolinguistik sich lange Zeit mit dieser Ebene der sprachlichen Gestaltung überhaupt nicht und bis heute im Grunde nicht in systematischer Weise beschäftigt hat.

Zwei Ebenen der sprachlichen Gestaltung sind unmittelbar mit sozialen Bedürfnissen und Relevanzsetzungen verbunden: die Semantik, die beschreibt, welche Unterscheidungen (aufgrund von Relevanzsetzungen) Sprachgemeinschaften bei der benennenden Erfassung der Wirklichkeit machen, und die Texte, in denen die – komplexeren – gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse selbst konstituiert, bestätigt, problematisiert oder widerrufen werden. Demgegenüber sind Morphologie und Syntax nur in sehr vermittelter Weise auf gesellschaftliche Notwendigkeiten beziehbar. Die Ebene der lautlichen Gestaltung ist der direkten gesellschaftlichen Konstitution völlig äußerlich. Sie kann nur

insofern soziale Bedeutung erhalten, als über die Vermittlungsinstanz sozialer Bewertung phonetische Signale mit sozialen Gruppierungen korreliert werden.

Die Erforschung der Konstitution der Gesellschaft durch Texte und der Texte durch soziale Gruppen ist bislang nicht systematisch betrieben und unseres Wissens auch für einzelne Gesellschaften nicht empirisch untersucht worden (aber: Kallmeyer 1992; Keim 1995). Eine gewisse Ausnahme stellt der Teilbereich der Kommunikation in Institutionen dar (vgl. Art. 156; vgl. Brinker et al. 2000, IX „Kommunikationsbereiche und ihre konstitutiven Textsorten“, 604ff.).

3.2. Die textförmige Konstitution der Gesellschaft

Gesellschaftliche Verhältnisse werden in großem Ausmaß textuell konstituiert, bestätigt, problematisiert oder auch widerrufen. So dienen die Deklarative, die charakteristischerweise häufig Ein-Satz-Texte sind, meist dazu, gesellschaftliche Realität zu allererst zu schaffen:

Beispiele sind Krieg erklären, exkommunizieren, ein Paar trauen, schenken, vermachen, ernennen, abdanken, kündigen, entlassen. (Searle 1973a, 117).

Aber auch diejenigen Texte, die nicht in dieser direkten Weise gesellschaftliche Realität schaffen, sind an der Gesellschaftskonstitution beteiligt, insofern sie indirekt soziale Identitäten, Normen und Wertvorstellungen im Vollzug konstituieren, bestätigen, problematisieren oder negieren. Die Diskurse können gleichzeitig dafür dienen, Machtverhältnisse zu etablieren (*marché des biens linguistiques et symboliques* Bourdieu 1984; 1993; Foucault 1972a; 1975; 1983; Wodak 1996), dabei kommt nur derjenige zum Zug, dem die anderen die Möglichkeit einräumen, seine Interessen aktiv wahrzunehmen (Derrida 1967). Der Diskurs bietet aber auch die Chance, demokratische Entscheidungsfindung überhaupt erst möglich zu machen (Habermas 1981; 1982). Ein Sonderfall ist der kollektive Vollzug von Texten, der, jenseits aller anderen Finalitäten, vor allem kollektive Identität stiftet (Gebete, Lieder usw.; vgl. Zollna 2003).

3.3. Die textuelle Bearbeitung gesellschaftlicher Probleme

Die Aufgaben einer weit differenzierten modernen Gesellschaft lassen sich nur textförmig bearbeiten. Nachdem es in 3.1. darum

ging, dass soziale Wirklichkeit durch Texte allererst geschaffen wird, soll im Folgenden gezeigt werden, dass die Bereiche der Schule, der Wissenschaft, der Politik, der Verwaltung, des Rechts, aber auch des Gesundheitswesens auf die Vermittlung durch Texte grundsätzlich angewiesen sind, um die Information sei es zwischen den Experten selbst, sei es zwischen Experten und Laien zu bewältigen. Jeder in diesen Bereichen gefertigte mündliche oder schriftliche Text dient dem gesellschaftlichen Auftrag der textuellen Bearbeitung von gesellschaftlichen Problemen. Umgekehrt bilden sich aufgrund der Arbeit durch Texte gesellschaftliche Gruppen heraus, die gerade durch ihre Textkompetenz und den Auftrag, Texte zu produzieren, konstituiert sind.

Zu diesen Bereichen liegen mittlerweile zu einzelnen Sprachgemeinschaften umfangreiche Analysen vor: zur Arzt-Patienten-Kommunikation (Bliesener 1982; Cicourel 1985, 1992; Ehlich/Rehbein 1980; Foucault 1983; Wodak 1996), zur Kommunikation vor Gericht (Becker-Mrotzek 1992; Wodak 1996), zum Kommunikationsverhalten in psychotherapeutischen Gruppen (Wodak 1996), zur Lehrer-Schüler-Eltern-Kommunikation (Ehlich/Rehbein 1986).

Andererseits fehlen Angaben zu den Gepflogenheiten in angrenzenden kulturellen Gemeinschaften, für die sei es aufgrund anderer historischer Bedingungen, sei es aufgrund anders gelagerter hierarchischer Strukturierungen die Praktizierung abweichender Texttraditionen zu erwarten ist (vgl. die Diskussion um die Schwierigkeiten einer kontrastiven Textsortenlinguistik, für wissenschaftliche Texte siehe Adamzik 1998; Kaiser 2002; Ventola/Mauranen 1996). Erst bei der Ausweitung der Untersuchungen über den anglo- und germanophonen Raum hinaus, lässt sich eine möglicherweise charakteristisch europäische Tradition entdecken, die auf gemeinsame Wurzeln zurückzuführen ist (Brunner 1950/56; Elias 1939/1976; Jungbluth 1996; Weiland 1993).

3.4. Gruppenspezifische Gestaltung von Texten

Gerade durch die Art und Weise, welche Textsorten von wem gepflegt werden, lassen sich soziale Gruppen unterscheiden. Ihre Mitglieder üben alltäglich oder/und festtäglich bestimmte Textsorten, und sie weisen neue Mitglieder in deren Gebrauch ein, insbesondere erlernen Kinder im Laufe ihrer

Sozialisation die für ihre soziale Gruppe bzw. für die möglicherweise auch verschiedenen sozialen Gruppen, denen sie sich zugehörig fühlen, typischen Textmuster.

Die identitätsstiftende Bedeutung der beherrschten und mit den anderen menschlichen Individuen seiner Figuration (Elias 1936/1976) praktizierten Textsorten spielt nicht nur für die sozialen Gruppen im Allgemeinen, sondern auch für die besondere Gruppe der Professionellen eine herausragende Rolle. Gerade über die zu beschreibende Praxis ließe sich unserer Meinung nach die Vielfalt der Milieus, Subkulturen und Lebensweisen deutlicher unterscheiden, als wenn lediglich bestimmte Ausdrucksweisen oder phonetische Besonderheiten als charakteristisch angeführt werden. Bedenkt man die grundsätzliche, einzelsprachliche Unabhängigkeit, so lässt sich leichter erkennen, was deutsche, französische und englische Juristen gemeinsam haben, inwiefern bestimmte Textsorten im Jugendmilieu Berlins und Paris in ähnlicher Weise beobachtbar sind oder weshalb die Art und Weise, wie Mütter mit kleinen Kindern interagieren jenseits der einzelsprachlichen Ausdeutung so viele Gemeinsamkeiten aufweist. Am besonderen Beispiel der in der Physik engagierten Forscher hat Knorr-Cetina die Bedeutung der für diese Expertengruppe typischen Textmuster behandelt (Knorr-Cetina 1991).

Dass die Einzelnen durchaus mit unterschiedlichen Gepflogenheiten umzugehen wissen, d. h. dass sie auch ganz unterschiedliche Texttraditionen pflegen können, steht außer Frage. Allerdings lässt sich beispielsweise an einem so sensiblen Bereich wie dem der zu beachtenden Höflichkeitsrituale, die unterschiedlichen Texttypen zu Grunde liegen, beobachten, dass die identitätsstiftende Wirkung auch ausschließenden Charakter hat. Das im Folgenden angeführte Beispiel führt vor, dass diese Rituale keineswegs textungebunden vorkommen, vielmehr gestalten sie sich charakteristischerweise textförmig. Bei dem bereits vorgestellten Projekt zu Mannheim wurden die Konventionen zweier Frauengruppen verglichen.

Der zweite Differenzpunkt betrifft das *positive face* der Gruppenmitglieder: Die Literaturgruppe legt analog zur starken Betonung individueller Handlungsfreiheit (*negative face*) großen Wert auf Akzeptiertsein und emotionale Gleichgestimmtheit. Empathischer Mitvollzug von individuellen Freud- und Leiderfahrungen stellen für

diese Gruppe – wie übrigens für viele Frauengruppen des akademischen Milieus und der Mittelschichten Europas und Nordamerikas (vgl. McIntyre-Jenkins 1984) – einen Bereich sozialen Sprachhandelns dar, der große Aufmerksamkeit und Mitarbeit erfordert, und der somit sozial integrative Funktion erhält. Die entsprechenden Ausdrucksweisen haben in der AsF-Gruppe (Arbeitsgemeinschaft sozialdemokratischer Frauen [def. n. Schlieben-Lange/Jungbluth]) und auch in der Filsbachgruppe kein Äquivalent. Schauspielerei, imitierendes gefühlsbetontes Sprechen spielt hier keine Rolle für Gruppensolidarität. Dafür sind hier lustbetonte Kommunikationstypen wie Frotzelspiele, Witze und Grotesken umso wichtiger (Schwitalla 1995, 482).

Sicherlich liegt nicht zuletzt in dieser unterschiedlichen Praxis der Kommunikationstypen, die wir auch Texttraditionen nennen können, der Schlüssel, wieso bestimmte Frauen der einen Gruppe fernbleiben (Schwitalla 1995, 301) bzw. gar nicht erst Zugang zu der anderen erhalten (Schwitalla 1995, 9).

Auch die bereits angeführten, für spanische Männer bestimmter lokaler und sozialer Herkunft typischen Textsorten (*cachondeo, piropo* s. o.) unterstreichen die herausragende Rolle, die diese Praxis in der zugehörigen Lebenswelt spielt. Neben diesen Textsorten praktizieren die gleichen Männer selbstverständlich auch ein breites Band anderer Texttypen, die anderen kommunikativen Zwecken dienen und für die teilweise andere soziale Merkmale charakteristisch sind, z. B. Gespräche, an denen auch Frauen als aktive Teilnehmerinnen beteiligt sind, Gespräche in deutlich hierarchischen Strukturen (mit den Großgrundbesitzern bzw. deren Vertretern, mit dem Arzt, dem Priester, Vertretern staatlicher Organe etc.).

3.5. Historischer Wandel – sozialer und interkultureller Konflikt

Im Laufe der Geschichte wurden in zunehmendem Maße Diskursuniversen aus dem allgemeinen Reden ausgegliedert und Experten überantwortet. Allerdings gab es auch immer wieder Zeitpunkte, zu denen diese Zuordnungen in Frage gestellt wurden. Zu den prominentesten Beispielen gehört die Forderung Luthers, das Lesen der Bibel jedem Christen selbst aufzutragen. Die dieser Forderung Folge leisteten, begründeten eine neue Texttradition, die neben der stillen Lektüre, insbesondere auch die laute Lektüre der Heiligen Schrift im häuslichen Kreis beinhaltete, der allerdings den ganzen *oikos*

(Brunner 1950/56) umfasste. Diese Form der kollektiven Lektüre ist für die Rezeption ganz unterschiedlicher Texte zu Beginn der frühen Neuzeit bis zum ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert anzunehmen, in dessen Folge eine allgemeine Alphabetisierung wenigstens in weiten Teilen Europas sichergestellt werden konnte. So hat die Forschung zur Französischen Revolution und ihrer Rezeptionsgeschichte gezeigt, dass Vorleser in den Provinzstädten die *affiches*, die für die Kommunikation zwischen Paris und dem übrigen Frankreich gedruckt wurden, einem breiten Publikum zugänglich gemacht haben. Dabei muss der Prozess des Vorlesens sicherlich nicht als reine Verbalisierung vorhandener schriftsprachlicher Zeichen rekonstruiert werden, als vielmehr um eine mehr oder weniger textnahe Re-Oralisierung und Situierung des Inhalts der aus der Hauptstadt eingetroffenen Bekanntmachungen im räumlichen und sozialen Kontext des jeweiligen Ortes in der Provinz (Schlieben-Lange 1994). Handlungen, die immer wieder Brücken schlagen zwischen den beiden sich grundsätzlich ausschließenden medialen Formen von Texten, indem sie einerseits das an sich flüchtige Medium der Oralität in die schriftliche Form übertragen (z.B. beim Protokollieren) oder andererseits – wie im angeführten Beispiel – schriftlich gefasste Inhalte wieder für die orale Rezeption aufbereiten, können unter dem Begriff der Semi-Oralität zusammengefasst werden. Wenn die aus solchen Vermittlungsprozessen herührenden historischen Dokumente überliefert sind, so lassen sich auf dieser Basis Rückschlüsse, mindestens annäherungsweise, über den mündlichen Sprachgebrauch in der Vergangenheit ziehen.

Nicht nur die Protagonisten der Texttradition wechseln, sei es in produktiver, in rezeptiver bzw. in rezeptiv-produktiver (vorlesender) Weise, sondern auch die für den Vollzug bestimmter sozialer Handlungen nötige Anzahl an Teilnehmern verändert sich. Genügt es, einen Vertrag mündlich abzuschließen, so bedarf es lediglich der Ko-Präsenz der betroffenen Partner. Soll der Vertrag schriftlich vollzogen werden – und hierfür ist in der Regel eine vorgeschriebene Form verpflichtend – so treten zu den eigentlichen Vertragspartnern ein oder mehrere (Rechts-) Experten hinzu. Der Wechsel vom mündlichen zum schriftlichen Medium bedingt häufig die Anwesenheit bzw. Mitwirkung der mit dieser Texttradition vertrauten Experten, deren

Existenz sich umgekehrt in diesen Notwendigkeiten manifestiert, sozial rechtfertigt und perpetuiert.

Am Beispiel der Rezepte lässt sich auch erkennen, wie die mediale Ausformung gleichzeitig diejenigen trennt, die die jeweilige Texttradition ausüben. Neben einer rein mündlichen Rezeptweitergabe, die sicherlich neben den sprachlichen Elementen viele ostentative und gestische Komponenten beinhaltet hat (zur mnemonischen Funktion der gestischen Anteile einer Äußerung vgl. Wilkins 1999, 34), lässt sich eine handschriftliche und eine druckschriftliche Tradition belegen (Glaser 1996). Die Träger der handschriftlichen Tradition, die sich in Aufbau und Gestaltung in charakteristischer Weise von der druckschriftlichen unterscheidet, sind Frauen in ihrer Rolle als Verantwortliche für Haus und Hof bzw. Wirtschaft in einem das Ganze umfassenden Sinne, die Träger der druckschriftlichen Tradition sind Männer, die als Köche an den Höfen leben. Nicht nur folgen die beiden Traditionen unterschiedlichen Mustern, die sich ihrerseits erst nach und nach herausbilden, sondern sie kommen auch nicht in Berührung miteinander. Der Gebrauch druckschriftlicher Kochbücher im Haushalt setzt sich erst allmählich seit Ende des letzten Jahrhunderts durch und ist auch heute keineswegs allgemein.

Selbst wenn gleiche Textfinalitäten vorliegen, so können sich jedoch die Techniken der sprachlichen Gestaltung grundlegend unterscheiden. Diese Differenzen können alle oben angeführten Ebenen der Textkonstitution (1.3.) betreffen, gegebenenfalls aber auch bis in Einzelheiten gehende sprachliche Fixierungen. Die Wahl des Mediums kann verschieden festgelegt sein (wird ein Kauf mündlich oder schriftlich abgewickelt?), der Grad der Explizitheit der Referentialisierung (man denke an die Fälle, die die frühe Soziolinguistik untersucht hat: Schatzman/Strauss 1955; Bernstein 1970b), die Entwicklung von Thema-Strukturen, die Modalitäten der Sachverhaltsdarstellung, Situationen und das in ihnen sprachlich Erforderliche können unterschiedlich festgelegt sein (Rederecht für Generationen, Geschlechter usw.). Die sprachliche Gestaltung von Handlungen und ebenso die Interpretation eines Äußerungskomplexes als bestimmte Handlung kann sich in den jeweiligen Gruppen und Kulturen grundlegend unterscheiden. Das gleiche gilt für In-

teraktionsmodalitäten, soziale Identitäten, Normen und Wertvorstellungen. Besonders die Normen und Wertvorstellungen hinsichtlich des Sprechens selbst können weit auseinandergehen: kommt es auf eine positive Selbstdarstellung an oder darauf, dem anderen die Möglichkeit dazu zu geben? Ist Schweigen ein Anzeichen von Ernsthaftigkeit oder von Langeweile? Und schließlich: Wie ahndet eine Gesellschaft, Gruppe oder Kultur Verstöße gegen die Normen der Textgestaltung?

Man muss davon ausgehen, dass die Texttradition und die in ihnen angewandten sprachlichen Techniken sowohl im historischen Nacheinander als auch im sozialen und kulturellen Nebeneinander konfliktiv gegeneinander gestellt werden können. Andererseits ist es ebenso gut möglich, dass man in der interkulturellen Kommunikation auch auf der Ebene des Texts versucht, sich „reformulierend“ anzunähern, und dass längerfristig mischkulturelle Formen entstehen (Hamel 1986; Hinnenkamp 1995; Müller 1986; Knapp-Potthoff/Liedke 1997; Rehbein 1985).

4. Beispiele

4.1. Wandel und Konflikt von Textmustern

In den vorausgehenden Kapiteln haben wir zu zeigen versucht, welche Bereiche eine soziolinguistisch verstandene Textlinguistik eröffnen kann. Die beiden ersten umrissenen Punkte, die die textuelle Ausdifferenzierung der Gesellschaft und die Lösung von gesellschaftlichen Problemen in Form von Texten betreffen, werden besonders in der Forschungsrichtung „Kommunikation in Institutionen“ untersucht (Art. 98; Brinker et al. 2000/Art. 55–65). Hier sind die Kommunikation in der Schule und Hochschule, bei Gericht, bei Behörden und die Arzt-Patienten-Interaktion nach wie vor bevorzugte Forschungsgebiete. Ein besonderer Aspekt der gesellschaftlichen Ausdifferenzierung ist die Herausbildung von technischen und wissenschaftlichen „Fächern“, die spezifische Texte, auch zur Vermittlung fachlichen Wissens an die „Laien“ produzieren (Schlieben-Lange/Kreuzer 1983; Schuldt 1992). Was die dritte Fragestellung angeht, nämlich die nach den spezifischen Strategien bei der Lösung der verschiedenen Organisationsaufgaben, so ist sie für geschlechtsspezifisches Sprechverhalten untersucht worden (Am-

mon et al. 1987/VII Art. 27; Kotthoff 1997). Die Vermutung liegt nahe, dass es bei der frühen Soziolinguistik der Bernstein-Schule im Grunde auch um diese Fragestellung ging, dass nämlich primär schichtenspezifische Vertextungsstrategien untersucht wurden, und nur sekundär davon abhängige syntaktische Strukturen.

Was den Wandel und Konflikt von Textmustern und Vertextungsstrategien betrifft, so steht die Forschung noch immer ganz am Anfang. Im Bereich „Interkulturelle Kommunikation“ (Rehbein 1985; Günthner/Kotthoff 1991; Schlieben-Lange 1994b; 1994c; 1995; 1998) und bei den darin zu vertretenden kontrastiv angelegten Textsortenuntersuchungen (Adamzik 1998; Kaiser 2002) werden diese Probleme ausdrücklich thematisiert.

Da der Forschungsstand für die soeben genannten Bereiche gesondert dokumentiert wird, wählen wir unsere Beispiele aus dem historischen Bereich, auch deshalb, weil in der historischen Perspektive der enge Zusammenhang von Textsorten und gesellschaftlicher Entwicklung besonders deutlich wird (Schwitalla 1983; Steger 1984; 1998). Die Fallstudien repräsentieren drei gesellschaftliche Bereiche, die sich ganz oder teilweise textförmig konstituieren.

Als Beispiel für Fachkommunikation wird eine Untersuchung von Giesecke (1983) vorgestellt. Er zeichnet sorgfältig die aus der heutigen Sicht unerwartete Textfunktion der Diskurstradition Rezept im historischen und gesellschaftlichen Kontext nach.

Wilhelm (1996) fokussiert italienische Flugschriften, die als Vorläufer moderner Medienkommunikation verstanden werden müssen. Anschließend an seinen Beitrag stellen wir die aus unserer Sicht grundlegende Bedeutung serieller Quellenbetrachtung heraus. Da jeder Text ein einmaliges kreatives Produkt ist, schärft erst die Betrachtung einer Serie von Texten in ihrer historischen Reihung oder auch in ihrem synchronen Nebeneinander den Blick für die Charakteristika der jeweils realisierten und dadurch aktualisierten Textsorte. Jeder einzelne Text überschreitet in gewisser Weise das ihm zu Grunde liegende Muster. Veränderungen dieser Muster im Laufe der Tradition lassen sich bei seriell angelegten Quellenstudien bestenfalls aufdecken.

Todorow (1995) schließlich interpretiert aus einem der Rhetorik verpflichteten Standpunkt eine politische Rede in der

Paulskirche, zweifellos eine Diskurstradition, die bis heute als ein Bestandteil politischen Handelns praktiziert wird. Dieses letzte Beispiel, das aus dem wissenschaftlichen Kontext einer Nachbardisziplin herührt, soll auch dazu anregen, auf der Basis der gemeinsamen Beschäftigung mit dem Forschungsgegenstand Text den Austausch zwischen den Disziplinen, sei es die Rhetorik, sei es die Soziologie, die Ethnologie, die Philologie usw. aktiv zu suchen, um das Phänomen Text in seiner sozialen und kulturellen Vielfalt, in seinen gegenwärtigen und in seinen mannigfaltigen historischen Ausformungen möglichst umfassend begreifen zu lernen.

4.2. Fachtexte: das Rezept (Giesecke 1983)

Eine noch heute übliche Form von Fachtexten sind Rezepte, die dem Bereich der Experten-Laien-Interaktion angehören, schriftlich verfasst sind und der Erfahrungstradition dienen. Giesecke stellt sich die Frage, ob die handschriftlichen Rezepte und Rezeptbücher um 1500 dieselbe Funktion gehabt haben. Wir haben es in dieser Zeit mit einem massiven Verschriftungsschub von bislang mündlich tradiertem volkstümlichem (daher auch in Volkssprache überliefertem) Wissen zu tun. Allgemein wird der „Abgang“ dieses oralen volkstümlichen Wissens beklagt. Diese volkstümliche Tradition war auf das Zeigen und Vormachen in Handlungszusammenhängen verwiesen, weshalb denn auch die handschriftlich fixierten Rezepte ohne Kenntnis der entsprechenden Handlungen völlig unverständlich bleiben. Die Rezept-Handschriften sind also dysfunktional: sie können den Verlust des Wissens nicht aufhalten, weil sie nicht allein dieses Wissen außerhalb der Situation übermitteln können. Weshalb wurden Rezepte trotz dieser offensichtlichen Dysfunktionalität in Handschriften fixiert? Giesecke vermutet, dass die Funktion dieser Texte ganz anders als bei modernen Rezepten bestimmt werden muss. Es handelt sich nicht um autonome Verfahren der Wissenstradition, die in der Experten-Laien-Kommunikation eingesetzt werden könnten. Die frühneuzeitlichen Rezepte sind einem Handlungsmuster, das im „Zeigfeld“ (Bühler 1934/1982) ablaufen muss, untergeordnet, sie sind allenfalls als Gedächtnisstütze sinnvoll. Möglicherweise kommt diesen handschriftlichen Rezepten in der weiterhin mündlichen, mit den Mitteln von

Deixis und Ostension funktionierenden Wissenstradition eine weitere, quasi magische Funktion als Garant der Authentizität von Tradition zu.

4.3. Flugschriften (Wilhelm 1996)

Ebenfalls die Zeit zwischen 1500 und 1550 fokussiert Wilhelm. Anhand eines umfangreichen Textkorpus italienischer Flugschriften spürt er den beiden unterschiedlichen Ursprüngen dieser im Zusammenhang mit den neuen Errungenschaften der Druckpresse entstehenden Textsorte nach. Er zeigt, dass zunächst die *historia* in Versform die neue Kommunikationsform dominiert. Sie stammt aus dem *Repertoire* der Bänkelsänger her und wechselt bei der Verwendung als Flugschrift das Medium: vom mündlichen zum drucktechnischen. Ein ganz anderes, in Prosa verfasstes Muster für die Flugschrift stellt der private Brief bereit, aus dem das *avviso* divergiert. Auch hier findet ein Wechsel statt und zwar von der privaten oder allenfalls gruppeninternen Kommunikationsform zu einer öffentlichen, von einer handschriftlichen zu einer typographischen Erscheinungsform.

Obwohl auch die an die Briefform angelehnte Flugschrift über lange Zeit scheinbar dysfunktionale, einleitende und abschließende Formeln (*salutatio, conclusio*) konservativ fortführt, liegen in ihrer ungebundenen Form doch weit mehr Entfaltungsmöglichkeiten begründet, als in der *historia* in *ottava rima*. Diese ihrerseits entwickelt sich weg aus dem populären Bereich, indem sie in veränderter Form Eingang in den Bereich der hohen Literatur findet.

Am Beispiel der italienischen Flugschriften des *Cinquecento* lässt sich auch exemplarisch zeigen, dass das Vorliegen von Serialität die Bestimmung einer Texttradition allererst ermöglicht. Wilhelm betrachtet dieses Phänomen nur im Zusammenhang mit den in Abstimmung auf die Abreisetage der Briefkuriere verfassten Flugschriften, die er zum Vorläufer der Periodizität gedruckter Informationsschriften kürt.

Wir möchten den Begriff der Serialität ausweiten und verstehen darunter allgemein die Möglichkeit, Texte aus vergleichbaren kommunikativen Zusammenhängen als Reihe zu betrachten. Idealerweise stehen diese Texte in historischer Abfolge. Erst der Blick auf die Serie lässt von der einzelnen Variante absehen und die gemeinsamen Merkmale erkennbar werden. Gerade auch die Berücksichtigung

sichtigung der Form und Verwendung einer Textsorte im historischen Kontext rückt die Konstanten, aber auch die Variablen ihrer Ausprägungsformen in den Vordergrund. Die Serie lässt erst die Konstanz erkennen, mit der bestimmte Floskeln an entscheidenden Übergängen eingesetzt werden. Gerade bei der Etablierung einer neuen Texttradition müssen nicht nur die Produzenten, sondern auch das Publikum allmählich gebildet werden. Bekannte Regelinventare mit eingeführten Bedeutungen helfen, diese Übergänge erfolgreich zu gestalten. Obwohl das Italienische des 16. Jahrhunderts viele Formen zur Auswahl bereit hält, um die gestellte sprachliche Aufgabe zu lösen, greifen die Autoren und/oder Redakteure der Flugschriften auf eingeführte Formeln zurück, die im weiteren romanischen Raum in fast gleicher Weise bekannt sind. Durch *ora lasciamo stare(ri) torniamo a* in den italienischen Flugschriften (Wilhelm 1996, 134), durch *ore laissons/ ore tornons* in der mittelalterlichen französischen Historiographie und durch *lleixar/tornar* in der katalanischen Historiographie (Schlieben-Lange 1987, 775–777) wird angezeigt, dass der Schauplatz gewechselt wird. Diese Wortwahl in ihrer spezifischen Kombination zeigt dem Leser an, dass von einer Erzählhandlung zu einer parallelen Handlung übergeleitet wird. Zwar sind diese Beispiele innerromanisch, aber es bleibt zu vermuten, dass ähnlich fixierte Formeln, die typischerweise die Gliederung innerhalb einer Textsorte emblematisch begleiten, in anderen Sprachräumen in vergleichbarer Weise tradiert sind.

4.4. Die Politische Rede (Todorow 1995)

Die Bedeutung der kontextuellen und situativen Aspekte für das Verständnis von Texten, insbesondere von Diskursen betont Todorow. Die Aufnahme ihres Beitrages beinhaltet eine Erweiterung des Textbegriffes, wie er zu Beginn dieses Artikels angesprochen wurde. Der Text in diesem umfassenden Sinn beschränkt sich nicht nur auf die verbalen, sondern er bezieht auch andere, die kommunikative Handlung zwischen Redner und Publikum beeinflussende Signale mit ein. Am Beispiel eines historischen Berichts von Nationalversammlungen in der Paulskirche 1848/49 zeigt sie, wie das Sinnverstehen und die Situationseingebundenheit erst durch die Berücksichtigung der Publikumsreaktionen gewonnen werden kann.

Dabei genügt es nicht, den Hörer oder Leser zu thematisieren. Es müssen methodische Wege gefunden werden, das „Kollektivsubjekt“ Publikum auszudifferenzieren und Ausmaß und Mittel seiner Mitwirkung im rhetorischen Prozeß (...) aufzudecken, die seine Reaktionen bestimmen. (...) (Dabei muß das Ziel verfolgt werden,) durch Distinktionen und Differenzierungen den Allgemeinbegriff <Publikum> auseinanderzutreiben und ihm empirisch und hermeneutisch seine partikularen individuellen und kollektiven Wirklichkeiten abzugewinnen. (Todorow 1995, 2)

Neben der Sprachwissenschaft bemüht sich auch die Rhetorik um eine Erweiterung ihres Blickwinkels, bei der auf die aus der Antike bereits tradierte Sicht zurückgegriffen werden kann, die das gesamte kommunikative Geschehen mit all den darin aktiven Protagonisten zum Gegenstand des Studiums erklärt hat.

Es gibt drei Arten der Beredsamkeit; sie korrespondieren mit den drei Arten von Zuhörern. Es basiert nämlich die Rede auf dreierlei: dem Redner, dem Gegenstand, über den er redet, sowie jemandem, zu dem er redet, und seine Absicht zielt auf diesen – ich meine den Zuhörer. (Aristoteles, zitiert nach Sieveke 1980, 20–21)

Auch in anderer Hinsicht sind die alteuropäischen Wurzeln zu berücksichtigen, nämlich dann, wenn der Gegenstand der Linguistik neben dem sprachlichen Bereich auch den der nonverbalen Kommunikation berücksichtigt. Neben dem „stürmischen Bravo von der Galerie“ – so der Titel von Todorows Aufsatz – werden auch die hervorstechendsten Merkmale der Redner, die die äußerliche Charakterisierung und wesentliche, in erster Linie prosodische Merkmale ihrer Redeweise betreffen, detailreich geschildert, zweifellos weil sie nicht ohne Wirkung auf die Meinungsbildung der zuhörenden Abgeordneten sind, ganz im Sinne Aristoteles, der die Übereinstimmung zwischen Worten und Wesen des Redners betont (Aristoteles Buch I, Kapitel 2).

Exemplarisch wird dargestellt, wie sich eine solche diskursiv orientierte Rekonstruktion von der herkömmlichen, rein schrifttextorientierten Darstellung grundsätzlich unterscheidet. Die stenographischen Berichte sind anderen Traditionen verpflichtet, sie sind nachträglich korrigiert und geglättet und verzeichnen nur ausnahmsweise und in sehr dürre Form Reaktionen der Zuhörerschaft. Die Berücksichtigung aller am Kommunikationsgeschehen aktiv Beteiligten, ihre verbalen und nonver-

balen Beiträge müssen gemeinsam betrachtet werden, wenn eine Sinnrekonstruktion erfolgreich sein soll.

Anhand der hier skizzierten Fälle von Texttraditionen und ihren Veränderungen lässt sich zeigen, welche große Rolle Texte bei der Ausdifferenzierung und Konstitution von gesellschaftlichen Bereichen spielen. Dabei stellt sich stets die Frage der Konstanz und Identität der jeweiligen Textsorten: bei den Flugschriften setzt sich allmählich die ungebundene Form des *avviso* durch parallel zur zunehmenden Periodizität ihrer Erscheinungsform. Bei den Rezepten lässt sich eine völlige Veränderung der Funktion in Abhängigkeit von der Entbindung aus dem Zeigfeld beobachten. Die politische Rede zur Zeit der Nationalversammlung unterscheidet sich in ganz spezifischer Weise von den heute praktizierten Reden im Bundestag, die sich nur zu einem gewissen Teil an die vor Ort meist nur spärlich anwesenden Zuhörer wenden, zum anderen, wahrscheinlich bedeutenderen Teil aber an ein anonymes, nicht persönlich anwesendes, Publikum der modernen Massenmedien.

Die Untersuchungen der historischen Entstehung von Textsorten und ihres Wandels ist erst begonnen. Die Untersuchung aktueller Textsorten wird jedoch auf die entsprechenden historische Erkenntnisse nicht verzichten können.

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74. Geschriebene Sprache/Written Language

1. Definitorisches
2. Struktureigenschaften geschriebener Texte
3. Zeichensysteme literater Praxis
4. Interdependenzen mündlicher und schriftlicher Praktiken
5. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Definitorisches

Der Terminus *Geschriebene Sprache* ist mehrfach ambig, gerade auch in der Gegenüberstellung zu *Gesprochener Sprache*:

- beide können als besondere Arten von Sprache verstanden werden,
- die geschriebene Sprache kann als sekundäre Erscheinung („Abbildung“) der gesprochenen („eigentliche“ Sprache) verstanden werden,
- beide können als unterschiedliche mediale Repräsentationen der *Sprache* verstanden werden, die (als das sprachlich so artikulierte) darin repräsentiert wird.

Die letztgenannte Sichtweise war in der wissenschaftlichen Tradition seit Aristoteles kanonisiert, der das geschriebene wie das gesprochene Wort in Hinblick auf etwas Drittes definierte, für das sie ein Zeichen sind und das als sprachliche Struktur im Ge-

schriebenen bzw. Gesprochenen fassbar ist (*Peri Hermeneias*, 16a). Diese traditionelle Lehrmeinung wurde durch die Emphase auf dem Primat der gesprochenen Sprache in der Frühen Neuzeit abgelöst, die für die jüngeren sprachwissenschaftlichen Lehrmeinungen nahezu axiomatisch geworden ist (vgl. Maas 1986 zu den ideengeschichtlichen Zusammenhängen). Dabei wird die strukturelle Reflexion durch eine auf das *Fundierungsverhältnis* zwischen schriftsprachlicher und sprechsprachlicher Praxis verdrängt: Ontogenetisch wird die gesprochene Sprache zuerst gelernt, sodass – abgesehen von pathologischen Ausnahmefällen wie bei geborenen Taubstummen – die geschriebene Sprache unter Nutzung der Strukturen gelernt wird, die mit der gesprochenen Sprache erworbenen wurden. Insofern *fundiert* das schriftsprachlich praktizierte sprachliche Wissen in der Regel in dem sprechsprachlichen.

Auch unabhängig von solchen genetischen Zusammenhängen besteht offensichtlich eine engere Bindung zwischen Sprache und Sprechen als zwischen Sprache und Schrift (Schreiben und Lesen): die gesprochene Sprache wird allein mit der leiblichen

Ausstattung des Menschen produziert und stellt insofern eine Überformung anderer körperlicher Ausdrucksformen dar, während die Schriftsprache externe Ausdrucksmittel nutzt. Darauf geht die Vorstellung von der „Natürlichkeit“ der gesprochenen Sprache zurück, die in dem langen Schriftdiskurs seit der Antike im Topos vom *lebendigen* gesprochenen Wort gegenüber dem *toten* geschriebenen einen sprichwörtlichen Ausdruck gefunden hat und vor allem im religiösen Diskurs verankert ist. In dessen Windschatten hat sich über die institutionalisierte Volksschule, die primär auf die Schriftsprachvermittlung ausgerichtet ist, allerdings auch die inverse Vorstellung etablieren können, die die (normierte) geschriebene Sprache zur eigentlichen macht: Diese Vorstellung verbindet sich nicht nur im didaktischen Kontext mit der üblichen Rede-weise von der *Aussprache* für gesprochene Sprache.

Geschriebene Sprache nutzt ein visuelles Medium. Die zu Grunde liegende graphische Praxis beruht entweder auf Vertiefungen in der Oberfläche eines weichen Materials oder umgekehrt in der Beschichtung von (im Auftragen von Farbe auf) der Oberfläche eines härteren Materials. Diesen materiellen Bedingungen sind die unterschiedlichen Formen graphischer Systeme geschuldet: Über einen Prozess der Konventionalisierung können die verschiedenen Formgebungen allerdings auch zu stilistischen Optionen werden, die materialunabhängig genutzt werden, vgl. in der lateinischen Schrifttradition die ursprünglich der „Lapidarschrift“ (also der epigraphischen Praxis in Stein) zugehörigen Majuskeln der jüngeren Gemischt-Antiqua gegenüber den gerundeten Formen der kursiven Schrift bei den heutigen Minuskeln, die aus der „Unzialschrift“ stammen, die auf Pergament, Wachstafeln u. dgl. praktiziert wurde.

Die Vorläufer der sprachlichen Nutzung solcher graphischer Praxis waren einerseits bildliche Darstellungen, die deren abstraktere Stilisierung weiterführten, andererseits rein formale Merkzeichen: Besitzzeichen, Rechenzeichen im Warenverkehr etc., wie sie in unterschiedlichen Kulturräumen verwendet wurden. Als peripherer Bestandteil in der Schriftkultur finden sie auch in der Form von *Siglen* unterschiedlichster Art weiterhin Verwendung: Von Logos bis zu Zahlzeichen, kaufmännischen Zeichen u. dgl. werden sie z. T. auch als Bestandteile der jeweiligen

Schriftsysteme angesehen. Das entscheidende Kriterium für ein Schriftsystem ist die feste Bindung der Zeichen an eine sprachliche Struktur, wie sie bei anderen Zeichensystemen, z. B. auch bei Gebärdensprachen, nur rudimentär gegeben ist. Insofern ein wörtliches Gegenstück in Sprachen haben, trifft dieses Kriterium auf sie zu; für Schriftsysteme im engeren Sinne gilt aber, dass ihre Zeichen auf einen sprachspezifischen Ausdruck festgelegt sind. Insofern gehört z. B. die sprachinvariante arabische (eigentlich indische) Ziffer 7 nicht zu den sprachgebundenen Schriftsystemen, vgl. ihr wörtliches Gegenstück in verschiedenen Sprachen wie dt. *sieben*, engl. *seven*, frz. *sept*, arab. (maltes.) *sebħa*, türk. *yedi* usw. oder das kaufmännische & mit dt. *und*, engl. *and*, frz. *et*, arab. (maltes.) *w*, türk. *ve* usw., bei denen auch der *Wortlaut* festliegt. In diesem Sinne kann terminologisch unterschieden werden:

<i>Ideogramme</i>	deutbare Zeichen: ohne festgelegte wörtliche Form der Deutung
<i>Logogramme</i>	lesbare Zeichen: festgelegt ist die Wortform, aber nicht der Wortlaut
<i>Phonogramme</i>	lautierbare Zeichen (evtl. auch ohne semantische Deutung)

Die sprachliche Bindung der graphischen Zeichen ist eine spezifische Art, mit ihnen umzugehen – sie hängt nicht an deren Material oder Form; insofern kann sie auch aufgehoben werden, wenn im Umgang mit Schrift ihre schriftsprachlichen Potentiale ausgeblendet werden. Das gilt so auch für die Alltagspraxis literater Gesellschaften, bei der z. B. die Inschriften von Münzen keinerlei praktische Bedeutung haben und in der dekorative graphische Spielereien bis hin zu den Graffiti das visuelle Umfeld bestimmen, ohne dass sie dekodiert werden müssten. Das gilt nun aber insbesondere auch für die Aneignung schriftkultureller Versatzstücke einer analphabeten Praxis in einer schriftkulturellen Umgebung: von Formen der Schriftmagie bis zum bildhaften Reproduzieren geschriebener Texte in religiösen Unterweisungssystemen (in Katechismusschulen früher in Europa nicht anders als in Koranschulen heute, s. Wagner 1993; Owens 1996).

2. Struktureigenschaften geschriebener Texte

2.1. Literate vs. orate Strukturen

Die definitiven Bestimmungen von (1) machen es nötig, die Materialität der symbolischen Praxis: *schriftlich / mündlich* von ihrer sprachlichen Struktur zu unterscheiden, für die im Folgenden *orat* vs. *literate* benutzt wird. Die begrifflich-terminologische Klärung hat in den 60er Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts mit einer deskriptiveren Orientierung der Grammatikschreibung eingesetzt, als sich die Frage nach der Möglichkeit einer einheitlichen Grammatik für die gesprochene und die geschriebene Sprache stellte, s. z. B. für das Französische Söll (1972), der eine *mediale* von einer *konzeptuellen* Betrachtungsweise unterschied. Daran schloss der über die Romanistik hinaus einflussreiche Systematisierungsversuch von Koch / Oesterreicher (1985) an, der eine pragmatische Fundierung der Differenzierung als „Sprache der Nähe“ vs. „Sprache der Distanz“ versuchte, die orthogonal zu medialen wie z. T. auch formalen Strukturen sei. Dieser suggestive Klassifizierungsversuch hat sich inzwischen als heuristisch sehr produktiv erwiesen (s. z. B. Raible 1996). Als kategoriale Grundlage kann diese Differenzierung allerdings nicht befriedigen, wie sich bei der Diskussion von quer dazu liegenden Phänomenen gezeigt hat. Dass auch Schriftliches als „Sprache der Nähe“ funktionieren kann, hat Besnier (1995) in einer ethnographisch sensiblen Beschreibung von Kommunikationsverhältnisse auf einer Südseeinsel gezeigt, deren Bewohner die durch Missionare vermittelte Praxis des Briefeschreibens nutzen, um die Tabuvorschriften der extrem zensierten mündlichen Ausdrucksformen durch emotional expressive schriftliche Formen zu umgehen. Ähnliche Klassifikationsprobleme wirft die elektronische Kommunikation im Internet auf, die in medialer Hinsicht schriftsprachlichen Praktiken zugerechnet werden muss, strukturell aber (vor allem beim „Chat“) alle Merkmale einer situativ gesteuerten Kommunikation der „Nähe“ aufweist, die sich nicht nur durch die Ausbildung konventioneller parasprachlicher Zeichensysteme auszeichnet, sondern auch in Reaktion auf die besonderen Kommunikationsbedingungen z. B. eigene syntaktische Muster aufweist (s. z. B. Runkehl u. a. 1998, 72–117).

Klärend sind hier Versuche einer funktionalen Beschreibung, die, ausgehend von einer

Ethnographie schriftkultureller Praktiken, die dazu genutzten Strukturen bestimmen. Hier war die Arbeit von Heath (1983) für die weitere Forschung bahnbrechend, die schriftsprachliche Praktiken in zwei sozial unterschiedlichen Gemeinschaften im Süden der USA relativ zu den so artikulierten *literacy events* sorgfältig beschrieb. Mit diesen Arbeiten (zum Deutschen z. B. Häcki Buhofer 1985) wurde die dominante literarische Orientierung der schriftkulturellen Forschung überwunden, die schriftliche Praktiken mit normativ vorgegebenen idealisierten Sprachformen verband (verbindet), auf die die Schrifterziehung traditionell im höheren Schulwesen abstellt. Vielmehr kommt so Schrift in den Blick als eine Ressource, mit der – nicht anders als mit mündlichen Praktiken – der einzelne sich auch im sozialen Raum positioniert, s. etwa zu spezifisch jugendlichen schriftkulturellen Praktiken im US-amerikanischen Kontext Shuman (1986); s. den Forschungsbericht Guthrie/Greaney (1991).

Zeigt sich etwa bei Notizzetteln, Merklisten, Aufklebern am Arbeitsplatz u. dgl., dass schriftliche Texte nicht unbedingt sprachlich elaboriert sein müssen, so zeigt umgekehrt die ethnographische Forschung in nicht literaten Gesellschaften die strukturelle Affinität förmlicher mündlicher Register zu den literaten Strukturen: Da, wo Ethnologen ihre Informanten alphabetisieren, damit diese für sie Sprachaufnahmen transkribieren sollen, transponieren diese die vom Tonband abgehörten Sequenzen in der Regel in ein förmliches Register, um dieses ihrer Verschriftung zugrunde zulegen (Silverstein/Urban 1996). Gegenstück dieser Verschriftlichung sind in nicht-literaten Gesellschaften Ausdrucksweisen in mündlichen Registern, die auf die Kontrolle der sprachlichen Form abstellen, wie es nicht nur bei einem zeremonialen Vortrag üblich ist, sondern überall da, wo Verständigungsprobleme auftreten, die formbezogene Korrekturen und Hilfestellungen nötig machen. Die dabei aufgebaute metasprachliche Haltung, begründet in dem größeren Aufwand und der Verlangsamung der Sprachproduktion, überträgt sich offensichtlich spontan auf die Aufgabe der Verschriftung: für die mündliche Sprachproduktion ist sie möglich, für die schriftliche aber notwendig. Daher kann eine Klassifikation, die allein mit derartigen Indikatoren operiert, nicht trennscharf sein, wie nicht zuletzt auch die Stilanalyse litera-

rischer Texte gezeigt hat: Nicht nur ist es seit dem Naturalismus üblich, orate Strukturen auch in der schriftlichen Repräsentation von Mündlichkeit zu modellieren (vgl. z. B. Betten 1985), sondern in der Avantgardeliteratur des 20. Jhd. findet sich ein geradezu dominantes Bemühen, gegen die konventionalisierten Formen literater Textstrukturen anzuschreiben (s. z. B. am Beispiel von Céline, Blank 1991).

So ist die neuere Forschung, für die der einflussreiche Sammelband von Tannen (1982) steht, bestimmt von dem Versuch, analytische Kategorien aus einer funktionalen Analyse mündlicher und schriftlicher Praktiken zu gewinnen. Dabei werden die medialen Faktoren als Randbedingungen der sprachlichen Praxis gefasst, die sich in strukturellen Faktoren spiegeln. Mündliche Praxis ist an die Schranken der kognitiven Sprachverarbeitung gebunden: an die strikt lineare Produktion und Perzeption der Äußerungen, die ihre strukturelle Bearbeitung zu einer Aufgabe des Kurzzeitgedächtnisses macht, während die schriftliche Praxis die materiale Vergegenständlichung als externen Speicher nutzen kann und daher größere Kapazitäten für Strukturierungsleistungen hat. Schließlich steht bei der mündlichen Kommunikation die Sprachproduktion unter der situativen Kontrolle des jeweiligen Gegenübers, dessen signalisiertes Verstehen der Äußerungselaboration Schranken setzt und beim Aushandeln des Rederechts steuernd wirkt. Daraus lassen sich idealtypische *orate* Strukturen ableiten: einerseits als maximale Ausnutzung der außersprachlichen Bedingungen der Äußerung („ikonische“ Nutzung von Reihenfolgebeziehungen u. dgl.), andererseits als minimale Nutzung sprachstruktureller Ressourcen. In einer groben Zuordnung zum kognitiven „Energiehaushalt“:

<i>Randbedingungen der Sprachproduktion</i>	<i>Strukturelle Ressourcen (Grenzwerte)</i>	
Dialogisches Aushandeln („kommunikativer Stress“)	maximale Nutzung außersprachlicher Strukturen	orat
Kommunikativ entlastet (Grenzfall: Monolog)	maximale Nutzung sprachlicher (grammatischer) Strukturen	litterat

Idealtypisch lassen sich so dem Oraten nur zweigliedrige Äußerungseinheiten zuschrei-

ben: bei denen nur das zweite Glied inhaltlich (lexikalisch) artikuliert ist und die lineare Abfolge als eine von Thema- Rhema zu interpretieren ist (mit der bevorzugt semantisch „leeren“ Artikulation des Themas). Daran gebunden ist die Interpretation durch semantische Faktoren des propositionalen Gehalts der Äußerung: die Vordergrund- /Hintergrund-Perspektivierung des Äußerungsinhalts, u. U. auch (abhängig vom semantischen Szenario des Prädikats) als Ursache / Folge, Agens / Handlung u. dgl. *Literate* Strukturen sind idealtypisch frei von solchen Beschränkungen: sie homogenisieren gewissermaßen die Äußerung durch den möglichen synoptischen Blick über größere Textpassagen; dadurch lassen sie prinzipiell in jeder Position einen unbegrenzten Ausbau bis hin zum propositionalen Ausbau als „Einbettung“ in eine propositionale Matrixstruktur zu (Hypotaxe, nicht nur als Ausbau am rechten Rand eines Satzes u. dgl.) und maximieren so die Nutzung der sprachstrukturellen Ressourcen. Unter der Voraussetzung entsprechender grammatischer Markierungen lässt sich so literat die thematische genauso wie die satzsemantische Interpretation („semantische Rollen“) unabhängig von den Vorgaben der physikalischen Äußerungsstruktur steuern. Unter entsprechenden Bedingungen können literate Strukturierungen auch im Mündlichen genutzt werden: bei geplanter Sprachproduktion, insbesondere bei narrativen Passagen sind die Einheiten der Äußerung über die minimalen (in der Regel prosodisch markierten) Sequenzierungen hinaus auch als syntaktische Makrostrukturen („Sätze“) ausgegliedert. Wo derartige literate Strukturierungen unter inkongruenten kommunikativen Randbedingungen versucht werden, kommt es zu Problemen der Sprachplanung (Konstruktionsbrüchen), die in vielen Darstellungen als charakteristisch für gesprochene Sprache angeführt werden, aber in diesem Sinne nur einen pathologischen Sonderfall zeigen (s. dazu Miller / Weinert 1998).

Die strukturellen Ressourcen im Bau einer Sprache lassen sich diesen Polen zuordnen: Raible (1992) hat sie so auf einer Skala von *Aggregation* und *Integration* geordnet, die in Hinblick auf ihre Sedimentierung im Sprachbau typologisch produktiv zu machen ist (s. Abschnitt 4). *Literate* Strukturen sind unter den Bedingungen schriftlicher Praxis möglich, aber diese machen sie nicht

notwendig: Wo Schrift *empirisch* genutzt wird (Listen, Notizen), sind die so verfertigten Texte i. d. R. wenig literat. In Hinblick auf diese komplexe Problemlage gibt es bisher noch keine ausgearbeitete Theorie, wohl gibt es eine Fülle von mehr oder weniger systematisierten Analysen, die sich zwangsläufig einer eher heuristisch intendierten, weitgehend metaphorischen Terminologie bedienen. Plastisch kann der Gegensatz mit dem in verschiedenen mystischen Traditionen genutzten Bild von *warmen* und *kalten* Strukturen gefasst werden, das die Strukturierung als in den Gegenstand eingeflossene Energie („Wärme“) begreift. *Orate* Strukturen sind insofern *kalt*, überlassen die Strukturierung weitgehend der Interpretationsleistung des Hörers, der sie über die Extrapolation des Gemeinten findet. *Literate* Texte stehen demgegenüber unter dem Zwang, mit ihren Strukturen maximal auf das artikulierte „Symbolfeld“ (Bühler) abzustellen und daher jeweils mit dem gesamten Text abzugleichen (kohärent zu sein ...): sie sind in diesem Sinne *warm*, weil mit ihnen die interpretierenden Leistungen gewissermaßen in die formale Artikulation der Äußerung hineinverlagert werden. Das entspricht den unterschiedlichen Nutzungsmöglichkeiten bei mündlichen und schriftlichen Texten: schriftliche Texte erlauben (dem Schreiber wie dem Leser) einen *synoptischen* Umgang mit dem Text, während der Sprecher / Hörer die lokalen Schranken der Äußerung nur im Kurzzeitgedächtnis erweitern kann.

Die im engeren Sinne sprachwissenschaftlichen Arbeiten in diesem Feld zielen einerseits darauf, die in literaten Texten genutzten grammatischen Ressourcen zu bestimmen, die die satzinterne Syntax differenzieren, andererseits die spezifischen Textstrukturen zu explorieren, die literate Texte zu einem komplexen kohärenten Ganzen machen (mit nicht nur lokal kontrollierter Kohärenz im Übergang benachbarter Textfragmente). Insofern steht bei dieser Forschung die Kategorie der *Kohärenz* im Vordergrund, s. etwa in diesem Sinne zum Unterschied von mündlicher und schriftlicher Sprachproduktion Halliday/Hassan (1976), Tannen (1984). Wo ein relativ geringer kommunikativer Stress besteht und dem Sprecher Raum für sprachliche Entfaltung, z. B. zu narrativen Exkursen gegeben wird, ist die Äußerung von größerer Kohärenz bestimmt als bei unmittelbarem dialogischen Austausch. Überlagert wird diese strukturelle Differenz von

einer der Codierung: Kohärenz wird in mündlichen Äußerungen mit Indikatoren markiert (Prosodie, Diskurspartikel), für die die konventionellen Schriftsysteme (Orthographien) nur eingeschränkte Ausdrucksmittel bereitstellen bzw. die sogar in der normativen Perspektive sanktioniert werden (Diskurspartikel als „Füllwörter“ u. dgl.).

Literate Texte erfordern ein hohes Maß an redaktioneller Kontrolle, das sich nicht zuletzt darin ausdrückt, dass sie weitgehend invariant gegenüber (variablen) Erscheinungen von Äußerungen sind. Das impliziert eine Verschiebung des Kontrollhorizontes der Sprachproduktion: Literate Texte sind dezentriert gegenüber der Sprechsituation (dem Wir von Sprecher und Hörer); sie sind orientiert auf das potentiell universale Publikum i. S. der Sprachgemeinschaft. Hier setzen die normativen Vorgaben der schriftsprachlichen Erziehung an, die die funktionalen Strukturen überformen (z. B. mit der Ausrichtung auf die Nationalsprache statt den Dialekten). Diese stehen daher bei der Analyse literater Strukturen meist im Vordergrund, weshalb sich bei der Schriftsprachforschung die Abgrenzung von der normativen Sprachpflege noch schwerer als in der Sprachwissenschaft sonst erwiesen hat.

Die Voraussetzungen dafür bietet ein funktionaler Ansatz, bei dem die Differenz von *literaten* vs. *oraten* Sprachformen nicht als holistische Gegenüberstellung sondern in einem mehrdimensionalen Raum konstruiert wird, s. Biber (1993), der auf der Basis der statistischen Auswertung großer Corpora mit einer Faktorenanalyse der Auswertung von 67 Variablen in einer großen Bandbreite von Form-Funktion-Markierungen sieben Registerdimensionen identifiziert hat, in denen *literat* und *orat* als Pole situiert werden können. Eine Zuordnung zu den medialen Repräsentationsformen von *mündlich* und *schriftlich* ist dabei nur in Verbindung mit sprachexternen Bindungen an bestimmte Textgattungen möglich, die in hohem Maße an konventionelle bzw. normative Erwartungen gebunden sind. Diese Analyse hat Biber (1995) weiter verallgemeinert, indem er sein analytisches Raster auf typologisch verschiedene Sprachen mit unterschiedlichen Traditionen und verschiedenen Graden der Demotisierung der Schriftkultur angewendet hat (Englisch, Somali, Koreanisch und Tuvalua [eine polynesisische Sprache]).

Trotz dieser inzwischen weit verzweigten Forschung hat sich eine solche konzeptuelle Umorientierung in der Sprachwissenschaft noch keineswegs etabliert. So ist es in theoretisch orientierten Arbeiten der Sprachwissenschaft immer noch üblich, Sprachstrukturen als selbstverständlich der Beschreibung zu Grunde zu legen, die letztlich nur als spezifische Nutzung schriftkultureller Randbedingungen möglich sind (s. Miller/Weinert 1998 für eine kritische Bestandsaufnahme); im psycholinguistischen Kontext erscheinen nach wie vor Arbeiten, die die schriftsprachlichen Probleme ausblenden: in dem einflussreichen Buch von Hörmann (1977) fehlt die schriftsprachliche Dimension ganz, nicht anders als in dem trotz des eingeschränkten Titels systematisch gemeinten Forschungsbericht von Levelt (1989). Eine etabliertere Tradition in der psychologischen Forschung haben allein Untersuchungen zu Leseleistungen; erst in jüngster Zeit gerät auch Schreiben in den Horizont (s. für Überblicke: Günther/Ludwig 1994–96, ein Beispiel für jüngere Diskussion: Bauermann/Weingarten 1995).

Eine psychologische Modellierung müsste systematischer als bisher auch die unterschiedlichen Dissoziationen schriftlicher und mündlicher Fähigkeiten bei Sprachstörungen berücksichtigen: bei Aphasikern können schriftsprachliche Fähigkeiten im Gegensatz zu Störungen der mündlichen erhalten bleiben; dadurch sind die erhaltenen literaten Potentiale, die sich ohne kommunikativen Stress geltend machen können, therapeutisch nutzbar, um auch kommunikative Fertigkeiten mit ihren oraten Strukturierungen wieder aufzubauen; für eine beispielhafte funktionale Analyse schriftsprachlicher Praktiken bei Aphasikern, s. Tophinke (1994 – mit Hinweisen auf die Forschungsliteratur).

2.2. Probleme der Fundierung/Aneignung literater Systeme

Die unzureichende Überwindung der konsekutiven Vorstellung des Verhältnisses von geschriebener und gesprochener Sprache, die meist auch mit der Etikettierung des „Abbildungscharakters“ der geschriebenen Sprache verknüpft ist (und in der Literatur oft irreführend als „aristotelisches Schriftverständnis“ bezeichnet wird), wirkt sich besonders in der pädagogisch-didaktischen Diskussion aus, von der auf der Basis der prägenden Volksschulerfahrung umgekehrt nun auch

die vorthoretischen Vorstellungen des Verhältnisses von geschriebener und gesprochener Sprache geprägt sind. Dabei bestimmen die Probleme des Anfangsunterrichts, wie sich besonderes auch bei der Diskussion um die Rechtschreibreform zeigt: Die z. T. recht mühsamen Bemühungen der Anfänger, in der Konfrontation mit der Schriftsprache deren Strukturen im Rückgriff auf bereits verfügbare sprachliche Ressourcen in den Griff zu bekommen, werden oft mit schriftsprachlicher Praxis gleichgesetzt. Das routinierte Lesen löst sich aber auch bei Alphabetschriften von der engen Bindung an den Wortlaut und verarbeitet den Text unmittelbar auf einer konzeptuellen Ebene.

In der pädagogischen Diskussion hat die kritische Auseinandersetzung mit den Fragen des Verhältnisses von geschriebener und gesprochener Sprache in den 50er und 60er Jahren im Rahmen der Diskussionen um schichtenspezifisches Sprachverhalten eingesetzt, als sich zeigte, dass sich vieles von dem, was in der damaligen einschlägigen Forschung als Beschränkungen der sprachlichen Kompetenz naturalisiert wurde, als normative Projektion von Erwartungen an schulisch geforderte schriftsprachliche Leistungen erwies (für eine Diskussion s. Wagner 1992). So wie die pädagogische Diskussion vor allem in England (und von daher auch in den USA) ihren Aufschwung nahm, verbunden mit der Forschergruppe um Basil Bernstein, setzte hier auch die kritische Differenzierung ein, die auf Konzepte einer kontextualisierenden Analyse in der Tradition von J.R. Firth zurückgriff. Entscheidende Anregungen gingen hier von M.A.K. Halliday aus (s. Halliday 1978), der die unterschiedlichen Strukturen in schriftlichen und mündlichen Texten auf die unterschiedliche soziale Praxis des Sprechens gegenüber dem Schreiben zurückführte. Daran schloss eine reiche empirisch orientierte Forschung an, die vor allem auch im schulischen Umfeld auf den spezifischen Eigensinn schriftsprachlicher Produkte bei Lernern hinwies und auf der einen Seite die normative Orientierung an zumeist letztlich literarisch motivierten Vorstellungen von schriftlichen Texten zu überwinden versuchte, auf der anderen Seite die Koppelung von funktionalen literaten Strukturen an die spezifischen Bedingungen von Unterricht (Blank 1982; Kress 1982; Cook-Gumperz 1986).

In den 90er Jahren setzte hier eine Umorientierung der pädagogischen Forschung ein,

wobei die von der OECD durchgeführten international vergleichenden Erhebungen zum Bildungsstand eine wichtige Rolle hatten. Bei diesen wird ein systematisches Konzept von *Literalität* (engl. *literacy*) zugrundegelegt, das die hier mit *literate* gefassten Strukturen in den größeren Rahmen symbolvermittelter Praktiken stellt, s. OECD (1995).

3. Zeichensysteme literater Praxis

3.1. Zur Architektur von Schriftsystemen

In schriftgeschichtlich ausgerichteten Arbeiten ist es üblich, Schrift von ihrer Materialität her zu fassen: als graphische Zeichensysteme, die durch den Grad ihrer Bindung an Sprachstrukturen zu klassifizieren sind. Fehlt eine solche Bindung, also bei ikonischen Darstellungen („Piktogrammen“), spricht man nicht von Schrift. Dabei sind zu unterscheiden:

- die logographischen Strukturen, die der unmittelbaren (semantischen) Interpretation zugänglich sind,
- die Fundierung in Strukturen der Äußerung, insbesondere eine mehr oder weniger enge *phonographische* Artikulation.

Nur bei einer phonographischen Fundierung spricht man in der Regel von einer *Alphabetschrift*. Dabei ist zu unterscheiden in

- die elementaren Zeichen (das Alphabet: die Buchstaben, wozu im weiteren Sinne auch die Elementarzeichen anderer Schriften gerechnet werden können: Silbenzeichen, logographische Zeichen ...),
- die Zeichen/Strukturen zweiter Ordnung, die die Textstruktur des Geschriebenen artikulieren.

Schriftsysteme sind in diesem Sinne mehrdimensional. Ein eindimensionales System, wie es für phonetische Transkriptionen verfügbar ist, die unabhängig von dem damit Gesagten auf die Reproduktion des lautlichen Ereignisses zielen, markiert den Grenzfall von Schriftsystemen: diese sind definiert durch die Zielsetzung, einem Leser die Interpretation des so Repräsentierten zu erlauben. Dafür ist die Art der Repräsentation (ihre sprachliche Granularität) zwar sekundär, sie bedingt zugleich aber ihre Effizienz. Ein phonographisch fundiertes Schriftsystem nutzt die mit der gesprochenen Sprache erworbenen Wissensstrukturen optimal – weitergehender als andere Systeme. Zugleich sind phonographische Schriftsysteme,

die es erlauben, auch nicht (semantisch) interpretierbare Texte zu repräsentieren, einer sprachlichen Praxis kongruenter, deren Standardsituation es ist, Neues zu artikulieren und nicht Traditionelles zu reproduzieren. Von daher ergibt sich die Dynamik in der Entwicklung von Schriftsystemen, die mit dem Verlauf ihrer *Demotisierung* optimiert werden, wobei sie relativ zu ihren historisch kontingenten Anfängen als gemischte Systeme entfaltet werden: Auch sog. logographische Systeme wie das Chinesische enthalten Elemente der „Phonetisierung“, und auch phonographische Systeme wie die lateinischen Alphabetschriften enthalten logographische Elemente: Siglen wie die oben genannten 7 und &, aber auch regelhafte Markierungen wie z. B. die satzinterne Majuskelsetzung im Deutschen.

Typologisch „reine“ Systeme sind in der Regel wenig praktikabel:

- rein phonographische Systeme (phonetische Transkriptionen) geben dem Leser zu wenig Orientierung, um komplexe Sachverhalte effizient zu „erlesen“; sie sind nur für professionelle Zwecke (wie die deskriptive Praxis von Sprachwissenschaftlern) sinnvoll,
- logographische Systeme sind sehr umfangreich, dabei aber durch die starr fixierten Zeicheninventare beschränkt. Ihr Erwerb erfordert eine große Gedächtnisleistung; sie entsprechen so in der Regel professionellen Schriftsystemen, die nur von einer kleinen Schicht von Spezialisten angewendet werden.

Effiziente Schriftsysteme, die einer Vielzahl von Zwecken dienen und gesellschaftlich demotisierbar sind, erfordern eine optimale *Fundierung* in den bereits beherrschten Strukturen der gesprochenen Sprache: Das geht über die logographische Repräsentation der propositionalen Struktur hinaus und erfordert eine phonographische Fundierung. Damit ist aber in allen diesen Schriftsystemen eine interne Spannung gesetzt, die vom Bau der fundierenden Sprachen abhängig ist: Bei isolierendem Sprachbau können eher logographische Schriftsysteme genutzt werden als bei Sprachen mit komplexer Morphologie (daher das gemischte Schriftsystem im agglutinierenden Japanischen, das mit den Logogrammen der chinesischen Tradition [*kanji*] semantisch-lexikalische Einheiten repräsentiert, aber phonographisch [*kana*] deren Affixe); bei Sprachen mit grammatisch transparenten Wortstruk-

turen wie z.B. im Türkischen ist ein phonographisches Ideal eher umzusetzen als bei Sprachen mit einem hohen Grad morphologischer Fusion wie z.B. im Deutschen, die daher bei einer Alphabetschrift in größerem Maße auf logographische Markierungen zurückgreifen (z.B. mit der sog. morphologischen Konstantanschreibung). Insofern sind Schriftsysteme das Resultat des Ausbalanzierens von konfligierenden sprachstrukturellen Randbedingungen, wobei sie auf die gesellschaftliche Schriftpraxis kalibriert sind. Der Bau der semitischen Sprachen macht hier semantisch kontrollierte Schriftsysteme möglich, die phonographisch relativ „kalt“ sind, weil sie es dem Leser überlassen, einen Großteil der phonologischen Struktur durch den grammatischen Kontext zu extrapolieren; dafür profilieren sie die Wortformen. Demgegenüber mechanisieren die konsequent phonographisch fundierten späteren Alphabetschriften das Schreiben und lassen es so zu, auch unsinnige Wortformen zu verschriften (die dann, anders als in semitischen Schriften, auch vollständig lautiert werden können). Bei ihnen ist daher der Ausbau mit logographischen Elementen auch erst Ergebnis späterer Reformeingriffe in die Tradition, wo die Wortausgliederung und die anderen logographischen Markierungen weitgehend erst in Konsequenz des Buchdrucks für eine breite Leserschaft etabliert wurden. In diesem Spannungsfeld werden denn auch sprachbauspezifisch Probleme der Schreibung von nicht autosemantischen Funktionswörtern, prosodisch reduzierten Wortformen (Klitisierungen) u. dgl. ein Problem, das nur in einer prekären Balance zwischen der Verschriftung der Worte im syntaktischen Kontext und den hypostasierter Idealformen der Wörter gelöst werden kann, mit der nicht nur der Schriftunterricht zu kämpfen hat.

Vor diesem Hintergrund machen normative Vorgaben für optimale Schriftsysteme keinen Sinn. Die Fundierung kann unterschiedlich granular sein: bei phonographischen Systemen bietet sich eine silbenstrukturelle Fundierung als Zugriff auf die kleinsten intuitiv zugängliche Gliederungseinheiten des Gesprochenen an. *Alphabet-systeme* rekurren demgegenüber auf intuitiv nicht zugängliche subsyllabische Einheiten, deren Kontrolle auch erst über die Auseinandersetzung mit der Alphabetschrift gelernt wird. Wie nicht zuletzt auch die neuere Entwicklung in der Phonologie

gezeigt hat, sind die Phoneme (verstanden als segmentierbare Einheiten) ein Produkt der Rückprojektion der Alphabetschrift auf die Lautstruktur. Die Alphabetschriften sind zwar für die Praxis ökonomisch (sie erfordern ein sehr viel kleineres Inventar als andere Systeme); sie erfordern aber (wie im übrigen auch die Lautsegmentierung) ein spezielles Training. Zu einer demotisierten Schriftkultur, die auf solchen phonographischen Systemen beruht (silbenschriftlich etwa im Japanischen, subsyllabisch in den modernen europäischen Orthographien), gehören daher gesellschaftliche Institutionen wie die Schule (mit Schulpflicht), die ihren geregelten Erwerb ermöglichen.

Ein Teil der sprachwissenschaftlichen Diskussion (und an ihr orientiert: der didaktischen Diskussion) tendiert allerdings auch in jüngster Zeit noch dazu, das Abbildungsverständnis der Schriftsprache fortzuführen und den komplexen Raum der Schriftsysteme zu reduzieren. Vor allem in der generativistischen Tradition seit Chomsky / Halle (1968) wird versucht, die schriftsprachlichen (orthographischen) Strukturen aus einer linearen Ableitung der damit vorgeblich repräsentierten lautlichen Struktur zu entwickeln, wobei die nicht-phonographischen Markierungen in „tieferen“ Ableitungsschichten verankert werden (für eine Kritik s. schon Sampson 1985). Darin drückt sich allerdings auch eine typologische Blindheit aus: Die so als kanonische Struktur angenommene Ableitung übersieht, dass die Möglichkeit einer subsyllabischen segmentalen Repräsentation an bestimmte sprachstrukturelle Bedingungen gebunden ist, die in den alphabetschriftlichen Orthographien mit repräsentiert werden müssen (wie z.B. silbenstrukturelle Markierungen wie die Dehnungs- und Schärfungszeichen im Deutschen, vgl. Art. 75).

Daher sind wohl alle Schriftsysteme, die eine komplexe (erfolgreiche) Schriftpraxis regeln, durch eine mehrebigige Artikulation geprägt. Diese ist umso ausgeprägter, je demotisiert die Schriftkultur ist. Ältere professionelle Schriftkulturen kennen in diesem Sinne nur wenige Zeichen zweiter Ordnung, die die Textstruktur des Geschriebenen artikulieren: Die heute in den meisten Orthographien üblichen Interpunktionsysteme gehen auf nachträgliche Auszeichnungen des Geschriebenen für den mündlichen Vortrag zurück (daher auch die Bezeichnung *Interpunktion*: die Zeichen wurden zwischen

die geschriebenen Zeichen gesetzt). Die Ausbildung eines differenzierten Systems der Textstrukturierung erfolgte synchron mit der Demotisierung der Schriftkultur in Europa im späten Mittelalter / der Frühen Neuzeit, s. Parkes (1992). Grammatisch geregelte Interpunktion wird heute zwar in den meisten Schriftsystemen praktiziert (Chinesisch, Arabisch, Hindi ...), aber in der Regel in einer direkten Replik auf die Praxis der europäischen Orthographien (insbes. der englischen).

Eine weitere Komplikation bei den meisten Schriftsystemen resultiert aus ihrer Tradierung. Da Schriftsysteme prinzipiell unabhängig von der damit repräsentierten Sprachstruktur sind, sind sie auch unabhängig von dieser übertragbar. Die historisch dokumentierten Schriftsysteme sind in der Regel innerhalb von Kulturräumen übertragen worden, unabhängig von den dort gesprochenen Sprachen. Dadurch sind Adaptierungsprozessen freigesetzt worden, um ihre Fundierung zu optimieren. So sind die alten vorderasiatischen Keilschriften vom Sumerischen übernommen, das im Kernbereich dieses Kulturraums noch einige Zeit als Verwaltungs- und Bildungssprache in Gebrauch war, nachdem es nicht mehr gesprochen wurde. In den meisten Fällen ist die Übertragung von Schriftsystemen an die mit ihnen verbundenen Religionen gebunden: In dem Maße, wie dieser Übertragungsprozess eine profane Schriftpraxis nach sich zog, setzte diese auch Reformtendenzen der Schriftsysteme frei, die diese zunehmend regionalisierte, in der Regel in einem schwierigen Prozess des Ausbalanzierens mit den Vorgaben der fremdschriftlichen Tradition. Im christlichen Kulturraum zeigte sich das in den beiden Traditionssträngen: der griechischen Schriftkultur (aus der sich die kyrillische, aber auch die armenische, georgische, äthiopische, koptische u. a. Schriften entwickelten) sowie der lateinischen in Westeuropa. Im islamischen Kulturraum haben diese Entwicklungen zwar in nicht-arabischen Sprachräumen eingesetzt (im Persischen, im Urdu u. a.), nicht aber in den neuarabischen Gesellschaften, in denen die Schrift in einer Sprache gelernt (und ggf. auch praktiziert) wird, die für die Lernenden fremd ist. Eine weitergehende Modernisierung führte hier auch zur Umstellung auf ein anderes Schriftsystem (i. d. R. das lateinische) wie in der Türkei 1928 (Abkehr von dem osmanischen Schriftsystem) oder noch nicht abge-

schlossen in Malaysia (wo das alte *Abjad* noch in Gebrauch ist). Einen extremen Fall stellt das Koreanische dar, das im 15. Jhd. aus der Tradition des bis dahin genutzten chinesischen Schriftsystems ausbrach und seitdem mit einem eigens dazu „erfundenen“ silbenfundierten Schriftsystem (*Hangul*) geschrieben wird.

Die auf die Tradition festgelegten konservativen Zensurvorschriften können sich bei den Reformprozessen auch gegenüber einem längst aufgegebenen schriftsprachlichen Modell verselbständigen, wie es etwa in Westeuropa der Fall war und ist, wo die orthographische Standardisierung auf das Entstehen eines Massenpublikums für den Buchdruck reagierte. Dabei eingeführte Innovationen, die nicht durch ein direktes Vorbild im Lateinischen gedeckt waren, wurden von den folgenden Reformkampagnen wieder bekämpft – zum großen Teil erfolgreich wie bei der im 18. Jhd. noch in vielen westeuropäischen Orthographien verbreiteten satzinternen grammatischen Großschreibung (eine weitere Parallele ist im Deutschen der Streit um die Dehnungszeichen wie das <h> oder das „unlateinische“ <ß>).

Die komplexe Architektur von Schriftsystemen ist ein Produkt einer schriftkulturellen Entwicklung von langer Dauer, letztlich begründet in ihrer Ausrichtung auf ein Lesepublikum. Sinnfällig ist das bei den orthographischen Markierungen für routinierte Leser, die das Geschriebenes nicht nur „entziffern“ sollen. Der dazu nötige Entwicklungsschritt ist an der heutigen Schule noch abzulesen, besonders deutlich da, wo diese auf die Vorstellung einer primär lautsprachlich orientierten Abbildung des Schriftlichen abstellt: Die Anfänger haben nicht nur mit der Buchstaben-Laut-Zuordnung zu kämpfen, sondern sie haben dabei vor allem erhebliche Schwierigkeiten, in dem so Entzifferten sinnvolle Strukturelemente der ersten Artikulation wiederzuerkennen, sodass sie erst sekundär an das *Erlesen* (die semantische Interpretation) herangeführt werden müssen.

Grundlage für das Erlesen ist die Identifizierung der Wörter im Geschriebenen. Die Orientierung darauf findet sich schon ex negativo in mesopotamischen Keilschriften des 3. Jtsd. als Vermeidung von Wortbrechungen am Zeilenende; später kamen *Worttrenner* hinzu, die die Ausgliederung der Wörter leisteten; auch darüber hinaus war das praktizierte Schriftsystem hybrid,

mit einer systematisch genutzten Kombination von logographischen (oft aus dem Sumerschen überlieferten) und phonographischen (silbenschriftlichen) Zeichen in Keilschrifttexten des 2. Jtsd. (s. Cooper 1996). In ähnlicher Weise wird das Japanische heute noch in der Regel in einem gemischten System geschrieben, das die Worte profiliert: als Kombination von logographischen *Kanji*-Zeichen (aus dem Chinesischen) für die lexikalischen Invarianten und phonographischen *Kana*-Zeichen für die morphologischen Affixe (s. etwa Coulmas 2001). Bei logographischen Schriften ist die Wortausgliederung ein Problem, wenn Wörter von variablem Zeichenumfang sein können. Im Chinesischen haben so die den lexikalisch vollen Zeichen nachgestellten modifizierenden Zeichen (Determinatoren u. dgl.) eine delimitierende Funktion. In allen modernen Graphien ist die Wortausgliederung geregelt – allerdings nach einer langen Zeit der praktizierten *scriptio continua*, bei der eine kleine Schicht von spezialisierten Lesern sich die Texte zum Erlesen gewissermaßen selbst laut vorlas.

Auch in dieser Hinsicht sind die Lösungen der jeweiligen Schriftsysteme abhängig von Vorgaben des Schriftsystems auf der einen und solchen der Sprachstruktur auf der anderen Seite. Wo vielelementige Wortformen bei einer phonographischen Fundierung zugleich mit konstanten Schriftformen verknüpft waren wie bei den vorderasiatischen Keilschriften, wurden früh Worttrenner genutzt; das Spatium setzt einen konstanten Zeichenplatz voraus und hat sich so erst mit dem Buchdruck in bewegliche Lettern etablieren können. Bei kursiven Handschriften wurden demgegenüber Sonderformen für Buchstaben an Worträndern ausgebildet (Arabisch, mittelalterliche Handschriften). Eine Sonderform davon ist die Mischung unterschiedlicher Schrifttypen; Versalien wurden als Wortinitialen genutzt, die im Mittelalter tendenziell zur Wortausgrenzung dienten, später dann grammatikalisiert wurden: im Satzinnern zur Hervorhebung, Markierung von Eigennamen u. dgl., sowie seit dem Buchdruck zunehmend in allen europäischen Schriftkulturen grammatikalisiert zur Markierung der Kerne nominaler Gruppen im Satz und zugleich auch als Markierung des rechten Randes komplexer nominaler Konstituenten. In einer konservativen Reformbewegung in allen europäischen Orthographien wurde das außer bei

der deutschen seit dem 18. Jhd. wieder rückgebaut.

3.2. Emblematische Funktionen im Schriftsystem

Schon die Tatsache, dass Schriftsysteme in der Regel auf Entlehnungen und die Adaptierung an die fundierende Sprache zurückgehen, setzt die Möglichkeit der sekundären Nutzung graphischer Strukturen für Formen der emblematischen Abgrenzung. Das wird insbesondere deutlich bei den oben angesprochenen Fällen der Umstellung von Schriftsystemen, ist aber ein bestimmendes Moment in der Schriftgeschichte überhaupt. Im christlichen Kulturraum machten sich derartige Abgrenzungen früh geltend, wobei offensichtlich dem Geltungsbereich der syrischen Kirche eine Schlüsselrolle zukam, die sich z. B. auch in der Verschriftung des Gotischen geltend machte (s. zum sozialen-kulturellen Kontext Art. 220). Wie alle Verschriftungen germanischer Sprachen war sie das Resultat des Kontakts mit dem mediterranen Kulturraum. Bei den Goten fand das im Gebiet des heutigen Rumänien / Bulgariens im 4. Jhd. in Auseinandersetzung mit der dortigen griechischen Schriftkultur statt. Das gotische Schriftsystem repliziert die Vorgaben der griechischen Schrift (und der Art, wie sie in den damaligen Schulen gelehrt wurde, s. etwa Braune / Ebbinghaus 1981): Von der (unzialen) Buchstabenform bis hin zu phonographischen Idiosynkrasien, vor allem im Bereich des Vokalismus mit Digraphien wie <ei> für [i:] (im Gegensatz zu <i> [i]), <ai> für [e] (im Gegensatz zu <e> [e:]) u. dgl. Das Bemerkenswerte ist allerdings das deutliche Bemühen, die gotische Schrift nicht als direkte Replik der griechischen Vorgaben erscheinen zu lassen, wozu der Rückgriff auf andere koexistierende Schriftsysteme gehörte: einerseits das Lateinische (die Goten waren im Machtbereich des römischen Reiches), andererseits, besonders provokativ: auch Elemente der (heidnisch konnotierten!) Runenpraxis wie bei [θ], für das nicht das griechische Θ genommen wurde sondern das runische þ, ebenso z. B. bei [o:] nicht das griechische Ω sondern das runische ƿ („Odal-Rune“). Manche Zuordnungen mussten griechischen Zeitgenossen geradezu als Mystifikationen erschienen sein, so wenn z. B. für [f] nicht nur nicht das griechische Zeichen Φ („Phi“) genommen wur-

de, sondern das lateinische F, während das Φ zur Wiedergabe von [x^w] diene.

Im Gegensatz zu dieser „kulturrevolutionären“ Praxis der Goten hatten es spätere Schreiber im germanischen Sprachraum mit ihren Innovationen sehr viel schwerer. Der ästhetische Filter des lateinischen Schriftbildes war hier übermächtig, sodass (mit wenigen Ausnahmen bei den frühen Verschriftungen, bei denen prestigemächtige Zeichenkonventionen aus dem keltischen (britischen) Raum genutzt wurden, graphische Abweichungen sich nirgends halten konnten und statt dessen Desambiguierungen über komplexe Grapheme gefunden werden mussten (<th> statt þ für [θ] u. dgl.). Nur das Isländische hat in dieser Hinsicht eine gewisse Eigenständigkeit bewahrt – nicht zufällig in einer Gesellschaft, die den größten Alphabetisierungsgrad vielleicht überhaupt erreicht hat.

Im Gotischen entsprach der selbstbewussten Emblematisierung des Zeichensystems auch das deutliche Bemühen der gotischen Schreiber um eine Leserorientierung auf den weiteren Ebenen der Orthographie, z. B. mit dem Bemühen um eine morphologische Konstantenschreibung der Stämme (gegen den phonotaktischen Filter, der im Silbenendrand nur stimmlose Frikative zuließ): so findet sich z. B. bei Verben wie *bidjan* [ˈbi.ðjan] „bitten“ im Präteritum neben der phonographischen Alternation *baþ* „er bat“ und *bedun* „sie baten“ auch die konstante Schreibung des Stammasuslauts mit <d> in *bad* „er nahm“, die phonographisch eindeutig war. Zur Rolle der emblematischen Funktionen des Schriftsystems bei den Neuverschriftungen von Sprachen heute s. Art. 220.

4. Interdependenzen mündlicher und schriftlicher Praktiken

Schriftsprachliche Systeme entwickeln sich zwangsläufig als Anpassung an die Randbedingungen der fundierenden (sprech-)sprachlichen Systeme – und zwar umso mehr, je demotierter die Schriftkultur ist. Die Abhängigkeiten sind aber wechselseitig: In dem Maße, wie die Schriftkultur zu einer Randbedingung der Sprachentwicklung wird, wird diese auch von habitualisierten Vorgaben literater Strukturierungen bestimmt. Das war in der traditionellen historischen Sprachwissenschaft ein Topos, ist aber in der jüngeren Sprachwissenschaft zunehmend aus dem Bewusstsein verschwun-

den. Hier setzte sich die simple Vorstellung des Abbildungsverhältnisses durch, die schriftsprachlichen Strukturen ohnehin keinen Eigenwert zuschreibt. Die Folge davon war, dass unhinterfragt schriftsprachliche Strukturen als Ausweis für Sprachstrukturen schlechthin herangezogen werden konnten, wie es vor allem in der syntaxorientierten Forschung der Generativen Grammatik des Englischen oder Deutschen der Fall war. Für die typologische Forschung hatte das die Folge, dass viele der vorgeblichen sprachstrukturellen Besonderheiten der untersuchten großen Sprachen solche von Schriftsprachen waren – im Gegensatz zu den oraten Strukturen der vergleichend herangezogenen Beschreibungen ungeschriebener Sprachen (s. Miller / Weinert 1998). Erst in den letzten Jahren ist hier eine Trendwende zu verzeichnen, seitdem auf der Grundlage entsprechender psycholinguistischer Forschungen Strukturen der Sprachverarbeitung in den Blick gerieten, die medialen Besonderheiten geschuldet waren, etwa *Parsing*-Beschränkungen i.S. von Hawkins (1994). Davon gehen gerade auch im generativistischen Kontext Diskussionen aus, die die analysierten Strukturen auf ihre Registerspezifität (i.S. von *literat* vs. *orat*) befragen und z. B. grammatische Entwicklungen als Sedimentierung literater Sprachpraktiken betrachten, vgl. etwa am Beispiel der Entwicklung germanischer Sprachen Abraham (1999).

Das Hineinwachsen in literate Gesellschaften impliziert als spezifische Form des Umgangs mit den Registerdifferenzen die relative Bewertung von *oraten* und *literaten* Strukturen, u. U. in Verbindung mit mehrsprachlichen Praktiken. So editieren Kinder im Grundschulalter spontan *orate* Strukturen ihrer freien Erzählungen wie Topik-Markierungen, die sequenzielle Reihung von Propositionen (etwa auch in Form von Nachträgen) u. dgl. zugunsten von *literaten* Strukturen durch die Tilgung von „Diskurspartikeln“, den propositionalen Ausbau auch im Vor- oder Mittelfeld des Prädikats, den Aufbau von Rahmenkonstruktionen u. dgl., vgl. Maas/Mehlem (i.E.).

Das Schulsystem kann sich in diesem Bereich darauf verlassen, dass die entsprechende kategoriale Einstellung zur Schriftsprache weitgehend bereits vor der Einschulung erworben wurde – wo das nicht der Fall ist, scheitern die Literarisierungsbemühungen in der Regel auch (s. etwa Ferreiro/Teberosky 1979). Eine Begleiterscheinung dieser so

naturalisierten schriftsprachlichen (und d. h. alphabetschriftlichen) Einstellungen ist die in der Sprachwissenschaft und der Sprachdidaktik verbreitete selbstverständliche Annahme einer segmentalen Phonemebene (s. Lüdtke 1969).

Hier liegt auch der traditionelle Ansatzpunkt für eine direkte Koppelung von kulturellem Entwicklungsstand einer Gesellschaft und Grad ihrer Literalität, die im kolonialen Topos von der Rechtlosigkeit „schriftloser Völker“ einen drastischen Ausdruck gefunden hat. Diese Debatte bestimmt auch heute noch einen Großteil der Schriftdiskussion, ausgehend vor allem von Ong (1982), s. Olson (1994). Inzwischen hat hier ein Differenzierungsprozess eingesetzt, der der Auflösung des Dualismus von literat und orat in den verschiedenen Registerdimensionen folgt. Dazu beigetragen haben vor allem auch Untersuchungen zu formkontrollierten mündlichen Praktiken, die gedächtnisstützende Funktionen übernehmen (metrische Bindungen, Parallelismen u. dgl., s. etwa Parry 1971), die in oralen Gesellschaften komplexe kulturelle Leistungen ermöglichen (s. z. B. Goody 1987). Da die Schriftsprache als „externer Speicher“ dienen kann, kann sie sich von diesen formalen Zwängen freimachen und gewissermaßen die Potentiale der Prosa für die gesellschaftliche Praxis erschließen, wie es Havelock formuliert hat (s. Havelock/Hershbell 1978 für eine Diskussion). Dazu gehört nicht zuletzt die Habitualisierung des metasprachlichen Umgangs mit dem Auszudrückenden, die über die Hypostasierung der sprachlichen Formen, die für die Kontrolle einer Alphabetschrift bei der Fundierung in einer fusionierenden Sprache vorausgesetzt ist, eine analytische Haltung aufbaut, zu der schließlich auch der habitualisierte „synoptische“ Umgang mit Texten beiträgt, dessen Konsequenzen für die Herausbildung der europäischen Moderne von Eisenstein (1979) herausgestellt wurde.

Damit sind Zusammenhänge angedeutet, die noch einer systematischen Forschung bedürfen. Nur über die Analyse dieser Zusammenhänge kann es gelingen, diese kulturelle Ressource weltweit für alle, die einzelnen Menschen wie die Gesellschaften, zu erschließen. Die Entwicklung geeigneter Schriftsysteme wird dabei nicht nur auf die auszubauenden sprachlichen Praktiken abzustellen sein, um Blockierungen beim Übertragen normativ gesetzter schriftkultu-

reller Formen zu vermeiden (s. Scollon/Scollon 1983 für diesen konfliktträchtigen Bereich), sondern auch auf die lokalen materialen Randbedingungen, mit denen eine Schreib- und Lesepraxis zu bewerkstelligen ist (s. etwa Bentolila o.J. für afrikanische Erfahrungen). Aufschlussreiche Fallstudien finden sich in Olson/Torrance (2001), s. auch Art. 220.

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75. Orthografie/Orthography

1. Literalität, (Ortho)grafie, Schriftart
2. Alphabetschriften
3. Von der Graphie zur Orthografie
4. Nationale und gesellschaftliche Relevanz der Orthografie
5. Orthografie und Schule
6. Orthografiereform
7. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Literalität, (Ortho)grafie, Schriftart

Orthografie (= O.) ist vielmehr als die Technik des richtigen Schreibens; sie ist der sichtbare Ausdruck der Literalität. In ihr verdinglichen sich symbolhaft und nachprüfbar die Fähigkeit zur schriftlichen Kommunikation, die Beherrschung der geschriebenen Sprache, der Nachweis schulischer Bildung und die Teilhabe an Kultur. Der fundamentale gesellschaftliche Wandel von der Oralität zur Literalität wird so für jeden einzelnen über die O. spürbar in seiner schulischen Sozialisation, in seinem beruflichen und privaten Leben. D.h., schriftliche Kommunikation überwindet Raum und Zeit, sie hat eine heuristische Funktion, sie erlaubt ein externes Gedächtnis und sie schafft eine größere Bewusstheit gegenüber dem Kommunikationsmittel Sprache. Das Unterscheiden von mündlichen Religionen und Buchreligionen, das Entstehen von Schulen und Wissenschaft oder die soziologische Unterscheidung von blue collars und white collars machen die immense Bedeutung von Schriftlichkeit deutlich. Erst das Aufkommen der Literalität schafft diachron wie ontogenetisch die Differenz von mündlicher und schriftlicher Kommunikation und gesprochener und geschriebener Sprache (vgl. Art. 74 u. 158); besonders deutlich in der Diglossie-Situation, wenn z.B. in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz Schwizer Dütsch gesprochen, aber die deutsche Standardsprache als Schriftsprache benutzt wird (vgl. Goody 1977; Koch/Oesterreicher 1985). Dies alles wird in der O. spürbar.

Diese grundlegende Differenz, die man als Register beschreiben kann (vgl. Müller 1990), präsentiert sich optisch bezüglich der geschriebenen Sprache als eine Schriftform, einer Grafie. Dies meint die Möglichkeiten der Verschriftung einer Sprache und die Schriftarten. Erst auf dieser Ebene kann sich dann auch eine O. als normiertere Grafie etablieren.

Die Verschriftung einer Sprache ist grundsätzlich etwas anderes als die optische Wiedergabe ihrer Aussprache durch ein phonetisches Alphabet, wie etwa das IPA. Sie kann auch ganz ohne Bezug zur Lautung vor sich gehen. Gemäß der Bilateralität des sprachlichen Zeichens kann die Verschriftung beim signifiant, dem Lautschema, ansetzen oder beim signifié, dem Begriff oder der Bedeutung. In der historischen Entwicklung sind zunächst – unabhängig von der Lautung – Begriffsschriften festzustellen, dann folgen die Silbenschriften und schließlich die Alphabetschriften, deren primärer Bezug der Laut ist. Es wäre eurozentrisch gedacht, in dieser Entwicklung eine Steigerung zu sehen, alle drei Verschriftungsweisen haben ihre Vor- und Nachteile (Ehlich 1980), sie treten auch oft gemischt auf, wie im Japanischen, das in der Grafie silbische und begriffliche Anteile hat. Schriftsysteme entstehen nicht jeweils genuin aus einer Sprache, sondern werden, historisch betrachtet, durch politische, wirtschaftliche oder kulturelle Anlässe aus anderen Sprachen übernommen.

So übernehmen die romanischen und germanischen Sprachen die lateinische Verschriftungsform, die slawischen Sprachen das abgewandelte griechische Alphabet, der Islam sorgt für die Verbreitung der arabischen Schrift. Unterhalb der grundsätzlichen Verschriftungsform bilden sich oft verschiedene Schriftarten (= Schriften) heraus. So wird in Europa mit dem Beginn der Renaissance die Antiqua entwickelt, die allmählich die gotische Schriftart verdrängt. Im deutschen Sprachraum bleibt sie am längsten als Gegensatz von Fraktur- und Lateinschrift erhalten und führt ab 1880 zu einem erbitterten Schriftstreit, der erst 1941 abrupt endet (vgl. Hartmann 1999; Killius 1999). Schriftarten werden historisch emotional aufgeladen; so bedeutet der Wechsel von der arabischen zur lateinischen Schrift in der Türkei eine Hinwendung zur abendländischen Kultur. Hingegen steht der Einführung der lateinischen Buchstaben in China auch die Angst entgegen, durch den Verlust der Tradition die eigene nationale Identität zu verlieren (de Francis 1977, 126). Anders die Eskimos, sie haben zwar eine silbische Schrift, aber sie benutzen lieber das lateinische Alphabet, weil sie es so leichter haben, Englisch zu lesen (Stubbs 1980).

2. Alphabetschriften

Über die Alphabetschriften besteht die Laienvorstellung, dass ihre Aufgabe die mündliche Transkription sei (phonographisches Schriftverständnis). Dies geht zurück auf die Lehre von der Dependenz, die als „Aristotalian tradition“ gilt. Die Schrift wird einfach als abgeleitet der Sprache gegenübergestellt; sie ist Zeichen vom Zeichen. Aristoteles (Periphermenias Kap. 1) beschrieb schon ihre Aufgabe als sekundär: „Es sind also die Laute [...] Zeichen der in der Seele hervorgerufenen Vorstellungen, und die Schrift ist wieder ein Zeichen der Laute.“ (vgl. Feldbusch 1985; anders Maas 1986). Diese Auffassung wurde zum ersten Mal von den Prager Funktionalisten bezweifelt, die nach einer Entwicklungsphase durch den Prozess der Übernahme die geschriebene Sprache als gleichberechtigt neben die gesprochene Sprache stellen und damit auch der Alphabetschrift eine neue Funktion zuwies. Schon bei der Wiedergabe des Lautlichen kann sich die Schreibung nicht auf die Phone, also die physisch-hörbaren Laute beziehen, sondern auf die dahinter stehenden abstrakten Phoneme (vgl. Art. 64). Man spricht daher von lautlich flachen und tiefen Grafien. So hat das Italienische eine flache Grafie, d.h. man schreibt weitgehend, wie man spricht, das Deutsche eine mitteltiefe, das Englische hingegen eine sehr tiefe Grafie. Aber selbst flache Grafien sind deshalb nicht phonetisch. Schon in der spätrömischen Zeit entwickelte sich die *scriptura continua* zur *s. discontinua*, d.h. Spatien grenzen entgegen dem Lautstrom die Wörter optisch voneinander ab. Damit setzt ein Prozess der Lexikalisierung und Grammatikalisierung der Grafie ein. Den Verlust der Gemeinsamkeit der Situation, in der Sprecher und Hörer stehen, und der Lautlichkeit – Wygotskis Prinzip der „doppelten Abstraktion“ – kompensiert die schriftliche Kommunikation durch ein eigenes schriftsprachliches Register und durch die grafische Wiedergabe der auf Grund dieses Registers formulierten Sätze, die es dem stumm Lesenden erlauben, möglichst schnell den Sinn zu entnehmen, teilweise ohne Umwege über die Lautung. D.h., die Grafie ist nicht das sichtbare Kleid der fertigen Sprache, sondern Teil des Ausdruckssystems der geschriebenen Sprache und damit der schriftlichen Kommunikation. Die relative Autonomie der schriftlichen

Kommunikation gegenüber der mündlichen und damit der geschriebenen Sprache gegenüber der gesprochenen führt auch von der abhängigen Transkription als (sekundäres) Zeichen vom Zeichen zur relativen Autonomie der Grafie und der Herausbildung trilateraler Zeichen, d.h. eines signifiés mit zwei abstrakten signifiants, dem lautlichen und dem graphischen, wobei es zwischen beiden signifiants komplizierte Übersetzungsregeln gibt (Augst/Dehn 1998). Schreibung hat nicht nur eine Aufzeichnungsfunktion vom lauten Lesen, sondern vor allem eine Erfassungsfunktion zur unmittelbaren (stummen) Sinnentnahme (Nerius 2000). Der Prozess der Lexikalisierung und Grammatikalisierung der Schreibung hat im späten Mittelalter durch das Stummwerden des Lesens (Illich 1991) und durch den Buchdruck (Eisenstein 1979) einen entscheidenden Anstoß erfahren (z.B. Großschreibung, Stammschreibung (vgl. Art. 65), Heterographie, Grammatikalisierung der Zeichensetzung).

3. Von der Grafie zur Orthografie

Der Prozess der Autonomisierung der Schreibung wird in der Neuzeit durch starke Tendenzen der Vereinheitlichung gefördert. Dies ist zum einen eine Folge der Erfassungsfunktion, nämlich einem sprachlichen Zeichen immer in ein und derselben Schreibung zu begegnen, aber zum anderen auch externen Faktoren geschuldet. Aus der Grafie wird die Orthografie, die Recht-Schreibung. Die Herausbildung europäischer Nationalsprachen (vgl. Art. 32) geschieht meist über die schriftliche Kommunikation. Ein Dialekt (z.B. England, Frankreich) oder eine Dialektmischung (z.B. Deutschland) wird zum schriftsprachlichen Standard erhoben. D.h., im Laufe der Jahrhunderte werden auch und vor allem im Bereich der Schreibung immer mehr Varianten unterdrückt durch die Kodifikation und Regulierung mittels O., ein Fachwort, das bezeichnenderweise im 16. Jh. geprägt wird. Kodifizierer und Regulierer sind vor allem die Grammatiker und die Drucker, deren Ziel es ist, dass an den Schulen eine einheitliche O. geschrieben wird und dass in den Setzereien einheitlich gedruckt wird (Giesecke 1980).

Man kann in diesem Vereinheitlichungsprozess zwei Phasen unterscheiden: Die erste dauerte von ca. 1500 bis 1850: hier geht es in einem mühsamen Prozess um eine schrittweise Vereinheitlichung durch Kodifikation

mit dem Mittel der statuierten Norm (Albrecht 1998, 13); die zweite dauert seit ca. 1850 an: In ihr trat und tritt der Staat, eine Akademie u. a. als Regulierer auf, indem er oder sie durch Verordnungen oder ein Leitwörterbuch die O. für Schulen und Behörden bindend festlegt. Damit beschreibt die Sprachwissenschaft nicht mehr, was sprachlich der Fall ist – d. h., ihre Grammatiken und Rechtschreibregeln müssen zumindest deskriptiv adäquat sein –, sondern die amtlichen Regeln bestimmen dezisionistisch, wie zu schreiben ist. Die Schreibung gewinnt – in der Umkehrung der ursprünglichen Verhältnisse – auch immer größeren Einfluss auf die Lautung, so dass z. B. die deutsche Hochlautung oder Bühnenaussprache weitgehend an der O. ausgerichtet war und ist, z. B. die Unterscheidung von [æ:] und [e:] gemäß der <ä>- bzw. <e>-Schreibung. Natürlich bauen die Schreibenden mit und trotz amtlicher Regulierung für sich selbst eine Schreibkompetenz auf und so kann die Veränderung des Schreibsystems trotzdem ganz allmählich, wenn auch stärker gebremst als im Mündlichen, vor sich gehen, z. B. im Deutschen das Phänomen der Binnengroßschreibung (*LehrerIn*, *BahnCard*) oder der Apostroph, der den Namen vom Genitiv-s abhebt (*Uschi's Shop*).

In dem Prozess der Vereinheitlichung und (staatlichen) Normierung von O. spielen Wörterbücher eine große Rolle. Alle großen Nationalsprachen manifestieren sich auch in großen nationalen Wörterbüchern, z. B. in England der *Johnson*, in Amerika der *Webster* oder in Deutschland der *Duden*. Manchmal konkurrieren auch mehrere Wörterbücher miteinander, wie in Deutschland *Duden* und *Bertelsmann* nach der Aufhebung des Dudenprivilegs ab 1996 oder in Holland das *grüne Buch* und das *rote Buch* (Kasper 1998, 13).

4. Nationale und gesellschaftliche Relevanz der Orthografie

Die O. kann ein Symbol der nationalstaatlichen oder der übernationalen Einheit sein. So waren die deutschsprachigen Staaten im Prozess der staatlichen Normierung der O. um 1900 bemüht, eine einheitliche O. für die gesamte deutsche Sprache über alle Ländergrenzen hinweg zu erreichen. Dasselbe gilt für die Reform von 1996. Auf der anderen Seite veröffentlicht Österreich seit 1951 ein amtliches „Österreichisches Wörterbuch“,

das im Doppelsinn der Bedeutung einmal die Schreibung der deutschen Sprache im österreichischen Staat bestimmt, zum anderen aber auch Teil hat an einer Identifikation der österreichischen Nation durch ein österreichisches Deutsch (oder ein Österreichisch) auch über kleinere orthografische Besonderheiten. Auf die Diglossiesituation der Schweiz wurde oben schon hingewiesen. Der nationalen Identifikation durch O. stehen aber auch supranationale Tendenzen gegenüber. So verhält sich die Schweiz als mehrsprachiges Land verständlicherweise herkunftsloyal. Ein interessanter Fall ist Dänemark, das in seiner Entwicklung des Schreibsystems sehr stark vom Deutschen beeinflusst war, dann aber 1948 eine Abkehr vornahm und seine O. (einschließlich neuer diakritischer Zeichen und der Beseitigung der Substantivgroßschreibung) nach den nordischen Ländern ausrichtete (Börge 1972). Ebenso schloss sich Brasilien 1931 den von Portugal schon 1911 und 1920 beschlossenen Reformen an, um über die sprachliche Einheit auch an einer kulturellen Identität festzuhalten (Schmidt 1955).

Ein besonderer Problembereich jeder O. sind die Sprachkontakte, d. h. konkret die Schreibung von Fremdwörtern. Hier gibt es einen Loyalitätskonflikt, der einerseits Anerkennung und Begeisterung für eine andere Nation oder Sprache ausdrückt durch die Übernahme der fremden Schreibung oder andererseits die Anerkennung und Wertschätzung der eigenen O.-Regeln und damit die orthografische Integration der Schreibung, also *Bureau* (weil franz. *bureau*) oder *Büro*, weil im Deutschen [y] <ü> und [o] <o> entspricht. Eine zweite unmerkliche Art der Integration ist die „spelling pronunciation“; z. B. wird franz. <officier>, gesprochen [ɔfisje:], zu deutsch <Offizier>, gesprochen [ɔfitsi:]. Die Sprachen Europas verhalten sich verschieden: Während im Griechischen die Fremdwörter orthografisch rigoros integriert werden (was durch das andere Alphabet begünstigt wird) (vgl. Karvela 1993), beobachtet man für das Deutsche in den letzten 20 Jahren sogar teilweise eine Rücknahme der Integration, z. B. zunächst *Cord*, dann *Kord*, nun wieder *Cord* (Langner 1995). Im Holländischen versucht man es mit vielen Doppelformen, weil die Flamen bei Wörtern aus dem Französischen lieber k schreiben, um sich gerade gegen die kulturelle Übermacht des Französischen abzugrenzen, die Niederländer aber lieber c,

weil k zumindest nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg zu sehr an die Deutschen erinnerte (Kasper 1998,7). Die nationalstaatliche Fremdwortpolitik, die entweder auf puristischen Ersatz oder auf sprachliche und damit auch orthografische Integration abzielt(e), ist in den letzten Jahren jedoch im Bereich der Sprachwissenschaft durch die Theorie der Internationalismen (Braun et al. 1990) oder doch zumindest des Europäismus (Bergmann 1995) relativiert worden. Das verwirklicht sich neben der ähnlichen Bedeutung eines Wortes viel mehr in seiner übernational einheitlicheren Schreibung als in seiner jeweils differierenden einzelsprachlichen Lautung, z.B. *Information* engl. [infɔmeɪʃən], franz. [ɛfɔʁmasjɔ̃], deutsch [ɪnfɔʁmatsi:ɔ:n]. Internationalismen wirken daher vor allem in der schriftlichen Kommunikation.

Einen Sonderfall für den Sprachkontakt stellt das Eurolatein dar, einmal weil Latein die Wurzel der romanischen Sprachen und zur Hälfte des Englischen ist, zum anderen weil es in Verbindung mit dem Griechischen die Universalsprache der Gelehrten und der römisch-katholischen Kirche weit über 1000 Jahre war. Dies führte im Zeitalter des Humanismus, als die nationalen Orthografien sich entwickelten dazu, dass die Gelehrten und Gebildeten vernaculare Schreibungen wieder relatinisierten oder regräzisierten, z.B. engl. *debt* (von lat. *debitum*) oder deutsch *Kaiser* (von lat. *Caesar*; obwohl mittelhochdeutsch schon regelgerecht *keiser*) oder deutsch *Laie* (von griech. *laikós*), obwohl mhd. schon regelgerecht *lei(g)e*). Aber solche Schreibungen, deren Eigenart nur durch die sprachhistorische Rekonstruktion verstehbar sind, bedeuten für die normalen Schreibenden eine erhebliche Erschwernis. Damit wird die O. auch zur sozialen Differenzierung benutzt.

Während im 19. Jh. eine gute O. Ausdruck der Stärkung der Literatursprache war und damit der nationalen Einheitssprache gegenüber den Dialekten diente, ist im 20. Jh. die Beherrschung der O. zur sozialen Notwendigkeit und damit auch Differenzierung geworden. Die Zahl der Berufe, in denen man schreiben muss, nimmt ständig zu. Entsprechend hoch ist das Prestige, das einer guten O. zukommt. Sie gilt (fälschlicherweise) als Ausweis für Intelligenz (Bloomfield [1927]; 1964, 391), als Gradmesser der schulischen Sozialisation. „Die Rechtschreibleistung ist inzwischen zum beliebtesten Auslesekriterium auf dem Arbeits- und Ausbil-

dungsmarkt geworden“ (Dreccoll/Wagner 1985, 41). In Augst (1982, 142–3) habe ich einen Briefwechsel eines Bewerbers und eines Unternehmers abgedruckt, in dem letzterer eine Bewerbung ablehnt wegen mangelnder Rechtschreibkenntnisse, obwohl sein eigener Brief mehr Fehler dieser Art enthält. O. ist im Sinne Bourdieus ein Distinktionskapital. Die oben genannte Verschriftlichung der Berufe hat auch seit etwa 1970 dazu geführt, dass der funktionale Analphabetismus zum Problem wird, d.h. Menschen, die aufgrund einer schulischen Lese-Rechtschreibschwäche (speziell der Legasthenie) oder sekundär durch Verlernen im Berufsleben und auch privat nicht so gut schreiben können, wie es die Gesellschaft erwartet (vgl. Kainz 1998). Das Verlernen entsteht durch einen Teufelskreis, in dem der Erwachsene in seinem Wissen um seine Schreibschwäche das Schreiben meidet und so seine Fähigkeit noch rudimentärer wird. Das hohe gesellschaftliche Ansehen der guten O. führt dann dazu, dass diese Menschen ihre mangelnde Fähigkeit auf diesem Gebiet verbergen und dabei – aus Angst vor Entdeckung – oft erhebliche berufliche und private Nachteile in Kauf nehmen.

5. Orthografie und Schule

Die Schule ist die Institution, in der die Kinder die schriftliche Kommunikation und damit auch die O. lernen. Einerseits gehört das Schreiben, neben Lesen und Rechnen, zu den „basics“, und ab und zu gibt es eine Bewegung „back to basics“, andererseits tut sich die Schule mit der O. schwer, sie gilt als das „Schulkreuz“, in Frankreich spricht man von der „crise de l’orthographe“ und in England nennt man „orthography and punctuation“ die „terrible twins“ (Thornton 1980, 41). Die Gesellschaft erwartet von der Schule, dass sie O. übt, oft mehr als ihr lieb ist, obwohl sie genau weiß, dass sich gelungene schriftliche Kommunikation keineswegs in einer guten O. erschöpft oder durch eine schlechte O. erheblich beeinträchtigt würde. Die Schwierigkeiten, die Verschriftung zu erlernen, sind so erheblich, dass die chinesischen Kinder zunächst ihre Sprache in pinyin schreiben – das ist eine Transkription in lateinischen Buchstaben, erst dann beginnt das Studium der „characters“, oft mit dem Erfolg, dass die Schüler pinyin wieder vergessen, obwohl sie die damit erbrach-

te Schreibleistung mit den „characters“ vielfach nicht mehr erreichen (de Francis 1977, 139). In England entwickelte Pitman wegen der mangelnden Oberflächenkorrespondenz von Lauten und Buchstaben das „initial teaching alphabet“ (= i.t.a.), um so den Schülern den Einstieg in das Lesen und Schreiben zu erleichtern (Scragg 1974, 112). – Die Erfolge der Schule sind ganz klar zu differenzieren nach der sozialen Schicht. Alle Untersuchungen zeigen, dass Schüler aus der Unterschicht wesentlich mehr O.-Fehler machen (Rigol 1970; Fischer et al. 1983; Hubach 1984, 22; Kellermeier 1997). Dieses ist umso bedeutender, da die O.-Leistung den größten prognostischen Wert hat für die Schulkarriere. Nach einer Untersuchung von L. Kemmler (1967) beruht die Nichtversetzung von der 4. zur 5. Klasse bei 80% aller Schüler auf einer schlechten O.-Leistung. Es besteht nur eine schwache Korrelation zwischen Intelligenz und O.-Leistung (Meis 1970). Die Schule ist an der großen Wertschätzung der O. also nicht ganz unschuldig: Ende des 19. Jh. drängte sie im Gefolge der Durchsetzung der allgemeinen Schulpflicht auf eine staatliche Regulierung. Diese Verordnung erhöht jedoch das Prestige der O. in der gebildeten Öffentlichkeit. Die fehlende Varianz verstärkte das Fehlerrisiko. Die Auffassung, dass die O.-Leistung von Jahrzehnt zu Jahrzehnt oder Generation zu Generation schlechter werde, ist nur bedingt richtig. Zwar steigt die absolute Zahl der Fehler pro 100 oder 1000 Wörter, aber auf der anderen Seite wird der Wortschatz immer reichhaltiger, so dass die Fehlerverlockung auch größer ist (Vogel 1988). In einer repräsentativen Untersuchung (Ceran-Hartung/Pfüller 1997) ergab sich, dass 49% der 16- bis 30-Jährigen über eine Rechtschreibleistung verfügen, die mit *mangelhaft* oder *ungenügend* benotet werden muss. Angesichts dieser Situation fordern viele – vor allem die Arbeitgeberverbände – einen effektiveren O.-Unterricht (Hoberg 1985). Die Alternative, den Stellenwert der O. nicht mehr als ganz so wichtig anzusehen, hatte im Rahmen der Sprachbarrierendiskussion um 1970 viele Anhänger, wird aber heute kaum noch verfolgt. Als dritter Ausweg bleibt eine O.-Reform. Diese Forderung wird vor allem aus dem schulischen Bereich vorgetragen, um durch Vereinfachung der Regeln und Abschaffung von Ausnahmen ein leichteres Lernen und eine leichtere Handhabung zu ermöglichen.

6. Orthografiereform

Ziemlich bald nach dem einsetzenden Bemühen, die Grafie durch Kodifizierung und Regulierung in eine O. zu verwandeln, tat sich auch die Schattenseite dieser statuierten Norm auf: Einerseits wächst das Ansehen der O., andererseits wird die Lehr- und Lernbarkeit komplizierter. Deshalb setzen im 17. Jh. in fast allen europäischen Nationalsprachen Überlegungen ein, die O. durch eine Reform leichter lehr- und handhabbar zu machen. Doch je mehr sich die Norm als Literatur- und/oder Hochsprache festigt, um so schwieriger wird dieses Unternehmen. Die Regulierer und Reformen stehen sich oft unversöhnlich gegenüber (Augst 2000). Die Laien gehen dabei von der Meinung aus, dass es die Funktion einer Alphabetschrift sei, die Lautung möglichst getreu wiederzugeben, so dass ein Schriftsystem optimal sei, dass jedem Laut nur einen einzigen Buchstaben zuweise. Dem steht entgegen, dass die Lautung innerhalb eines nationalstaatlichen Gebietes durch die verschiedenen Dialekte differiert und eine Hoch- und Standardlautung eine Idealnorm ist. Ferner gibt es zwischen der dialogischen Umgangslautung und der metasprachlichen Explizitlautung erhebliche Differenzen und Übergangsstufen, so dass gar nicht klar ist, welche Lautung als O. verschriftet werden soll. Hinzu kommt noch, wie oben beschrieben, dass die Grafie in ihrer relativen Autonomie auch unabhängig von der Lautung morphologische, lexikalische, syntaktische und pragmatische Sachverhalte grafisch zum Ausdruck bringt und sichtbar macht. Daher haben die Ansichten der Linguisten über die Möglichkeiten einer Reform sich sehr stark gewandelt. So bescheinigte N. Chomsky dem orthografisch so heftig geschmähten Englischen, dass es – zumindest für den Leser – die bestmögliche O. habe. – Die Reformversuche gingen in der ersten Phase der orthografischen Normierung (bis ca. 1850) meist von Einzelpersonen (Drucker, Lehrer, Sprachwissenschaftler) aus, seit der staatlichen Normierung der O. sind es zumeist vom Staat bestellte Kommissionen oder Akademien. Wenn man vergleichend die Geschichten der Reform in den europäischen Staaten liest (z. B. Frankreich: Strobel-Köhl (1992); England: Scragg 1974; Holland: Kasper 1998; Deutsch sprechende Staaten: Augst et al. 1997), so sind die Motive, die Abläufe und die mageren Ergebnis-

se verblüffend ähnlich. Schmidt (1955) zählt zwar von 1900 bis 1950 ca. 30 Reformen auf, und danach wären noch Frankreich 1985, Griechenland 1990, Holland 1994 und Deutsch sprechende Staaten 1996 zu nennen, aber die erreichten Reformen sind in den allermeisten Fällen sehr bescheiden.

Den Befürwortern der Reform geht es meist um pädagogische Erleichterungen, selten spielen externe Gründe eine Rolle wie die Nordifizierung der dänischen O. 1948 (Börge 1972). Die Reformgegner kommen zumeist aus dem Bildungsbürgertum und den Berufen, die mit Schreiben ihr Geld verdienen: viele Journalisten, vor allem aber die Schriftstellerinnen und Schriftsteller. Als Ausnahmen sind hier, stellvertretend, George Bernhard Shaw für das Englische, Garcia Marquez für das Spanische und Heinrich Böll für das Deutsche anzuführen. Als Gegenargument werden die Kosten, vor allem aber der Traditionsbereich genannt. Jeder Reformversuch lässt die emotionalen Wogen hochschlagen. So wurden die jüngsten Reformbemühungen im deutschsprachigen Raum in Anspielung auf die medizinischen Versuche im Dritten Reich „als menschenverachtendes Massenexperiment“ bezeichnet oder als „gemeingefährlicher Akt“ kriminalisiert. Die alte O. wird jeweils als die wahre, gute und schöne verglorifiziert, die neue als falsch, schlecht und hässlich verteufelt. Die Arbeiten von Küppers (1984), Zabel (1989; 1996) und die Dokumentationen von Strunk 1998, Looser 1998 und Schrodts 2000 belegen, dass die Argumente für und gegen eine Reform und die ungeheure Emotionalität seit über hundert Jahren immer dieselben sind. Geerts et al. (1977) haben, auf holländische Reformversuche gestützt, eine lange Liste der sachlichen und emotionalen Argumente zusammengestellt, die vor allem zu jedem Argument auch immer gleich das Gegenargument nennt, so dass sich die Situation oft in einem ausweglosen Patt befindet.

Angesichts der bitteren Erfahrungen, die jeder macht, der sich auf das Reformgeschäft einlässt, kann man nur hoffen, dass die Sprachkompetenz sowohl bei der Sprachproduktion als auch bei den Kontrollprogrammen eine Leistungsfähigkeit erreicht, die es jedem ermöglicht, einen zumindest rechtsschreiblich fehlerfreien Text zu schreiben, so dass dadurch die O. ihren Schrecken verliert und O.-Reform überflüssig wird. Denen, denen geholfen werden

soll, wird dies jedoch nur ein vorübergehender Trost sein, denn die soziale Distinktion wird sich neue Felder suchen.

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76. Paralinguale Phänomene/Paralinguistic Phenomena

1. Begriff und Gegenstandsbereich
2. Perspektivische Aspekte
3. Organische Aspekte
4. Expressive Aspekte
5. Linguistische Aspekte
6. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Begriff und Gegenstandsbereich

Unter dem Begriff „paralingualer“ oder „paralinguistischer“ Phänomene versteht man solche, die sich zwar in der Sprache äußern, die aber an sich nicht sprachlicher Natur sind – die also in der Saussureschen Terminologie wohl zur ‚Parole‘ aber nicht zur ‚Langue‘ gehören. Dabei geht es meistens um akustisch-auditive Phänomene, die sich in den Eigenschaften der Stimme und im Sprechausdruck zeigen, und die der nonverbalen vokalen Kommunikation dienen. Die Forschung interessiert sich für deren kommunikative Funktionen, Akustik, physiologische und psychologische Ursachen und Wirkungen, Wahrnehmung und Bedeutung für die Wahrnehmung der sprachlichen (linguistischen) Information. Die gesprochene Sprache ist jedoch nicht ausschließlich akustisch-auditiver Natur, denn sie hat oft in dem von allen Sehenden praktizierten Lippenlesen auch eine optisch-visuelle Komponente. Außerdem gibt es paralinguistische Phänomene nicht nur in der gesprochenen Sprache, sondern auch in der gebärdeten. Nonvokale paralinguistische Phänomene sind jedoch bisher von der Forschung kaum aufgegriffen worden. Es gibt aber eine umfangreiche Literatur über nonverbale, nonvokale Kommunikation, die gesprochene Sprache begleiten kann (siehe Art. 77 und 126), und über die verbale, nonvokale Gebärdensprache der Tauben (siehe Art. 78). Der visuelle Beitrag zur vokalen Kommunikation hat zunehmend Beachtung gefunden, nachdem gezeigt worden ist (McGurk/MacDonald 1976), dass sichtbare Mundbewegungen mit hörbarem Sprachschall zu einem einzigen phonetischen Perzept verschmelzen. Das ist dann aber ein linguistisch-phonetisches Phänomen. Die Tatsache, dass bei den in manchen Kulturen, wie der deutschen, verbreiteten „synchronisierten“ Filmen eher eine widersprüchliche Darbietung der linguistischen Information toleriert wird, als der paralinguistischen, zeugt für die erstrangige Bedeutung der letzteren.

Die linguistisch-phonetische Qualität einer gesprochenen Äußerung ist das, was man in einer genauen phonetischen Transkription der üblichen Art wiederzugeben versucht. Sie wird vom Dialekt, Soziolekt und Sprachstil des Sprechers geprägt. Zusätzlich zu dieser sprachlich übermittelten Information enthält jedes Sprachsignal *notwendigerweise* mehrere Arten von paralinguistischer und extralinguistischer Information. Diese wird von der Stimme oder ev. vom Gesicht des Sprechers vermittelt, ohne die kein Sprachsignal in Erscheinung treten kann.

Es kann zweckmäßig sein, die zwischen Sprechern beobachtbare organisch bedingte Variation von der expressiven Variation zu unterscheiden, die bei einem gegebenen Sprecher auftreten kann. Die organische Qualität der Stimme variiert mit dem Alter, Geschlecht und der eventuellen Pathologie der Sprecher. Anders begründet, aber doch quasi organisch sind die habituellen Merkmale im Stimmgebrauch und in der Sprechweise eines Sprechers oder einer Sprechergemeinschaft. Expressive Variation erstreckt sich über eine kürzere Zeitspanne und sie spiegelt in Stimmgebrauch und Sprechweise (Phonationsart, Stimmstärke, Tonlage, Sprechgeschwindigkeit, übergreifende Merkmale der Prosodie und Artikulation) den psychischen Zustand des Sprechers, insbesondere seine Emotionen und seine Einstellung zu dem, was er sagt, und zur Person, mit der er spricht. Roach/Stibbard/Osborne u. a. (1998) haben ein phonetisches Transkriptionssystem vorgeschlagen, in dem auch die expressiven Merkmale notiert werden können. Man kann auch zwischen der Information, die der Sprecher zu vermitteln beabsichtigt und der, die er unbeabsichtigt enthüllt, differenzieren. Beiderlei manifestiert sich auch sprachlich, und deswegen können neben paralinguistischen auch linguistische Merkmale der Sprechererkennung dienen.

Vom Standpunkt des Hörers betrachtet, sind Sprachsignale auch perspektivischer, in den Übertragungsverhältnissen begründeter Variation unterworfen. Diese Art von akustischer (und ev. optischer) Variation wird oft auch als „extralinguistisch“ bezeichnet – so auch manchmal die organisch bedingte sowie vokale Phänomene, die getrennt von der Sprache in Erscheinung treten.

Linguistisch-phonetisch identische Äußerungen weisen oft erhebliche Unterschiede in ihren akustischen Eigenschaften auf, und zwar auch in solchen wie den Formantfrequenzen, die für die Wahrnehmung der linguistisch-phonetischen Qualität von Sprachlauten entscheidend sind. Eine wichtige Zielsetzung besteht daher in der Erforschung der Fähigkeit von Hörern, die verschiedenen Arten von Information voneinander zu trennen, einer Fähigkeit, die auch für den Erstspracherwerb von grundlegender Bedeutung ist.

Viele Spezies imitieren von organischen oder expressiven Faktoren bedingte Phänomene in ihrer nonverbalen Kommunikation, und der Mensch tut das auch in seiner verbalen. Die meisten Verknüpfungen zwischen Merkmalen und Funktionen der Prosodie einzelner Sprachen dürften auf einen derartigen Ursprung zurückzuführen sein. Ein ähnlicher Zusammenhang zwischen Form und Bedeutung liegt auch in der Lautmalerei vor und, durch Assoziationen vermittelt, in der Lautsymbolik.

Während sich Phoniatrie und Logopädie seit jeher mit der Stimme und mit paralinguistischen Phänomenen befasst haben, sind diese erst in jüngerer Zeit in der Praxis der Sprachtechnologie beachtet worden, wo sie gegenwärtig noch nicht für alle Zielsetzungen hinreichend beherrscht werden. Die Forschung hat dabei die Aufgabe, nicht nur die akustischen Effekte paralinguistischer Variation zu beschreiben, sondern es muss zusätzlich auch untersucht werden, welchen Eindruck die Veränderung akustischer Parameter beim Hörer hervorruft, denn „nur wenn der Sprecherdruck mit einem entsprechenden Hörereindruck korrespondiert, kann von einer kommunikativen Relevanz der ermittelten Charakteristiken des Sprachsignals ausgegangen werden“ (Bergmann 1988, 1219).

2. Perspektivische Aspekte

Die Einflüsse, denen ein Sprachsignal unterliegt, bevor es die Ohren (und Augen) des Hörers erreicht und die es diesem ermöglichen, Richtung und Abstand zu beurteilen, wirken sich auf andere Signale genau so aus. Dabei spielt der Direktschall eine besondere Rolle. Das Gesetz der ersten Wellenfront (Präzedenz-Effekt) besagt, dass von zwei oder mehreren Schallsignalen, die in kurzem Zeitabstand aufeinander folgen (< 30ms), das erste für die Richtungswahrnehmung

entscheidend ist – denn bei den weiteren handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um reflektierte Versionen desselben Ereignisses. Signale, die innerhalb dieser Zeitspanne aus jedwelchen Richtungen ankommen, werden in das Klangbild integriert (Haas-Effekt). Zur Psychoakustik des räumlichen Hörens siehe Blauert (1974).

Bei Sprachsignalen wird der Schallpegel, der oft die einzige Information über den Abstand liefert, auch von der Sprechlautstärke (Stimmstärke) beeinflusst, aber Hörer können den Abstand trotzdem gut beurteilen. Ein Flüstern klingt viel näher als ein lautes Sprechen, wenn es mit dem gleichen Schallpegel dargeboten wird (Brungart/Scott 2001). Hörern gelingt es schon anhand einzelner Vokallaute sowohl den Abstand zwischen Sprecher und Adressat als auch denjenigen zwischen der eigenen Person und dem Sprecher zu beurteilen, wobei sie auch noch imstande sind, allerdings nicht ganz ohne Interferenz, die intrinsischen Schallpegelunterschiede zwischen verschiedenen Vokalen zu berücksichtigen (Eriksson/Traunmüller, 2002).

Sprachsignale erfahren häufig eine Verzerrung ihres Frequenzganges, z.B. wenn der Schallausbreitung ein Hindernis im Wege steht, oder bei technischer Übertragung. Solche Verzerrungen können den Klang stark beeinflussen, bleiben aber bei Konstanz (zumindest über einige Silben) trotzdem weitgehend ohne Einfluss auf die wahrgenommene phonetische Qualität. Die Verständlichkeit von Sätzen bleibt sogar noch weitgehend erhalten, wenn diese durch schmale spektrale Schlitze gehört werden (Warren/Reiner/Bashford u.a. 1995).

Außergewöhnliche Eigenschaften hat Sprache, wenn sie nicht in gewöhnlicher Luft hervorgebracht wird, sondern in einer Atmosphäre mit abweichender Schallgeschwindigkeit, wie in dem von Tauchern verwendeten Gemisch aus Helium und Sauerstoff. Dabei ergibt sich in erster Annäherung eine der Schallgeschwindigkeit proportionale Verschiebung der Formantfrequenzen, aber nicht der Grundfrequenz der Stimme. Das verursacht eine Diskrepanz zwischen der beabsichtigten und der wahrgenommenen phonetischen Qualität, die weder von Sprechern noch von Hörern zufriedenstellend bewältigt wird.

3. Organische Aspekte

Im Laufe des Heranwachsens eines Menschen verändert sich die Größe seines Sprechorgans und es verändern sich auch dessen Proportionen recht wesentlich und in geschlechtsspezifischer Weise. Knaben in der Pubertät erfahren eine ausgeprägte Verlängerung der Stimmlippen, wodurch sich die Grundfrequenz (F_0) ihrer Stimme erniedrigt (Hollien/Green/Massey 1994), so dass es zu großen Unterschieden zwischen Männern und Frauen kommt (Titze 1989, siehe auch die Daten in Tabelle 76.1). F_0 liegt bei erwachsenen Männern etwa neun bis zehn Halbtöne tiefer als bei Frauen im reproduktiven Alter. Nach Eintritt der Menopause kommt bei Frauen auch eine gewisse Senkung des Grundtons vor. In hohem Alter steigt F_0 dann bei beiden Geschlechtern leicht an, der Bereich der möglichen Grundtonsvariation verringert sich, und es treten oft Veränderungen des Stimmklanges auf (Hollien 1987). F_0 und andere Eigenschaften der glottalen Schwingungen werden in mannigfaltiger Weise von pathologischen Zuständen beeinflusst und von Gewohnheiten wie Rauchen (Gilbert/Weismer 1974).

Die Frequenzlage des Grundtons ist auch in gewissem Maße von sozialen Konventionen abhängig. So erklärt sich die hohe, und ehemals noch höhere Tonlage japanischer Frauen (Yamazawa/Hollien 1992) und die wesentlich niedrigere niederländischer (Koopmans van Beinum 1973). Männern wird in fast allen Sprechergemeinschaften eine niedrige Frequenzlage von F_0 vorgeschrieben, aber im Gebiet der Wu-Dialekte, in der Umgebung von Schanghai, nach den Daten von Rose (1991) anscheinend nicht. Unter Männern ist die Streuung des Mittelwertes von F_0 relativ größer als unter Frauen, auch bei Franzosen (Boë/Contini/Rakotofiringa 1975) und Deutschen (Künzel 2000). Dies dürfte im individuell unterschiedlichen Ausmaß der pubertalen Veränderungen bei Männern begründet sein. Die Beobachtung, dass Deutsche bei Verstellung der Stimme dazu neigen, noch weiter in der Richtung von der Norm abzuweichen, in der sie ohnehin schon abweichen (Künzel 2000), lässt darauf schließen, dass sie normalerweise einem sozialen Druck nachgeben.

Die beim Sprechen auftretende Tonhöhenchwankung, ausgedrückt in Halbtönen, ist im Durchschnitt bei Frauen fast dieselbe

wie bei Männern, aber sie variiert mit dem Diskurstyp und der Lebhaftigkeit des Sprechens, und diese Variation der Lebhaftigkeit ist bei Frauen stärker ausgeprägt als bei Männern (siehe Tabelle 76.1). Wenig überraschend ist die größere Schwankungsbreite in Tonsprachen, bei denen der Spielraumbedarf für F_0 eine zusätzliche Begründung hat. Mit erhöhter Tonhöhenchwankung erhöht sich auch der Mittelwert von F_0 , weil sein Basiswert dabei typischerweise unverändert bleibt.

Außer F_0 erniedrigen sich beim Heranwachsen auch die Formantfrequenzen (Lee/Potamianos/Narayanan 1999), insbesondere bei Knaben in der Pubertät, was durch ein Absinken des Kehlkopfes bedingt ist (Goldstein 1980; Fitch/Giedd 1999). Die alters- und geschlechtsbedingten Unterschiede in den Formantfrequenzen ähneln denjenigen, die bei F_0 beobachtet werden, sind aber mit steigender Frequenzlage zunehmend relativ weniger ausgeprägt. Die Zusammenhänge lassen sich gut mit Potenzfunktionen beschreiben (Traunmüller 1988).

Bei fast allen natürlichen Schallerzeugern sind die Resonanzfrequenzen ihrer physischen Größe umgekehrt proportional, was der auditiven Wahrnehmung der Größe dienen kann. Der Unterschied in der Länge des Ansatzrohres, und daher auch in den Formantfrequenzen, ist aber deutlich größer als der in der Körpergröße von Männern und Frauen. Was die laryngealen Strukturen und F_0 betrifft, ist der Unterschied noch mehr ausgeprägt (Titze 1989). Hier hat die phylogenetische Entwicklung zu einer beträchtlichen Übertreibung dieser Unterschiede geführt, indem Männer, die größer und deshalb stärker erschienen, in den Genuss eines Selektionsvorteils kamen und für Frauen wohl eher das Gegenteil galt. Ähnliches zeigt sich auch in der Lautproduktion anderer Spezies, aber nicht bei allen Primaten, und beim Neandertaler sind die Verhältnisse noch fraglich. Die gesenkte Lage des Kehlkopfes dürfte sich unabhängig von der Evolution der Sprache herausgebildet haben (Ohala 2000). Wenn man erwachsene Männer und Frauen für sich betrachtet, ist es schwierig, eine Korrelation zwischen Körpergröße (oder Gewicht) und F_0 nachzuweisen (Graddol/Swan 1983; Künzel 1989; Dommelen 1993; Dommelen/Moxnes 1995), während sich die Korrelation zwischen der Gesamtlänge des Körpers und der des Sprechorgans deutlicher zeigt (Fitch/Giedd, 1999).

Tab. 76.1: Mittelwerte von F_0 in Hz und seiner Standardabweichung σ pro Sprecher in Halbtönen (als Charakteristikum des Schwankungsbereiches) nach elf Untersuchungen, die Daten von sowohl Männern als auch Frauen lieferten. Nach Traunmüller/Eriksson (1993) unter Hinzufügung der Daten von Künzel (2000).

Untersuchung	Sprecheranzahl		F_0 [Hertz]		σ [Halbtöne]	
	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂
Deutsch, Telefonate (Rappaport 1958)	108	190	238	129	1.9	2.3
Deutsch (Künzel 2000)	50	50	209	117	2.56	2.52
Französisch (Chevrie-Muller/Gremy 1967)	21	21	226	145	2.3	2.5
Französisch (Boë/Contini/Rakotofiringa 1975)	30	30	207	118	3.0	2.8
Schwedisch (Kitzing 1979)	141	51	193	110	2.7	3.0
Schwedisch (Pegoraro-Krook 1988)	467	198	188	113	2.55	2.65
Mandarinchinesisch (Chen 1974)	2	2	184	108	3.8	4.1
Wú (Rose 1991)	3	4	187	170	3.8	4.1
Englisch (Graddol 1986):						
Lesen, Text A	15	12	207	119	3.05	3.6
Lesen, Text B	15	12	219	131	3.9	4.55
Englisch (Johns-Lewis 1986):						
Gespräch	5	5	182	101	2.7	3.4
Vorlesen	5	5	213	128	4.5	4.35
Schauspiel	5	5	239	142	5.3	4.85
Englisch, variierte Intonation (Takefuta/Jancosek/Brunt 1971)	24	24	186	127	5.4	3.8
Europäische Sprachen (Durchschnitt)			209	123	3.32	3.36

Organische Faktoren bewirken auch Alters- und Geschlechtsunterschiede in der Dynamik des Sprechens (Simpson 2001). Dabei ist auch die zum Artikulieren erforderliche Energie relevant. Bei gegebener Sprechgeschwindigkeit steigt der Energiebedarf mit der fünften Potenz der linearen Dimensionen des Sprechorgans, während die Energiekapazität der Muskulatur nur mit der zweiten Potenz ansteigt. Mit zusätzlicher Berücksichtigung des Faktums, dass die Umhüllende des Spektrums, aus der die Formantstruktur zu erkennen ist, bei höherer F_0 weniger gut definiert ist, und daher für gleiche Verständlichkeit eine deutlichere Aussprache erforderlich sein dürfte (Diehl/Lindblom/Hoemeke u. a. 1996), kann in der unterschiedlichen Energiebilanz mit der Grund für die Unterschiede in der Deutlichkeit (Abweichung der Formantfrequenzen von der neutralen Lage) in der Sprache von Männern, Frauen und Kindern gesehen werden (Traunmüller 2001). Die beobachtete negative Korrelation zwischen Sprechgeschwindigkeit und Gewicht bei Männern, die bei Frauen nicht beobachtet wurde (Dommelen/Moxnes 1995), dürfte wohl auch energetisch begründet sein. Dagegen

kann das Faktum, dass Erwachsene meist etwas schneller sprechen als Kinder (Haselager/Slis/Rietveld 1991), so nicht unmittelbar erklärt werden.

Die organisch bedingten Unterschiede in der Stimme von Sprechern sind auch maßgeblich für die auditive Wahrnehmung des Alters (Linville/Fisher 1985, Traunmüller/Bezooijen 1994) und Geschlechts (Wu/Childers 1991) von Sprechern. Dabei sind außer F_0 und den Formantfrequenzen auch noch andere Aspekte der Stimme sowie verschiedene Merkmale sprachlicher Natur von Bedeutung. In Untersuchungen der auditiven Wahrnehmung des Alters von Sprechern (Traunmüller/Eriksson 1995) und ihres Gewichts (Dommelen/Moxnes 1995) haben sich manchmal Unterschiede zwischen männlichen und weiblichen Hörern gezeigt, die darauf hindeuten, dass diese Gruppen verschiedenartige Hinweise unterschiedlich gewichten.

Auch die Irregularitätskomponente und die Rauschkomponente der Stimme, die in einem Heiserkeits-Diagramm dargestellt werden können (Fröhlich/Michaelis/Kruse 1998, Lessing/Strube/Kruse 1998), sind von Interesse für die Beschreibung der patholo-

gischen und der normalen Stimme individueller Sprecher. Der Stimmgebrauch weist hinsichtlich Register, Knarr und Behauchtheit gewisse habituelle Merkmale auf, aber diese Aspekte der Stimme (Laver 1980) dienen auch der expressiven Kommunikation und werden in einigen Sprachen phonologisch distinktiv gebraucht. Für detaillierte Untersuchungen des Phonationsvorgangs und der glottalen Schwingungen verwendet man u. a. aerodynamische Methoden (Holmberg/Hillman/Perkell 1988) und die der Inversfilterung (Fröhlich 1999), mit der der Einfluss, den die Resonanzen des Ansatzrohrs auf das Sprachsignal haben, rechnerisch eliminiert wird.

4. Expressive Aspekte

Der Zusammenhang der Frequenzlage der Formanten und des Grundtons mit der Körpergröße hat ein Analogon in der nonverbalen vokalen Kommunikation vieler Spezies. Dabei signalisiert eine niedrige (oder fallende) Frequenzlage soziale Dominanz, Selbstsicherheit und Drohungen, während eine hohe (oder steigende) Harmlosigkeit, Hilfsbedürfnis oder Furcht signalisiert (Bolinger 1964; Morton 1994). Hinter diesem „Frequency Code“ (Ohala 1984; 1994) steckt das Faktum, dass Individuen mit einem größeren Schallproduktionsorgan oft größer, stärker und respektgebietender sind als andere. Auch der Mensch verwendet diesen Code in seiner vokalen Kommunikation, und zwar sowohl in der nonverbalen als auch in der verbalen. Auf dieser Grundlage ist auch vorgeschlagen worden (Ohala 1994), dass das Lächeln des Menschen einen auditiven Ursprung habe. Durch das dabei auftretende Zurückziehen der Mundwinkel verkürzt sich die effektive Länge des Ansatzrohrs, was eine Erhöhung der Formantfrequenzen zur Folge hat (Tartter 1980). Beim Lächeln erhöht sich auch F_0 , was auditiv ebenso zum Eindruck der Harmlosigkeit beiträgt. Oft ist der Frequency Code jedoch nicht unmittelbar erkennbar, weil eine F_0 -Erhöhung auch als Folge einer höheren Stimmstärke, u. a. als Symptom emotionaler Erregung nicht nur bei Furcht, sondern auch bei Freude und Zorn auftritt. So ist wohl die Beobachtung einer positiven Korrelation zwischen F_0 und Aggression (Scherer/London/Wolf 1973) zu deuten.

Außer der Tonlage kann auch die Schwankungsbreite des Grundtons variie-

ren, wobei die Sprache mehr oder weniger lebhaft klingt (Traunmüller/Eriksson 1995). In der Schwankungsbreite der Frequenzlage einzelner Formanten, die für die Kontrastivität von Vokalen maßgeblich ist, können Variationen infolge einer mehr oder weniger deutlichen Artikulation auftreten, wie sie bei unterschiedlichem Betonungsgrad vorkommt (van Bergem 1993) und unter Umständen auch bei Veränderung der Sprechgeschwindigkeit (Lindblom 1963; Engstrand 1988; Moon/Lindblom 1994). Bei der Externalisierung von Emotionen wird neben Stimmstärke, Tonlage und Schwankungsbreite auch die Mikrovariation in der Frequenz (Jitter) und der Amplitude (Shimmer) des Grundtons beeinflusst, sowie andere Aspekte der Stimme.

Eine Variation der Stimmstärke kann absichtlich zustande kommen, aber auch weitgehend unbewusst bleiben. Das Letztere ist der Fall bei der intuitiven Anpassung der wahrgenommenen Lautstärke der eigenen Sprache an die des Umweltschalls, die als Lombardeffekt bezeichnet wird (Lane/Tranel 1971; Junqua 1993). Auch intuitiv, aber nicht so unbewusst, geschieht die Anpassung der Stimmstärke an den Abstand zu dem, mit dem man spricht, und ihre Variation als Folge der Externalisierung von Emotionen und Einstellungen. Eine Erhöhung der Stimmstärke zeigt sich akustisch nicht nur in einem angehobenen Schallpegel, sondern auch in einer angehobenen F_0 und einer Hervorhebung der Obertöne, sowie in einer höheren Frequenzlage des ersten Formanten (F_1) (Rostolland 1982; Huber/Stathopoulos/Curione u. a. 1999; Liénard/Di Benedetto 1999; Traunmüller/Eriksson 2000). F_1 kovariert mit dem Öffnungsgrad des Mundes, der bei lautem Sprechen erhöht ist (Schulman 1989). Es wird auch die Dauer phonetischer Segmente beeinflusst, und zwar erhöht sich die der Vokale im Gegensatz zu der der Konsonanten (Bonnot/Chevrie-Muller 1991). Diese zusätzlichen Effekte ermöglichen es Hörern, Variationen in Stimmstärke und Abstand zu unterscheiden (Eriksson/Traunmüller 2002). Wenn keine zusätzliche expressive Variation vorhanden ist, kann der von Hörern geschätzte Abstand zwischen Sprecher und Adressat als Maß der Stimmstärke dienen (Traunmüller/Eriksson 2000).

Beim Flüstern ist zwar der Schallpegel niedrig, aber die Frequenzlage der Formanten ähnelt der bei lautem Sprechen (Traun-

müller 1988). Wegen des Fehlens eines F_0 ist dabei die Kommunikation expressiver und perspektivischer Aspekte (Eriksson/Traumüller 2002), sowie linguistischer und organischer weniger zuverlässig (Eklund/Traumüller 1997).

Der Zusammenhang zwischen dem wahrgenommenen und dem physikalischen Sprechtempo kann gut mit dem Stevens'schen Potenzgesetz beschrieben werden. In diesbezüglichen Experimenten hat man recht hohe Exponenten, in der Nähe von 2.0, erhalten und noch höhere, wenn das eigene Sprechtempo beurteilt wurde (Grosjean/Lane 1981). Ähnliche Verhältnisse ergaben sich auch mit gebärdeter Sprache.

Die akustischen Stimmkorrelate von Emotionen und Einstellungen und die Erkennung der Emotionen durch Hörer sind schon mehrmals untersucht worden (Scherer/Bergmann 1984; Bezooijen 1984; Carlson/Granström/Nord 1992; Murray/Arnott 1993; Tischer 1993; Banse/Scherer 1996; Mozziconacci 1998). Zusätzlich zu einfachen akustischen Deskriptoren, wie Mittelwert und Standardabweichung von F_0 , Lautstärkepegel und Sprechgeschwindigkeit, bemüht man sich in jüngerer Zeit u. a. um eine detaillierte Beschreibung der Effekte von Emotionen auf die Form der glottalen Impulse (Laukkanen/Vilkman/Alku u. a. 1997), auf die Grundfrequenzbewegungen (Mozziconacci 1998; Paeschke/Kienast/Sendlmeier 1999) und auf die Formantfrequenzen der Vokale (Kienast/Sendlmeier 2000). Die Beschreibungen der akustischen Effekte stimmen nicht immer vollständig miteinander überein. Das hat u. a. damit zu tun, dass Emotionen und Einstellungen unterschiedlich ausgeprägt auftreten und oft mehr oder weniger verdeckt werden, weil soziale Regeln ihrer Externalisierung Grenzen setzen. Diese Regeln können in verschiedenen Kulturen verschiedener Art sein. Außerdem findet man oft auch schon in der Performanz von Sprechern aus demselben sozialen Milieu individuelle Diskrepanzen. Die Beschreibung der Effekte von Emotionen, wie auch die von gewissen anderen Aspekten von Sprachsignalen, leidet daran, dass den einfach zu messenden physikalischen Größen wie F_0 , die auch am einfachsten manipuliert werden können (Granström 1992; Burkhardt/Sendlmeier 2000), nur selten unmittelbare kommunikative Relevanz zukommt. Wenn man in einem Experiment unter Verwendung synthetischer oder ur-

sprünglich natürlicher Signale ausschließlich eine einzige Variable, z. B. F_0 variiert, dann riskiert man, dass sich dadurch nicht nur die expressive Qualität verändert, sondern auch die linguistische, die organische und die perspektivische. Weniger problematisch ist die Interpretation der Ergebnisse von Experimenten, in denen die Stimmqualität manipuliert worden ist (Gobli/Ni Chasaide 2003). In der Zusammenstellung der Stimmkorrelate einiger Emotionen und Einstellungen in Tabelle 76.2 ist versucht worden, die publizierten akustischen Daten in physiologisch-perzeptiven Termen zu interpretieren, wobei vor allem die erwähnten akustischen Effekte der Stimmstärkevariation berücksichtigt wurden, sowie die Erhöhung des Mittelwertes von F_0 , die mit einer Erhöhung der Dynamik der Intonation einhergeht.

Tab. 76.2: Stimmkorrelate von Emotionen und Einstellungen

<p>Zorn und Frustration Hohe Stimmstärke, besonders an betonten Stellen; hohe Dynamik der Intonation und Artikulation; oft überdeutliche Aussprache; oft hohe Sprechgeschwindigkeit; veränderliche Stimmqualität (behaucht, hart, rauh).</p>
<p>Furcht und Nervosität Hohe Tonlage (Falsett); oft hohe Sprechgeschwindigkeit; niedrige Dynamik der Artikulation; Reduktion und Assimilation von Segmenten; bei starker Erregung hohe Stimmstärke und Jitter.</p>
<p>Betrübnis und Resignation Niedrige Dynamik der Intonation und der Artikulation; Reduktion und Assimilation von Segmenten; niedrige Sprechgeschwindigkeit; niedrige Stimmstärke.</p>
<p>Zufriedenheit und Fröhlichkeit Hohe Dynamik der Intonation und auch der Artikulation; bei Lächeln erhöhte Resonanzlage; weiche Stimme; bei Euphorie auch hohe Stimmstärke und veränderliche Sprechgeschwindigkeit.</p>
<p>Drohung und Verachtung Niedrige Tonlage (und wohl auch Resonanzlage); bei Erregung hohe Stimmstärke; eher hohe Dynamik und niedrige Sprechgeschwindigkeit.</p>
<p>Anflehung und Schmeichelei Hohe Tonlage (und wohl auch Resonanzlage); niedrige Stimmstärke; eher niedrige Dynamik und hohe Sprechgeschwindigkeit.</p>

Der Prozess, in dem aus der Stimmqualität auf die Persönlichkeit des Sprechers geschlossen wird, ist auch untersucht worden, wobei u. a. eine positive Korrelation zwischen Extroversion und Sprechlautstärke dokumentiert wurde (Scherer 1978). Derartige Untersuchungen haben manchmal Kulturunterschiede aufgezeigt. So erhöht schnelles Sprechen in den USA das Vertrauen (Scherer 1979), während es im Iran genau umgekehrt zu sein scheint (Zandpour/Sadry 1996, 187). Kulturelle Unterschiede sind auch bei der Externalisierung von Emotionen bekannt, aber die Beurteilungen durch Hörer aus unterschiedlichen Kulturen sind einander doch weitgehend ähnlich (Scherer/Matsumoto/Wallbott u. a. 1988; Scherer/Banse/Wallbott 2001).

Die Attitüde des Sprechers kommt neben der Stimmstärke hauptsächlich im F_0 -Verlauf zum Ausdruck. Eine besonders ausgeprägte Attitudendarbietung liegt im Sprechstil der Ammensprache vor (Garnica 1977; Fernald/Simon 1984). In diesen „Babytalk“ pflegen Erwachsene, aber auch schon Zweijährige (Dunn/Kendrick 1982), im Umgang mit Kleinkindern zu verfallen, und gelegentlich auch im Umgang mit anderen, denen gegenüber sie eine ähnliche Attitüde annehmen – etwa Geliebte (Bombar/Littig 1996) oder Patienten in der Altenpflege (Caporael 1981; Sachweh 1998). Die Tendenz, diesen Sprechstil zu gebrauchen, variiert individuell und kulturell, aber er ist wohl immer durch ähnlich übertriebene F_0 -Schwankungen gekennzeichnet (Fernald/Taeschner/Dunn u. a. 1989). Obwohl seine Funktion in erster Linie eine paralinguistische sein dürfte, ist auch vorgeschlagen worden, dass dieser Sprechstil im Erstspracherwerb eine bedeutende Rolle spiele. Dabei wurde auf seine vereinfachte und verdeutlichende Struktur hingewiesen (Snow 1972; Garnica 1977; Fernald/Simon 1984; Jusczyk/Bertoncini 1988). Vorläufige Ergebnisse deuten auch bei segmentalen Merkmalen, wie der Aspiration von Plosiven im Schwedischen, auf eine Anpassung an den Entwicklungsstand des Kindes hin (Sundberg 2001). In Assoziationen zum Babytalk kann man übrigens die Stigmatisierung des Rheinfränkischen begründet sehen, mit seinen großen Tonhöhen-schwankungen und der R-Vokalisierung im Anlaut (Jakob 1992, 177–179).

In den meisten Sprachen gibt es gewisse einsilbige, meist nur einsegmentige, semantisch ziemlich leere Interjektionen, wie z. B.

[o:], bei denen die eigentliche Information in ihrer Prosodie, mit der Emotionen oder Attitüden verschiedener Art und Intensität ausgedrückt werden können, liegt. Das ist im Sinne von Ladd (1996, 36–38) ein paralinguistisches Phänomen, denn nur Kontraste kategorischer Art sind als linguistisch zu betrachten.

Die Frage, ob ein expressiver oder ein linguistischer Kontrast vorliegt, muss manchmal mit „sowohl als auch“ beantwortet werden (Gussenhoven 1999). Das ist z. B. der Fall bei der Betonung, die in vielen Sprachen linguistische Kontraste bildet, und deshalb in kategorischer Weise, aber auch als eine kontinuierliche Größe, „perzeptive Prominenz“, beurteilt werden kann (Fant/Kruckenberger 1989; Eriksson/Thunberg/Traunmüller 2001). Zur Wahrnehmung der Prominenz einer Silbe trägt die Stimmstärke und die Deutlichkeit der Grundtonsschwankungen bei (Sluijter 1995; Dogil 1999), wobei organische Aspekte auch von Bedeutung sind (Gussenhoven/Rietveld 1998), und sie ist wohl auch von der Sprachkenntnis des Beurteilers abhängig. In der amerikanischen Gebärdensprache (ASL) wird Gebärdensprache in analoger Weise Prominenz verliehen, nämlich durch Erhöhung der Bewegungsamplituden und der Bewegungsgeschwindigkeit (Wilbur 1999).

5. Linguistische Aspekte

Die Mittel, derer sich Sprachen bedienen, um Wörter hervorzuheben, sind meist paralinguistischer Herkunft, aber anstelle der Betonung können Sprachen zum gleichen Zweck auch ein anderes Mittel paralinguistischen Ursprungs festlegen, wie etwa die auch mehrmalige Wiederholung eines Wortes, die in gewissen Papua-Sprachen üblich ist, oder ein rein linguistisches Mittel, wie etwa die Verwendung eines Fokuspartikels.

Der Frequency Code hat auch linguistische Funktionen angenommen. Wenn man eine Frage stellt, dann drückt man ja eine Art von Unsicherheit und Hilfsbedarf aus. Deswegen bedient man sich in vielen Sprachen einer hohen oder steigenden F_0 , um Fragen auszudrücken, aber in der Antwort einer niedrigen oder fallenden – zumindest wenn man sich der Sache sicher ist.

Auch das in vielen, aber nicht in allen Sprachen beobachtbare Phänomen der Enddehnung (final lengthening) hat wohl einen paralinguistischen Ursprung, nämlich in der

lokomotorischen Tendenz zu dezelerieren, bevor man stehen bleibt. Das selbe Phänomen zeigt sich auch in der abendländischen Musik (Lindblom 1978; Carlson/Friberg/Fryden u. a. 1987), aber im vorsprachlichen Lallen ist es nicht beobachtet worden (Konopczynski 1986).

Ein Problem, das hier besonders zu nennen ist, besteht in der Frage, wie der Mensch als Hörer die sprachliche Information aus dem Sprachsignal herausholt. In der akustischen Phonetik hat man zur Bewältigung von organisch bedingten Formantfrequenzunterschieden oft die Methode der Normalisierung verwendet, d. h. man hat versucht, die übergreifenden Unterschiede durch Umrechnung der Frequenzwerte zu beseitigen, wobei allerdings uneinheitliche Zusammenhänge festgestellt wurden (Fant 1975; Disner 1980). In einer anderen Behandlung hat man gegenüber paralinguistischen Transformationen invariante Korrelate phonetischer Variablen gesucht. Ein Beispiel dafür ist der Tonheitsabstand (in Bark) zwischen dem ersten Formanten und dem Grundton als Korrelat des Öffnungsgrades von Vokalen (Traunmüller 1981; Bladon/Henton/Pickering 1984; Syrdal/Gopal 1986; Hirahara/Kato 1992; Di Benedetto 1994; Fahey/Diehl/Traunmüller 1996; Ménard/Schwarz/Boë u. a. 2002). Dabei scheint jedoch eher der Basiswert von F_0 relevant zu sein, als sein Momentanwert (Traunmüller 1991) und eher die glottale Impulsfrequenz als die niedrigste Harmonische, die im Spektrum vertreten ist (Fahey/Diehl 1996), und es sind auch noch Kontexteffekte zu berücksichtigen (Ainsworth 1975; Nearey 1989). Nach der Modulationstheorie (Traunmüller 1994; 2000a) modulieren Sprecher ein Trägersignal, nämlich ihre Stimme, in komplexer Weise mit sprachlichen Gesten (gesprochenen Wörtern). Folglich müssen Hörer das Signal einer Demodulation unterziehen, um die sprachliche Information zu erkennen. Dabei bewerten sie die Abweichungen der Eigenschaften des Signals von denen, die sie von einem mit der jeweiligen Stimme hervorgebrachten „farblosen“ Vokal erwarten, wobei die Erwartungen (auch über das Sprechtempo) von vielerlei, innerhalb und außerhalb des Signals begründeten, Faktoren beeinflusst werden. Ein komplizierender Faktor liegt dabei darin vor, dass der Zusammenhang zwischen artikulatorischen, akustischen und perzeptorischen Modulationsamplituden ein nichtlinearer ist (Story/Titze

2002). Der Einfluss visueller und kognitiver Faktoren auf die wahrgenommene Qualität von Vokalen ist u. a. von Johnson/Strand/D'Imperio (1999) belegt worden. Für ein Verständnis des Wahrnehmungsprozesses und für die Theoriebildung ist es auch relevant, welche Effekte verschiedene paralinguistische Variationen (Sprecher, Sprechgeschwindigkeit, Darbietungspegel usw.) auf die Retention von Wörtern im Gedächtnis haben (Bradlow/Nygaard/Pisoni 1999).

Obwohl innerhalb einer Sprache der Zusammenhang zwischen Form und Bedeutung auf einer willkürlichen Konvention beruht, sind sprachliche Formen doch in manchen Fällen ikonisch (Hinton/Nichols/Ohala 1994). Zu diesem Thema sei auch auf die Bibliographie von Magnus (1997) hingewiesen. In solchen Fällen kann man von einer paralinguistischen Beziehung zwischen Form und Bedeutung sprechen. Neben etlichen Aspekten der Prosodie liegt eine solche Beziehung auch bei konventionalisierten Schallimitationen vor, die oft die Lautgebung eines Tieres oder das Tier selbst bezeichnen, oder einen Prozess, der durch einen charakteristischen Schall gekennzeichnet ist. In manchen Fällen sind lautliche Formen jedoch andersartig begründet, z. B. die von manchen Interjektionen, die ihren Ursprung in nonverbalen Lautgebungen des Menschen haben, und die von Wörtern wie „Mama“ und „Papa“, deren Form aus dem vorsprachlichen Lallen von Kleinkindern kommt (Jakobson 1960) und denen Erwachsene eine naheliegende Bedeutung zugeschrieben haben. Während in der Lautmalerei die Ikonizität der Formen offensichtlich ist, kann die Präferenz für gewisse Laute in Ausdrücken mit gewissen Bedeutungen (Lautsymbolik) auch auf körperlichen und synästhetischen Assoziationen beruhen (Hinton/Nichols/Ohala 1994). Einen solchen Fall stellt die Präferenz geschlossener vorderer Vokale für das Kleine und offener und hinterer für das Große dar (Fischer-Jørgensen 1978; Ultan 1978). Dies scheint im auditiven Schwerpunkt des Spektrums begründet zu sein, der bei geschlossenen vorderen Vokalen höher liegt, was man beim Flüstern deutlich hören kann. Diese Vokale machen einen kleineren (auch lieblicheren, schnelleren und schwächeren) Eindruck als andere, weil eine höhere Frequenz eben für Schallerzeuger mit diesen Eigenschaften charakteristisch ist. Die ebenso erwiesene Präferenz dieser Vokale in proximalen und

der anderen in distalen Demonstrativa und Adverbien (Woodworth 1991; Traunmüller 2000b) dürfte in sekundären Assoziation begründet sein. Die Assoziationen, die der Lautsymbolik zugrunde liegen, können jedoch auch innersprachlicher Art sein. In solchen Fällen wird eine Lautsequenz mit einer Bedeutung assoziiert, weil ähnliche Lautsequenzen in Wörtern mit ähnlichen Bedeutungen vorkommen. Es handelt sich dabei also doch um ein paralinguistisches Phänomen, obwohl die jeweiligen Assoziationen dann sprachspezifisch sind.

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77. Nonverbale Phänomene/Nonverbal Phenomena

1. Zum Gegenstandsbereich
2. Grundlagen und Klassifikationen
3. Nonverbales Verhalten im sprachlichen und situativen Kontext
4. Die interaktive und soziale Relevanz nonverbalen Verhaltens
5. Kultur und nonverbales Verhalten
6. Ausblick
7. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Zum Gegenstandsbereich

Eine Person übermittelt einem Kommunikationspartner nicht nur sprachliche, verbale Informationen, sondern immer auch nonverbale Informationen, beispielsweise durch ihr mimisches Ausdrucksverhalten, Handgesten, Änderungen der Körperhaltung, aber auch durch vom sprachlichen Inhalt unabhängige vokale Verhaltensweisen wie Versprecher oder Zögerungspausen. Während vokale, paralinguale Phänomene im Artikel 76 behandelt werden, sollen in diesem Artikel nonverbale, nonvokale Verhaltensweisen dargestellt werden. Die mögliche kommunikative und interaktionale Bedeutung solcher nonverbaler Phänomene wurde von Linguisten wie Psychologen lange ignoriert, indem der Schwerpunkt der Analysen ganz auf die semantische Mitteilungsfunktion der Sprache gelegt wurde. Allerdings lieferte schon Darwin (1872) wichtige und immer noch sehr einflussreiche Analysen und Beobachtungen zum Ausdrucksverhalten. Mit einer Vielzahl von Methoden (wie Fragebogenuntersuchungen, speziesvergleichenden Beobachtungen, Beobachtungen an Kindern oder Literaturanalysen) stellte Darwin aufgrund evolutionstheoretischer Überlegungen Ausdrucksmuster dar, die für verschiedene Emotionen typisch sind. Weitere Wurzeln der Forschung sind beispielsweise in der älteren vornehmlich deutschsprachigen Ausdruckspsychologie, in der Ethologie, in der Kommunikationsforschung, aber auch in der klinischen Forschung zu suchen (vgl. Wallbott 1995). Vor allem seit Mitte des letzten Jahrhunderts trat die Beschäftigung mit nonverbalen Phänomenen mehr und mehr in den Mittelpunkt des Interesses, nicht zuletzt angeregt durch Ruesch und Kees (1956), deren Monographie den programmatischen Titel „Nonverbal Communication“ trug. Inzwischen liegen eine Vielzahl von Über-

blicksarbeiten vor, von denen hier nur einige wie Ekman (1982), Scherer und Ekman (1982; zur Methodik in diesem Bereich), Harper, Wiens und Matarazzo (1978), oder Übersichtsarbeiten aus neuerer Zeit Ekman und Rosenberg (1997) und Russell und Fernandez-Dols (1997) beispielhaft genannt werden sollen. Diese sind weitgehend psychologisch orientiert, es sollten aber auch zentrale Beiträge aus biologischer/ethologischer Sicht (viele in der Tradition von Darwin: vgl. Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1984; Grammer 1990) und aus ethnologischer Sicht (z.B. Heiders bahnbrechende Studie über nonverbale Kommunikation in Indonesien, 1991) erwähnt werden.

Nach einem kurzen generellen Überblick über den Gegenstandsbereich mit den entsprechenden Definitionen, Klassifikationen und Abgrenzungen sollen im Folgenden drei große Bereiche in relevanten Ausschnitten dargestellt werden, nämlich (1) die Eingebundenheit nonverbalen Verhaltens in seinen vor allem sprachlichen aber auch situativen Kontext, (2) die interaktive und soziale Relevanz nonverbalen Verhaltens im Hinblick auf Interaktion und Kommunikation zwischen (zwei oder mehr) Personen, und schließlich (3) die Beziehungen zwischen kulturellen Faktoren und nonverbalem Verhalten, also der Einbezug der kulturellen und gesellschaftlichen Ebene.

2. Grundlagen und Klassifikationen

Innerhalb des Bereiches nonverbaler Phänomene muss unterschieden werden zwischen „paralingualen“ Phänomenen (in Artikel 76 behandelt) und nonverbalem, nonvokalem Ausdrucksverhalten, das alle nicht sprachbezogenen Aspekte der Motorik der übrigen Körpermuskulatur umfasst und sich dem Empfänger visuell vermittelt. Zur weiteren Abgrenzung des Gebietes wurde häufig das Konzept des „Verhaltenskanals“ herangezogen. Unter einem „Verhaltenskanal“ kann man einen anatomisch abgrenzbaren Körperteil verstehen: Handbewegungen als gestisches Verhalten, Bewegungen der Gesichtsmuskulatur als mimisches Verhalten, Augenbewegungen als Blickverhalten, Bewegungen des Körpers als Änderungen der Körperorientierung zum Gesprächspartner oder Änderungen der Körperhaltung, sowie

das Distanzverhalten zu anderen Personen (vgl. Helfrich/Wallbott 1980, Sager im Druck, Wallbott 2001). Von anderer Seite wurde darüber hinaus vorgeschlagen, auch solche „Kanäle“ wie Kleidung, Make-up oder die Handschrift einzubeziehen (vgl. Poyatos 1976).

Allerdings bringt die Beschäftigung mit ausschließlich nonverbalem Verhalten genau wie die Untersuchung nur verbaler Prozesse die Vernachlässigung der Tatsache mit sich, dass der Mensch immer als „Multikanal-System“ (Birdwhistell 1970) gesehen werden muss, also immer verbal und nonverbal zugleich interagiert und kommuniziert. Alle verschiedenen Verhaltensaspekte müssen als ein System gesehen werden, in dem verbales und nonverbales Verhalten integriert ist. Unter Berücksichtigung dieser Interdependenzen von Sprache und nonverbalem Verhalten haben Ekman und Friesen (1969) schon früh ein „funktionales Klassifikationssystem“ zur Analyse nonverbalen Verhaltens vorgeschlagen. In diesem System werden nonverbale Verhaltensweisen nicht als „Kanäle“ betrachtet, sondern deren Funktion im Interaktions- und Kommunikationsgeschehen sowie deren Beziehung zum sprachlichen Verhalten analysiert. Ekman und Friesen (1969) unterscheiden im Bereich nonverbalen Verhaltens zwischen (1) Illustratoren als Verhaltensweisen, die das verbal Geäußerte unterstützen, betonen oder illustrieren, wie beispielsweise sprachbegleitendes gestisches Verhalten; (2) Manipulatoren als nonverbale Verhaltensweisen, die weitgehend von der Sprache unabhängig sind und eher dem Ausdruck von Stimmungen oder Bedürfnissen dienen, wie beispielsweise das nervöse Spielen mit einem Gegenstand; (3) Embleme, bei denen es sich um nonverbale Verhaltensweisen mit eindeutig festgelegter, verbal übersetzbarer Bedeutung (zumindest in einer Kultur oder Subkultur) handelt, wie das „Anhalter-Zeichen“ oder das „fragende Schulterhochziehen“ (vgl. zu „Wörterbüchern“ emblematischer Gesten Saitz/Cervenka 1972; Johnson/Ekman/Friesen 1976; Morris 1977), bis hin zu kodifizierten Zeichensprachen (vgl. zu Gehörlosensprachen Brun 1969; Bellugi/Klima 1972; und vor allem Stokoe 1979, 1993; zur deutschen Gebärdensprache vgl. Becker 1997); des weiteren (4) Regulatoren als nonverbale Verhaltensweisen, die der Regulation und Synchronisation von Interaktionen und dem Wechsel von Sprecher- und Hörerrolle dienen (wie die

charakteristischen Muster des Blickverhaltens, die einem Hörer anzeigen, dass er jetzt die Sprecherrolle übernehmen kann; Kendon 1967); und schließlich (5) Affekt-Darstellungen (affect displays), womit nonverbale Verhaltensweisen beschrieben werden, die primär dem Affekt- bzw. Emotionsausdruck dienen (insbesondere emotionaler mimischer Gesichtsausdruck; vgl. zu neueren Übersichten Ekman/Rosenberg 1997; Russell/Fernandez-Dols 1997).

In Anlehnung an die linguistischen Konzepte der Semantik, Syntax und Pragmatik hat Scherer (1978) eine andere funktionale Einteilung nonverbalen Verhaltens versucht. Er unterscheidet im Bereich nonverbalen Verhaltens parasemantische von parasyntaktischen, parapragmatischen und dialogischen Funktionen. Parasemantische Funktionen umfassen dabei die Substitution (hier ersetzt nonverbales Verhalten sprachliches Verhalten gänzlich), die Amplifikation (Illustratoren), die Kontradiktion (nonverbales Verhalten widerspricht dem sprachlichen Verhalten) und die Modifikation (beispielsweise im Falle von Ironie oder Sarkasmus, wo nonverbale Verhaltensweisen das verbal geäußerte in seiner Bedeutung modifizieren). Parasyntaktisch dienen nach Scherer (1978) nonverbale Verhaltensweisen zum einen der Segmentierung des Sprachflusses, zum anderen der Synchronisation verschiedener Verhaltensweisen in verschiedenen Kommunikationskanälen. Parapragmatisch kann nonverbales Verhalten einmal eine Expressions- oder Ausdrucksfunktion übernehmen (indem beispielsweise Einstellungen oder Affekte ausgedrückt werden), zum anderen eine Reaktionsfunktion auf Äußerungen des Dialogpartners. Zusätzlich zu den drei von Morris entlehnten Dimensionen der Zeichentheorie hat Scherer (1978) die dialogische Funktion nonverbalen Verhaltens eingeführt. Hier unterscheidet er zwischen der Regulationsfunktion (beispielsweise in Gestalt der Organisation von Sprecher- und Hörerwechsel) und der Relationsfunktion, indem nonverbales Verhalten Status- und Sympathierelationen zum Gesprächspartner zum Ausdruck bringen kann.

Funktionale Klassifikationen und Kanal-klassifikationen können miteinander kombiniert werden, da sich in Gestik, mimischem Verhalten, etc. die verschiedenen Funktionen nonverbalen Verhaltens nachweisen lassen (vgl. Wallbott 2003). Sicher sind einige Verhaltenskanäle „spezialisiert-

ter“ in ihren Funktionen als andere, doch bedeutet dies nicht, dass sie nur jeweils eine Funktion im Kommunikationsgeschehen erfüllen. Mimisches Verhalten beispielsweise dient primär dem emotionalen Affektausdruck, doch lassen sich auch im mimischen Verhalten Illustratoren (wie betonendes Hochziehen der Augenbrauen), Adaptoren (wie auf die Lippe beißen) oder Embleme (bewusstes „Verziehen des Gesichts“) nachweisen. Dies verdeutlicht, wie wichtig es ist, die verschiedenen Funktionen und ihre Verhaltensmanifestationen zu trennen, da beispielsweise nicht jeder Gesichtsausdruck gleich als emotionaler Ausdruck verstanden werden darf (vgl. Fridlund 1994).

Über Kanalklassifikationen und funktionale Klassifikationen nonverbalen Verhaltens hinausgreifend scheint es schließlich wichtig, grundsätzlich zwischen „nonverbaler Kommunikation“ und „nonverbalem Verhalten“ zu unterscheiden (Wiener/Devos/Rubinow/Geller 1972). Während populär häufig alles Verhalten als „nonverbale Kommunikation“ oder „Körpersprache“ bezeichnet wird, wurde vielfach versucht, weiter zu differenzieren, indem Konstituenten der „Kommunikation“ (z. B. ein von Sender und Empfänger geteilter Kode, die Intentionalität der zu übermittelnden Botschaft, oder auch die Rückmeldung von Seiten des Empfängers) unterschieden werden. Ekman und Friesen (1969) haben in diesem Sinne unterschieden zwischen (1) kommunikativem Verhalten, wo eine Botschaft intentional mit Hilfe eines mehr oder weniger von Sender und Empfänger geteilten Kodes übermittelt wird (beispielsweise Handbewegungs-Embleme wie das „Anhalter-Zeichen“), (2) interaktivem Verhalten, wo nonverbale Verhaltensweisen Einfluss auf das Kommunikations- und Interaktionsverhalten einer anderen Person haben können, ohne dass dieser Einfluss bewusst angestrebt sein muss, (3) informativem Verhalten, das alle Verhaltensweisen umfasst, die dem Wahrnehmenden erlauben, Schlüsse über den Sender (gleich welcher Art) zu treffen und schließlich (4) idiosynkratischem Verhalten, das alle übrigen nonverbalen Verhaltensweisen umfasst, aber höchstens für den Sender eine bestimmte Bedeutung haben mag. Dies bedeutet, dass viele nonverbale Verhaltensweisen – besonders idiosynkratische Verhaltensweisen – ohne Rückgriff auf individuelle Charakteristika des Senders (oder auch ohne Rückgriff auf dessen Kul-

tur) überhaupt nicht sinnvoll zu interpretieren sind. Von daher sind viele populäre Deutungen nonverbalen Verhaltens (im Sinne von „Körpersprache“), bei denen versucht wird, Verhaltensweisen eindeutige Bedeutungen zuzuordnen, häufig in höchstem Maße fraglich und problematisch. Dazu kommt, dass die „Kodierung“ (die Zuordnung von Zeichen und Bedeutung) bei nonverbalem Verhalten häufig in anderer Weise als bei verbalem Verhältnis gesehen werden muss. Während verbales Verhalten in den meisten Fällen extrinsisch (willkürliche Zuordnung von Zeichen und Bedeutung), diskret und invariant kodiert ist (Scherer 1977), ist nonverbales Verhalten eher intrinsisch, kontinuierlich und probabilistisch kodiert. Dies beinhaltet, dass aus einer nonverbalen Verhaltensweise nicht ohne weiteres auf eine eindeutige Bedeutung geschlossen werden kann, da diese erschlossene Bedeutung nur eine von vielen möglichen ist.

Nach diesen Überlegungen ist es unzulässig, den Gesamtbereich als „nonverbale Kommunikation“ zu bezeichnen, da zwar viele nonverbale Phänomene interaktiv relevant sind oder auch informativ für einen Beobachter sein können, indem er Schlüsse und Attributionen aus solchen Verhaltensweisen zieht, kaum aber als kommunikativ im strengen Sinne bezeichnet werden können.

3. Nonverbales Verhalten im sprachlichen und situativen Kontext

Oben wurde betont, dass der Mensch immer als „Multikanal-Sender und -Empfänger“ handelt und kommuniziert. Es scheint daher wichtig, nicht nur einen Kanal nonverbalen Verhaltens oder nur verbales oder nonverbales Verhalten zu betrachten, sondern den Menschen als auf allen Kanälen kommunizierendes System zu sehen. „Multikanal-Untersuchungen“ über die relative Bedeutsamkeit verschiedener Kommunikationskanäle haben zwar gezeigt, dass generell dem visuellen Kanal mehr Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wird als dem vokalen, diesem wiederum mehr als dem verbalen Kanal (Mehrabian 1972; Archer/Ackert 1977; zu einer Übersicht Wallbott 1990), doch sind hier verschiedene Einschränkungen zu machen. Krauss et. al. (1981) konnten zeigen, dass vor allem dem Sprachinhalt die größte Be-

deutung bei Evaluations-, Aktivitäts- und Potenzurteilen aufgrund vollständiger audiovisueller Information zukam, während die visuelle Information geringe Bedeutung hatte. In dieser Untersuchung wurden allerdings Ausschnitte aus Interviews verwendet, in denen affektiv belastende Fragen gestellt wurden. Ganz offensichtlich spielt hier auch die inhaltliche Bedeutsamkeit des Geäußerten eine große Rolle. Bugental und Mitarbeiter (Bugental/Kaswan/Love 1970; Bugental/Kaswan/Love/Fox 1970) haben bei Untersuchungen konfligierender Informationen auf verschiedenen Kanälen in Anlehnung an das „double-bind“-Konzept (Bateson/Jackson/Haley/Weakland 1956) gezeigt, dass nicht von der Dominanz eines Kanals ausgegangen werden kann, sondern dass generell negativen Informationen größere Bedeutung beigemessen wird als positiven.

Es ist davon auszugehen, dass Beobachter die verschiedenen zur Verfügung stehenden Informationen in Abhängigkeit von der gegebenen Situation, in Abhängigkeit vom Informationsangebot, aber auch in Abhängigkeit von personenspezifischen Faktoren unterschiedlich gewichtet (unter Umständen allerdings auch falsch gewichtet!) in ihre Urteile eingehen lassen. Weiter kann man im Sinne der Attributionstheorie argumentieren, dass nicht generell einem Verhaltenskanal mehr Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wird, sondern dass der Verhaltenskanal, auf dem weniger erwartete und sozial eher nicht erwünschte Verhaltensweisen gezeigt werden, im Zentrum der Aufmerksamkeit steht und Urteile oder Attributionen determiniert (Wallbott 1998).

Damit ist die Bedeutung situationaler und sozialer Kontextinformationen bei der Interpretation nonverbalen Verhaltens angesprochen. In gleicher Weise wie konfligierende Informationen innerhalb nonverbaler Kanäle oder zwischen verbalem und nonverbalem Verhalten (wie bei Ironie oder Sarkasmus) erfordern, eine gegebene Verhaltensweise immer im Kontext der übrigen Verhaltensweisen zu betrachten und einzuschätzen, nehmen Informationen über den Kontext oder die Situation, in der ein bestimmtes nonverbales Verhalten gezeigt wird, Einfluss auf die Bewertung dieses Verhaltens (vgl. Wallbott 1990).

Die Bedeutung von Kontextinformationen wurde besonders im Bereich des Erkennens von Emotionen demonstriert. Sieht man eine Person weinen, wird man ohne

weitere zur Verfügung stehende Information annehmen, dass die Person traurig ist. Zusätzliche Kontextinformationen aber, wie beispielsweise die Information, dass gerade eine Prüfung erfolgreich absolviert wurde, werden dieses Urteil vielleicht zu „Erleichterung“ modifizieren. Durch die Filmsemiotik beeinflusste Untersuchungen demonstrieren, dass auch ein völlig neutraler Gesichtsausdruck eines Schauspielers von Beobachtern als Emotionsausdruck interpretiert werden kann, wenn durch die Schnitt- oder Szenenabfolge Informationen über emotionale Situationen, in denen sich der Handelnde befindet, nahegelegt werden (der sogenannte „Kuleschov-Effekt“, Wallbott 1990).

Schließlich scheint die Trennung zwischen „verbalem“ und „nonverbalem“ Verhalten in vielen Fällen recht künstlich. Viele nonverbale Verhaltensweisen, wie beispielsweise gestisches Verhalten, sind so eng mit der Sprachproduktion assoziiert, dass eine Trennung artifiziell erscheint. In einigen Theorien wird sogar angenommen, dass Sprachproduktion und begleitendes nonverbales Verhalten letztlich Ausdruck eines gemeinsamen zugrundeliegenden Prozesses sind (Wallbott 2003).

Solche engen Beziehungen zwischen sprachlichem und nonverbalem Verhalten lassen sich besonders für gestische Verhaltensweisen nachweisen (vgl. Streek 1993). Kendon (1977; zu einer Übersicht über Kendons Arbeiten vgl. Kendon 1990) beispielsweise nimmt an, dass gestische Verhaltensweisen (vor allem „Illustratoren“) in der Sprachproduktion nicht nur eine Hilfsfunktion erfüllen, sondern dass Sprache und Gestik Ausdrucksformen eines zugrundeliegenden Prozesses darstellen, der von den gleichen Hirnarealen gesteuert wird. Solche engen Zusammenhänge zwischen Sprache und Gestik lassen sich auch neuroanatomisch nachweisen (Poizner/Klima/Bellugi 1990). Einen der intensivsten Proponenten dieses „Central Organizer“-Konzepts in neuerer Zeit stellt McNeill dar (z. B. 1992). Er nimmt dabei an, dass Sprache und begleitende Gestik „share a common computational stage“, das sehr früh im Sprachproduktionsprozess lokalisiert ist. Auch lässt sich zeigen, dass das Einschränken oder Verhindern von Gesten während des Sprechens den Inhalt von Aussagen beeinflusst (Graham/Heywood 1973; vgl. ausführlicher Wallbott 2003, und Feyereisen/de Lannoy 1991). Freedman (1977) nimmt an, dass auch Ma-

nipulatoren (s.o.) wie Selbststimulierung eine enge Beziehung zum Sprachproduktionsprozess haben. Die aus Alltagsbeobachtungen bekannte Tatsache, dass sich Personen bei Wortfindungsschwierigkeiten häufig am Kopf kratzen, erklärt sich nach Freedman daraus, dass solche Verhaltensweisen durch propriozeptive Rückmeldung das kortikale Erregungsniveau erhöhen und damit die Wortfindung verbessern können. Diese Selbststimulierung kann außerdem dazu dienen, die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Sprachplanung und den sprachlichen Repräsentationsprozess zu konzentrieren. Die Tatsache beispielsweise, dass blinde Personen in Gesprächen häufig fortwährende Selbststimulierung durch Reiben und Manipulieren der eigenen Hände zeigen, wird in diesem Sinne von Freedman (1977; Grand 1977) damit erklärt, dass diese Verhaltensweisen bei Blinden dazu dienen, die Aufmerksamkeit in der für Blinde besonders schwierigen Interaktionssituation auf den Sprachprozess und den Sprachfluss zu konzentrieren.

Weitere Hinweise darauf, dass verbales und nonverbales Verhalten nicht getrennte Aspekte sind, sondern als System gesehen werden müssen, liefern (die allerdings nicht unumstrittenen) Beobachtungen von Condon und Ogston (1966; 1967). Sie beobachteten in Mikroanalysen des Verhaltens, dass Veränderungen des nonverbalen Verhaltens eines Sprechers sehr eng mit Sprachrhythmik und der zeitlichen Organisation der Sprache verknüpft sind. Diese „Selbstsynchronizität“ eines Sprechers zeigt sich darin, dass „the body dances in time with speech“ (Condon und Ogston 1967, 225). Die Synchronizität zwischen Sprache und Bewegungsverhalten ist aber nicht nur auf den Sprecher beschränkt, sondern das System schließt auch den Zuhörer ein. Dieser bewegt sich in „Interaktionssynchronizität“, d.h. nicht nur der Sprecher bewegt sich synchron zu seiner Sprache, auch Sprecher und Hörer bewegen sich synchron zueinander. In neueren Untersuchungen steht auch weiterhin die Rolle des nonverbalen Verhaltens in der Organisation von Interaktion, Kommunikation und Konversation im Mittelpunkt des Interesses (vgl. beispielsweise Goodwin 1981; Heath 1992; Grammer et al. 1998). Solche Analysen werden nicht nur von Linguisten oder Psychologen, sondern zunehmend von Anthropologen und Soziologen durchgeführt.

Argyle und Dean (1965) haben gezeigt, dass bei gegebener Enge der Beziehung zwischen zwei Interaktionspartnern die Intimität des Gesprächsinhalts und verschiedene nonverbale Verhaltensweisen, wie das Ausmaß des Blickkontaktverhaltens oder die Distanz zum Gesprächspartner in enger wechselseitiger Beziehung stehen. Werden beispielsweise Gesprächsinhalte intimer, versuchen Personen durch das Einnehmen größerer Distanz zum Gesprächspartner oder durch Verminderung ihres Blickkontaktes das gegebene „Intimitätsgleichgewicht“ beizubehalten oder wiederherzustellen.

Nicht die Untersuchung nur verbalen oder nur nonverbalen Verhaltens ist damit von Bedeutung, sondern die Betrachtung aller Kommunikationskanäle im Zusammenhang unter Einschluss situationaler Kontextinformationen. Verbale, nonverbale und situative Informationen sind nicht unabhängig voneinander zu sehen, sondern bilden ein integriertes System, das erfordert, sie in ihren Interdependenzen zu betrachten. Eine künstliche Trennung zwischen „verbal“, „nonverbal“ (nonverbal und paralingual) sowie situationalem und sozialem Kontext kann in diesem Zusammenhang nur hinderlich sein.

4. Die interaktive und soziale Relevanz nonverbalen Verhaltens

Die interaktive Bedeutung nonverbalen Verhaltens wird besonders deutlich an den Mechanismen des Sprecher-Hörer-Wechsels (turn taking), die das Verhalten von Kommunikationspartnern in der Weise synchronisieren, dass normalerweise Sprechbeiträge von zwei Gesprächspartnern sich nicht überschneiden, auf der anderen Seite keine unerträglich langen Pausen entstehen (vgl. Goodwin 1981). Generell hat hier auch die Konversationsanalyse bedeutsame Beiträge geliefert (z.B. Button/Lee 1987; Goodwin/Heritage 1990). Das Ineingreifen im Sinne der Regulation und Synchronisation von Sprechbeiträgen wird nach Untersuchungen von Duncan (Duncan 1974; Duncan/Fiske 1977) weitgehend durch nonverbale Signale von Sprecher und Hörer gesteuert. Ein solches Signal ist beispielsweise der Blickkontakt. Kendon (1967) zeigte, dass Sprecher bei Übernahme der Sprecherrolle ihren Blickkontakt vom Hörer abwenden, ihn dagegen kurz vor Beendigung ihres

Beitrag dem Hörer wieder zuwenden, was diesem wiederum ein Signal gibt, nun die Sprecherrolle zu übernehmen. Andere solche Regulationssignale bilden bestimmte Gesten (vgl. Duncan 1974; Goodwin 1986) oder auch Änderungen der Körperhaltung, die beispielsweise das Ende eines Gesprächs indizieren (vgl. Kendon 1979).

Duncan (1974) hat verschiedene solcher interaktiven Signale, wie Signale zur Sprechablösung, Signale zur Übernahme der Sprecherrolle, Wortführungssignale und Fortsetzungssignale des Sprechers und schließlich Rückmeldungssignale des Hörers differenziert und ihre nonverbalen Komponenten im Detail beschrieben. Er konnte empirisch zeigen, dass diese verschiedenen Signale ein fein aufeinander abgestimmtes System bilden. Zwar funktioniert Kommunikation auch, wenn der visuelle Übertragungskanal ausgeschaltet wird (z. B. Telefongespräche), doch ist in solchen Fällen ein reibungsloser Kommunikationsfluss für die Beteiligten schwieriger aufrechtzuerhalten. Unterlässt umgekehrt ein Interaktionspartner die eigentlich erforderlichen Signale, gibt ein Zuhörer beispielsweise keine Rückmeldungen an den Sprecher (wie „hmm“ oder besonders Kopfnicken oder Kopfschütteln), die normalerweise dem Sprecher anzeigen, dass der Hörer ihm folgt und an seinen Darstellungen interessiert ist, können ebenfalls Probleme im Kommunikationsfluss auftreten.

Wie erwähnt ist besonders Blickkontaktverhalten von großer sozialer Bedeutung. Eine spezielle Form des Blickkontaktes ist das Anstarren. Ethologische Beobachtungen zeigen, dass Anstarren im Tierreich ein Dominanz- und Statussignal darstellt und dass das Aufrechterhalten oder Abbrechen von Blickkontakt eindeutige Aussagen über die Statusrelationen von Tieren zulässt. Ähnliche Beobachtungen wurden auch bei Menschen gemacht. Untersuchungen zeigen, dass längeres Aufrechterhalten von Blickkontakt sogar zu ausgeprägten physiologischen Veränderungen bei der angeblickten Person führen kann (Kleinke/Pohlen 1971). Wie bei Tieren führt längeres Anstarren auch bei Menschen zu Ausweich- und Vermeidungsreaktionen.

Mehrabian (1972) belegte in einer Serie von Untersuchungen, dass auch Körperhaltungen sowie Körperorientierungen zum Gesprächspartner von großer sozialer Bedeutung sind, da diese Verhaltensweisen Sympathie- und Statusrelationen von Inter-

agierenden zum Ausdruck bringen. Die Körperorientierung zum Gesprächspartner (beispielsweise Vorbeugen des Oberkörpers und Zuwendung des Kopfes) lässt Aussagen über die Sympathiebeziehungen zwischen Interagierenden zu, die eingenommene Körperhaltung (symmetrisch vs. asymmetrisch) dagegen Aussagen über Statusunterschiede.

Auch im Bereich der klinischen Grundlagenforschung ist die Untersuchung der Interaktion zwischen Therapeut und Klient anhand der differenzierten Analyse verbalen und nonverbalen Verhaltens ein Weg um zu Aussagen über Beziehungen zwischen den Interaktionspartnern zu kommen, beispielsweise empirische Evidenz für das klinische Konzept der „Übertragung“ oder von „Beziehungsfallen“ in der Interaktion aufzuzeigen (z. B. Bänninger-Huber 1996).

Personen neigen dazu, nahezu sämtliche nonverbale Verhaltensweisen eines Gesprächspartners zu interpretieren und als Informationsquelle für Schlüsse und Attributionen über Gefühle, momentane Befindlichkeiten, Einstellungen oder auch Persönlichkeitseigenschaften heranzuziehen. Diese „informative“ Funktion (Ekman und Friesen 1969; s. o.) nonverbalen Verhaltens bedeutet allerdings nicht, dass Schlüsse und Attributionen aufgrund dieses Verhaltens immer richtig oder valide sein müssen.

Das Brunswiksche Linsenmodell (vgl. Wallbott 1990) stellt dar, dass die Wahrnehmung oder Attribution nonverbaler Verhaltensweisen als probabilistischer Prozess der Beziehung von Ausdruck, Wahrnehmung und Eindruck zu sehen ist, der mehr oder weniger zutreffend sein kann, aber nicht sein muss. Eine Reihe von Untersuchungen demonstriert, dass die Wahrnehmung distaler (objektiver) Verhaltensweisen proximal (auf Seiten des Wahrnehmenden) durchaus ungenau sein kann und dass recht häufig falsche Hinweisreize zu einem Urteil herangezogen oder unangemessen hoch gewichtet werden. So scheint beispielsweise die Annahme, dass ein ehrlicher Mensch einem anderen immer in die Augen sieht bzw. eine Person, die etwas zu verbergen hat, ihren Blick abwendet, falsch, da es Personen (von Persönlichkeitspsychologen als „Machiavellisten“ bezeichnet) gibt, die genau das gegenteilige Verhalten zeigen (vgl. Exline/Thibaut/Hickey/Gumpert 1970). Genauso wenig berechtigt ist der Schluss, dass reduziertes, langsames und „wenig flüssiges“ Bewegungsverhalten zwangsläufig auf einen depressiven Zustand

hindeutet (vgl. Wallbott 1982). Tolman und Brunswick (1935) haben in einem allgemeinen Wahrnehmungsmodell, das allerdings ohne weiteres auch auf nonverbales Verhalten übertragen werden kann, zwischen vier verschiedenen Arten von Hinweisreizen unterschieden. Hinweisreize (also auch nonverbale Verhaltensweisen) können „reliabel“ sein, d.h. eine bestimmte Bedeutung angemessen repräsentieren, aber auch „ambivalent“ (zwei oder mehrere unterschiedliche Objektzustände indizieren), „nicht-signifikant“, d.h. ohne Bezug zum Objekt, oder sogar „irreführend“, also auf einen Zustand hindeutend, der in Wirklichkeit nicht gegeben ist (Tolman/ Brunswick 1935).

Entsprechend dürftig fallen auch häufig in Untersuchungen die Erkennungsraten für Täuschung aus. Ekman und O'Sullivan (1991) fanden Trefferquoten von nur etwa 60% (bei einer binären Entscheidung, d.h. einer Zufallserwartung von 50%), wobei allerdings „Profis“ wie Kriminalbeamte etc. zumindest etwas besser abschneiden. Vrij (1993, 1994) kam bei Untersuchungen von Polizisten allerdings auch zu keinen besseren Erkennungsraten. Außerdem konnte gezeigt werden, dass viele Personen systematisch falsche Hinweisreize verwendeten. Viele Untersuchungen zeigen, dass trotzdem das nonverbale Verhalten trotz häufiger Fehlinterpretationen Urteile von Beobachtern weit mehr beeinflusst als das verbale Verhalten (vgl. Mehrabian 1972, s.o.). Dies bedeutet allerdings offensichtlich nicht, dass nonverbales Verhalten immer „wahre“ Informationen über den Sender liefert. Dabei muss auch berücksichtigt werden, dass nonverbales Verhalten, besonders mimisches Verhalten, häufig unter bewusster Kontrolle steht, da sich auch der Sender bewusst ist, dass andere Personen ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf dieses Verhalten lenken. Ekman und Friesen (1974) haben gezeigt, dass das Ausmaß bewusst ausgeübter Kontrolle auf nonverbale Verhaltensweisen je nach Verhaltenskanal unterschiedlich sein kann. Dabei steht der mimische Gesichtsausdruck meist unter sehr starker Kontrolle, da er der interaktiv und sozial wichtigste Übermittlungskanal ist. Es ist allerdings auf der anderen Seite zumindest prinzipiell möglich, zwischen „echten“ und „vorgetäuschten“ Gesichtsausdrücken zu unterscheiden. Ekman und Friesen (1982) haben distinktive Charakteristika von echtem, emotionalem Lächeln, von vorgetäushtem Lächeln und schließlich von

Lächeln, das eine negative Emotion überdecken soll, beschrieben. Diese distinktiven Charakteristika sind allerdings meist zeitlich und räumlich von so geringer Erstreckung, dass sie von Beobachtern in Alltagssituationen kaum bewusst wahrgenommen werden können.

Nonverbales Verhalten ist allerdings nicht nur sozial relevant, indem es ständig im Zentrum der Aufmerksamkeit von Beobachtern steht. Auch die soziale Bedingtheit nonverbalen Verhaltens muss diskutiert werden. Dies soll im nächsten Abschnitt vertieft werden.

5. Kultur und nonverbales Verhalten

Normen und Sanktionen regeln, welche nonverbalen Verhaltensweisen unter welchen Bedingungen und in welchen Situationen gezeigt werden dürfen und welche nicht. Schon Wundt (1905) hat dargestellt, dass ein wichtiger Aspekt sozialer Geschicklichkeit darin besteht, jeweils zu wissen, welche Verhaltensweisen einer Situation angemessen sind und ob und mit welcher Intensität sie gezeigt werden dürfen. Der mimische Ausdruck negativer Emotionen ist in westlichen Kulturen teilweise, vor allem aber im asiatischen Raum weitestgehend sozial sanktioniert. Dies zeigt sich beispielsweise darin, dass Personen beim Erleben negativer Emotionen im Vergleich zu positiven Emotionen über sehr viel größere Versuche zur Kontrolle des nonverbalen Ausdrucks berichten (Scherer/Wallbott 1994).

Der Einfluss von Kultur und Gesellschaft auf nonverbales Verhalten wird auf der anderen Seite in der Tatsache deutlich, dass sehr viele nonverbale Verhaltensweisen kulturabhängig sind. Dies gilt z. B. für die oben dargestellten „Embleme“ (das gestische Emblem für Suizid beispielsweise fällt je nach der in einer Kultur „präferierten“ Selbsttötungsmethode unterschiedlich aus), aber auch für andere Verhaltensbereiche. So fand Hewes (1957), dass gewohnheitsmäßig eingenommene Körperhaltungen in unterschiedlichen Kulturen sehr verschieden sind. Hall (1959; vgl. auch Watson 1972) beschrieb große interkulturelle Unterschiede im Distanzverhalten zu anderen Personen, die im interkulturellen Kontakt durchaus zu Kommunikationsproblemen führen können, wenn von einem Gesprächspartner die eingenommene Distanz als „zu intim“, vom anderen dagegen als „zu groß“ wahrgenommen wird.

Hall (1966) unterschied im Distanzverhalten zu anderen Personen einen Intimabstand, einen informellen persönlichen Abstand, einen sozialkonsultativen Abstand und einen formellen Abstand, die sich in jeweils größer werdenden eingenommenen Entfernungen zum Gesprächspartner darstellen. Situationale und damit kulturell bestimmte Anforderungen definieren jeweils, welcher dieser Abstände bei gegebenem Interaktionsthema und gegebener Beziehungsstruktur zwischen den teilnehmenden Personen eingenommen werden muss.

Auch das Ausmaß gestischen Verhaltens und das Repertoire redebegleitender Gesten ist kulturell sehr unterschiedlich, wie Untersuchungen von Efron (1941) bei jüdischen Einwanderern in die USA oder von Ricci-Bitti (1976) im Vergleich von Nord- und Südtalienern gezeigt haben. Nicht zuletzt ist das Ausmaß gezeigten Blickkontakts kulturell sehr unterschiedlich. Während beispielsweise Araber ein hohes Maß von Blickkontakt zeigen, wird dies von US-Amerikanern als „aufdringliches Anstarren“ interpretiert (vgl. Hall 1966). Solche Unterschiede im nonverbalen Verhalten werden besonders dann offensichtlich, wenn Vertreter verschiedener Kulturen miteinander interagieren. Aber auch innerhalb eines nationalen Kulturkreises sind große Unterschiede im nonverbalen Verhalten zu beobachten. Gerade aus den Vereinigten Staaten liegen eine Vielzahl von Untersuchungen zu unterschiedlichem nonverbalen Verhalten von Schwarzen und Weißen vor.

Eine Vielzahl ethologischer und ethnologischer Untersuchungen und Beobachtungen bestätigen solche Kulturabhängigkeiten. Wichtig dabei erscheint, dass die Verwendung nonverbaler Verhaltensweisen in vielen Fällen nicht unabhängig von kulturellen Normen und geteilten Werten verstanden werden kann (vgl. Matsumoto 1996, zu Untersuchungen des nonverbalen Verhaltens in Japan). Solche Erkenntnisse werden vor allem auch wichtig im Zusammenhang mit dem Umgang mit ethnischen Minoritäten. Auch bei der Untersuchung von Geschlechtsunterschieden wurde versucht, das unterschiedliche nonverbale Verhalten von Männern und Frauen in alltäglichen Interaktionen zu Macht- und Statusunterschieden in Beziehung zu setzen (Henley 1977).

Die Frage kultureller Bedingtheit oder Universalität nonverbalen Verhaltens wurde

besonders intensiv im Zusammenhang mit emotionalem mimischem Gesichtsausdruck diskutiert. Während auf der einen Seite ausgehend von Darwins Arbeiten (1872) von angeborenen, emotionalen Gesichtsausdrucksmustern für diskrete Emotionen ausgegangen wurde, wurde schon in frühen Arbeiten von LaBarre (1947) und besonders von Birdwhistell (1970) argumentiert, dass es keine universellen emotionalen Gesichtsausdrucksmuster gebe, sondern diese kulturell und interaktiv determiniert seien. Diese Diskussion zwischen „Universalisten“ und „Relativisten“ scheint allerdings aufgrund interkultureller Untersuchungen (Ekman 1972; Izard 1972) eher dahin zu deuten, dass zumindest einige emotionale Gesichtsausdrucksmuster wirklich universell sind. Diese interkulturellen Untersuchungen belegten, dass emotionales Ausdrucksverhalten nicht nur innerhalb einer Kultur, sondern auch von Angehörigen verschiedener Kulturen richtig erkannt wird. Auf der anderen Seite ist diese Diskussion gerade in den letzten Jahren wieder aufgeflammt. Russell (1994) und Fridlund (1994) haben beide die „universalistische“ Position sowohl aus methodologischen Überlegungen (Russell), als auch aus theoretischen Erwägungen (Fridlund) scharf attackiert. Eine aktuelle Übersicht zu der Diskussion um die Universalität emotionalen Gesichtsausdrucks liefern Segerstrale und Molnar (1997).

Universalität emotionalen Gesichtsausdrucks bedeutet allerdings nicht, dass jede Person aus jeder Kultur in gleichen Situationen gleiche mimische Muster zeigen müsste. Es muss von einer Interaktion zwischen sozialen und biologischen Faktoren ausgegangen werden. Oft beschriebene Eigenheiten von Kulturen, wie das „asiatische Lächeln“, das häufig auch in Situationen gezeigt wird, die eher negative Emotionen nahe legen, erklären sich zum einen aus der Tatsache, dass objektiv gleiche Situationen in unterschiedlichen Kulturen unterschiedliche Emotionen auslösen können (Ekman 1972). Zum Zweiten ist der oben angesprochene Einfluss sozialer Normen und Ausdrucksregeln zu berücksichtigen (Ting-Toomey 1994). Ekman (1972) hat dafür das Konzept der Darbietungsregeln oder „display rules“ eingeführt. Kulturabhängig sind wohl nicht emotionspezifische Ausdrucksmuster, sondern die Art und das Ausmaß, in dem solches mimisches Verhalten gezeigt werden darf. Darbietungsregeln können in unterschiedlichen

Kulturen beispielsweise das „Maskieren“ von Emotionen fordern (Überspielung einer negativen Emotion durch positiven Gesichtsausdruck), oder aber „Intensivierung“ (Vortäuschen einer stärkeren Emotion als eigentlich empfunden), „Deintensivierung“ (Reduzierung des Gesichtsausdrucks, wie beispielsweise in westlichen Kulturen bei dem stark sanktionierten Ausdruck von Ärger) oder „Neutralisierung“ (Unterdrückung emotionalen Gesichtsausdrucks durch neutralen Gesichtsausdruck; vgl. Ekman 1972).

Bei solchen Darbietungsregeln kann es sich entweder um kulturell und sozial geforderte Darbietungsregeln (wie das Nicht-Zeigen negativer Emotionen in westlichen und besonders in asiatischen Kulturen) oder aber um individuelle Darbietungsregeln (wie beispielsweise der durch bestimmte Erziehungspraktiken geförderte restringierte Affektausdruck bei Stotterern; Krause 1982) handeln. Bei der Betrachtung kultureller Unterschiede sind dabei vor allem gezielt theoriegeleitete Aspekte zum Einfluss von kulturellen Grundwerten (z. B. Individualismus vs. Kollektivismus; Hofstede 1984; Matsumoto 1996) auf Emotionsauslösung und Emotionserleben, und damit einhergehend auch auf das nonverbale Verhalten zu beachten (vgl. auch Kitayama/Markus 1994; Wallbott 1996; Wierzbicka 1999). Insgesamt ist daher der wechselseitig modulierende Einfluss biologischer und kultureller Faktoren auf nonverbales Verhalten immer noch ein zentrales Forschungsthema (Philippot/Feldman 1999).

6. Ausblick

Die Forschung zum nonverbalen Verhalten kann nie die Domäne nur eines Wissenschaftsgebietes sein, nicht zuletzt der letzte Abschnitt sollte dies deutlich machen. Die Linguistik, die Psychologie, die Psychiatrie, aber auch nicht zuletzt Ethnologie und Ethologie haben sich intensiv mit diesem Bereich auseinandergesetzt. Fortschritte in manchen Bereichen sind aber möglicherweise vor allem zu erwarten, wenn Überlegungen und Untersuchungen über verschiedene dieser Bereiche hinweg durchgeführt werden. So sei nur als kleines Beispiel zur Beziehung zwischen Sprache und Gestik abschließend die Untersuchung von Tomasello und Camaioni (1997) genannt, in der gestische Kommunikation von Menschenaffen mit der von Kleinkindern verglichen wurde (vgl.

auch Tomasello/Call/Gluckman 1997 oder Tomasello/Call/Nagell/Olguin/Carpenter 1994 zum Gestenerwerb bei jungen Schimpansen). Auch im Bereich der Untersuchung des Zusammenspiels (möglicher) biologischer und kultureller Einflussfaktoren beispielsweise beim nonverbalen Ausdruck von Emotionen können Emotionsforscher nur auf die Hilfe von Kulturwissenschaftlern oder Soziologen hoffen, die ihnen theoretisch begründete Konzepte zur Unterscheidung von Kulturen zur Verfügung stellen. Interkulturelle Untersuchungen, in denen mehr oder weniger willkürlich zwei oder mehr Kulturen verglichen werden, können dabei kaum zufrieden stellen (Wallbott 1997), solange nicht eine Theorie der vermittelnden Faktoren zwischen Kultur, Sprache, psychologischen Konzepten wie Emotion, und nonverbalem Verhalten vorliegt.

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78. Sign Language/Zeichensprache

1. Background
2. Deaf communities
3. History of sign languages
4. Dialects in sign languages
5. Situational variants in sign languages
6. Bilingualism in signing communities
7. Borrowing from sign languages
8. Language change
9. Conclusions
10. Literature (selected)

1. Background

The siting of this chapter in the section on the social implications of levels of linguistic analysis, among chapters on phonetics, morphology, pragmatics, code-switching, politeness forms, written language, paralinguistic phenomena, and non-verbal phenomena, reflects persisting difficulties in the integration of research on signed languages within mainstream linguistics and sociolinguistics, despite their recognition as forming a class of natural human languages. The sign languages of the world's deaf communities are visual-spatial languages, which have

arisen independently of spoken languages. Detailed, empirical linguistic research into sign languages is recent, with modern sign linguistics usually traced back to Stokoe's seminal work on the phonological structure of American Sign Language, published in 1960. Since that time, over 100 sign languages used by deaf people have been identified and described (Ethnologue database, 1996). The sign languages of deaf communities have not been invented by hearing people and are independent of – although frequently influenced by – spoken languages. These languages operate entirely within the visual modality (although modified forms for deaf blind signers use touch) and reflect the grammatical options available to visual spatial languages. Signed vocabulary is frequently highly visually motivated. Signed grammar exploits the possibility of placing and moving signs through space. Unlike spoken languages, in which there is only one major articulator set (the mouth), signed languages have multiple articulators (including both hands and the

head and mouth), allowing two or even more signs to be articulated simultaneously.

Although these articulatory options are available to all sign languages, unrelated sign languages of different deaf communities are mutually unintelligible, although it is a common folk belief that the visual gestural nature of sign languages might make them universal. The use of the North American Plains Indian Sign Language as a *lingua franca* among speakers of many different languages in the 18th and 19th centuries has served to perpetuate this myth (Tomkins 1969). However, even visually motivated signs can focus upon different features of a referent. For example, a sign referring to “tea” might either reflect the way the tea is brewed or how it is drunk. Further, cultural differences between language users will lead to different signs. For example, the form of signs referring to doors may depend upon whether doors in that language community slide open or open on hinges. The natural diversity found between sign languages is also seen within individual sign languages, with dialect and register variation seen, particularly at the lexical level.

2. Deaf communities

The sign languages described in this article are those used by members of deaf communities. We will not consider visual language systems used by hearing people, for example, where spoken language is taboo (e.g. the Warlpiri people in Australia (Kendon 1988)) or by religious orders seeking to limit the use of speech (e.g. Barakat 1987; Banham 1991; Quay 2001). We will also not address signed systems which have been devised by hearing people for use in the education of deaf children (e.g. the Paget-Gorman Sign System, Paget/Gorman 1976).

Deaf communities are found in many countries, wherever deaf people are able to come together and socialize. Most members of deaf communities have been deaf since birth or early childhood, or are the children of deaf parents, acquiring a signed language as a first language. Late-deafened people usually continue to use spoken language and rely on lip-reading, residual hearing or use of writing, rather than sign language. Childhood deafness is rare, with estimates ranging from 1 in 1000 to 1 in 2000 of the general population. Where genetic deafness is found in isolated communities (e.g. in parts of In-

donesia, Mexico and the Middle East), the number of deaf people can be proportionately much higher and the use of the sign language is considerably greater (Woll/Ladd 2003). In developed countries, deaf communities are rarely found in rural areas, but urban areas often have a sufficient concentration of deaf people for a community to develop. For many deaf people, membership of the deaf community begins with attendance at a deaf school where deaf children, who mostly are born to hearing families, come together and learn the language and culture of the community.

Woll and Ladd 2003 have identified some of the features of deaf communities. Members of an adult deaf community have most of their social relationships with other members of the community. A high percentage marry within the community and identify with the life and educational experiences of other deaf people. In almost all cases, deaf communities are minority groups, socially and numerically. There is little generational continuity within the community, since over 90% of deaf children are born to hearing parents, and most deaf people have hearing children. Deaf community members have lower status than the people in the surrounding hearing society. The sign languages of deaf communities also have low status and are often regarded by hearing people – and some deaf people – as being less worthy than spoken languages.

3. History of sign languages

Sign languages are probably as old as the communities that use them. There is no doubt that deaf people have used signed language throughout history whenever they could. However, before urbanization and the establishment of deaf schools, the signed languages that most deaf people used were not the same as the full sign languages we see now. The form of sign languages in the past is not clear because of the absence of historical records for languages that are entirely unwritten. Written English descriptions of signs used in Britain do exist and extend back at least as far as the sixteenth century. A description of a deaf man’s signed wedding vows from 1575 describes signs that are not familiar to modern day signers (cf. Sutton-Spence/Woll 1999). British Sign Language (BSL) as we know it today probably started with the increased urbanization

of the British population and became established after the first schools for deaf children started in the 1760s (Kyle/Woll 1985). Whether correctly or not, the history of many national sign languages is linked to the opening of the first deaf schools. French Sign Language (LSF) is often dated from the first deaf school in Paris in the 1740s. This French school had considerable impact on many sign languages in other countries when educators trained at French schools brought French signs back to their own countries. The founders of the Hartford Asylum for the Deaf in America in 1817 employed a deaf Frenchman when setting up the school (Lane 1984). St Mary's and St Joseph's schools for deaf children in Dublin were both opened after religious educators had been trained in France (Matthews 1996; Burns 1998). The French system was also adopted in Russia. In recent years, the world dominance of the United States has led to American Sign Language (ASL) influencing sign languages in Africa (Schmaling 2000).

Although most European and American deaf schools in the 19th century used sign language as a medium of instruction, there was an alternative educational philosophy of oralism. This educational philosophy aimed to educate deaf children through lip-reading and use of speech. Signing was proscribed. At the Congress of Milan in 1880 hearing educators of the deaf voted to adopt the oral method in schools. By the end of the 19th Century, and for most of the 20th century, the use of sign languages was forbidden in European and American deaf schools. Children continued to use them in secret, however, until attitudes began to relax in the 1970s and 1980s and signing was once again permitted.

4. Dialects in sign languages

Variation on the basis of social identity is found in sign languages. Considerable lexical variation has been observed, although extensive and systematic research has yet not been reported for any sign language dialects. Evidence from research on sign languages so far suggests that pronunciation and grammar shows little systematic variation according to signers' identities. Regional and social sign language "accents" have not been described.

Theories of regional dialects often implicitly presuppose that there was once a single, uniform language which diverged until iden-

tifiable regional varieties arose, either through spontaneous evolution or language mixing, or both processes. There is no evidence, however, that there was once a single British Sign Language, which split up as deaf people spread throughout the land. We can also probably dismiss the idea that regional dialects of BSL differ because of mixing with other languages. The exception to this is that some regional dialects of BSL (i.e. some Scottish and Northern Irish dialects) have been influenced by Irish Sign Language.

The main reason for dialect differences in BSL can probably be ascribed to residential school dialects, where signs have been used by children and their teachers outside the classroom for many years. There was no national centralized training for teachers who wished to use sign language as a medium of tuition. The deaf schools were often isolated from the main adult deaf community. Each school used its own dialect of BSL which evolved over the years as the sign language passed on to each generation of new pupils. When people left school, they continued to use that dialect with other local people. There is no way to send letters in BSL to distant places because there is no written form. So when spontaneous changes arose in one dialect of BSL, they did not spread to other areas. Regional dialects of Irish Sign Language are far less pronounced than those in BSL. This can be explained by the fact that all Irish deaf children were, until recently, educated at two schools in Dublin. American Sign Language is comparably less varied than BSL, proportionate to the sizes of the two countries. This can be accounted for by the fact that teachers in American deaf schools in the last century all had links with the Hartford Asylum.

Another reason for regional variations is that signs are linked to the culture of the deaf people in that area. For example, in Spanish Sign Language, many of the signs for the months of the year are determined by the weather during each month or the particular local festivals. However, the weather or festivals vary around the country and different dialects use different signs for months. The Scottish sign SUNDAY is derived from the sign PREACH, while the English sign is derived from PRAY (glosses of signs are conventionally represented in upper-case; fingerspelling in lower-case, separated by hyphens), and this may exemplify

how a cultural difference – traditionally Scottish ministers have preached great sermons on Sundays – can lead to a dialect difference. Since national broadcasting of BSL began on television in 1980, people have been able to see more varieties of BSL, and it is possible that regional dialects of BSL are becoming more uniform. In this way, the dialect leveling in BSL can be seen to parallel the influences of broadcast technology on English dialects.

Social dialects in sign language reflect the structure of deaf communities and signers' identities within these communities (Sutton-Spence/Woll 1999). The class dialects commonly found within spoken languages arise where members of a language community use language varieties linked to their status within the community in relation to family background, educational level or income. In many sign languages the class dialect of signers is determined by slightly different factors. In Britain, most deaf people have traditionally been under-educated and under-employed. As the language of their family is usually English, not sign language, their BSL dialect is not related to their family background. "Class" dialects of BSL are determined by the signer's life signing experience. Signers who come from deaf families, and who comprise 5–10% of the deaf community, are usually considered to have the most prestigious sign dialect. The dialect of signers who attended residential schools and mixed extensively with other deaf children is more highly regarded within the deaf community than that of those who were educated at day schools or with hearing children.

Sign languages may show dialect variation according to the ethnic or religious identity of the signers, or the spoken language of the surrounding hearing community. Signers in Anglophone Canada, for example, use a form of signing that is essentially ASL. Signers in Quebec, however, use a different sign language. There are times, however, when sign languages transcend hearing people's linguistic boundaries. Zeshan (2000) reports that there is essentially one Indo-Pakistani Sign Language, irrespective of the signers' religion or spoken language cultural heritage. Sign language dialects reflect the existence of ethnic minorities within the deaf community. There is no clearly identifiable British Black Sign Language that might parallel British Black English. Britain's Black deaf children have been

educated with White children (although see James/Woll 2004). In the USA, however, there are clearly attested dialects of Black and White ASL (Aramburo 1989). These arose primarily as a result of America's previous racist education policy which separated Black and White deaf school children. The number of Asians in Britain's deaf community is growing and we may expect that a dialect reflecting an increasingly confident Asian deaf identity will develop.

Differences in language use according to gender have been described in many spoken languages. In most cases these are ascribed to the different social roles of men and women within these language communities. Genderlects in sign languages show many of the linguistic traits described in spoken languages. For example, women signers of BSL are more likely to create a collaborative conversational floor, with increased supportive back-channel responses, while men signers have greater single control of the floor, with fewer supportive back-channel responses (Coates 1996; Coates/Sutton-Spence 2001; but see also Nowell 1989). There is also evidence that male BSL signers use more "coarse" language than female signers. Significantly different gender sign dialects have been described by Le Master and Dwyer in Irish Sign Language (1991). There were separate deaf schools in Dublin for girls and boys which used different forms of sign language that were in some cases mutually unintelligible. Rigid separation of the children led to the school-leavers having very different sign dialects. After both schools had adopted an oral approach in the 1960s the differences between the dialects began to decline.

5. Situational variants in sign languages

Situational variants of sign languages are clearly identifiable. Features of "formal" and "informal" variants of sign languages have been described (e.g. Zimmer 1989 for ASL). More casual signing tends to be larger and more expansive than formal signing. There is also less influence from the surrounding spoken language in casual variants (Woll 1991) and the sign vocabulary reflects a choice appropriate to informal conversation, including use of idiomatic signs and visual metaphors. Casual signing uses a greater variety of non-manual features, including more marked facial expressions.

Articulatory contrasts are reduced, with two-handed signs are articulated with only one hand, and loss of contact with specific body locations (Deuchar 1984). There is also greater use of signs that may be considered more like “gesture”, for example, a simple shrug, instead of the sign DON’T-KNOW. Non-manual grammatical elements substitute for manual elements in casual signing. For example, spatial marking of grammatical referents is seen more frequently in formal signing.

There are no written variants of most sign languages because for the most part they have not had a written form. There have been a few attempts to create a written literature of sign languages, however, especially in the USA, Denmark and Nicaragua (e.g. Kegl/Senghas/Coppola 1999). No standard variant of most sign languages in parallel to spoken language standard variants exists, because sign languages are not used in parallel settings. Most sign languages have only limited use in schools, the civil service, legal settings, on radio and television or in universities. In some countries, including Britain, sign language has recently begun to be accepted in schools, on television and in universities, and a clear register for this is developing. It should also be noted that situational variants dictated by the status of the addressee also differ between signed and spoken languages. In most cases, people of higher status than the deaf person, including a deaf child’s older relations or teachers, are hearing people who are not signers, and a deaf signer will need to switch to another language rather than use a specific register of a sign language.

6. Bilingualism in signing communities

Sign languages are almost always minority languages within the wider community. In common with most minority languages in close contact with a majority language, sign languages are influenced by the majority languages. It is rare to find signers in Europe and North America who are not bilingual in their sign language and the majority spoken language. For some signers, this means using signing and a written form of the spoken language. Other signers may also speak the spoken language and lip-read.

Sign languages are able to accommodate spoken languages visually in various ways.

One widespread method is the use of fingerspelling by means of manual alphabets. Manual alphabets use distinct hand-configurations to represent each letter of a written alphabet, enabling the signer to recreate the spelling of any written word using that alphabet. Different sign languages use fingerspelling to different extents.

Many European sign languages and ASL have signs with handshapes derived from manual letters. For example, in ASL the signs GROUP, TEAM, FAMILY and ASSOCIATION have handshapes borrowed from the letters -g-, -t-, -f- and -a- respectively, but the movement and location of the signs is otherwise identical. In Irish Sign Language, the signs HAPPY, HEARING and HOUR all have the same -h- handshape, although the movements and locations of the signs differ. Fingerspelling may be used to represent words for which the sign language does not have a well established sign, or where a sign has only local use. Then fingerspelling can act as a form of lingua franca for signers from all regions. This is common, for example, in the use of place names. In some cases fingerspellings become adapted to the phonology of the sign languages and are used as established loanwords. Battison (1978) has described in detail the phonological changes that fingerspellings in ASL undergo to become loanwords in ASL. These changes include reduction of the number of letters to an ideal number of two and assimilation of handshape and movement between the letters. Similar processes occur in BSL (Sutton-Spence/Woll/Allsop 1991). BSL also makes use of single manual letter signs as established loanword signs. For example, the manual component of the signs MOTHER, MONDAY, TUESDAY, TOILET, AUTOMATIC and ALCOHOLIC in many BSL dialects consists of the fingerspelled first letter of each English word (that is, -m-m- is used for ‘mother’ and ‘Monday’ and -a-a- for ‘automatic’ and ‘alcoholic’).

These single manual letter signs can have several potential homonyms. Context serves to distinguish between the manual homonyms, but in many sign languages, especially where the signers are well educated in the spoken language of the wider community, the mouth pattern derived from the spoken word equivalent is also articulated. Thus the sign MOTHER using -m-m- is accompanied by a mouth pattern derived from the English

word 'mother'. These mouth patterns derived from spoken language are commonly used in European sign languages, and to a lesser extent in ASL, not only to distinguish between homonyms but more generally in cases that appear to identify the referent of the manual sign (Boyes-Braem/Sutton-Spence 2001). In a similar way, Danish Sign Language has been influenced by the Forchhammer hand mouth system. This system uses a set of hand-configurations to disambiguate mouth patterns from speech segments that look identical to lip readers. Thus, for example, different hand configurations are used to disambiguate the bilabials /m/, /p/ and /b/. Although the Forchhammer system is independent of Danish Sign Language, it has influenced the language as one more way of allowing signers to borrow from the spoken languages of the wider community. The use of these spoken language mouth patterns together with signs is an example of code mixing specific to cross-modal bilingualism, since only sign languages allow the articulation of forms from two languages simultaneously (Lucas 2001).

7. Borrowing from sign languages

Although sign languages borrow most extensively from the spoken languages of the wider hearing community, they also borrow from other sign languages. BSL and Irish Sign Language borrow from each other, due to cultural and geographical closeness. Signers of ISL have considerable access to BSL, both through television broadcasts of British deaf programs that can be received in Ireland and through the ease of movement for social and employment purposes between Ireland and England. BSL signers who are Roman Catholics often have increased contact with ISL signers and show influences of ISL in their signing.

Borrowing may also occur on a larger scale through educational practice. Richer countries, such as the USA, Finland, Denmark and Britain, with teacher training facilities and deaf studies departments at university level, may train people from poorer countries with less well developed education and deaf studies facilities of their own. When they return to their own countries, graduates take with them influences from European and American sign languages (see, e.g., Schmalig 2000; and Lane/Hoffmeister/Bahan 1996).

8. Language change

Sign languages, like all living languages, change over time, but there is limited historical data. For the most part, linguists interested in the history of sign languages need to draw on the knowledge and memories of elderly signers. However, descriptions of some signs go back to the 17th century in Britain. The earliest films of ASL signers were made in 1913, providing limited but unequivocal evidence of the pronunciation, grammar and lexis of the language at that time. Most descriptions and illustrations of signs that have been recorded give us information about the lexical items but little information about the grammar of the sign languages. An exception is Edward Tylor, who wrote several books in the late 19th century about signing. He describes in some detail consistencies of word-order in sign language. He describes his deaf informant's preferred word order as "1. object; 2. subject; 3. action; illustrating it by the gestures 'door key open' to express 'the key opens the door' [...] thus when Mr. Hebden expressed in gestures 'I found a pipe on the road' the order of the signs was written down as 'road pipe I-find'." (1874, 27).

Among past and current change processes in BSL are the reduction of location contrasts, with signs tending to move away from the periphery of signing space, and assimilation of handshapes in compound signs. There is also a continuing reduction in the use of fingerspelling, with younger signers and those in the south of England using fingerspelling much less than older signers and those in Scotland and the north of England. A number of recent studies have explored similarities and differences between closely related sign languages (e.g. British, Australian and New Zealand sign languages) with the aim of exploring processes of change (McKee/Kennedy 2000).

9. Conclusions

All areas of sign language research, including sociolinguistic research, are still in their initial stages, compared with research on spoken languages. Research on sign languages can serve to illuminate issues of general importance in sociolinguistics by identifying the ways in which modality issues affect sociolinguistic processes, for example, in showing how cross-modal (i.e. signed and

spoken language) code-mixing differs from within-modal (two signed, or two spoken language) code mixing. It is hoped that in the future, research on signed languages will be fully integrated within mainstream linguistics and sociolinguistics.

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V. The History of Sociolinguistics Geschichte der Soziolinguistik

79. Vorsoziolinguistische Entwicklungen in der Erforschung von Sprache und Gesellschaft Pre-Sociolinguistic Developments in the Research on Language and Society

1. Einleitung: zeitlicher Rahmen, Inhalt, Quellen
2. Fakten, Themen, Methoden: zur Vielfalt der präsoziolinguistischen Diskurse
3. Etappen der Entfaltung soziolinguistisch relevanter Diskurse (ca. 300 v. Chr. bis 1950/60)
4. Bilanz und Ausblick
5. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Einleitung: zeitlicher Rahmen, Inhalt, Quellen

Ziel des vorliegenden Beitrags ist die – sehr summarische – Darstellung von im weitesten Sinn als „soziolinguistisch“ einzustufenden Beobachtungen bzw. Denk- und Wissenschaftsansätzen in der Zeit vor der Entstehung des begrifflich, methodisch und thematisch eigenständigen Paradigmas namens *Soziolinguistik* (*sociolinguistics*, *sociolinguistique* etc.). Da der Erstbeleg von *sociolinguistics* in die früheren 50-er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts fällt (Currie 1952) und die ersten als genuin soziolinguistisch anzusprechenden Arbeiten der Pioniere dieses neuen Paradigmas (z. B. von Uriel Weinreich, Einar Haugen oder William Labov) ebenso im sechsten Jahrzehnt des 20. Jahrhunderts erscheinen, stellt dieses hier den Abschluß des Beobachtungszeitraums dar. Der Beginn ergibt sich aus der thematischen Schwerpunktsetzung dieser von einem Romanisten verfaßten Übersicht: er fällt in das dritte vorchristliche Jahrhundert (Anfang der Überlieferung der lateinischen Literatur). Inhaltlich versteht sich dieser Beitrag als Ergänzung, keineswegs aber als Ersatz eines Artikels von H.Löffler, der 1987 in der ersten Auflage dieses Handbuchs unter dem Titel ‚Sprache und Gesellschaft in der Geschichte der vorstrukturalistischen

Sprachwissenschaft‘ erschienen ist. Aus der Tatsache, dass die Generalproblematik, die dem Beitrag Löfflers und dem vorliegenden zugrunde liegt, unter gar keinen Umständen in der Form eines Kurzüberblicks erledigt werden kann, ergibt sich zweierlei: 1) Da Löfflers Darstellung eine germanistische und die unsere eine romanistische Vision des Themas liefern, wären Erweiterungen aus allgemein-linguistischer, anglistischer, slawistischer etc. Sicht nicht nur wünschenswert, sondern sogar dringend erforderlich; 2) Eine zufriedenstellende Behandlung des Themas wäre nur im Rahmen eines in interdisziplinärer Kooperation zu erstellenden Sammelwerks möglich (etwa nach dem Vorbild von Auroux 1989/2000 oder Lepschy 1990/94 bzw. 1994/98). Als Quellen kommen für diese zeitlich und thematisch weitgespannte Darstellung prinzipiell in Frage: Sprachgeschichten des Lateinischen (z. B. Devoto 1968) und der einzelnen romanischen Sprachen (siehe dazu die einschlägigen Bände des LRL) sowie Geschichten der Allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft (z. B. Arens 1974, Mounin 1967, Lepschy 1990/94 bzw. 1994/98 oder Auroux 1989/2000), der Klassischen und der Romanischen Philologie bzw. Romanistik (cf. z. B. Gröber 1888, Várvaro 1968 oder Lüdtko 2001). Zum Gesamtbereich der romanistischen Linguistik steht neuerdings – in Analogie zum älteren ‚Lexikon der Germanistischen Linguistik‘ (LGL) – das vielbändige ‚Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik‘ (LRL) zur Verfügung, wofür überdies in der Serie HSK eine v. a. sprachgeschichtlich ausgerichtete dreibändige Ergänzung im Erscheinen ist. Zusätzlich sei erwähnt, dass eine v. a. komparatistisch und übereinzelsprachlich arbeitende Disziplin namens *Romanistik* praktisch nur in den deutschsprachigen Ländern existiert; anderswo sowie in den diversen

romanischen Ländern werden großteils nur einzelsprachlich konzipierte Sprach- (und Literatur-)Wissenschaften betrieben. Jenseits der philologisch-linguistischen Fachliteratur ist für die hier zu behandelnde Problematik noch mit besonderem Nachdruck das großartige Übersichtswerk ‚Der Turmbau von Babel‘ des Historikers Arno Borst (1957/63) zu nennen, in dem eine umfassende „Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker“ dieser Welt geboten wird. Leider wird es in Linguistenkreisen viel zu wenig beachtet bzw. benutzt. Das Buch von Borst erweitert den Blickwinkel der linguistischen bzw. philologischen Wissenschaft bzw. – frühere Zeiten betreffend – Reflexion in sehr glücklicher Weise um jenen von Historie, Philosophie und Theologie.

2. Fakten, Themen, Methoden: zur Vielfalt der präsoziolinguistischen Diskurse

Die großangelegte Synthese von Borst belegt die überragende Bedeutung dreier sprachbezogener Bibelstellen, die vor und nach Christus überaus breitgestreute Reflexionen und Diskussionen ausgelöst und angeregt haben. Es sind dies – im Alten Testament – zum einen die Geschichte vom Turmbau zu Babel und der nachfolgenden Verwirrung der Sprachen (Genesis 11, 1–9) und zum anderen die Völkertafel (Genesis 10) sowie – im Neuen Testament – das Pfingstwunder mit der Ausgießung des Heiligen Geistes und der nachfolgenden Wiederherstellung des allumfassenden Sprachverständnisses (Apostelgeschichte des Lukas 2, 1–9). Die beiden alttestamentlichen Episoden haben endlose und überaus differenzierte Diskussionen zum Wie, Woher und Wozu der Sprachenvielfalt sowie zur Klassifikation und Deszendenz der Sprachen dieser Welt angeregt, während die neutestamentliche Episode oft als positives bzw. erlösendes Komplement zur als negativ bzw. als Strafe Gottes für menschliche Hybris empfundenen Sprachenverwirrung eingestuft wurde. Damit eng verknüpft sind die folgenden Problemkreise: Sprache Gottes, älteste Sprache, Distanz bzw. Nähe der eigenen Sprache zur vermeintlich ältesten bzw. heiligsten Sprache (wofür oft das Hebräische gehalten wurde), Zulassung einer oder mehrerer Sprachen zu Liturgie, allgemeiner Glaubenspflege und Mission sowie zur Ko-

difizierung der heiligen Schriften; Frage der Entstehung bzw. Herkunft der Sprachen (göttlicher versus menschlicher bzw. sozialer Ursprung etc.). Es ist erstaunlich, mit welcher Zähigkeit sich diese biblisch inspirierten Diskurse durch praktisch zwei Jahrtausende, auf jeden Fall aber bis tief in das 19. Jahrhundert halten konnten. Sie wurden de facto erst im Zuge des Aufkommens der Vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft zurückgedrängt bzw. marginalisiert.

Aus der Analyse der Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache bzw. der verschiedenen romanischen Einzelsprachen ergeben sich darüberhinaus die folgenden, oft toposartig auftretenden Problemkreise: Entdeckung und Benennung von Nachbarsprachen, Festlegung bzw. Normierung des eigenen Namens (Glottonym); Verschriftlichung (Kodifizierung) und Etablierung normativer Diskurse: diese kreisen meist um den Umfang des eigenen Sprachraums und thematisieren dessen diatopische und diastratische Gliederung; Entdeckung der Historizität der neuen Schriftlichkeit bzw. der damit verfassten Texte: damit verbunden sind das Problem der Vorbildhaftigkeit bestimmter Werke und deren Autoren und die Frage, ob diese früher (in der ‚Urzeit‘) oder in der Jetztzeit zu suchen sind. In diesem Zusammenhang taucht immer wieder die Problematik der Herkunft und Bedeutung von Sprachmischung bzw. *-korruption* auf, die v. a. seit dem 16. Jahrhundert intensiv und mit z. T. absonderlichen Argumenten diskutiert wird. Wichtig sind dabei auch Art und Status der *korumpierenden* Sprachen (und deren Sprecher) sowie das Problem des Ausmaßes des Fortbestehens des ursprünglichen Charakters der „korruptierten“ Sprache. In späterer Zeit resultieren daraus Sprachreinigung, -pflege und -purismus.

Ein weiterer, immer wieder beobachtbarer Aspekt ist die Entdeckung bzw. Operationalisierung der politischen bzw. staatstragenden Funktion von Sprache, die in der Romania durch die rasche Herausbildung nationalstaatlicher Strukturen (in Frankreich, Spanien und Portugal) schon im Spätmittelalter stattfindet. Damit verbunden ist das facettenreiche Problem des Sprachnationalismus. Kennzeichnend für die Romania ist ferner der viele Jahrhunderte andauernde Prozess der Ablösung des Lateinischen durch die romanischen Einzelsprachen, der mit einem intensiven Ausbau und einer ebensolchen Differenzierung von Korpus und Status der

diversen Volkssprachen (*linguae vulgares*) verbunden ist. Im Zuge der damit einhergehenden grammatiko- und lexikographischen Produktion kommt es zu stark normativ-präskriptiven Verhärtungen bzw. Diskursregelungen, die – v.a. seit dem 19. Jahrhundert und der Etablierung bzw. dem Wirksamwerden der allgemeinen Schulpflicht – es den sich konstituierenden nationalen Sprachwissenschaften oft sehr schwer machen, sich unbefangen der Deskription der oralen und skripturalen Wirklichkeit unterhalb des jeweiligen Standards zu widmen. Kennzeichnend für die Romania ist die in der Regel hohe Sensibilität für eine auf einem allgemeinen (zivilen) Konsens beruhende Sprachnorm (*uso, bon usage* etc.), der eine große staatstragende, wenigstens aber staatsbürgerliche Relevanz beigemessen wird. Dabei entsteht für den nicht-romanophonen Außenbeobachter der Eindruck, dass – gegenläufig zur Abnahme des gesellschaftlichen und politischen Einflusses der katholischen Kirche und ihrer Gebote – viele der von der Kirche jahrhundertlang hochgehaltenen Maximen im sprachlichen Bereich in anderer Form und Gestalt weiterleben. Dies betrifft v.a. die überall in der Romania schwierige Koexistenz von Standard- und Substandardvarietäten bzw. von National- und Minderheitensprachen, und zwar sowohl in der gesellschaftlichen Realität als auch in der (de facto multiplen) Kompetenz der einzelnen Sprecher (cf. Art. 173–175).

Ein weiteres Distinktivum zwischen Romania und Germania besteht im unterschiedlichen Ablauf der Alphabetisierung breiter Bevölkerungsschichten. Hier hat die Germania gegenüber der von der Reformation nur lateral bzw. vorübergehend berührten Romania durch das reformatorische Grundgebot des allgemeinen Zugangs zu den heiligen Texten – das nur über die Institution der Schule umsetzbar ist – einen deutlichen Vorsprung. Damit verbunden sind – in der Germania – eine frühe (und de facto konfliktärmere) Gewöhnung an alle mit der sozialen Koexistenz von Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit verbundenen Probleme. Dies bedeutet aber auch eine Einübung in den geläufigen Umgang mit den Verschiedenheiten bzw. Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Sprech- und Schriftsprache, wie dies heute in besonders ausgeprägter Form in der Deutschschweiz beobachtet werden kann. Eine der schweizerdeutschen Di- oder Syn-glossie vergleichbare Situation wäre – v.a. für größere Kollektive und im Wege der Etablie-

rung eines allgemein akzeptierten *bon usage* – in der Romania völlig undenkbar.

3. Etappen der Entfaltung soziolinguistisch relevanter Diskurse (ca. 300 v. Chr. bis 1950/60)

3.1. Die lateinischen Fundamente (ca. 300 v. Chr. bis ca. 600 n. Chr.)

Die sich über wenigstens fünf Jahrhunderte (vom 3. Samniterkrieg, 298–290 v. Chr.) bis zur Erwerbung Dakiens (107 n. Chr.) hinziehende territoriale Expansion Roms und – damit verbunden – des Lateinischen hat zur Etablierung eines diatopisch und diastratisch reich diversifizierten Diasystems geführt, dessen Strukturen im historischen Rückblick sowohl indirekt (durch Vergleich der überlieferten Texte) als auch direkt (durch metalinguistische Zeugnisse der jeweiligen Zeitzeugen und -genossen) erschlossen werden können. Hier interessieren v.a. die metalinguistischen Zeugnisse. Zum Kontakt mit nichtlateinischen Sprachen gibt es zahlreiche – freilich oft nur sehr kurze – Hinweise, die sich vom Selbstzeugnis der Dichter Quintus Ennius (239–169 v. Chr.: er habe *tria corda* und sei somit dreisprachig: Lateinisch, Griechisch, Oskisch) und Publius Ovidius Naso (43 v. Chr.–17. n. Chr.: er verstehe in seinem Verbannungsort Tomi am Schwarzen Meer die Sprache des Germanenvolks der Geten nicht) bis zum Bericht des Kirchenvaters Hieronimus (ca. 347–419/20 n. Chr.) erstrecken, demzufolge „die kleinasiatischen Galater annähernd dieselbe Sprache sprächen wie die keltischen Treverer in Trier“ (Borst 1957/63, 388). Die Anzahl solcher Hinweise nimmt ab dem 2. nachchristlichen Jh. immer mehr zu und kulminiert in der Periode der eigentlichen Völkerwanderung (4.–6. Jh.). Weniger zahlreich sind direkte Berichte über die innere diatopische Gliederung des Lateinischen: sie bleiben meist im Rahmen kurzer (oft auch kritisch gemeinter) Hinweise zur lokalen bzw. regionalen Färbung des Lateinischen bestimmter Autoren, wie dies z. B. für Gaius Asinius Pollio (76 v. Chr.–4 n. Chr.) bezeugt ist, der die *patavinitas* (d. h. die paduanische bzw. ostoberitalienische Färbung) des lateinischen Stils des Historikers Titus Livius (60 v. Chr.–16. n. Chr.) getadelt haben soll. Auch hier werden die Zeugnisse in der christlichen Spätantike zahlreicher. Dafür typisch ist eine weitere Feststellung des Kirchenvaters

Hieronimus über die diachrone und diatopische Variabilität der Latinität: „cum [...] et ipsa latinitas et regionibus mutetur et tempore“ (zit. n. Herman 2001, 46). – Deutlicher sind demgegenüber Zeugnisse zur diastratischen Schichtung des Lateinischen. Hier wird bereits früh allusiv-ironisch (z. B. in zahlreichen Komödien von Titus Maccius Plautus, ca. 254–184 v. Chr.) und assertiv-kritisch (z. B. in zahlreichen Texten von Marcus Tullius Cicero, 106–43 v. Chr.) auf das Vorhandensein eines sprachlichen Stadt-Land-Gegensatzes (*urbanitas*, *sermo urbanus* versus *rusticitas*, *sermo rusticus*, *sermo plebeius*) und somit indirekt auf die Existenz sprachlich entsprechend differenzierter Sprechergruppen hingewiesen (cf. Herman 2001, passim). Vor allem bei vielen, z. T. nur bruchstückhaft überlieferten Grammatikern hat sich eine überaus sensible und puristische Sprachkritik etabliert, über die wir einerseits sehr gut die innerlinguistische Entwicklung des Lateinischen als auch deren Perzeption durch die zeitgenössischen sprachtheoretischen Diskurse verfolgen können (cf. Keil 1857/89). Wichtige Stimmführer dieser Grammatik-Tradition sind Marcus Terentius Varro (116–28 v. Chr.), Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (ca. 40 – ca. 118 n. Chr.), Aelius Donatus (um 355 n. Chr.) und Priscianus aus Caesarea (6. Jh. n. Chr.), deren Lehren noch tief in das Mittelalter hineinwirkten. Ein besonders interessantes Kapitel ist die fach- und sondersprachliche Differenzierung des Lateins, wozu im weitesten Sinn wohl auch die Herausbildung des Christenlateins gehört, so dass spätestens für das dritte und vierte nachchristliche Jh. eine für die Zeitgenossen deutlich erkennbare Differenz zwischen heidnischen und christlichen Diskursen anzunehmen ist. Am Ende der antiken Latinität – welches traditionsgemäß mit Lebenszeit und -werk des christlichen Polyhistor Isidor von Sevilla (ca. 565–635 n. Chr.) angenommen wird – steht ein klares Bewußtsein von der diastratischen und diatopischen Vielfalt des Lateinischen und der nicht weniger bunten soziären Gliederung der Reste (der westlichen Hälfte) des Imperium Romanum und dessen germanischer Nachfolgestaaten. Sprachpolitisch vorherrschend ist dabei aber die Sorge der Führer der Christenheit um die Verbreitung der christlichen Lehre. Hiefür kennzeichnend ist das Postulat des Kirchenvaters Augustinus (354–430), demzufolge es besser sei, hinsichtlich seines Lateins Kritik einzustecken als zu riskieren, von den zu missionierenden Populationen

nicht verstanden zu werden: „melius est reprehendant nos grammatici quam non intelligent populi“ (in psalm. 138,20; zit. n. Devoto 1968, 278). Für das Ende der Antike und den Beginn des Mittelalters ist demnach das Vorhandensein eines sehr differenzierten Bewusstseins für die geschichtete Vielfalt des gesprochenen und geschriebenen Lateins zu postulieren, das von der deutlich erkennbaren Sorge v. a. der religiösen Wortführer um den Zusammenhalt des zerfallenden Reichs zum einen und der sich entfaltenden Christenheit zum anderen überwölbt wird.

3.2. Mittelalter: auf dem Weg vom Lateinischen zu den diversen Volkssprachen

Für die Genese der romanischen (Vulgar)Sprachen und Kulturen sind drei Komponenten bedeutsam: 1) die regionale und diastratische Gliederung des lateinischen Diasystems, 2) die fortdauernde Erinnerung an den normativen Primat der klassischen Latinität um Christi Geburt und die daraus erfließende kontinuierliche Kopräsenz dieser Latinität in den Köpfen und Federn aller Schriftkundigen bis weit in die Neuzeit hinein, und 3) die unter dem Druck realpolitischer Fakten zustandgekommene Re-Territorialisierung des alten Imperium Romanum in der Form kleinerer Sub-Territorien (Gallien-Frank(en)reich, Hispanien-Spanien, Italia-Langobardia/Italien etc.). Für den damit verbundenen Bewußtseinswandel sind zwei Texte charakteristisch. Die ‚Appendix Probi‘ (verfaßt um ca. 500) zum einen und die ‚Reichenauer Glossen‘ (verfaßt um ca. 750; cf. Iliescu/Slusanski 1991, 103f. und 285f.) zum anderen. Während der (unbekannte) Verfasser der ‚Appendix Probi‘ noch deutlich von einem kohärenten Diasystem des Lateinischen ausgeht, in dem Formen wie *masclus*, *calda* oder *fricda* deutlich die (stigmatisierte) Low- und Formen wie *masculus* ‚männlich‘, *calida* ‚warm‘ und *frigida* ‚kalt‘ die (empfohlene) High-Variante darstellen, erscheint für den ebenso anonymen Autor der ‚Reichenauer Glossen der metalinguistische Bruch zwischen der alten kulturellen Referenzgröße Latein (*grammatica*) (mit Formen wie *optimum*, *semel* oder *iacere*) und einer neuen omnipräsenten (und noch namenlosen) Varietät (mit Formen wie *valde bonum* ‚très bien‘, *una vice* ‚une fois‘ oder *iactare* ‚jeter‘) vollzogen zu sein. Anders als in den germanischen Ländern, wo das mittelalterliche Latein immer als Fremd-

sprache empfunden, studiert und verwendet wurde, scheint in der Romania noch lange Zeit das Mittellateinische mit all seinen Varianten als *grosso modo* kohärente L_1 perzipiert worden zu sein. – Die im Zuge der ‚Karolingischen Renaissance‘ ab ca. 780 progressiv durchgesetzte Rückführung der Normativität des zwischenzeitlich einigermaßen ‚verwilderten‘ Lateins auf die Standards der augusteischen Zeit hat im Sprachbewußtsein zunächst der Schriftkundigen und dann auch der Analphabeten letztendlich zum Wissen um die Koexistenz zweier getrennter Sprachen – hie *grammatica* (= Latein) da *rustica romana lingua* (= jeweilige romanische Volkssprache) – geführt. Dieser Vorgang ist – offenbar bedingt durch den regional verschieden rasch verlaufenen Sprachwandel und wohl auch durch die unterschiedlich intensive Durchführung der ‚Karolingischen Renaissance‘ – in Gallien um einiges rascher vor sich gegangen als in Italien oder Hispanien. Dafür kennzeichnend ist der vielzitierte Absatz 17 der Beschlüsse des Konzils von Tours (813), in dem eine mündliche Übersetzung der in ‚gutem‘ Latein verfaßten Homelien in eine romanische (*rustica Romana lingua*) und eine germanische (*Thiotisca* [lingua]) Volksversion konzediert wird: „Et ut easdem omelias quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam aut Thiotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intellegere quae dicuntur.“ (zitiert nach Berschin/Felixberger/Goebel 1978, 183). In den 842 redigierten ‚Straßburger Eiden‘, deren romanischer Teil seit dem 16. Jahrhundert – und zwar durchaus zu Recht – als ältestes Dokument des Französischen gilt, ist explizit von der Ko-Präsenz einer *lingua romana* und einer *lingua teudisca* (neben dem Lateinischen) die Rede. Überhaupt werden vor allem in Frankreich die Namen für die regionale nichtlateinische Sprachform zu einem guten Indikator für das entsprechende Sprachbewußtsein (*romanz, franceis, Gallica lingua, gallice, Francice, Romana lingua, romanice* etc.).

In allen romanischen Ländern ist die weitere Entwicklung gekennzeichnet durch ein langsames Aufkeimen der vulgären (= nichtlateinischen) Schreibtätigkeit in literarischer und nichtliterarischer Verwendung, wobei sehr rasch die Abhängigkeit dieser kulturellen Innovationen von den politischen und sozio-ökonomischen Rahmenbedingungen deutlich wird. Während in einer ersten Phase dieser Prozeß – ganz wie in Deutschland – vom höfi-

schen Milieu getragen wird, sind die bestimmenden Kräfte einer zweiten Phase (12.–15. Jh.) eher städtische und bürgerliche Kreise, die ihren neuen sozialen Status u. a. mit innovativen schreib-(und wohl auch sprech-)sprachlichen Diskursen unterstreichen. Am Ende dieser hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Entfaltungsphase kommt es aber auch zur Verfestigung von *lato sensu* bereits als national anzu-sprechenden Identitäten (betrifft vor allem Frankreich am Ausgang des Hundertjährigen Krieges und das in der antiislamischen Reconquista engagierte Spanien). Bereits in der höfischen Phase wird – anders als in Deutschland – die ab ovo deutlich ausgeprägte Fixierung der neuen Normativitäten auf ein privilegiertes regionales Zentrum (in Frankreich auf die Ile-de-France [Franz] bzw. den Pariser Königshof) deutlich. Dazu gibt es zahlreiche sehr sprechende Zeugnisse, die deutlich zweierlei belegen: 1) die Koexistenz konkurrierender Regionalnormen, 2) den unbestrittenen Vorrang der Norm des politischen Zentrums. Als hiefür exemplarisch sei ein Zitat des aus dem Lyonnais stammenden Dichters Aymon de Varennes (aus 1188) angeführt:

„As Fransois wel de tant servir/Que ma langue lor est salvaige;/Car ju ai dit en mon langaige/Az muels que ju ai seü dire./Se ma langue la lor empire,/Porce ne m'en dient anui.“ [Den Bewohnern Franzien will ich zugestehen,/ daß meine Sprache ihnen ungeschliffen erscheint./ Denn ich habe in meiner Sprache geschrieben,/ so gut ich es nur konnte./ Wenn meine Sprache schlechter ist als die ihrige,/ dann sollen sie mir deshalb keine Vorwürfe machen] (zit. n. Berschin/Felixberger/Goebel 1978, 204 und 316). Analoge Zeugnisse gibt es auch von Außenbeobachtern und sogar in frühen Sprachlehrtraktaten, in denen den Schülern in Aussicht gestellt wird, sie exklusiv mit der derzeit besten Sprachnorm zu konfrontieren. In der Folge einer konsequenten Innen-, Außen- und Kirchenpolitik (Kreuzzüge) setzt sich das Französische aber nicht nur gegenüber dem Lateinischen, sondern auch gegenüber anderen Vulgärsprachen (v. a. dem Okzitanischen in Südfrankreich nach 1209 und dem Angelsächsischen in England nach 1066) durch und erhält schließlich auch den Status einer international geschätzten Verkehrs- und Kultursprache: siehe die am Ende des 13. Jhs. in Altfranzösisch abgefaßten Opera der Italiener Brunetto Latini („Tresor“) und Marco Polo/Rustichello da Pisa

(*Le divisament du monde*), wobei letzterer Text in einer kunstvollen franko-italienischen Misch-Skripta niedergeschrieben wurde.

Sprachliche Mehrschichtigkeiten (Koexistenz des Mittellateinischen sowie einer oder mehrerer Vulgärsprachen) wurden von den Zeitgenossen immer wieder thematisiert, z. T. unter detaillierter Angabe der situativen und auch konnotativen (hinsichtlich Kommunikationswert, Attitude etc.) Koordinaten: siehe dazu z. B. den Bericht des Giraldus Cambrensis (12. Jh.) über die Dreisprachigkeit (Englisch, Französisch, Keltisch) in Wales (cf. Richter 1979) oder die Verhörprotokolle okzitanophoner Ketzler aus dem 13. Jh. (cf. Le Roy Ladurie 1975). Deutlich werden die sprachlichen Kompetenzen geistlicher und weltlicher Würdenträger vermerkt bzw. kommentiert. Rühmenswert erscheinen den Zeitgenossen die Sprachenkenntnisse der deutschen Kaiser Friedrich II. (1212–1250) und Karl IV. (1346–1378). Letzterer verfügt sogar in der Goldenen Bulle von 1356, dem ‚Grundgesetz‘ des Alten Reiches, im Artikel 31 programmatisch die viersprachige (Latein, Deutsch, Tschechisch, Italienisch) Erziehung der jungen Prinzen, sogar unter Befügung sehr detaillierter sprachpädagogischer Empfehlungen. Früh wird auch der literarische Wert der Koexistenz von Latein und diversen Volkssprachen thematisiert und gerühmt (z. B. von Wilhelm IX., Graf von Poitiers, 1071–1127, dem ersten okzitanischen Troubadour, der „et en romans et en lati“ dichtet (Borst 1957/63, 621). Allerdings bleibt eine gut bemeisterte Mehrsprachigkeit auch in der Romania immer die verschwindende Ausnahme, auch was die flüssige Zusatzkenntnis nur des Mittellateinischen betrifft. Zeugnisse wie jenes des Tiroler Adligen Oswald von Wolkenstein (1377–1445), der – aus dem basilektal ladinophonen Grödnertal stammend – sich der Kenntnis von 10 Sprachen („Französisch, mörisch, katlonisch und kastilian, teutsch, latein, windisch, lampertisch, reuschisch und roman“; Borst 1957/63, 1026) rühmt, sind in der Romania rar. – Nicht unerwähnt sollen schließlich zwei eng mit Zweisprachigkeit verbundene Massaker bleiben, die die ethnische Alteritätsfunktion der Vulgärsprachen belegen: 1) die „Sizilianische Vesper“ (1282), bei der jeder französische Besatzungssoldat umgebracht wurde, der das italienische Wort *cicero* nicht richtig aussprechen konnte, und 2) das Massaker von Brügge (1302), wo alle Franzosen sterben mußten, die den flämischen Akzent

im Losungsruf *Schilt ende vrient* nicht richtig trafen (Borst 1957/63, 787). Bemerkenswert ist, dass dabei die Sprecher jener Sprache zu Aggressionszielen wurden, die damals inner- und außerhalb der Romania die größten Diffusionserfolge verbuchen konnte.

Hinsichtlich genuin präsoziolinguistischer Denkansätze sei hier abschließend auf zwei überragende Persönlichkeiten und deren (Lebens)Werk verwiesen: auf Alfons X. den Weisen (1252–1282), König von Kastilien und León, und auf den italienischen Dichter Dante Alighieri (1265–1321). Alfons der Weise, der in Toledo einer polyglott und multinational zusammengesetzten Hofschule (unter jüdischer und arabischer Beteiligung) vorstand, war als Dichter galizischer Mariengesänge, Mitverfasser und Initiator großangelegter historischer Werke (*Primera Crónica General*, 1270) und sogar als Astronom tätig. Die unter ihm in kastilischer Skripta verfaßten historischen und juristischen Texte hatten enorme Bedeutung für die Verbesserung des Status des Kastilischen und die Erhöhung des (kultur)politischen Prestiges des kastilischen Hofes (cf. Niederehe 1975 und Bossong 1979). Dante, der als Vertriebener aus seiner Heimatstadt Florenz über keinerlei politische Macht verfügte, erlangte durch seine lateinischen und italienischen Schriften eine v. a. kulturelle Notorietät. Zu ergänzen ist aber, dass eine solche in romanischen Gemeinwesen – in direkter Fortführung der Rolle des *vates* der römisch-lateinischen Welt – in bestimmten Konstellationen auch politische Relevanz bekommen konnte. Soziolinguistisch bedeutsame Passagen befinden sich in fast allen seinen Schriften, v. a. aber in der *Vita Nuova* (1292/93), im *Convivio* (1304/07), in der *Divina Commedia* (nach 1311) und ganz besonders in seiner nicht hoch genug einzuschätzenden lateinischen Schrift *De vulgari eloquentia* (DVE, 1303/04), wo zu Fragen des Nebeneinanders von Latein und Italienisch, der Klassifikation der Sprachen Europas (nach den Affirmationspartikeln *jo*, *oc*, *oïl* und *sî*), der besonderen Verwandtschaft von Spanisch, Französisch und Italienisch und der v. a. diatopischen Gliederung Italiens Maßgebendes und – gemessen an den traditionellen Kanones seiner Zeit – oft auch Revolutionäres gesagt wird (cf. Borst 1957/63, 869–875; Apel 1975 und Lüdtke 2001, 6–9). In ihr findet sich sogar der erste konkrete Hinweis auf die Variabilität von Stadtsprachen:

„Quare ad minus XIII vulgaribus sola videtur Ytalia variari. Que adhuc omnia vulgaria in sese variantur, ut puta in Tuscia Senenses et Aretini, in Lombardia Ferrarenses et Placentini. Nec non in eadem civitate aliqualem variationem perpendimus, ut superius in capitulo immediato posuimus. Quapropter si primas et secundarias et subsecundarias vulgares Ytalie variationes calculare velimus, in hoc minimo mundi angulo non solum ad millenam loquere variationem venire contigerit, sed etiam ad magis ultra.“ (DVE I, 10). [Daher scheint schon Italien allein mindestens 14 verschiedene Volkssprachen (vulgaria) zu haben. Diese Volkssprachen sind auch noch in sich selbst verschieden, wie z. B. in der Toskana die von Siena und Arezzo, in der Lombardei die von Ferrara und Piacenza. Ja in derselben Stadt nehmen wir eine gewisse Verschiedenheit wahr, wie wir das im letzten Kapitel erwähnt haben. Wenn wir daher die Verschiedenheiten ersten, zweiten Grades und weiterer Grade in der Volkssprache Italiens ausrechnen wollten, so dürften wir in diesem winzigen Winkel der Welt nicht allein auf eine tausendfältige Verästelung der Volkssprache kommen, sondern sogar auf noch mehr darüber hinaus.] (dt. Übersetzung nach Dornseiff/Balogh 1925, 33–43).

3.3. Humanismus und Renaissance: Historisierung und Ausbau der Volkssprachen

Das 16. Jh. ist in der ganzen Romania – sogar der rumänische Sprach- und Kulturraum macht hiebei erstmals lateral mit – von einer geradezu frenetischen Vertiefung der intellektuellen Diskurse zur Entstehung und weiteren Entwicklung des eigenen Idioms sowie einer parallel dazu einhergehenden Verbesserung von Korpus, Status und textologischer Potenz der romanischen Vulgärsprachen gekennzeichnet. Der lateinische Ursprung, die Frage der Vulgarisierung des Lateins in der römischen Kaiserzeit, seine spätere ‚Korruption‘ durch Superstrateinwirkungen v. a. germanischer Sprachen und auch potentielle nichtlateinische Ursprünge (für das Französische: Keltisch, Griechisch, Hebräisch; für das Italienische: Etruskisch) werden intensiv und mit z. T. sehr differenzierten Argumenten – die die ausgetretenen biblischen Pfade allmählich zu verlassen beginnen – diskutiert. Die Frage des Kontrasts eines in der Antike von den Gebildeten und dem Volk verwendeten La-

teins wird erstmals explizit in Italien thematisiert (Dialog zwischen Leonardo Bruni, 1374–1444, und Flavio Biondo, 1392–1463) und ebendort von Claudio Tolomei (1481/91–1556) sowie Ludovico Castelvetro (1505–1571) vertieft fortgeführt (cf. Lüttke 2001, 9–14). Damit werden sehr konkrete Vorstellungen von der Schichtenspezifität der lateinischen Ursprache und der im Wege des Sprachkontakts erfolgenden Interaktion bzw. Mischung der Sprachen zu konstitutiven Topoi aller intellektuellen Diskurse über Sprache. Zuerst in Spanien und dann in Frankreich setzt die explizite Promotion des sprachpolitischen Status des Spanischen bzw. Französischen durch die jeweiligen Königshäuser ein. Für Spanien wird dazu immer wieder das Vorwort der ‚Gramática castellana‘ (von 1492) des (Hof-)Grammatikers Elio Antonio Nebrija zitiert, wo – unter Fortführung von auf den Kirchenvater Augustin (De civitate dei 19, 7) zurückgehende Ansichten und angesichts der eben abgeschlossenen Reconquista ganz Spaniens sowie der bevorstehenden Landgewinne in Übersee – erklärt wird, dass die Sprache schon immer die Wegbegleiterin der imperialen Macht gewesen sei („que siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio“). In Frankreich finden sich analoge Marksteine der Entdeckung bzw. Umsetzung der nationalpolitischen Relevanz von Sprache zunächst aus theoretischer Perspektive bei Claude de Seyssel (in seiner Übersetzung von Pompeius Trogus aus 1509) und danach konkret-praktisch in verschiedenen Sprach-erlassen der französischen Könige, von denen die ‚Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts‘ von 1539 am wirkungsmächtigsten war. In deren Paragraphen 110 und 111 wird die Etablierung des Französischen („langage maternel françois“) als alleiniger Sprache der öffentlichen Verwaltung bei gleichzeitiger Nichtigkeit aller anderssprachigen Verwaltungstexte dekretiert. Damit wurden sowohl das Lateinische als auch alle anderen nichtfranzösischen Sprachen (und hier besonders das Okzitanische Südfrankreichs) auf dem damaligen Boden Frankreichs definitiv aus dem Feld geschlagen (cf. Berschin/Felixberger/Goebel 1978, 192f. und Schmitt 1988, 78–81). Die neue sprachpolitische Situation sowie der zeitgenössische Sprachkontakt auf gesamteuropäischer Ebene (starke Einflüsse des Italienischen auf das Französische) werden im Rahmen der mächtig aufblühenden Grammatiko- und Lexiko-

graphie intensiv rezipiert und diskutiert. Daneben entstehen v. a. in Frankreich in der humanistischen Grammatikographie interessante Ansätze zu einer Reform der seit dem Hochmittelalter weitgehend eingefrorenen Orthographie, wobei Traditionalisten und Verfechter einer phonetisierenden Schreibweise (Louis Meigret, Jacques Peletier du Mans, Pierre de la Ramée etc.) einander hitzige Debatten liefern, die im historischen Rückblick auch für den Soziolinguisten sehr interessant sind. Der Ausdifferenzierung der literarischen Textformen und Diskurse ist es zu verdanken, dass – erneut v. a. in Frankreich – dieselben Phänomene aus sprach-ironischer (François Rabelais, 1483–1553) und sprach-theoretischer Sicht (Joaquim Du Bellay, 1522–1560) beleuchtet werden. Für die Entwicklung in Italien ist das Aufkommen eines Diskussions-Evergreens kennzeichnend, der schon damals ‚Questione della lingua‘ genannt wurde. Es ging dabei um Herkunft, Art und Funktion der zwischen Trient und Sizilien als allgemeinverbindlich anzusetzenden Schriftnorm. In grober Annäherung lassen sich dabei drei Meinungstrends herauspräparieren: 1) eine archaisierende Richtung, die – unbekümmert um die Jetztzeit – die Sprachnorm illustrierender Autoren des Trecento (Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarca etc.) favorisiert (Hauptrepräsentant: Pietro Bembo, 1470–1547), 2) eine lokalpatriotisch-florentinische Richtung, die die zeitgenössischen Schriften (und Autoren) von Florenz bevorzugt (Hauptvertreter: Nicolò Machiavelli, 1469–1527) und 3) eine überlokal-höfische orientierte Richtung, die eine – bei allem Respekt vor dem Trecento und dem kulturellen Primat von Florenz – doch eher panitalienische Normativik vertritt (Hauptvertreter: Baldassare Castiglione, 1478–1529, und Giangiorgio Trissino, 1478–1550, der überdies 1514 den Dante-Traktat ‚De vulgari eloquentia‘ wiederentdeckt und publiziert hat). Soziolinguistisch hochinteressante Beobachtungen finden sich auch in der im 16. Jh. stark zunehmenden sprachdidaktischen Literatur, wo den Lernern oft sehr deutliche Hinweise zur Sprachschichten- und -korrektionsproblematik in Frankreich, Spanien und Italien gegeben werden. So wie in der Germania widmet man sich auch in der Romania des 16. Jhs. intensiv der Übersetzungstätigkeit (v. a. lateinischer und griechischer Texte) und auch einem sprachvergleichenden Enzyklopädismus. Conrad Gessners ‚Mithridates‘ von 1555 (mit dem Vergleich des ‚Vaterunsers‘ in 20 Sprachen) entspre-

chen das seit 1502 im Zuge zahlreicher Neueditionen immer sprachenreicher werdende ‚Dictionarium‘ von Ambrogio Calepino oder das Orthographiekompodium von Guillaume Postel von 1538 (‚Lingarum XII characteribus differentium alphabetum introductio ac legendi methodus‘, Paris) (cf. Mounin 1967, 120). Was in der Romania aber fehlt, ist der breitere Volksmassen involvierende Alphabetisierungsschub der Reformation, da letztere ja an Spanien, Portugal und Italien ganz und an Frankreich weitgehend spurlos vorübergegangen ist. Damit fehlen aber alle aus dem geläufigen Umgang mit Schreiben, Schrift, Texten und Schule erfließenden sozialen Umstrukturierungen. Die Pflege von und das Nachdenken über Sprache verbleibt somit exklusiv in den Händen ganz kleiner Eliten. Und anders als in Deutschland ist in Frankreich, Italien und Spanien das Prinzip der bedingungslos monozentrischen Ausrichtung der jeweiligen Dachsprache verankert worden. Daneben hat sich aber auch – erneut im Unterschied zu Deutschland – die Auffassung etabliert, daß die jeweilige Hochsprache nicht nur schriftlich, sondern auch mündlich – und zwar möglichst 1:1 zur Schrift – reglementiert zu sein hat.

3.4. Absolutismus, Aufklärung und Französische Revolution: Sprache als soziales und politisches Korrektiv

Die Entwicklung der und die Reflexion über die diversen Sprachen erfolgen im 17. und 18. Jh. zunächst vor dem Hintergrund des Rationalismus und danach – unter dem förderlichen Einfluss des englischen Pragmatismus (John Locke, 1632–1704, und David Hume, 1711–1776) – vor jenem des Sensualismus. Für soziolinguistisch interessierte Beobachter sind vom Sensualismus bestimmte Diskurslandschaften in der Regel um vieles ergiebiger, da der Rationalismus sehr rigide Visionen von Sprache und Sprechen favorisiert (Zusammenfall der – göttlich prästabilierten – Vernunft mit Sprache, logische Funktion von Sprache, Außerachtlassung sozialer Funktionen von Sprache etc.). Allerdings ergibt sich für die vom Rationalismus dominierte Periode des 17. Jhs. insofern eine gewisse Kompensation, als gerade in dieser Zeit – und zwar ganz besonders in Frankreich – die Sprache vollends zum expliziten Instrument der Politik – und zwar nach innen und außen – wird. Nach innen ist dafür kennzeichnend die 1635 von Kardinal Richelieu im Auftrag des französi-

schen Königs Ludwig XIII. (1610–1643) gegründete ‚Académie française‘, die fortan zur Drehscheibe von Sprachpflege, Sprachpurismus und allen die literarische Kultivierung und den sozialen Status des Französischen betreffenden Fragen wird. Nach außen sind für das 17. Jh. zahlreiche sprachpolitische Konflikte charakteristisch, die das Französische im Zuge der rücksichtslos-konsequenter territorialen Expansion Frankreichs nach Osten und Nordosten (auf Kosten des Reiches) und nach Süden (auf Kosten Spaniens) auslöst. Zahlreich sind fortan jene Dokumente, die den Zusammenstoß des Französischen mit dem Deutschen, dem Niederländischen, dem Katalanischen und dem Spanischen illustrieren. Dabei wird klar, dass die von A. Nebrija und Cl. Seyssel im 16. Jh. formulierten Ideen vom staatsweiten Exklusivprimat der jeweiligen Nationalsprache in der Zwischenzeit radikal weiterentwickelt worden waren. Die für alle romanischen Hochkulturen auf den Spuren antiker Vorbilder (v. a. Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, ca. 40–ca. 118 n. Chr.) auch gesellschaftlich enorm wichtige Frage der jeweiligen Hochnorm (*uso, bon usage*) wird 1647 von Claude Favre, Sieur de Vaugelas aufgegriffen und explizit auf einen v. a. am Versailler Hof angesiedelten Traditions- und Innovationskern bezogen: „C’est la façon de parler de la plus saine partie de la Cour, conformément à la façon d’écrire de la plus saine partie des Auteurs du temps. Quand ie dis la Cour, i’y comprends les femmes comme les hommes, & plusieurs personnes de la ville où le Prince reside, qui par la communication qu’elles ont avec les gens de la Cour participent à sa politesse.“ (zit. n. Berschin/Felixberger/Goebel 1978, 228–229; cf. auch Schmitt 1988, 81f.). Aus all dem resultierte eine nach innen und außen enorm nachhaltige Konsolidierung nicht nur des Französischen als Medium, sondern auch des Selbstbewusstseins der Sprecher und Propagatoren des Französischen. Außerhalb Frankreichs entfalteten die französische Sprache und Literatur eine enorme Faszination und Strahlkraft (*rayonnement*), die einerseits zu ‚gallo-manem‘ Imitations- und Rezeptionsverhalten v. a. in Deutschland, Italien und Spanien führten sowie andererseits – und zwar seit dem Frieden von Utrecht (1714) – das Französische endgültig als internationale Diplomatensprache (anstelle von Latein) etablierten.

Soziolinguistisch interessant ist darüber hinaus die Expansion von Portugiesisch,

Spanisch und Französisch in Übersee, wobei sich überall das Problem der Aufrechterhaltung der Spracheinheit mit dem jeweiligen Mutterland und die Frage der Akkulturation bzw. Assimilation der bei der Landnahme vorgefundenen indigenen Völker und Sprachen ergeben. In diesen Kontext gehört auch die Entstehung der diversen romanisch-basierten Kreolsprachen. Auch im 17. Jh. kommentieren kritische Geister bestimmte Aspekte der aktuellen Sprachentwicklung mit Spott (z. B. der Dichter Molière, 1623–1673, die prä-,feministische‘ Bewegung der ‚Précieuses‘ in der Komödie ‚Les Précieuses ridicules‘). Zu den Pretiösen entsteht daneben auch ein deren Redeweisen (in ironischer Absicht) verzeichnendes Wörterbuch (von B. de Somaize), wie überhaupt die explizit sprachpuristische Literatur (oft in der Form alphabetischer Kompendien mit dem Titeltyp ‚Gasconismes corrigés‘) seit dem Ende des 17. Jhs. immer zahlreicher wird.

Der das 18. Jh. geistig bestimmende Sensualismus fördert demgegenüber v. a. auf die Erkundung und Erklärung der Buntheit dieser Welt ausgerichtete Sehweisen. Damit werden empirisch und enzyklopädisch orientierte Aktivitäten privilegiert. Sprechendster Ausdruck dieses Enzyklopädismus ist die von Denis Diderot (1713–1784) und Jean d’Alembert (1717–1783) zwischen 1751 und 1780 herausgegebene ‚Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers‘, die nicht nur ihrem Anspruch, das damalige Weltwissen umfassend (in Wort und Bild!) abzubilden, weitgehend gerecht wird, sondern auch zahlreiche linguistisch relevante Einträge von allergrößtem Interesse enthält (cf. Monreal-Wickert 1977). Die sich im Zug der kolonialen Entdeckungen kontinuierlich verbessernde Kenntnis der Sprachenvielfalt dieser Welt, die Dynamisierung der sprachtheoretischen Diskurse – die v. a. den sozialen Ursprung der Sprachen und auch die Relation zwischen Denken und Sprechen herausstellen – und die Ausdifferenzierung sprachgenetischer Diskussionen für immer mehr Sprachen führen zu einer letztendlich überaus ambigen Situation. Zum einen wird deutlich, daß Sprachen – ähnlich wie Pflanzen oder andere lebende Organismen – kreatürlich sind und demnach durch bewußte Pflege zu verschieden umfangreichen kulturellen und intellektuellen Speichern herangebildet werden können. Man kann darin die Wurzeln des sprachlichen Relativitäts-

prinzips (cf. Werlen 1989) sehen. Zum andern entstehen und verfestigen sich Visionen, die die Sprachen Europas und der übrigen Welt nach verschiedenen Prinzipien hierarchisieren und diese – gemeinsam mit deren Sprechern – in ein wertendes Gut-Schlecht-Schema einpassen. Sprechend für dieses – ideell letztendlich den Rassismus des 19. und 20. Jhs. mitbegründende – Denksubstrat ist der 1784 auf eine Preisfrage der Berliner Akademie von Antoine de Rivarol (1753–1801) verfaßte ‚Discours sur l’universalité de la langue française‘, worin – wiewohl in wenig tiefschürfender Form – dem Französischen vermöge angeblicher Vorzüge nach innen (*ordre logique des mots, clarté* etc.) und nach außen (klimatisch besonders begünstigte Lage Frankreichs etc.) ein weltweiter (universalité) Primat vor allen anderen Groß- und Kleinsprachen zugesprochen wird. Emblematisch für diese während der Aufklärung mit großem Elan vorangetragene Entwicklung ist die unter der Französischen Revolution verfolgte Sprachpolitik, deren Wortführer – Bertrand Barère und v. a. der abbé Henri Grégoire – von drei unerschütterlichen Prämissen ausgehen: 1) Alle Bürger der neuen Republik haben zwar unterschiedslos das Recht auf Bildung, aber auch die Pflicht, sich diese in der von der Republik gutgeheißenen Form anzueignen; 2) Die – ‚wissenschaftlich‘ erwiesen – beste Sprache nicht nur der Republik, sondern der ganzen Menschheit ist das Französische; 3) Die durch die Kopräsenz keiner anderen Sprache zu störende Existenz des Französischen in den Köpfen aller Bürger Frankreichs sichere *eo ipso* deren geistiges und staatsbürgerliches Wohlbefinden und somit das Heil der ganzen Nation. Grégoire hat, um das Französische gezielt diffundieren und dabei alle nichtfranzösischen Idiome entsprechend bekämpfen zu können, 1790 eine – auch nach heutigen Maßstäben sehr geschickt konzipierte – Korrespondenzumfrage gestartet und 1794 über deren Resultate vor dem Pariser Konvent ausführlich berichtet (cf. Certeau/Julia/Revel 1975). Beiden Texten – dem Fragebuch von 1790 und der Rede von 1794 – gebührt für alle Zeiten ein Ehrenplatz in den soziolinguistischen Anthologien. Man sollte dabei aber nicht vergessen, daß von den drei sozialpolitischen Hauptaktivitäten Grégoires (der überdies 1831 nach seinem Tod im Pariser Pantheon beigesetzt wurde) – nämlich der Emanzipation der Juden, der Befreiung der

schwarzen Sklaven in den französischen Kolonien (Antillen) und dem Kampf gegen die ‚patois‘ – nach heutigen Maßstäben nur die beiden ersteren als ‚anthropophil‘ eingestuft werden können. Nach der Mehrheitsmeinung aller damals maßgeblichen Intellektuellen traf diese Anthropophilie aber auch auf die (zutiefst aufklärerisch intendierte) Repression der Patois zu. Grégoire dachte somit ähnlich wie der den Germanisten wohlbekannte niederdeutsche Philologe Ludolph Wienberg (1834), der sich für die ‚Ausrottung‘ des Niederdeutschen aussprach.

3.5. 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: im Zeichen der Verwissenschaftlichung

Als Erbe der Aufklärung existieren in der Romania allenthalben elaborierte Diskurswelten zur sozialen Herkunft und Funktion von Sprache, wobei darunter aber vorwiegend die Teilhabe einzelner Individuen und – anders als in der Germania oder Slavia – weniger jene größerer Kollektive (wie Stamm, Volk oder Rasse) am sozialen ‚Institut‘ der Sprache bzw. des Sprechens verstanden wird. Diese – viel zu selten beachtete – Partikularität der diversen romanischen metalinguistischen Diskurse sollte v. a. in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jhs. zur Leugnung der Existenz von Dialekten und der programmatischen Ablehnung von in Deutschland in der Nachfolge Johann Gottfried Herders (1744–1803) intensiv gepflegten romantischen Diskursen rund um Volksgeist, Stamm, Volk, Rasse etc. führen. Wie anderswo auch wurde die Variabilität von Sprache v. a. im Bereich von Diachronie und Diatopie gesehen und thematisiert. Diastatische Variationen wurden zwar perzipiert, aber sofort programmatisch proskribiert. Die stilistische Rein- und geographische Einheit des Französischen (etc.) waren allgemein anerkannte Höchstgüter und sollten nicht durch wissenschaftliche oder universitäre Analysen ‚durch die Hintertür‘ valorisiert werden. Diatopisch relevante Informationen wurden am Beginn des 19. Jhs. systematisch von der napoleonischen Verwaltung nicht nur in Frankreich, sondern auch in Italien und anderen kurzfristig von Frankreich besetzten bzw. annektierten Gebieten gesammelt. Bei der bekanntesten dieser Enquêtes (durchgeführt 1806/7–1812 von Vater und Sohn Coquebert de Montbret) bediente man sich der Methode der Fragebogenverschickung im Korrespondenzweg und erhob

dabei in geographisch feinmaschiger Form Parallelversionen des ‚Gleichnisses vom verlorenen Sohn‘ (Lukas 15,11–32): cf. dazu Pop 1950, I, 19f. und Goebel 2001, 205–209. Das zugrundeliegende Erkenntnisinteresse entsprach dabei dem ‚statistischen‘ Wissenshunger absolutistischer Landesverwaltungen des 18. Jhs., der auf die möglichst genaue – und somit staatspolitisch ‚„nützliche“ – Erhebung zahlreicher ökonomischer, demographischer und auch anthropischer Variablen abzielte. Letztlich basiert die französische Dialektologie und Sprachgeographie, die am Ende des 19. Jhs. mit dem ‚Atlas linguistique de la France‘ (ALF) von Jules Gilliéron zu einem ersten Höhepunkt gelangte, auf dieser Tradition und nicht auf jener des nur sehr langsam von Deutschland her übernommenen indogermanistischen Komparatismus. Wer soziolinguistisch relevante Denkansätze in den sprachbezogenen Diskursen der Romania des 19. und 20. Jhs. sucht, wird sie v. a. in diesem Umfeld finden können (cf. dazu die monumentale Übersicht von S. Pop 1950). Soziolinguistisch nicht uninteressant ist ferner ein v. a. diachron relevanter Dissens zur Deszendenz der romanischen Sprachen, der im frühen 19. Jh. zwischen François Raynouard (1761–1836), dem französischen Gründervater der Romanischen Philologie, auf der einen und August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767–1845) sowie Friedrich Diez (1794–1876), dem deutschen Gründervater der Romanistik, auf der anderen Seite existierte. Raynouard hielt nämlich – freilich in methodisch sehr an ‚biblische‘ Visionen gemahnender Art – das Altokzitanische für die Urmutter aller romanischen Sprachen und die ‚Straßburger Eide‘ für deren getreuen schriftlichen Niederschlag. Schlegel brachte Raynouards Ansichten 1818 mit seinen ‚Observations sur la langue et littérature provençale‘ ins Wanken und Diez widerlegte sie definitiv mit seiner ‚Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen‘ (1836f.). Beide – Schlegel und Diez – stehen bereits voll in der Tradition der 1816 in Deutschland von Franz Bopp (1791–1867) initiierten vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft. Letztere hatte es freilich – wie schon angedeutet – schwer, sich in der Romania nachhaltig zu etablieren, wo sprachliche Probleme noch immer stark vom puristisch-normativen und philosophisch-rationalistischen Standpunkt aus betrachtet wurden. In Frankreich bemühten sich Michel Bréal (1832–1915) und Gaston Paris (1859–1903), in Italien v. a. Graziadio

Isaia Ascoli (1829–1907) um die Übernahme der modernen deutschen Standards. Diese betrachteten freilich – auch in Reaktion auf die romantisierende Herder-Humboldt-Tradition – die soziale Herkunft und Einbettung von Sprache und Sprechen oft nur sehr akzidentiell. In Italien rückt 1873 G. I. Ascoli in der (im Zuge des Risorgimento und der 1860 vollzogenen politischen Einigung Italiens) wiederaufgeflamten ‚Questione della lingua‘ utopische Ansichten des hochangesehenen Romanciers Alessandro Manzoni (1785–1873) zurecht, der – das französische Ideal des ‚bon usage‘ nach Vaugelas aus dem Jahr 1647 vor Augen – die italienische *Schriftsprache* normativ auf das zeitgenössische *italiano parlato* der gebildeten Schichten von Florenz ausrichten wollte. In Frankreich wiederum dämpft der die Existenz von Dialekten – und damit auch die des Provenzalischen – leugnende Philologe G. Paris die sprachemanzipatorischen Hoffnungen des (1904 unter dem Mißfallen vieler Franzosen mit dem Nobelpreis bedachten) provenzalischen Dichters Frédéric Mistral (1830–1914). Wenn derselbe G. Paris jedoch zugleich zum Förderer des französischen Sprachatlasses ALF und der französischen Dialektologie wird, so nur deshalb, weil es am Ende des 19. Jhs. – v. a. nach der Etablierung der allgemeinen Schulpflicht (ab 1880/81) und eines die sprachlichen Ideale der Französischen Revolution radikal umsetzenden Bildungssystems – völlig klar war, dass Forschungen und Diskurse zu diatopischer (etc.) Variation des Französischen die (kultur)politische Einheit Frankreichs nicht mehr ernstlich gefährden konnten (cf. Bergounioux 1994, 31–34).

In den 80-er Jahren des 19. Jhs. kommt die lautschriftliche Fixierung (System Rousselot-Gilliéron) sprachlicher Phänomene auf; 1891 werden durch abbé Rousselot erstmals instrumentelle Methoden (Palatogramm, elektrische Phonographie etc.) angewendet. Im engen Netz dieser neuen empirischen Verfahren bleiben generations(etc.)spezifische Sprachvariationen hängen, die die bislang weitverbreitete Annahme der durchgehenden Einheitlichkeit der Lokoklekte erschüttern. Rousselot – wie später Louis Gauchat (1905) und Eduard Hermann (1929) – kommt das Verdienst zu, derartige Variationen nicht mehr bloß akzessorisch, sondern erstmals sehr konsequent untersucht und thematisiert zu haben. Bei Hermann, der die Resultate Gauchats

im Abstand von rund einem Vierteljahrhundert empirisch überprüft hat, findet man wegweisende Bemerkungen zur Neu- und Umorientierung von Dialektprechern im Laufe ihres Lebens und auch zum Nutzen von periodisch – i. e. panelartig – zu wiederholenden Querschnittstudien. Im Fall des Schweizer Gauchat muss aber auch auf die durchgehend hohe – auch soziolinguistisch relevante – Dichte und Qualität der Sprachforschung im Bereich und zu Themen der französischen, italienischen und rätoromanischen Schweiz hingewiesen werden. Fragen der Geschlechterspezifität werden zwar traditionell in vielen Dialektstudien angesprochen aber erst sehr spät explizit thematisiert (cf. z. B. Tagliavini 1938 und den 1. Band der Zeitschrift ‚Orbis‘ von 1952). Die Emanzipation der fachlinguistischen Diskurse über Substandardvarietäten von der übermächtigen Optik von Sprachkorrektheit und -reinigung verläuft – erneut unter maßgeblicher Teilnahme Welschschweizer Forscher – über prägnante Marksteine wie die Argotforschung eines Lazare Sainéan (1859–1934; v. a. 1922/23) und Studien zum ‚français populaire‘ wie jene von Henri Bauche (1920) und dem Genfer Linguisten Henri Frei (1929). Letzterer billigt dem Kosmos substandardsprachlicher Deviationen (‚fautes‘) sogar explizit die Geordnetheit einer ‚grammaire‘ zu.

Auf deutsch(österreichisch)er Seite war der brillianteste Opponent des 1879 junggrammatisch reformierten Flügels der Indogermanistik (‚grammaire comparée‘) der Grazer Romanist Hugo Schuchardt (1842–1927). Von seinem an soziolinguistischen Sehweisen überreichen Oeuvre legt das ‚Hugo-Schuchardt-Brevier‘ (Spitzer 1928) ein beredtes Zeugnis ab. Vom (Austro-)Italiener G. I. Ascoli war schon die Rede. Zu Schuchardt und Ascoli kongeniale Sehweisen pflegte in Frankreich der Komparatist Antoine Meillet (1866–1936) (cf. Borst 1957/63, 1827). Dieser stand – ähnlich wie Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) mit den in seinem ‚Cours de linguistique générale‘ sehr deutlich niedergelegten Definitionen von Sprache als einem ‚produit social‘ – mit beiden Beinen voll in der v. a. von Emile Durkheim (1858–1917) repräsentierten französischen Soziologie-Tradition (cf. Arens 1969, 467). Zu diesem Geisteserbe gehören auch der an sprachexternen Fakten sehr interessierte Ferdinand Brunot (1868–1938) mit seiner ab 1905 erscheinenden monumentalen ‚Histo-

re de la langue française [...]‘ sowie – mutatis mutandis – auch André Martinet (1945) und Marcel Cohen (1956). Ersterer hat auf der Grundlage einer während des 2. Weltkriegs erstellten empirischen Erhebung in einem Lager kriegsgefangener französischer Offiziere die diatopische (und auch diastratische) Variation des tatsächlich gesprochenen Hochfranzösischen aufgezeigt und dabei bereits genuin strukturalistische Sehweisen eingebracht, während letzterer in seinen zweibändigen ‚Matériaux pour une sociologie du langage‘ eine sehr gelehrt verpackte Vorliebe für marxistische Positionen manifestiert. Überdies hat er knapp nach dem 1. Weltkrieg gemeinsam mit A. Meillet eine zweibändige Darstellung aller Sprachlandschaften dieser Welt mit starken (und durchaus zeitgebundenen) sprachpolitischen und -soziologischen Akzenten verfaßt (Meillet/Cohen 1924). Zu den marxistisch substratierten Reflexionen von Cohen stellen jene des Italieners Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) – der überdies in Turin bei B. Terracini ein Fachstudium aus Linguistik absolviert hat – einen interessanten Vorläufer (Gramsci [1925/35] 1975) dar. Sprache hat für Gramsci neben ihrem kommunikativen auch einen besonderen identitätsstiftenden Wert, so daß er seiner in Sardinien lebenden Schwester rät, bei der Erziehung ihrer Kinder neben jener des Italienischen die Pflege des Sardischen nicht zu vernachlässigen. In diesem Zusammenhang sollte aber auch ergänzend auf den in Deutschland (z. B. durch Karl Vossler, 1872–1959; v. a. in 1904, und Ernst Cassirer, 1874–1945) und auch in Italien (durch Benedetto Croce, 1866–1952, und den Linguisten Benvenuto Terracini, 1886–1968) gepflegten, stark neu-humboldtianisch orientierten Idealismus hingewiesen werden, in dessen Rahmen der spontanen Kreativität der Sprachbenützer bei der Setzung ihrer Sprech- und Schreibakte – allerdings stets innerhalb übergreifender sozialer und historischer Kontexte und Vorabbedingungen – eine besondere Bedeutung beigemessen wird.

4. Bilanz und Ausblick

Das große präsoziolinguistische Interesse der Romania und der über sie bis zur Mitte des 20. Jhs. geleisteten wissenschaftlichen Arbeit ist evident. Ebenso deutlich ist auch die hohe Sensibilität romanischer Kulturen für sozial differenziertes Sprechen und

Schreiben. Dass aber auch in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jhs. die internationale soziolinguistische Forschung in den einzelnen romanischen Ländern v.a. der Alten Welt zunächst nur *con sordino* rezipiert wurde, hat mit der fortdauernden Proskription substandardsprachlicher Diskurse zu tun und dem sich daraus ergebenden dominant präskriptiven Selbstverständnis der diversen Nationalphilologien und -linguistiken. Im Rahmen der Übernahme der v.a. aus dem anglo- und germanophonen Ausland – demgegenüber überdies nicht geringe Sprach- und Kulturbarrrieren bestehen – ausstrahlenden Soziolinguistik wurden anfangs – auch unter tatkräftiger Mithilfe der deutschsprachigen Romanistik – Methoden und Verfahren präferiert, die für die Erforschung von mit regionalen Minderheiten (wie Okzitanen, Katalanen, Basken, Galiziern, Korsen etc.) verbundenen Problemen geeignet sind. Erst in einer zweiten Phase entwickelten sich in der Neuen Romania (Frankokanada, Lateinamerika) Initiativen, die – auch auf Grund größerer kultureller und geographischer Nähe zu den angloamerikanischen Forschungszentren und -trends – nunmehr voll am Mainstream der internationalen Soziolinguistik teilhaben. Aus all dem wird deutlich, wie stark soziolinguistisches Forschen von den sozialen Rahmenbedingungen abhängig ist, innerhalb derer es stattfindet und über die es wissenschaftliche Aussagen tätigen soll.

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80. Forschungsgeschichte der Soziolinguistik (seit Verwendung dieses Ausdrucks)* History of Research on Sociolinguistics (after the Coining of the Term)

1. Gegenstandsbestimmung, Vorläufer
2. Aufkommen des Begriffs ‚Soziolinguistik‘
3. Historiographie: Kriterien wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Rekonstruktion
4. Phasen soziolinguistischer Entwicklung
5. Die mitteleuropäische Geschichte der Soziolinguistik am Beispiel Deutschland (1970–2000)
6. Ausblick
7. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Gegenstandsbestimmung, Vorläufer

Gibt es für die Beschreibung sprachlicher Strukturen und ihrer Funktionen jenseits der natur- oder sozialwissenschaftlichen Zuordnung eine „dritte“ Position? Wenn man die Struktur eines Inventars endlicher Symbole für viele verschiedene Sprachen anschaut, kommt man zu dem Schluss: solche Strukturen lassen sich mit formalen Mitteln wie beispielsweise Algebra (vgl. Montague 1974) hinreichend präzise beschreiben. Auf der anderen Seite haben sich die schriftliche oder mündliche Ausdrucksseite der Sprache, unter historischen und sozialen Bedingungen (vgl. *Norm* bei Coseriu 1988 und Bartsch 1987) sehr unterschiedlich entwickelt – unterschiedliche Formen sind unter dem Dach verschiedener kommunikativer Funktionen gewachsen. Der Streit, wie Form und Funktion sinnvoll in einen beschreibenden und erklärenden Zusammenhang gebracht werden können, dauert bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts fort und ist auch heute noch nicht endgültig gelöst. Die Anfänge lassen sich schon im 19. Jahrhundert ausmachen: dort wurde bereits der Streit, ob die Linguistik eine autonome oder interdisziplinäre Wissenschaft sei, von Schleicher (1821–1868) und Steinthal (1833–1899) geführt (vgl. Dittmar, 1997, 28ff.).

* Dieser Aufsatz stellt eine entwicklungsbetonte, keine persönlichkeitspezifische Ideengeschichte der Soziolinguistik dar (vgl. Murray 1998). Die phasenspezifische Rekonstruktion orientiert sich an thematischen Forschungsrichtungen in Institutionen und Publikationen. Viele bedeutende Soziolinguisten wurden daher nicht *qua persona* gewürdigt; dies soll in einer Folgearbeit geleistet werden.

Schleicher reduzierte die Sprachanalyse auf die Beschreibungsmethodik der Phonetik und forderte für die Lautbeschreibung ein der Chemie verwandtes methodisches Vorgehen (1865). Für ihn war die „Glottik“ eine den Naturwissenschaften vergleichbare wissenschaftliche Disziplin. Für Steinthal standen dagegen die psychologischen Eigenschaften der Sprache im Zentrum der Sprachbetrachtung. Für ihn ist *Sprache* der „gesamte Inbegriff des Sprachmaterials eines Volkes“ (1855, 137). Die Entwicklung der historischen, sozialen und kulturellen Funktionen des Sprachsystems und des Sprachgebrauchs war für ihn eine Aufgabe der *hermeneutischen Methodologie*. Sprache wird als Abbild des Bewußtseins aufgefasst (1850, 63). Diese Gleichsetzung von Sprache und Bewußtsein kann als Vorläufer der These von der sprachlichen *Relativität* gelten (vgl. Gumperz & Levinson 1996).

Der von Schleicher und Steinthal geführte Disput wurde später von den Junggrammatikern und ihrem Kritiker, Hugo Schuchhardt, fortgesetzt. In seiner berühmten Schrift von 1885 „Über die Lautgesetze: gegen die Junggrammatiker“ wendet sich Schuchhardt gegen die naturwissenschaftliche Methode indem er Sprachvariation (Sprachmischung, Sprachwandel, soziale und regionale Dynamik geltender Sprachnormen, Kontextabhängigkeit des Sprachgebrauchs) als Ursache für die nicht hintergehbare sprachliche Heterogenität betrachtet. Etwa ein Jahrhundert später kehrt Labov die Prinzipien der Junggrammatiker in ihr Gegenteil um: „*Variation ist eine notwendige Bedingung für das Funktionieren von Kommunikation*“.

Bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts hat sich der Streit zwischen naturwissenschaftlichen, formalen Theorien und kultur- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Konzepten zur Analyse von Sprache fortgesetzt. Bekanntlich hat F. de Saussure zu Beginn des Jahrhunderts die systemlinguistische Auffassung formuliert und damit dem Strukturalismus den Weg bereitet. Gleichzeitig gab es jedoch immer wieder funktionalistische und sozialwissenschaftlich orientierte Auffassungen über die Analyse von Sprache (vgl. Dittmar & Glier 2000).

2. Aufkommen des Begriffs „Soziolinguistik“

In welchem Maße die zitierten Auffassungen einer Soziolinguistik oder Sprachsoziologie den Weg zur Begründung eines zentralen wissenschaftlichen Bereiches ebneten und durch den Zweiten Weltkrieg nur ‚suspendiert‘ wurden, soll in diesem Beitrag nicht beantwortet werden. In der Literatur wird angeführt, dass Haver C. Currie (vgl. 1981) als erster in einem Aufsatz von 1952 den Begriff „sociolinguistics“ benutzt habe. Von den amerikanischen Soziolinguisten wird dieses Faktum respektiert (vgl. Murray 1998), obwohl sicher gründlichere Recherchen über die Verwendung des Terminus zu anderen Schlussfolgerungen führen müssen. Das Wort ‚Sprachsoziologie‘ wurde bereits in der deutschen Sprachwissenschaft in den zwanziger Jahren benutzt; ähnlich verhält es sich mit der ‚sozialen Linguistik‘ in der Sowjetunion der zwanziger Jahre (vgl. Jachnow 1984; Dittmar 1976). In rekonstruktiver Perspektive einer Teildisziplin Soziolinguistik liegt es nahe, trotz dieser Einwände, als Startjahr der Soziolinguistik das Jahr 1953 nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg zugrunde zu legen, da im Folgenden dieser Ausdruck immer wieder in amerikanischen Veröffentlichungen benutzt worden ist. Curry's Begriffsverwendung für dieses Jahr gilt als belegt. Sammelbände verwenden den ‚neuen‘ (oder ‚altneuen‘?) Terminus. Curry's ‚term coinage‘ mag als ‚Etikett‘ für eine aufkommende Forschung positivistisch angeführt werden, sozusagen als Indexikalisierung dessen, was ‚in der Luft liegt‘ und von Günthner (für den Sprachwandel) die ‚unsichtbare Hand‘ genannt wird. In *Journal of Speech* finden wir 1952 den von Curry benutzten Terminus, in seinem Aufsatz ‚function, structure and sound change‘ hat André Martinet das Attribut „sociolinguistic“ bereits 1952 benutzt.

3. Historiographie: Kriterien wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Rekonstruktion

Die folgenden Überlegungen stellen einen Beitrag zur wissenschaftlichen Genese einer (Teil-)Disziplin wie der Soziolinguistik dar.

3.1 Zur Methodik der Rekonstruktion

Erst wenn ein neuer Wissenschaftszweig etabliert ist, kann man die wissenschafts-

imane, soziale und biografische Motivation seiner Konstitution rekonstruieren. Ich folge hier den relevanten philosophischen Überlegungen von van Wright in „Erklären und Verstehen“ (1974). Welche Motivationsketten mit einem jeweils multikausalen Potential lassen sich in welchen Gruppen- und Personenkonstellationen in welchen chronologischen Phasen isolieren?

Eine Soziolinguistik, deren Methodik und Theoriebildung im Lichte des aktuellen Forschungsstandes wissenssoziologisch-reflexiv und historisch-kritisch erfolgen soll, nenne ich hier *konstruktivistische Soziolinguistik*. Im Sinne von Kamlah & Lorenzen (1973) und Dittmar und Glier 2000, 82ff.) ist das vorgezeichnete Vorgehen

(a) ‚propädeutisch‘: In einer Art ‚Vorschule sprachsoziologischer Denks‘ gehen wir „ohne Misstrauen an die Sache selbst“ (1973, 13) heran und überprüfen im Lichte der Wissenschaftsgeschichte die empirischen, theoretischen und methodischen Leistungen der Soziolinguistik. Wir gehen also davon aus, dass es eine chronologisch geordnete Kumulation der Erkenntnisse gibt; Erkenntnisse werden verschüttet, wieder aufgegriffen, konstruktiv/destruktiv verwendet oder führen sogar zu neuen Paradigmen. Hieraus folgt, dass, frühere Erkenntnisstufen mit den neueren Punkt für Punkt abzugleichen sind (methodisches Prinzip).

(b) *historisch*: Sprechen als individuelle und kommunikative Gattungen schaffende Aktivität in verschiedenen Sprachen und Varietäten muss als kommunikative Praxis in ihren historischen Ergebnissen erfasst werden.

Face-to-Face-Interaktion war bisher die dominante Interaktionsart, heute gibt es durch die elektronischen Medien Mehrkanalkommunikation, d.h. Interaktanten sind in unterschiedlichen Graden der Nähe und Distanz sowie der personenspezifischen physischen Repräsentation präsent. (Dieser Gesichtspunkt verändert auch die Ansätze in der Anthropologie).

(c) *konstruktiv*: das Verhältnis von Daten, Beschreibung und Erklärung ist konstruktiv zu begründen (es gibt explizite Kriterien für empirische Untersuchungsergebnisse und den Stand der Theoriebildung; vgl. Dittmar und Glier 2000, 83).

(d) *rekonstruktiv*: sprachsoziologische Erkenntnisse ‚vor unserer Zeit‘ liegen als schriftliche, unhintergehbare Zeugnisse vor. Sie müssen nach expliziten, unvoreingenommenen, theoriegeleiteten Gesichtspunkten

die wissenssoziologischen und -historischen Besonderheiten der Entwicklung einschließen („Historiographie“) und mit dem Ziel rekonstruiert werden, Teile oder Komponenten der heutigen Theoriebildung zu ergänzen, zu revidieren oder zu korrigieren. Im Sinne von Wrights sind Handlungsmotivationen *verstehend* zu erschließen. Koerner (2001) zeigt, dass Whitney Meillet beeinflusst hat und dieser wiederum U. Weinreich und W. Labov. Hierfür gibt es viele plausible Argumente, aber keine definitive Sicherheit. Historiographie verbindet Tatsachenlisten mit Plausibilitätsurteilen rekonstruktiver Erklärung. Nun ist klar, dass Martinet zu jener Zeit großen Einfluss hatte; er redigierte die Prestigezeitschrift *Word*, und war weltweit einer der meist gelesenen Linguisten. Sein Bekanntheitsgrad und sein Einfluss sprechen dafür, dass der Terminus ‚sociolinguistic‘ eher von Martinet übernommen wurde. So könnte man durchaus annehmen, dass Currie (1952) den Ausdruck möglicherweise von Martinet übernommen hat. Der Terminus ‚Soziolinguistik‘ lag 1952 in der Luft. Es wäre jedoch wissenschaftsgeschichtlich fatal, wollte man das Jahr 1952 zum authentischen Geburtsjahr der Soziolinguistik erklären. Anfang der fünfziger Jahre tauchte der Begriff des öfteren auf. Ende der fünfziger Jahre führte das erste große anthropologische Symposium in Los Angeles diesen in seinem Titel. In den diesem bedeutenden Kolloquium vorausgehenden Jahren ist der Begriff belegt, und das ist die Evidenz, die ihn zum Vorläufer späterer Systematisierungen machen. Es sei jedoch klar gestellt, dass den gesellschaftlichen Aspekt von Sprache thematisierende Begriffe seit Saussures ‚Cours de linguistique générale‘ wiederholt vor dem ersten und zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen auftauchten. Raoul de la Grasserie (1839–1914) nannte seinen programmatischen Aufsatz 1909 ‚sociologie linguistique‘. Mittels umfassender Datenanalysen (z. B. aller Zeitschriften, Monographien & Sammelbände), würde man sicher einen Terminus wie ‚sociolinguistique‘ oder ‚sociologie linguistique‘ im romanischen Bereich oder im slawischen der zwanziger Jahre belegen können. Der Begriff ‚Sprachsoziologie‘ kommt bereits in empirischen germanistischen Untersuchungen zur Sprache in der Schule und zu den Dialekten in den zwanziger Jahren vor. Allerdings muss man annehmen, dass deutsche und französische Aufsätze bei der amerikanischen Begriffsbildung Pate gestanden haben. In den dreißiger und vierziger

Jahren hatten sich aufgrund des zweiten Weltkrieges zahlreiche europäische Wissenschaftler in die USA begeben; dort entstand also ein Sammelbecken für moderne linguistische Forschung. Die fünfziger Jahre sind ein Schmelztiegel vieler eingewanderter Wissenschaftler und amerikanischer Forscher in den USA. Diesen Schmelztiegel gilt es wissenssoziologisch genauer zu erfassen, (vgl. aber auch Paulston und Tucker 1997) z. B. welche Rolle russische Emigranten spielten, die im Laufe der dreißiger und vierziger Jahre aufgrund der russischen Revolution in die USA kamen und welche deutsch-jüdischen Linguisten in die USA während der Nazi-Herrschaft emigrierten. Zusammenfassend gilt: Der Begriff ‚Soziolinguistik‘ fasst in den USA zu Beginn der fünfziger Jahre Fuß und steht dann institutionell für ein neues linguistisches Paradigma. – Für eine historiografische Rekonstruktion haben Dittmar und Glier (2001, 73) zwei wesentliche Rahmenbedingungen formuliert:

(RB 1): „Die Entwicklung von Erkenntnissen hat biografische (individuelle, gruppenspezifische, gesellschaftliche) und epochale (zeithistorische) Wurzeln“ (a.a.O., 73).

(RB 2): „Ob und in welchem Maße Erkenntnisse, seien sie empirischer, theoretischer oder methodischer Art, für die Weiterentwicklung einer Disziplin von Relevanz sind, kann nur durch eine theoriegeleitete, ideologisch ungebundene rekonstruktive Methode herausgefunden werden, die Kriterien zur Explizierung des *tertium comparationis* vorgibt und historische und soziokulturelle Besonderheiten im Sinne qualitativer (hermeneutischer) Methodik reflektiert“ (a.a.O.).

3.2. Parameter historiographischer Rekonstruktion

Folgende Parameter sind von der Rekonstruktion betroffen:

(1) die Rolle der Einzeldisziplin

Wissenschaftliche Arbeitsrichtungen bilden eigene Methoden und Traditionen aus. Eine Teildisziplin der Linguistik mit langer Tradition ist die Phonetik. Die Junggrammatiker machten sich mit ihren Lautgesetzen einen systemlinguistischen Namen. Zwar betrieben sie Sprachwandel naturwissenschaftlich pur, gerieten dabei jedoch in die Sackgasse eines unauflösbaren Widerspruchs, nämlich das Problem des Sprachwandels ohne die Triebfeder der Sprachmischung, des Gesellschaftskontakts, des Prestiges und der Stigmatisierung von Varianten u. a. lösen zu

wollen. Die systemlinguistische Tradition widmete sich den autonomen logischen und formalen Gesetzen der Sprache. Diese Tradition blieb auf unterschiedlichen Ebenen der sprachwissenschaftlichen Beschreibung bis heute als Hauptströmung erhalten. Starke Impulse erfuhr die Sprachwissenschaft andererseits von der Anthropologie, die in der Tradition Humboldts im 19. Jhd. die kulturelle und sprachliche Vielfalt der Völker vergleichend untersuchte. Die multiethnische Zusammensetzung der Vereinigten Staaten hatte interdisziplinäre methodische Orientierungen (Psychologie; Soziologie; Philologie) zur Folge. Die soziokulturellen Determinierungen der Schreib- und Sprechsysteme führten zur Untersuchung der durch sie motivierten Denkstile. Im Zuge solcher Untersuchungen war Benjamin Lee Whorfs These von der sprachlichen Relativität (1956) ein die Soziolinguistik provozierendes Buch. Die Verbindung von Grammatik, Kommunikationskultur und Denken wurden zu einer Triebfeder vieler soziolinguistischer Untersuchungen. Anthropologie konnte man nicht am grünen Tisch betreiben; man hatte mit konkreten Sprechern und ihrer unbekanntenen Sprache sowie deren sozialen Funktionen zu tun. Interkulturelle Verständnisschwierigkeiten waren stets präsent. Ein komplexer Zusammenhang verlangte interdisziplinäres Vorgehen; originelle Soziolinguistik konnte in diesem Treibhaus gedeihen (vgl. Murray 1998 für eine allerdings einseitige Sicht). Aus der Philosophie (Rousseau) und der Soziologie (Alfred Schütz) kamen dann schließlich die grundlegenden phänomenologischen Untersuchungen zur Interaktion und zur Verständigung zwischen Menschen. Die Verständigung zwischen Ego und Alter, A und B, die Etablierung von Konventionen zur Angemessenheit der Kommunikation haben Theorien über die Interaktion evoziert und die neueren Arbeiten zur Ethnomethodologie und Konversationsanalyse vorbereitet.

(2) *Institutionalisierung der Disziplin* in einer Verankerung in Programmen, Forschungszentren, Instituten und in langfristigen Aktivitäten (Colloquien etc.).

(3) *Epistemologische Verbreitung*: die Rolle von Sammelbänden und Publikationen, die Multiplikatorenfunktion solcher Veröffentlichungen im internationalen Kontext; die Gründung von Zeitschriften, Bulletins, Jahrbüchern etc.; die Vitalität bzw. der Beginn der Vitalität einer Teildisziplin im Spiegel von wissenschaftlicher Öffentlichkeits-

arbeit, Kongressen, Sammelbänden und Diskussionsforen.

(4) *Die kognitive Dimension*: disziplininterne Motivationen die durch den Kenntnisstand und den Mangel an Detailwissen in einer Disziplin motiviert sind; Defizite in Beschreibung und Erklärung; die ideologische Dimension der Gegenstandsbestimmung; der Zusammenhang von Theorie und Empirie; die Anwendungsmöglichkeiten wissenschaftlicher Analyse; Probleme der Reduktion des Erkenntnisinteresses und der Erweiterung der Erkenntnisbasis durch empirische Untersuchungen etc.

(5) die *biografische Dimension* und die Funktion von Gruppenbildung. Eine etappenbildende Rolle spielte bei der Gruppenbildung die (a) Russische Revolution (1918)

Viele Wissenschaftler, Kritiker der sozialistischen Revolution, wandern in die USA aus und bringen dort slawistische Traditionen ein (Jakobson, Prager Strukturalismus; russischer Formalismus etc.). Es werden Schulen und neue Netzwerke ausgebildet (z. B. Slobin u. a.).

(b) Der zweite Weltkrieg

Nach 1945 (aber auch schon vorher) immigrierten viele jüdische LinguistInnen in die USA. Sie setzen dort europäische linguistische Traditionen fort (zum Teil vermittelt über den einflussreichen André Martinet).

(c) Die wissenschaftliche Sozialisation

Labov war Chemiker und brachte die empirische Sprachgebrauchsforschung der Linguistik nahe – nicht zuletzt in Folge eines Transfers aus einem anderen Fach. Der Bildungsforscher Bernstein sah Bedingungen sozialer Ungleichheit in der sprachlichen Sozialisation angelegt, die seiner Meinung nach soziale Ungleichheiten als Produkte sprachlicher Relativität auswies. Die These von der ‚sprachlichen Relativität‘ stammt von dem fachfremden Versicherungsmanager Benjamin Whorf, der sich der Sprachwissenschaft und linguistischen Anthropologie als seinem *Hobby* widmete.

(d) Die gesellschaftliche Problemlage

Was wann wie und mit wieviel Geld an Forschung finanziert wird, ergibt sich häufig aus der gesellschaftlichen Problemlage. Bois-Raymond (1971) und Dittmar (1973) haben den Zusammenhang zwischen ethnischen Problemen in Gettos, Schulproblemen, sprachlicher und soziokultureller Sozialisation einerseits und soziolinguistischer (Auftrags-)Forschung andererseits aufgezeigt. Haberland (1988) hat die Gründung des Center for Applied Linguistics in den

fünfziger Jahren (vgl. Shuy 1997) mit dem sprachpolitischen Imperialismus der USA nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg in Zusammenhang gebracht. Auch die Untersuchungen zur schichtspezifischen Sprach- und Kommunikationssozialisation (restringierter vs. elaborierter Kode) hatten gesellschaftspolitische Hintergründe (vgl. Dittmar 1973). Diese gesellschaftspolitischen Interessenlagen wurden in soziolinguistische Forschungen transformiert, die je nach Lösung der Ausgangsprobleme oder Misserfolge in der praktischen Umsetzung ausgesetzt wurden. Gesellschaftspolitische Auftragsforschung erweist sich als eine mächtige Determinante der Entwicklung soziolinguistischer Konzepte und Methoden.

Heutzutage ist die soziokulturelle Integration von Immigranten und Angehörigen sprachlicher Minderheiten eine Herausforderung für die Schulen. Geeignete Performanztests müssen entwickelt werden. In Kalifornien (USA) ist auf die Erforschung von Performanztests bereits ein ganzes Institut verpflichtet.

3.3. Entwicklungsgestalt der Soziolinguistik (Phasenbildung)

Im vielbeschworenen ‚Zeitgeist‘ kommen geistige Strömungen unterschiedlicher Orientierung und Intensität unter bestimmten materiellen und gesellschaftlichen Bedingungen zusammen und führen über zunächst zufällige Einzelereignisse zu sozialen Formationen, die menschliche Tätigkeiten zum Zwecke der Erkenntnisgewinnung entfesseln. Wir können in der Entwicklung der Soziolinguistik eine frühe Phase isolieren (vgl. Paulston & Tucker 1997), die bisher als am besten untersucht gelten kann; diese frühe Phase betrifft das Aufkommen der Teildisziplin und die berühmte Gründungsphase (Etablierung des Wissenschaftszweiges, Institutionalisierung); es folgt dann eine Phase der Konsolidierung, der Differenzierung des etablierten Wissenschaftszweiges in Teilgebiete, die Akzeptanz des Wissenschaftszweiges in den unterschiedlichsten Wissenschaftskulturen der Welt und schließlich die Differenzierung in viele verschiedene Wissensgebiete. – Ausgangspunkt der Phasengliederung ist die Nachkriegszeit (Beginn der fünfziger Jahre). Wir gehen von folgender Origo der Soziolinguistik aus:

Der Ort der Konstitutionsphase der Soziolinguistik sind die Vereinigten Staaten. Die Gründergestalten sind amerikanischen und europäischen Ursprungs: die ersten Verwendungen des Terminus ‚Soziolinguistik‘ gehen auf den Beginn der fünfziger Jahre zurück. (1952, 53: Martinet; Currie). Die ersten einflussreichen Werke sind in englischer Sprache.

Die Sukzessivität der Phasen soll kognitive und gesellschaftspolitische Entwicklungsschritte verdeutlichen, obwohl oft chronologische Konstitutionsphasen gleichzeitig und nacheinander ablaufen und komplexe Interrelationen zwischen einzelnen Aktivitäten bestanden („Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen“, vgl. Bloch 1973). Folgende Phasen lassen sich *grosso modo* unterscheiden:

(1) Ein neues Konzept entsteht im „Zeitgeist“ (Hymes 1997, 123): die *Anfangsphase* der fünfziger Jahre

(2) Die Gründerzeit (Aufbruch und Institutionalisierung): die sechziger Jahre

(3) Ideologische Richtungs- u. Orientierungsauseinandersetzungen: die siebziger Jahre

(4) Konsolidierung makro- und mikrosoziolinguistischer Aktivitäten in den achtziger Jahren (Herausbildung vitaler prestigebesetzter Forschungsrichtungen, Fragmentierung und Detaillierung verschiedener Wissensbereiche)

(5) Widersprüchliche Tendenzen: neunziger Jahren (weitere Differenzierungen, Anknüpfen an die ideologischen Anfänge; Verblässen des Gesamtprofils; auffälliges Hervortreten der Konversationsanalyse und der gesellschaftskritischen Diskursanalyse; soziolinguistische Varianten der Zweisprachigkeit)

Bevor ich die in 3.2. genannten Aspekte exemplarisch darlege, will ich die einzelnen Phasen in einer symbolischen, willkürlichen Einteilung in Zehnjahresintervalle kurz charakterisieren.

4. Phasen soziolinguistischer Entwicklung

4.1. Die Anfangsphase

Der *locus nacendi* der institutionellen Soziolinguistik sind die Vereinigten Staaten (USA). Nur hier konnte etwas Neues nach den verheerenden Auswirkungen des Zweiten Weltkrieges entstehen – das Leben in den fünfziger Jahren war in den USA ungebro-

chen, die USA repräsentierten die Freiheit des Geistes, der Wissenschaft, Gerechtigkeit im sozialen Zusammenleben, Toleranz, Legitimität der Demokratie, Aufstiegsmöglichkeiten für rechtschaffend Denkende etc. Wir müssen uns die USA der fünfziger Jahre als einen Schmelztiegel wissenschaftlicher Persönlichkeiten denken; nach dem alptrauumgrausigen Holocaust befand sich die bedeutende Intelligencia Mittel und Osteuropas in den USA, sofern sie sich retten konnte. Institutionelle Einrichtungen waren intakt, der Sieg im Zweiten Weltkrieg hatte Selbstbewusstsein geschaffen, die weltweiten Herausforderungen motivierten zur Entwicklung von Wissen; dazu trugen jedoch viele Europäer, die Zuflucht in den USA gesucht hatten, aus verschiedensten Gründen, erheblich bei. Es gab einen russischen Einfluss: aus dem (nach-)revolutionären Russland geflohene Wissenschaftler setzten bestimmte „soziale“ und „funktionale“ Strömungen in ihren Untersuchungen in den USA fort (Roman Jakobson, nicht expliziter Träger soziolinguistischer Strömungen, trug ganz sicher zum Funktionalismus bei, ebenso die Strukturalisten des russischen Formalismus sowie des Prager Kreises). Weinreich, Fishman und Labov entstammen aus osteuropäischen, slawisch-jüdischen Milieus – kann es zufällig sein, dass sie die Forschungen zum Kontakt zwischen Sprachen, zur sozialen Funktion des Sprachgebrauchs und zu sprachsoziologischen Profilen von Gesellschaften gefördert haben? Hier muss der Schulbildung und der Biografie des Einzelnen noch erheblich differenzierter nachgegangen werden (vgl. aber Gumperz 1997; Hymes 1997 und Murray 1998). In den USA gab es Geld für Forschung, Wissenschaftler kamen in der Welt herum und wurden mit Sprachproblemen, Sprachplanung, mit den kulturellen, sozialen und sprachlichen Folgen des Zweiten Weltkrieges konfrontiert und konnten ohne materielle Not über die sozialen Funktionen von Sprache nachdenken. Unter diesen äußeren Bedingungen ging die Saat der von Meillets, Vendryes, Whitney, Schuchardt und Firth gelegten Keime auf: die sozialen Funktionen des Sprachgebrauchs und eine Soziologie der Sprecher zum Untersuchungsbereich zu wählen. Die Termini Sprachsoziologie, Soziologie der Sprache, *sociologie du langage*, *sociology of language*, Sozialnaja Linguistika werden in verschiedenen Teilen der Welt (insbesondere in Europa) von Philologen unterschiedlicher

Richtungen benutzt, ohne dass daraus die Etablierung eines Wissenschaftszweiges entsteht. Es sind zweifelsohne erste Spuren, die aber vom Zeitgeist nicht aufgegriffen wurden und keine institutionelle oder gesellschaftliche Entwicklung erfuhren (vgl. Dittmar und Glier 2000; Gierke und Jachnow 1974; Koerner 2001; Murray 1998). Im bedeutungsvollen Jahr 1952 taucht ‚sociolinguistics‘ in einem Aufsatz von Haver C. Currie auf, ‚sociolinguistic‘ als Adjektiv in einem Aufsatz von A. Martinet und ‚sociologie du langage‘ von M. Cohen. Cohens Terminus wird zunächst nur in der frankophonen Welt wahrgenommen und taucht als ‚sociology of language‘ erst 1956 in der englischen Übersetzung deutlicher auf. Ein spezifischer *Erfinder* der Teildisziplin Soziolinguistik ist nicht auszumachen – Details einer Rezeptionsforschung liegen nicht vor.

4.2. Gründerzeit

Im Bereich der Makro- u. Mikrosoziolinguistik werden grundlegende theoretische und empirische Arbeiten veröffentlicht. Es handelt sich um Kongressberichte und Sammelbände, in denen sich ein neues wissenschaftliches Paradigma ankündigt. Hierzu gehören:

1) der Sammelband von Fishman *Readings in the Sociology of Language* (erst erschienen 1968)

2) der Sammelband von Ferguson und Gumperz, *Linguistic diversity in South Asia: Studies in regional, social and functional variation* (1960)

3) der von Gumperz und Hymes herausgegebene Band *The ethnography of Communication* (1964)

4) Special issues der *Anthropological Linguistics*, *Ethnography of Speaking and communication*

5) der Band von Hymes und Gumperz, *Directions in sociolinguistics* (1972)

6) der von Hymes herausgegebene Band *Language and Culture* etc. (Dokumentation Paulston & Tucker 1997; Murray 1998)

7) die Monographie „The Sociology of Language“ von Joyce O. Hertzler (1965).

Der Aufbruch in die drei Gebiete Ethnographie der Kommunikation (soziolinguistische Perspektive der Anthropologie), Soziologie der Sprache (Kloss, Fishman, Ammon u. a.) und Variationslinguistik (Labov, Sankoff u. a.) wird weltweit als Innovation rezipiert, vor allem in mehrsprachigen Ländern mit Enthusiasmus aufgenommen und be-

reits im Laufe der siebziger Jahre in Forschungsprojekte umgewandelt. Pionierarbeiten der Gründerzeit, die eine ganze Generation prägen, sind:

- Labovs Dissertation von 1966 *The social stratification of English in New York City*
- die Einführung der Zeitschriften *Language in Society* durch Dell Hymes im Jahre 1972
- *The International Journal of the Sociology of Language* durch Joshua Fishman im Jahre (1973)
- die makrosoziolinguistische Arbeit von Fishman u. a. über Einwanderer und ihre Sprachen in den USA (u. a.)
- die sprachsoziologischen Profile von Einzelsprachen weltweit (Zensus – u. a. Untersuchungen, meist von Joshua Fishman herausgegeben, z. B. *Advances in the Sociology of Language* Bd. 2 (1972))
- die umfassende Studie von Fishman, Couper u. a. zur Zweisprachigkeit (Bilingualismus) in New York City.

Viele dieser Arbeiten erschienen zunächst als nicht veröffentlichte Dissertationen oder als Forschungsberichte (ERIC-Dokumente) am neu gegründeten Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington (Leiter zu der Zeit Rudolph Troike, später Roger B. Shuy). Ende der sechziger Jahre finden zum ersten Mal die Georgetown University Roundtables (GURT) statt, die die relevanten Forscher auf dem Gebiet der Ethnografie der Kommunikation, der Variationslinguistik und der Sprachsoziologie an einen runden Tisch zu einem jeweils vorgegebenen Thema versammeln. (Eine einflussreiche Rolle spielte Charles A. Ferguson). Die Roundtables wurden veröffentlicht und stellten bald eine prestigebesetzte Reihe dar. Man sollte nicht vergessen, dass während dieser Zeit auch in Europa das Interesse an dem Zusammenhang von Sprache und Soziologie wuchs. Da gibt es die ersten Veröffentlichungen von Thomas Luckmann zur Soziologie der Sprache in dem von René König herausgegebenen Handbuch für Soziologie. Die Arbeiten von Heinz Kloss zu *Abstands- und Ausbausprachen* wurden von Soziologen gelesen, vor allem in den USA (Fishman u. a.). Zu dieser Zeit entsteht auch die bedeutende sozialisationsspezifische Arbeit von Bordieu und Passeron zur Schichtspezifik der Schulen in Frankreich (gegründet auf Beobachtungen zum Sprachverhalten). Solche Arbeiten wie Bordieu/Passeron (1970)

aber auch in den fünfziger Jahren erschiene Aufsätze zum Thema *Sprache und Relativität* sowie zur Unterscheidung von schichtenspezifischen Sprachunterschieden regten Basil Bernstein aus London zu Überlegungen zur Schichtspezifik von Sprache in westlichen europäischen Gesellschaften an. Die ersten Überlegungen hierzu entstanden Ende der sechziger Jahre und wurden dann bestimmend für die Diskussion in den siebziger Jahren.

4.3. Konsolidierung der Disziplin, Richtungskämpfe in den Siebzigern

Gesellschaftspolitische Faktoren bestimmen den Ausbau der Soziolinguistik in den siebziger Jahren und ihre weltweite Rezeption und Innovation.

In den westlichen Ländern wird der Bildungsnotstand ausgerufen. Statistiken über den Abschluss von Schulabschlüssen zur Eignung für das Studium zeigen, dass die unteren Schichten nicht aufwärts mobil sind. Die mittleren und oberen Schichten rekrutieren ihren akademischen Nachwuchs im Wesentlichen selber, offenbar erweist sich die westliche Demokratie als schichtundurchlässig. In welchem Maße untere soziale Schichten sozial aufsteigen, ein Studium absolvieren und Akademikerberufe ergreifen, wird Gegenstand gesellschaftspolitischer Kontroversen. Die provozierenden Thesen von Basil Bernstein zu verbalen Defiziten in der Unterschicht alarmieren die Politiker und forcieren Überlegungen, für das Bildungssystem sprachliches Training vom Kindergarten bis zur Grundschule verstärkt für Kinder sozial schwacher Milieus anzubieten. Nach Bernstein verhindern sogenannte sprachliche Codes der Unterschicht (vgl. hierzu Dittmar 1973) bessere Bildungsleistungen und die Qualifizierung für gehobene Statuspositionen in der Gesellschaft. Für die unteren Schichten werden defizitkompensierende Sprachtrainingsprogramme gefordert.

Parallel zur europäischen Situation wird in den USA der Bildungsnotstand der Schwarzen ausgerufen. Empirische Studien belegen mit erdrückender Evidenz (Deutsch et al. 1967), dass die akademischen Leistungen der Schwarzen geringer sind als die der Weißen, dass sie vom Standard abweichende Varietäten sprechen, die den kommunikativen Funktionen und Sprachnormen der Weißen diametral entgegengesetzt sind. Sogenannte „kumulative Defizite“ im Sprach-

gebrauch weisen Deutsch u. a. nach. Labov et al. (1968) formulieren in expliziter Regelform die Abweichungen des ‚Black English‘ vom Standardsprachgebrauch. Der amerikanische Kongress bewilligt eine große Geldsumme, um das Headstart-Projekt durchzuführen; es geht darum, die sprachlich „Zurückgebliebenen“ an die Normen der Sprache der Weißen anzupassen: *Sesamstraße* ist das Programm, das Millionen Schwarze (und seitdem aber auch Weiße) erreicht und in spielerischer Weise in Strukturen der Sprache unterweist und Defizite im Sprachgebrauch abbauen hilft. In Europa identifiziert sich die junge Studentengeneration mit den politischen Zielen einer gerechter zu gestaltenden Gesellschaft, insbesondere mit den Interessen der unteren Schichten und der Arbeiter. Gefordert wird, dass sich die Sozialwissenschaften dem Problem der Anwendung stellen und die Situation der unteren Schichten verbessern. Hier gerät unter den Philologien insbesondere die Sprachwissenschaft ins Fadenkreuz eingeforderter sozialer Emanzipation: Linguisten engagieren sich interdisziplinär (Soziologie, Psychologie, Linguistik) und diagnostizieren mit großem Engagement den schichtspezifischen, mündlichen und schriftlichen Sprachgebrauch und die damit verbundenen Benachteiligungen. Zahlreiche Untersuchungen entstehen zu schichtspezifischen Unterschieden im schulischen und familiären Alltag. Mittels grammatischer und semantischer Variablen des Sprachgebrauchs werden schichtspezifische Codes (= signifikante Variablen im Sprachgebrauchssystem) differenziert und auf dem Hintergrund des Bildungsnotstandes als Sprachbarriere erklärt. Für diese Forschung wird viel Geld ausgegeben (vgl. Zahlen zu Investitionen auf dem Bildungssektor in Dittmar 1973 und Du Bois – Raymond 1970). *Taking sides* – das ist die Devise der siebziger Jahre; die erschütternde Bilanz des Zweiten Weltkrieg lässt die jungen Forscher zur Devise gelangen: keine Glasperlenspiele mehr in der Wissenschaft, mehr und bessere gesellschaftliche Legitimierung! Der soziolinguistische Blick fiel auf die Unterprivilegierten, die Minderheiten, die Marginalisierten, die Sondersprachen und die ethnischen Unterschiede. Dies ist auch eine Nachkriegerscheinung: die zunehmende Differenzierung in der Gesellschaft kann zunächst wenig sprachlich und kommunikativ abgedeckt werden; so entstehen Reflexionen über Steuerungen sprachnormengerechter

Anwendung in der Bildungspolitik. Die methodischen und theoretischen Perspektiven sind vielfältig. Auf der einen Seite erklären Ehlich u. a., Soziolinguistik könne nicht „bürgerlich“ betrieben werden, sondern nur im Rahmen einer, sich für die Arbeiterklasse engagierten Partei (Ehlich/Hohnhäuser u. a. 1974). Andere wiederum, die über die Phänomenologie von Alfred Schütz kommen und innovativ Untersuchungen zur verbalen Interaktion durchführen, engagieren sich für Projekte, mit denen der Polizei ein geschickteres kommunikatives Verhalten bei Demonstrationen gelehrt werden kann. Beide Positionen waren damals sehr umstritten, sie kennzeichnen die Extreme, zwischen denen sich das gesellschaftliche Engagement damals bewegte („links“ Engagierte wie Ehlich erhielten damals sogar ein ‚Berufsverbot‘). Man kann das Jahrzehnt der siebziger Jahre das politisch exponierte soziolinguistische Jahrzehnt nennen. Weder davor noch danach wurde soviel Geld für die Erforschung des Zusammenhangs von Sprache und Kommunikation in der Schule, in Institutionen, im breiteren gesellschaftlichen Kontext ausgegeben.

Folgende Richtungen etablierten sich in den siebziger Jahren:

(1) Sprachsoziologische Untersuchungen:

Es wurden sprachsoziologische Profile von Nationalsprachen, offiziellen Sprachen, Varietäten, mehrsprachigen Gesellschaften etc. erstellt nach dem Vorbild von Fishman u. a. (1968), die die Verteilung von Muttersprachen und nicht-muttersprachlichen Varietäten im Raum New York untersuchten.

(2) Die Sprachbarrierensoziolinguistik, die schichtspezifische Sprachgebrauchssysteme unter dem Gesichtspunkt ‚kognitive und kommunikative Defizite‘ untersuchte und auf der Folie der Ergebnisse Reformen der schulischen Sozialisation vorschlugen. Ein wichtiger Nebeneffekt der schichtspezifischen Untersuchung war:

- signifikante empirische Kategorien zur Analyse von gesprochener Sprache (soziolinguistische Variablen) mussten isoliert werden; die in den siebziger Jahren aufgestellten abstrakten Grammatiktheorien erwiesen sich dabei wenig hilfreich.
- Die Satzdefinition wurde infrage gestellt, stattdessen von Äußerungen und kommunikativen Einheiten gesprochen;
- die Frage der Subordination in Äußerungsgefügen wurde virulent; sind Unterschiede zwischen Sprechern in Art

und Anzahl der Einbettungen in Äußerungsgefügen als kognitive und systemische-kodespezifische Kompetenzunterschiede zu interpretieren?

- Sehr viel diskutiert wurden auch die Oberflächenunterschiede und die ihnen zugrundeliegenden semantischen Repräsentationen. Macht es einen kognitiven und systemischen Unterschied aus, den gleichen Sachverhalt mit lexikogrammatischen Mitteln in 1(a) oder in 1(b) zu formulieren?

1(a) *Es regnete. Daher nahm er seinen Regenschirm mit.*

1(b) *Weil es regnete, nahm er seinen Regenschirm mit.*

In 1(a) würde man von Subordination reden, in 1(b) von Koordination; betrachtet man fehlende Subordination in den Äußerungen der Unterschicht als Defizit, kommt man leicht zu einer gravierenden kognitiven Wertung sprachoberflächenbezogener Unterschiede (z. B. minderer Intelligenzquotient). Infolge kontroverser Diskussionen der Ergebnisse der schichtspezifischen Forschung und ihrer Anwendung wurde in den achtziger Jahren die Förderung dieser Projekte eingestellt. Daraus ergaben sich wissenschaftsgeschichtlich gravierende Fragen: Hängt es von dem Gesellschaftstyp ab, ob soziolinguistische Forschung durchgeführt wird? Gibt die Gesellschaftsform der Demokratie Denkformen vor, die aufgrund von Interessen der oberen Gesellschaftsschichten und der Wirtschaft zu willkürlichen Sprüngen in der Forschung führen? Wie kann man es in Demokratien erreichen, Forschung kontinuierlich bis zu dem Sättigungspunkt tieferer Erkenntnis durchzuführen? Was hat diese Forschung und ihre Anwendung bewirkt, wenn es heute wieder (oder immer noch) erhebliche schichtspezifische Sprachcodeunterschiede gibt? Soll die Soziolinguistik zu dem Schluss kommen, dass Sprachbarrieren so unaufhebbar – und universell – wie soziale Schichten sind?

(3) Eng verbunden mit dem Problem der sozialen Benachteiligung (Unterschichtsprache) ist die Frage der Sprachbarriere bei nicht-muttersprachlichen Immigranten (in den siebziger Jahren ‚Gastarbeiter‘). Für viele Linguisten war offensichtlich, dass Immigranten, die die Zielsprache im Land selbst ungesteuert erwerben mussten, noch viel benachteiligter waren als muttersprachliche Unterschichtssprecher. Im deutschsprachigen Raum entstand Mitte der siebzi-

ger Jahre ein Schwerpunkt zur Untersuchung der Gastarbeitersprache im Rahmen der deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft. Die erste und bekannteste solcher Untersuchungen war die des Heidelberger Forschungsprojektes ‚Pidgin-Deutsch‘ (Heidelberger Forschungsprojekt ‚Pidgin-Deutsch‘ 1979). Soziolinguistisch bedeutend an diesen Untersuchungen ist, dass der Sprachstand der Immigranten in Abhängigkeit von sozialen und außersprachlichen Parametern beschrieben wurde. Die elementaren Sprachkenntnisse der zugewanderten Arbeitsimmigranten stellten eine Art Pidgin-Sprache (Pidgin-Deutsch, Pidgin-Englisch etc.) dar. Der soziale und kommunikative Status dieses Pidgin wurde viel diskutiert (vgl. HPD 1975 und Meisel 1980). Damit geriet der ungesteuerte, nicht explizit durch Unterricht vermittelte Erwerb einer Zweitsprache durch Angehörige anderer Muttersprachen in einem Land in dem Bannkreis soziolinguistischer Forschungsinteressen. Damit wurde auch ein neuer Themenkreis linguistischer Forschung nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg erschlossen, nämlich die systematische Beschreibung des Erwerbs zweiter Sprachen sowie die soziolinguistische Untersuchung von Zweisprachigkeit.

(4) Soziale Dialektologie

Neuer Untersuchungsgegenstand wurde die soziolinguistische Beschreibung von Stadtsprachen; paradigma-definierender Prototyp war die Untersuchung von William Labov, zur sozialen Schichtung des Englischen in New York City (1966). Stand bisher die Untersuchung der horizontalen Variation (regionale und lokale Unterschiede) im Mittelpunkt (eher kleine homogene Sprachgemeinschaften), so wird jetzt der vertikale soziale Sprachgebrauch in Städten beschrieben, bisher weiße Flecken in der Landschaft der Dialekte. Historische Bedeutung hat in diesem Kontext der sozialen Dialektologie die Definition linguistischer Variablen, deren Variantenausprägungen mit außersprachlichen Faktoren korreliert wurden (Schicht, Stil, spezifische Registerdimensionen vgl. Dittmar 1976; Downes 1998). In den USA hatten stadtsprachliche Untersuchungen, eine besondere Bedeutung, da sie zusätzlich zur sozialen Schichtung ethnische Differenzen (schwarz vs. weiß) erfassen mussten. Einerseits ist ein starker Trendwechsel in der Methodologie zu bemerken: die herkömmliche Dialektologie versagte gegenüber den Problemen der

Beschreibung soziolinguistischer Vertikalität; das in den sechziger Jahren innovative neue Paradigma der Soziologie konnte methodologisch aushelfen. Die Ethnographie der Kommunikation, also die qualitative anthropologische Forschung, spielte bei der Untersuchung eine wichtige Rolle. Sie ging vom Prinzip der Gleichheit von Sprachen und Varietäten aus (Sprachen/Varietäten haben verschiedene kommunikative Funktionen, keine ist aber einer anderen gegenüber unter- oder überlegen). So entstand als Gegengewicht gegen die sprachbarrierspezifische Defizithypothese die sogenannte *Differenzhypothese*, die Auffassung von der Verschiedenartigkeit, aber Gleichwertigkeit von Sprachen. Black English*, von amerikanischen Psychologen als defizitär beurteilt, wurde von Soziolinguisten als eine Varietät der Gegenkultur (Straßen und Sportkultur), beschrieben; sie ist Teil einer Diglossie insofern, als sie den mündlichen, vertrauten, alltäglichen, gruppenspezifischen Sprachgebrauch gegenüber dem schriftsprachlich geprägten, schulischen, akademischen Standardenglisch markiert. Aus der Perspektive der prestigebesetzten, soziale Normmaßstäbe setzenden Standardvarietät liegt es durchaus nahe, Black English – im Vergleich zur Standardvarietät – als defizitär zu bezeichnen. Hier interveniert nun die soziolinguistische Diskussion der siebziger Jahre: die Differenzhypothese argumentiert, dass die sprachlichen Varietäten ein Ausdruck soziokultureller Umgebungen sind und damit eine ökologische Ausprägung darstellen. Sie sind in sich nicht defizitär, sondern zur Bewältigung der jeweiligen Umweltaufgaben angemessen. Wenn man hier etwas verändern will, so muss es politisch geschehen durch bildungsfähige Hörer, bessere Angebote und die Förderung kommunikativer Nähe zu den unteren Schichten. Veränderung wirkt also durch demokratische Maßnahmen erhöhter Differenzierung und auch durch die Anerkennung dieser Varietäten als eine „andere“ Art des Kommunizierens, Konflikte um Prestige und Stigmatisierung sind eine entscheidende Triebkraft der soziolinguistischen Forschung.

4.4. Konsolidierung und Ausdifferenzierung der Disziplin in den achtziger und neunziger Jahren

Mit der Gegenstandsbezeichnung ‚Soziolinguistik‘ sind sehr häufig die Makro- und Mikro-Bereiche der Disziplin abgedeckt.

‚Sprachsoziologie‘ wird für nicht-linguistisches Bearbeiten des Untersuchungsbereichs ‚Status und Funktion von Sprachen‘, Mehrsprachigkeit, Verteilung von Sprachen und Sprechern auf geographische und soziale Räume, Minderheitensprachen etc. verwendet. Neuerdings werden die Sprachen auch unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Fach- und Wissenschaftssprachen im Fadenkreuz weltweiter Globalisierung untersucht. In sprachsoziologischer Perspektive werden in der Folge von Mannheimer, Schütz, Garfinkel, Kjolseth, Cicourel und anderen auch die sprachlich vermittelten Orientierungsmuster von Gruppen oder Milieus beschrieben.

Im Übrigen zeigen die achtziger und neunziger Jahre einen deutlichen Rückzug aus dem politischen Engagement und eine Hinwendung zu sachbezogenen Fragestellungen. Mit der Perspektive der Differenzkonzeption (vgl. Dittmar 1976) ist die Spannung aus der schichtenspezifischen Sprachbarriereforschung genommen: die Soziolinguisten wenden sich den objektivierbaren Unterschieden zwischen Sprechergruppen und ihren Codes zu und legen die Varietätendifferenzen nach ethnografischen, anthropologischen und funktionalen Gesichtspunkten der Angemessenheit dar. Kompensationsprogramme und bildungsbeflissene, sprachliche Sonderwege werden ignoriert. In Europa expandieren die Universitäten nicht mehr wie in den siebziger Jahren, der Andrang der Studenten stagniert. In Deutschland entstehen mit der Wiedervereinigung Ende der achtziger Jahre deutliche Umstrukturierungen der akademischen und soziokulturellen Landschaften.

Unter **Konsolidierung** verstehe ich die Institutionalisierung der Soziolinguistik (vgl. Murray 1998, 6ff.). Es gibt ein ganzes Spektrum von soziolinguistischen Zeitschriften (vgl. 4.3. und 5.1. sowie Dittmar 1997); orientierend wirken sich der *Sociolinguistic Newsletter* im anglo-amerikanischen und das Informationsblatt der *Sektion Sprachsoziologie* im deutschsprachigen Kontext aus. Bedeutende Fachzeitschriften sind:

Language in Society, Hrsg. Dell Hymes *International Journal for the Sociology of Language*, Hrsg. J. Fishman; *Linguistic Variation and Change*, Hrsg. D. Sankoff u. a.

Das Jahrbuch *Sociolinguistica*, hrsg. von Klaus Mattheier/Ulrich Ammon und Peter Nelde.

Gleichzeitig kann man von einer Soziolinguistisierung der Dimension ‚Zweit-

spracherwerb – Zweisprachigkeit‘ sprechen (vgl. die Arbeiten von Romaine u. a., die sich mit Mehrsprachigkeit, Zweisprachigkeit, kreolischen Sprachen etc. beschäftigen). Weiteres Indiz für die Konsolidierung sind die zahlreichen Übersee- als auch europäischen Institutionen, in denen soziolinguistische Forschung und ihre Anwendung institutionell betrieben wird. Initiierungsfunktion hatte das *Center for Applied Linguistics* in Washington. Es wurde bereits (wie beschrieben im Detail in Paulston und Tucker 1997 und kritisch hinterfragt in Haberland 1988) in den sechziger Jahren gegründet und war rasch eine internationale Schnittstelle für soziolinguistische Forschung auf den Gebieten Zwei- u. Mehrsprachigkeit, Varietäten, Profile von Kommunikationsgemeinschaften, Lehrprogramme für Nichtstandardsprachen und Varietäten etc. In Europa bildet sich die Stelle für europäische Mehrsprachigkeit in Brüssel unter der Leitung von Peter Nelde, der soziolinguistische Schwerpunkt zur Zweisprachigkeit in Tilburg (Holland), Leiter: Guus Extra, die Abteilung Sprache und Gesellschaft im Rahmen des Instituts für deutsche Sprache (Leiter: Werner Kallmeyer) die Forschungsstellen für Zwei- u. Mehrsprachigkeit in Minderheitengesellschaften an der Universität Barcelona (Soziolinguistik der Zwei- u. Mehrsprachigkeit), Cardiff (Wales, Soziolinguistik der Minderheitensprachen), das *Center for Applied Sociolinguistics* in Uppsala (Schweden), Leiter: Bengt Nordberg (bis Ende der neunziger Jahre). Auf europäischer Ebene wird ein zunehmendes Interesse der europäischen Gemeinschaft an alltäglicher Zwei- u. Mehrsprachigkeit deutlich. Die europäische Gemeinschaft unterstützt Colloquien, auf denen die Vertreter der großen und der kleinen Sprachen über Varietätenprofile und eine gemeinsame europäische Sprachpolitik nachdenken sowie die Sprachprobleme der europäischen Gemeinschaft unter soziolinguistischen Gesichtspunkten dokumentieren. In den sogenannten *European Scientific Networks* gibt es eine verstärkte Zusammenarbeit europäischer Soziolinguisten, die in Workshops und in mehrwöchigem Austausch zusammenarbeiten (ESF, s. Internet). Ein auffällig relevanter, differenzierter Vorgang ist die Einbindung der europäischen Soziolinguisten in das eigene Haus der Sprachen und ihrer Probleme: waren viele der germano-, franko- und italophonen ForscherInnen fasziniert durch die neuen Entwicklungen in den USA in den sechziger und An-

fang der siebziger Jahre, wenden sie sich nun der europäischen Szene zu (vgl. Berruto 1995; Dittmar 1997, s. die Diskussionsbeiträge in dem Jahrbuch *Sociolinguistica* 2). Besonders virulent ist dies in Deutschland, wo Identitätsambiguitäten nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg zu einer starken Hinwendung zu den USA führten, die deutschen Soziolinguisten dann aber zunehmend im europäischen Rahmen eigenes wissenschaftliches Selbstbewusstsein entwickeln und schließlich durch die Wiedervereinigung von den eigenen soziolinguistischen Problemen absorbiert werden. In vierzig Jahren DDR haben sich die Deutschen trotz gleicher Sprache kommunikativ auseinander gelebt. Die pragmatischen Normen der Alltagskommunikation unterscheiden sich nicht nur in Bezug auf Spaßkultur vs. Moralkultur, sondern auch in den Alltagsroutinen für die Abwicklung von Handlungen, Gesprächen und Diskursen; insbesondere liegt ein großer Unterschied in den kulturellen Inferenzen, die aus den Äußerungen im Kontext der Kommunikation gezogen werden (daher wird auch verstärkt der Ansatz von John Gumperz, Theorie der Kontextualisierung, zur Analyse von sprachlichen Äußerungen benutzt). Zahlreiche Bücher erscheinen in den neunziger Jahren zu den sprachlichen Unterschieden Ost-West und den Veränderungen in der Umbruchphase 1990 bis Ende des Zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts (vgl. Dittmar & Bredel 1999; Auer & Hausendorf 2000; Antos, Fix und Kühn 2001). Mit der Konsolidierung geht auch eine Ausdifferenzierung der Teildisziplin einher. In besonderem Maße ist eine geschlechterdifferenzierende Soziolinguistik aktiv. Die *Sociolinguistic Gender Studies* erreichen eine weltweite Dimension. Zunächst noch begleitet von den Vorstellungen einer feministischen Linguistik, die qua *woman/Fraulfemme* einen geschlechtsspezifisch eigenen Zugang zur Linguistik, zur Beschreibung und Erklärung hat, werden Trennlinien zwischen männer-spezifischen und frauenspezifischen Beschreibungen von Sprachgebrauch gezogen. Weltweit entstehen Seminare und Organisationsformen zum Studium von geschlechtsspezifischen Unterschieden, von denen sprachliche Unterschiede ein zentraler Teil sind. Diese *Gender Studies* führen zur Bewusstwerdung von rollen – u. gruppenspezifischen Unterschieden, deren Bearbeitung neue Optionen in der Gesellschaft eröffnet. Auch in diesem Bereich zeigen sich bald pro-

fessionelle organisatorische Vernetzungen: erst als Newsletter im subkulturellen akademischen Milieu gehandelt, gibt es bald (Mitte der achtziger Jahre) etablierte Zeitschriften, Reihen (Sammelbände) und akademische Spezialprogramme. In den neunziger Jahren flaut das frauenspezifische Interesse an diesen Untersuchungen ab, aber die linguistischen und kommunikativen Ausgrabungen der Gründerjahre sind derart weitreichend, dass Gender Studies keine generations- oder gruppenspezifische Mode sind. Sie sind zu einem etablierten soziolinguistischen Forschungszweig geworden. – Die Etablierung weiterer Teildisziplinen schreitet in den achtziger Jahren voran:

(a) die Stadtsprachensoziolinguistik: allein in Deutschland werden in den achtziger Jahren umfassende und innovative Stadtsprachenuntersuchungen durchgeführt; in Berlin werden zunächst soziolinguistische Variablen à la Labov untersucht, dann jedoch Stil- u. Registereigenschaften der Berliner Alltagsrhetorik. Semantische, pragmatische und diskursive Ausdrucksvarianten werden qualitativ beschrieben. Gleichzeitig entsteht in Mannheim über viele Jahre eine ethnografische Studie zum Sprachgebrauch in unterschiedlichen Stadtvierteln, in der soziale Gruppen und deren Routinen und sozial markierende Sprechweisen im Vordergrund stehen. Diese Untersuchungen lehnen sich an Gumperz' Theorie der Kontextualisierung an. Stadtsprachenuntersuchungen werden im Übrigen in vielen Teilen Europas durchgeführt: in Madrid, Barcelona und Granada (Spanien); in schwedischen, britischen, französischen, italienischen, holländischen etc. Städten.

(b) Nach den ersten Untersuchungen des natürlichen Zweitspracherwerbs durch erwachsene Immigranten wird in den achtziger und neunziger Jahren das familien-, gruppen- u. generationsspezifische kommunikative Verhalten makro- u. mikrosoziolinguistisch untersucht. In ganz Europa wird das Code-switching-Verhalten beschrieben; umfangreiche Korpora entstehen; die sprachspezifischen als auch die außersprachlichen Parameter des Sprachwechsel mit ihren linguistischen und außerlinguistischen Beschränkungen werden typologisch beschrieben (vgl. Milroy & Li Wei 1995). Bilinguale Schulprogramme, informelle und institutionelle Situationen zweisprachiger Kinder, domänenspezifische Untersuchungen des Gebrauchs zweiter Sprachen etc. werden mit

dem Ziel durchgeführt, Unterrichtsbedingungen zu verbessern, insbesondere die Integration von Immigrantenkindern zu erleichtern.

(c) Diskurslinguistik

Seit Labovs Untersuchungen zu Erzählungen persönlicher Erfahrungen sind in den achtziger und neunziger Jahren zahlreiche Untersuchungen zu Erzählungen von Individuen in Gruppen auf ihre Erfahrungen und auf ihre Bewertungen untersucht worden. Man könnte fast von einer Teildisziplin „soziolinguistische *Narrativik*“ sprechen. Für alle Altersstufen wurden solche Untersuchungen durchgeführt, auch im Bereich des kindlichen Spracherwerbs.

In den achtziger und neunziger Jahren entwickelt sich das Paradigma einer kritischen Diskursanalyse, die nicht nur gesellschaftliche Interaktion und gesellschaftliche Diskursfähigkeit immanent nachzuvollziehen und mit Teilnehmerkategorien (vgl. Konversationsanalyse) zu beschreiben sucht, sondern kritisch in ihrem Diskurskontext zu erfassen sucht (vgl. Fairclough 1995 u. Wodak & Reisigl 2001). Es entstehen Untersuchungen zum ausländerfeindlichen Diskurs (van Dijk 1984), zu Problemen im Arzt-Patient-Verhältnis etc. Dieser Bereich ist symbolisch am besten durch die von van Dijk herausgegebene Zeitschrift *Discourse and Society* repräsentiert.

4.5. Rekonstruktive Parameter der wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Entwicklung der Soziolinguistik

Kuhns Buch von 1962, die Struktur wissenschaftlicher Revolutionen, stellte den linearen Fortschritt wissenschaftlichen Denkens als Akkumulation des Wissens in Frage. Kuhn zeigte auf, dass Wahrheit und Irrtum, Fortschritt und Rückschritt eng miteinander verzahnt sind und wissenschaftliche Revolutionen (wirkliche „Innovationen“) eher von Außenseitern zu erwarten sind als von Institutionen. Am Beispiele von Physikern zeigt Kuhn (1962), wie die wissenschaftlichen Revolutionen in den Naturwissenschaften von Außenseitern ausgingen. Seiner Meinung nach sind die in den Alltag institutioneller Einrichtungen eingebundenen Forscher zu wenig den außergewöhnlichen Umständen wissenschaftlicher Entdeckungen ausgesetzt. Demgegenüber hat eine zunehmend differenzierte empirische Untersuchung von Bedingungen erfolgreichen und weniger erfolgreichen wissenschaftli-

chen Argumentierens in den letzten drei Jahrzehnten herausgefunden, dass Gruppenbildung, Durchsetzung von Argumenten und Führungsstil (einschließlich des Images der Innovatoren) zur Innovation beitragen, ja, diese sogar wesentlich bestimmen. Unter dem Gesichtspunkt von „Theoriegruppen in der Wissenschaft“ führt Murray (1998, 4–17) aus, dass wissenschaftliche Revolutionen in den Gesellschafts- u. Geisteswissenschaften von Gruppenbildungen und den Persönlichkeiten solcher Gruppen, der Institutionalisierung und den unsichtbaren Studieneinrichtungen (*invisible colleges*) und deren Netzwerken abhängen. Unter Rückgriff auf Griffith und Miller (1970) und Griffith und Mullins (1972) macht Murray die *innovations- u. elitebewusste pressure group* für Innovationen und Fortschritte verantwortlich. Man muss sich eine solche *pressure group* nicht als in sich kohärent und „wasserdicht“ vorstellen, sondern als eine lose Ansammlung von Individuen, die aus einer Eliteinstitution hervorgehen und ein Bewusstsein davon mitbringen, mit ihrer neuen wissenschaftlichen Theorie langfristig die Richtung der Disziplin zu verändern und sich gemäß einem neuen Paradigma durchzusetzen. Kernmitglieder sind dabei mit vielen Individuen auf Nebenschauplätzen verbunden, die Dichte der Interaktion zwischen Kernmitgliedern ist für den Erfolg der Gruppe gar nicht mal so entscheidend. Mullins' Argumentation dient Murray als Vorbild: institutionalisierte Zentren, dazugehörige Kernmitglieder mit Gruppennetzwerken, institutionalisierte Lehre, Sammelbände und Einzelveröffentlichungen sowie die Multiplikatorenwirkungen der Kernmitglieder scheinen die Durchsetzungsfähigkeit neuer, innovativer Auffassungen voran zu treiben.

4.5.1. Gruppen- u. Schulenbildung

Tucker (1997, 321) erkennt Charles Ferguson die Rolle des Wegbereiters der Soziolinguistik in den fünfziger Jahren zu. „Fergie“ habe durch seine Aufsätze zur Diglossie (1959), zu Registern und zu Sprachgemeinschaften (Ferguson & Gumperz 1960) den Aufbruch der Soziolinguisten organisiert, durch Kongresse, Workshops, Sammelbände und gruppenspezifische Kooperation inszeniert. Wegbereiter der Disziplin war Ferguson natürlich nur im Zusammenwirken mit wichtigen anderen Persönlichkeiten wie Stanley Lieberman (Soziologie), Gumperz und Hymes (Anthropologie), Labov (Lin-

guist), Kjolseth, Fishman, Lambert (Soziologie) u. a. Den Berichten in dem Sammelband Paulston und Tucker (1997) zufolge muss Ferguson das Herzstück der Herausbildung der neuen Teildisziplin gewesen sein.

Danach bildeten sich Gruppen bestimmter soziolinguistischer Thematik mit einem Führungsmittglied und Kernmitgliedern. Gumperz und Hymes bildeten Gruppen innerhalb der soziolinguistischen Anthropologie. Fishman scharte die Makrosoziolinguisten (Sprachsoziologen) um sich und koordinierte ihre quantitativen und qualitativen Explorationen von Sprache und Kommunikationsgemeinschaften (einzeln und im Vergleich). Eine der erfolgreichsten Gruppen war in der neueren Soziolinguistik die sogenannte *NWAVE-Gruppe* um Labov (*New Ways of Analyzing Variation*).

Murrays Phasen legen drei Perspektiven der Entwicklung zugrunde:

- (1) Die Studien zum Lexikon und in der Psychiatrie in den fünfziger Jahren (hier wird die Whorfsche These der sprachlichen Relativität als Ursprung genommen und die Untersuchungen von Bateson u. a. zusammengefasst).
- (2) Die Ethnographie des Sprechens (und der Kommunikation) die nach Auffassung von Murray zentral für alle sonstigen Entwicklungslinien der Soziolinguistik ist.
- (3) Die mit der Ethnographie des Sprechens bzw. der Anthropologie in Verbindung stehenden neueren soziolinguistischen Entwicklungen. Interessanterweise fasst Murray unter (3) Irving Goffman mit seiner Analyse von Image- u. Gesprächsstruktur, die Arbeiten von Bernstein zum schichtenspezifischen Sprachverhalten, die Arbeiten von Labov zu weißem und schwarzem Englisch und zu Stadtsprachen. Murray sieht als weitere Beitragsdomänen zur Konstitution der modernen Soziolinguistik die *ethno-science* und die Ethnolinguistik von Berkeley.

4.5.2. Führerpersönlichkeiten

Besonders gut lässt sich die Führerrolle im Rahmen von Gruppenbildungen durch Labov erfassen. Seine sprachwissenschaftlichen Wurzeln liegen bei

- Uriel Weinreich, der Anfang der fünfziger Jahre das einflussreiche Buch „*Languages in Contact*“ (1953) schrieb,

- bei den sprachsoziologischen Analysen von Sprachgemeinschaften durch Fishman
- bei der Ethnographie des Sprechens, dem anthropologischen Paradigma, das sich mit der Relativität grammatischer Kodierungen in den fünfziger Jahren in Reaktion auf die Schriften von Benjamin Whorf auseinandersetzte.

Dass es die institutionelle Größe ‚Center For Applied Linguistics‘ mit einer Clearing-Stelle ab Beginn der sechziger Jahre gab und dass soziolinguistische Arbeiten in soziokulturellen städtischen Konfliktgebieten gefördert wurden, hat Herausforderungen an die Linguistik zur Folge gehabt, denen sie ohne Anreicherung durch Disziplinen von außen nicht gewachsen war. Der soziokulturelle Schmelztiegel der US-Bevölkerung stellte in den sechziger Jahren ein auffälliges Bildungs- u. Konfliktsyndrom dar. Insbesondere bildeten sich Schwarzenghettos heraus, die eine vollkommen von der weißen Mehrheitsgesellschaft unterschiedliche Subkultur entwickelten. Indem sich Labov in seiner Dissertation auf wenige signifikante phonetisch-phonologische Variablen beschränkte, gelang ihm eine Differenzierung städtischer Varietäten nach sozialer Schicht und Redestil. Für viele wurde die Dissertation von 1966 die Bibel des soziolinguistischen Variationsparadigmas. Die Analysen sind quantitativ begründet (einfache Häufigkeiten), die Erhebungsmethoden und die Forschungsethik sind durch das Paradigma der Ethnografie und der Anthropologie bestimmt (Differenzkonzeption, Sensibilität gegenüber der Erhebungssituation). Von großer Bedeutung war die methodische Orientierung. Die psychologische Dimension der Sprachverwendung wurde ausgeklammert. Die linguistischen Variablen wurden nach Prinzipien des Strukturalismus definiert, die außersprachlichen nach Prinzipien der Soziologie operationalisiert und unabhängig von den sprachlichen Größen bestimmt. Die Ausdifferenzierung von Varietäten, von stilistischen und Schichtmustern folgte Prinzipien der Dialektologie; bezogen auf die Stadtsprachenforschung wurde das Labovsche Paradigma häufig auch *soziale Dialektologie* genannt. Labov selber sah jedoch in dem empirischen Zugang zu Sprechgemeinschaften Linguistik schlechthin (eine Systemlinguistik der gesprochenen Sprache); seine sprachlichen

Korpora belegen, dass mit dem Zugang zu konkreten Äußerungen alle Ebenen des Sprachgebrauchs sinnvoll empirisch beschrieben und erklärt werden können.

Nach Murray (1998, Kap. 6) ist die Ethnographie des Sprechens an der Wurzel der modernen Soziolinguistik. Wenn die Arbeiten von Ferguson, Hymes, Gumperz u. a. auch wesentlichen Einfluss auf Hauptströmungen der Soziolinguistik ausübten, wäre es doch übertrieben anzunehmen, sie hätten die modernen Richtungen der Soziolinguistik determiniert. Weinreichs Werk zu „Sprachen im Kontakt“ fühlt sich der Dialektologie und der traditionellen systemischen Linguistik verpflichtet und zeichnet Untersuchungsmethoden vor, die eher aus der Dialektologie kommen. Wenn Murray (1998) Labovs Ansatz dann unter die „related perspectives“ schlägt, worunter „Sprachen im Kontakt“, Whorfianismus und Konversationsanalyse zu sehen ist, übersieht er wesentliche methodische Unterschiede: den Unterschied zwischen qualitativen und quantitativen Methoden, zwischen operationalisiertem Messen und Interpretieren von Fremdheit mit einem breiten Spektrum linguistischer Methoden (einschließlich Semantik und Pragmatik, vgl. ethno-science mit den Studien zum Lexikon). Während die Ethnographie des Sprechens und der Kommunikation aus der Sicht der Corpus-Linguistik eine marginale Teildisziplin darstellt, ist der Entwurf der Labovschen Variationslinguistik auf eine Alternative zum systemlinguistischen Ansatz angelegt. Der Ansatz impliziert den Anspruch, die „wahre“ Alternative zur systemlinguistischen Analyse zu bieten. Mit diesem Anspruch und der entsprechenden Größenordnung der dahinter stehenden Gruppen hat sich aus der Sicht des beginnenden 21. Jahrhunderts diese Gruppe auch sicher am stärksten innerhalb der Soziolinguistik Gehör verschafft. Murray (1998, 178–179) fasst die Bedeutung Labovs so zusammen:

„Labov’s major contribution to the development of sociolinguistics has been as an intellectual leader, providing exemplary research and theoretical explanation. Like Goffman, he was much sought by conference organizers. Unlike Goffman, he organized research teams. Labov, Brown, Fishman, Gumperz, Hymes, and Lambert each provide an example of a central figure co-ordinating research, co-authoring research reports with a series of transient

scientists of lower status (see Price and Beaver 1966). Most of Labov's co-authors have not gone on to academic/research careers, which is regrettable since some of them are from minority groups mostly studied by outsiders. Of the seven coauthors of works in Labov's bibliography through 1974 (excluding Weinreich and Herzog), only one could be located in the North American professoriate. The case is similar to Fishman's (§ 5.3.), insofar as apprenticeship was not followed by placement in positions to continue research. While ‚Labovian sociolinguistics‘ is recognizably distinct from ethnography of speaking and interpretive sociolinguistic work (not least in being quantitative) and has been widely practiced, there has not been a distinctive Labov group, and those doing work along his lines have mostly not been trained by him. Labov clearly had personal influence on prominent sociolinguistics of two generations, and is the most cited sociolinguist. More than anyone else, he has shown that practical concerns can lead to theoretically crucial work. In accepting the word ‚sociolinguistic‘ in the title of one of his 1972 volumes, Labov reiterated his belief that the prefix should be redundant. His work considerably contributed to making this so.“

5. Die mitteleuropäische Geschichte der Soziolinguistik am Beispiel Deutschland (1970–2000)

5.1. Exemplarische, statistische Angaben zu Veröffentlichungen

Für Mitteleuropa gibt es keine genauen Angaben über die Entwicklung der Soziolinguistik anhand von Institutionsgründungen, Sammelbänden, Aufsätzen, Kongressen etc. Dies liegt allerdings mit der Arbeit von Murray für die USA zumindest teilweise vor, auch Koerner trägt empirisch und historiographisch zum Bild der amerikanischen Soziolinguistik bei. Marcellesi (1997) hat ein impressionistisches Bild der Schule von Rouen in Frankreich gezeichnet, dabei allerdings keine genauen Angaben über die Entwicklung der französischen Soziolinguistik über den Einzelfall ‚Rouen‘ hinaus vermittelt. Exemplarisch für Mitteleuropa wollen wir daher BRD und DDR bis 1989 und ab dann das vereinte Deutschland darstellen. Die Abb. 80.1 bezieht sich auf den Zeitraum zwischen 1970 und 2002.

Über elektronische Medien (Internet) wurden mehr als 2500 Einträge zur Soziolinguistik nach 6 Clustern (Merkmalbündeln) geordnet (Kriterium: thematische Zusammengehörigkeit).

Cluster 1 betrifft die Arbeiter- und Mittelschichtsprache, repräsentiert durch Begriffe wie ‚soziale Schicht‘, ‚Arbeiter‘, ‚Kode‘ und ‚Sprachbarrieren‘.

Cluster 2 operationalisiert den soziolinguistischen Bereich ‚Deutsch als Zweitsprache‘, also die natürlich erworbenen Sprachstandsprofile nach Deutschland eingewanderter Familien (Erwachsene und Kinder) aus den unterschiedlichsten Gebieten Europas und ihre Aneignung des Deutschen über die Jahre. Stichworte für diesen Bereich sind ‚ausländische Arbeiter‘, ‚Migration‘, ‚Sprachwechsel‘, ‚Türken‘ (und andere Einwanderergruppen), ‚soziale Zweisprachigkeit‘ etc. Cluster 3 fasst Arbeiten zum Sprach- und Kommunikationsverhalten in Institutionen zusammen. Zum institutionellen Bereich rechnen wir den medizinischen, den gerichtlichen, Beratungen, Sprache und Sprachverhalten in Verwaltungs- und Amtskontexten. Die Bandbreite an unterschiedlichem, individuellem und gattungsspezifischem Sprachverhalten haben wir unter dem Begriff ‚Institution‘ erfasst.

Cluster 4 befasst sich mit ‚Konversation‘, ‚Diskursanalyse‘ und ‚Ethnomethodologie‘. In diesem Cluster geht es im weitesten Sinne um Gesprächsanalyse, wobei stilistische, pragmatische und diskursive Zusammenhänge im Zentrum stehen.

Cluster 5 ist auf geschlechtsspezifische soziolinguistische Untersuchungen bezogen.

Cluster 6 untersucht den Bereich ‚Standardsprache‘ und ‚Stadtsprachenforschung‘, wobei auch die Untersuchung von Dialekten und deren Bezug zu Sozialstrukturen thematisiert wird. Die Tabelle zeigt Schwerpunkte soziolinguistischer Beschäftigung auf, weist jedoch in einigen Punkten Schief-lagen auf.

Zunächst einmal sind unsere Daten aus dem Internet, das jedoch erst seit den achtziger Jahren Literatur und Veröffentlichungen einigermaßen valide dokumentiert. Wir bekommen ein wesentlich differenzierteres Bild für die neunziger Jahre als für die siebziger Jahre.

Zweitens ist natürlich die Präsenz der Autoren in den letzten 10 bis 15 Jahren seit der Nutzung des Internet beträchtlich gestiegen.

Wichtige Autoren im Bereich der Soziolinguistik der sechziger und siebziger Jahre sind so in den Literaturangaben, die wir konsultiert haben, weniger vertreten. Im Übrigen müssen wir uns auf Bibliographien im Internet stützen, die moderne Autoren hervorheben.

Drittens gibt es natürlich ein so genanntes ‚Titelbias‘ – eine Verzerrung der repräsentativen Wiedergabe von Titeln. Wir vertrauen darauf, dass sich die Breite soziolinguistischer Forschung in den Titeln widerspiegelt, bezüglich der ‚Validität‘ müssen wir jedoch Vorbehalte machen. – Die Cluster weisen quantitativ gewichtete chronologische Schwerpunkte auf und vermitteln uns schon geordnete Einsichten in den Ablauf unterschiedlicher Forschungsphasen. Dennoch macht es einen Unterschied aus, ob man ein paar tausend Titel gemäß den in ihnen vorkommenden Termini auswertet oder ob Zeitschriften Jahrgang für Jahrgang nach Veröffentlichungen qualitativ geprüft und durch inhaltliche Lektüre genau erfasst werden. Das sicher signifikantere qualitative Vorgehen mit Verarbeitung der Veröffentlichungsinhalte konnte für diesen Beitrag nicht geleistet werden. Im Wesentlichen fehlte es an finanziellen Mitteln – nur im Rahmen eines Drittmittel-finanzierten Projektes könnten, genauere Aussagen über die thematische Bearbeitung von Teilbereichen der Soziolinguistik in quantitativ signifikantem Ausmaße gemacht werden. Am Beispiel der ‚Stadtsprache‘ mag dies deutlich werden. Wie die Daten zum Cluster 6 zeigen, ist der stadtsprachliche Bereich mit 54 Veröffentlichungen im erläuterten Zeitraum sicher zu ‚klein‘ angesetzt. Infolge der Labovschen Untersuchung in den sechziger Jahren sind ja in den achtziger und neunziger Jahren recht viele Untersuchungen zu stadtsprachlichen Varietäten im deutschsprachigen Raum durchgeführt worden. Über das Internet haben wir allerdings nur einen eher kleinen Teil davon erfasst. Die in der Analyse erfassten Untersuchungen repräsentieren 123 unterschiedliche Corpora, die soziolinguistisch beschrieben werden. Die schichtspezifischen Studien (Cluster 1) zeigen chronologische Veröffentlichungsschwerpunkte in den siebziger und achtziger Jahren. Die Arbeitersprache (restringierter vs. elaborierter Kode) gehört somit zu den frühen und „ersten“ Arbeitsgebieten in der Soziolinguistik (vgl. hierzu Dittmar 1982 u. 1983).

In der zweiten Hälfte der siebziger Jahre und in der ersten Hälfte der achtziger Jahre werden Varietäten von Immigrantengruppen (Familien, Kinder, Erwachsene) in Bezug auf ihr sprachliches und kommunikatives Profil im Deutschen untersucht. Diese Phase (2) löst die schichtspezifischen Untersuchungen ab (Verlagerung des Schwerpunktes); die Schwierigkeiten, die extrem feingranulierten Unterschiede zwischen Mittelschichtsprache und Unterschichtsprache zu finden, führten zu methodischen Engpässen und zu einer theoretischen und empirischen Ratlosigkeit. Die mit soziolinguistischen Fragestellungen Befassten wenden sich daher den klareren Unterschieden zwischen muttersprachlichem und nicht-muttersprachlichem Deutsch zu – gerade hier gab es mehr als eklatante Kommunikationsbarrieren und die Unterschiede konnten durch die Definition soziolinguistischer Variablen und normsprachlicher Abweichungen recht gut erfasst werden. Wir haben es also mit einer Verlagerung von der Untersuchung schichtspezifischer Codes auf nicht-muttersprachliche Varietäten des Deutschen zu tun. Deutlich sichtbar wird in der Tabelle der Anstieg der Untersuchungen zum schichtspezifischen Sprach- und Kommunikationsverhalten in den achtziger Jahren. Schwerpunkte in der Untersuchung des institutionsspezifischen Verhaltens liegen zwischen 1983 und 1994. Hier werden kommunikative Muster untersucht, die institutionell geprägt sind und als sprachliche Normen im Rahmen kommunikativer Gattungen erlernt werden. Mit insgesamt 294 Untersuchungen ist dieser Bereich sehr intensiv belegt. Er spiegelt in gewisser Weise die Hinwendung der Soziolinguisten zur Diskursforschung wider, die allerdings im Cluster 4 noch breiter dokumentiert wurde. Mit 871 erfassten Arbeiten zur Konversations- u. Diskursanalyse liegt dieses Thema insgesamt in der wissenschaftlichen und soziolinguistischen Bearbeitung an der Spitze. Ein Übergang von grammatischen zu eher pragmatisch orientierten diskursiven Beschreibungen wird auffällig. Man kann dies auch als einen Paradigmenwechsel in der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft betrachten. In den neunziger Jahren nimmt die Beschreibung von Gesprächen in unterschiedlichsten Kontexten eine bedeutende Rolle ein. Diese Untersuchungen sind vor allem für die neunziger Jahre gut dokumentiert; der Eindruck ist nicht von der Hand zu weisen, dass

CLUSTER 1

A: schicht
B: arbeiter
C: code
D: barriere

CLUSTER 2

E: ausländer
F: migration
G: switching
H: türken
I: zweisprachigkeit

CLUSTER 3

J: medizin
K: beratung
L: gericht
M: institution
N: amt

-	A	B	C	D	Σ		E	F	G	H	I	Σ		J	K	L	M	N	Σ
<	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0
70	0	0	1	0	1		1	0	0	0	0	1		0	0	0	0	0	0
71	1	0	1	2	4		0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0
72	2	0	0	3	5		0	0	4	0	0	4		0	0	0	0	0	0
73	2	1	1	2	6		0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0
74	0	2	1	1	4		1	0	0	0	1	2		0	0	0	0	0	0
75	2	3	0	0	5		3	0	0	0	0	3		0	2	2	0	1	5
76	0	1	0	0	1		1	0	1	0	0	2		0	0	1	0	0	1
77	2	2	0	0	4		0	0	0	0	1	1		0	0	0	0	0	0
78	3	7	0	2	12		1	1	0	1	0	3		2	0	0	1	0	3
79	1	1	0	0	2		2	0	0	1	0	3		1	4	0	2	4	11
80	1	3	0	0	4		1	1	0	0	0	2		0	2	1	2	2	7
81	0	4	1	0	5		2	1	1	0	0	4		0	0	1	6	1	8
82	0	2	0	0	2		3	2	1	6	0	12		1	1	2	5	2	11
83	3	6	0	0	9		4	5	2	3	2	16		1	2	3	21	0	27
84	4	4	0	0	8		1	8	4	2	3	18		0	1	4	6	1	12
85	1	12	0	1	14		3	3	3	17	0	26		2	6	0	7	2	17
86	1	0	2	0	3		3	2	0	5	0	10		1	1	1	6	0	9
87	1	2	0	1	4		3	2	0	8	4	17		1	3	0	5	6	15
88	0	4	2	0	6		5	2	2	5	1	15		1	1	0	0	0	2
89	0	2	0	3	5		3	1	0	4	0	8		3	1	7	13	4	28
90	0	2	0	0	2		0	2	2	20	1	25		10	0	0	5	1	16
91	0	0	0	1	1		0	1	1	1	0	3		1	2	2	6	1	12
92	0	0	0	0	0		0	3	0	0	2	5		2	8	0	18	0	28
93	0	0	0	0	0		0	2	2	2	0	6		10	3	0	1	1	15
94	1	2	0	0	3		0	3	4	4	1	12		14	8	4	5	2	33
95	0	1	0	0	1		0	1	6	0	0	7		2	1	1	8	0	12
96	0	0	0	0	0		0	5	0	0	0	5		0	1	0	0	0	1
97	0	0	0	0	0		0	1	1	0	0	2		0	1	0	2	0	3
98	0	0	0	0	0		0	2	6	0	2	10		0	0	0	0	1	1
99	0	0	0	0	0		0	1	1	1	2	5		1	0	0	2	0	3
00	0	0	0	0	0		0	3	0	2	1	6		0	0	0	5	1	6
01	0	0	0	0	0		0	1	1	0	1	3		0	1	0	6	0	7
02	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	1	0	1		0	0	0	0	0	0
Σ	25	61	9	16	111		37	53	24	83	22	219		48	49	30	134	33	294

Abb. 80.1: soziolinguistische Forschungsschwerpunkte zwischen 1970 und 2002 nach Merkmalbündeln für Bereiche (1) Sprachbarrieren, (2) Bilingualismus, (3) institutionelle Kommunikation, (4) Gesprächsanalyse, (5) Sprachwechsel und (6) Stadtsprache

CLUSTER 4

O: conversation
P: discourse
Q: diskurs
R: ethnomethodology

CLUSTER 5

S: migration
T: switching

CLUSTER 6

U: stadtsprache
V: varietät

–	O	P	Q	R	Σ	S	T	Σ	U	V	Σ
<	0	1	0	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
70	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
71	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
72	4	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
73	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
74	2	0	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
75	1	2	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
76	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
77	2	3	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	1
78	16	1	0	2	19	0	1	1	0	2	2
79	6	5	2	14	27	0	0	0	0	0	0
80	5	2	1	1	9	1	0	1	0	0	0
81	6	3	3	1	13	1	0	1	0	1	1
82	1	3	3	2	9	1	0	1	0	0	0
83	5	7	14	13	39	0	0	0	0	0	0
84	28	2	2	2	34	1	0	1	0	1	1
85	4	19	4	2	29	0	0	0	0	0	0
86	6	7	2	4	19	0	0	0	2	2	4
87	6	4	7	2	19	1	1	2	1	1	2
88	13	5	7	0	25	2	0	2	1	0	1
89	10	3	13	0	26	1	0	1	1	1	2
90	21	2	6	7	36	1	0	1	1	6	7
91	24	5	4	22	55	6	0	6	3	1	4
92	13	6	20	16	55	10	2	12	0	0	0
93	9	6	19	4	38	2	3	5	2	5	7
94	11	15	43	2	71	4	2	6	1	3	4
95	17	25	16	6	64	1	3	4	0	1	1
96	17	12	10	3	42	1	1	2	0	4	4
97	30	13	3	8	54	2	4	6	0	4	4
98	17	6	8	2	33	2	4	6	0	6	6
99	16	11	11	16	54	2	3	5	0	0	0
00	17	12	1	7	37	0	2	2	0	1	1
01	15	12	0	8	35	0	2	2	0	1	1
02	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Σ	326	192	201	152	871	43	33	76	12	42	54

die Gesprächsforschung boomt. Mit 76 Arbeiten insgesamt ist die geschlechtsspezifische Forschung im betrachteten Zeitraum nicht massiv, aber in signifikantem Ausmaß vertreten. Ein Höhepunkt geschlechtsspezi-

fischer Sprachforschung stellen die neunziger Jahre dar. Zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts ist ein deutlicher Rückgang festzustellen – Trendwende oder Zufall? Sicher hat die soziale Auffälligkeit der Geschlechter-

Auszählung einiger Medien-Quellen			
Zeitschrift	070	lili	035
Journal	135	obst	064
Linguistische Berichte	125	Cambridge UP	120
Zeitschrift für Dialektologie u. Ling.	015	Oxford UP	120
Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik	020	Blackwell	035
Journal of Pragmatics	052	Narr	156
		Niemeyer	160

Abb. 80.2: Quellen für die in Abb. 80.1 angegebenen thematischen Beiträge, geordnet nach Zeitschriften und Verlagen.

problematik in den letzten Jahren eher abgenommen; auch in der Sprachwissenschaft ist das Interesse an gewisse Grenzen gestoßen. Die neuere kritische Diskursforschung ist jedoch ebenso wie die geschlechtsspezifischen Sprachunterschiede ganz typisch für die neunziger Jahre.

Eher überraschend ist, dass die Stadtsprachenforschung (Cluster 6) kein (quantitativ) dominantes Muster in der deutschsprachigen Soziolinguistik darstellt. Wir müssen die Ausbeute von 54 Veröffentlichungen insgesamt als ein wenig zu mager ansehen, um aus dieser Zahl valide Schlussfolgerungen ziehen zu können. Sicher würden auch Arbeiten um Stil (neben weiteren Begriffen) einschlägige Informationen über Stadtsprachenforschungen bringen. Gerade Ende der achtziger und zu Beginn der neunziger Jahre wurde mit Stilen im Bereich der Stadtsprachenforschung gearbeitet. Während die Stadtsprachenforschung in den USA offenbar in den neunziger Jahren stark zurück ging, hat sie jedoch im deutschsprachigen Raum noch bedeutendes Gewicht (vgl. zum Beispiel die vier Bände zu dem Mannheimer Stadtsprachenprojekt von Kallmeyer u. a.). Das Thema ‚Dialekt‘ ist sicher kontinuierlich relevant in den letzten 30 Jahren. Die drei Jahrzehnte sind quantitativ unterschiedlich belegt, zeigen jedoch ein kontinuierliches Interesse an dem Thema. 251 Veröffentlichungen ist sicher ein eher kleiner Wert, gemessen an der Gesamtzahl, doch spiegelt der Wert einen gewissen qualitativen Eindruck wider. Auch hier ist eine Schiefelage in der Auswertung zu bemerken: Dialekt kann unter dem Gesichtspunkt Schichtspezifik und Sprachbarrieren untersucht werden und würde, dem Cluster zuge schlagen, weitere Umverteilungen von Gewichtungen bringen. Es lassen sich keine

allgemeinen Schlussfolgerungen aus der Abb. 80.1 und den dort angeführten Daten ziehen. Es gibt jedoch frühe, mittlere und späte Phasen schwerpunktartiger Verarbeitung und empirischer Untersuchungen, die ein gewisses kognitives Wandern der Untersuchungsinteressen deutlich macht.

5.2. Skizze einer Entwicklungsfallstudie Deutschland

Die quantitative wissenssoziologische Beschreibung in 5.1. hat bereits klare Trends gezeigt: zunächst gab es in der „Alt-BRD“ die Untersuchung zu schichtenspezifischen Codes (stark statistisch und interdisziplinär orientiert), diese wurden dann abgelöst durch Untersuchungen in breitem Maßstabe zu nichtmuttersprachlichen Varietäten des Deutschen; gleichzeitig wurden dialektologische Untersuchungen zu Stadtsprachen untersucht, die in Stilbeschreibungen mündeten und Soziolinguisten noch über die achtziger und neunziger Jahre beschäftigten. Geschlechtsspezifisches Sprachverhalten begann schließlich in den achtziger Jahren untersucht zu werden und war auch in den neunziger Jahren noch ein wichtiges Thema. Über den gesamten Zeitraum von 1975 bis 2000 gab es starke Entwicklungen in der Konversations- u. Diskursanalyse. In Dittmar (1995) habe ich in Einzelfallstudien die jeweiligen methodischen Grundlagen der oben erwähnten Studien erläutert (Dittmar 1995, 143–157).

Eine Soziolinguistik eigenen Typs wurde in der DDR zwischen 1970 und 1989 entwickelt. Zunächst sind die „sprachsoziologischen Studien in Thüringen“ durch Rosenkranz und Spangenberg (1963) zu erwähnen, die sprachliche Varianten mit sozialen Kontexten korrelierten. Es wurde in

dieser bedeutenden soziolinguistischen Studie Dialektschwund zugunsten der Entwicklung einer standardnahen Umgangssprache diagnostiziert; diese Entwicklung wurde als im Sinne der neuen sozialistischen Geschichte positiv gewertet. Der Rückgang dialektaler Äußerungen und die Zunahme bestimmter Muster des sozialistischen Sprachgebrauchs wurde auch in Hermann Winter (1979) herausgestellt. Über 50% des Wortschatzes in dem norddeutschen Gebiet erwies sich in dieser Studie von 1979 als „sozialistisch“, d.h. eine neue Variante des Deutschen wurde mit den gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen, die durch den Sozialismus eingeführt wurden, verbunden. In allen soziolinguistischen Untersuchungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR wurde eine fundierte, differenzierte statistische Auswertung vorgenommen. Insbesondere wurden untersucht die Ausstrahlungen von städtischen Zentren auf die Sprache kleiner Gemeinden sowie die Veränderung des kommunikativen Verhaltens im Arbeitsbereich. Methodisch treten keine Innovationen auf, da es nicht gelingt, einen materialistischen sprachsoziologischen Ansatz zu formulieren. Das so genannte „semantische Differenzial“ nach Große und Neubert konnte empirisch in Beschreibungen nicht weiter validiert werden. Wichtige Beiträge der DDR-spezifischen Soziolinguistik wurden im theoretischen Bereich der sprachlichen und kommunikativen Normen geleistet. Der Normbegriff konnte gehaltvoll präzisiert werden (vgl. Hartung 1977). Gleichzeitig wurde eine sehr anregende Diskussion über Sprachkultur und anzustrebender kultureller Standards in Alltagsargumentationen geführt. Die Anregungen hierzu sind typisch sozialistischer Prägung und zielen auf praktische Umsetzung ab. Dieser Gesichtspunkt wurde in der westlichen Soziolinguistik wenig beachtet. Genauere Ausführungen zu dem DDR-Paradigma der Soziolinguistik finden sich in Dittmar 1985 (160–164).

5.3. Das vereinigte Deutschland nach 1989

Die Soziolinguistik des vereinigten Deutschlands seit 1989 weist vier große Schwerpunkte auf:

(1) Die Rolle des Deutschen als Wissenschaftssprache und internationale Sprache wird von Ammon u.a. nach Status – u. Funktionskriterien umfassend makrosoziolinguistisch beschrieben. Eine umfassende Beschreibung findet sich in Ammon (1999).

(2) Die Konversations- u. Diskursforschung nimmt einen prominenten Platz in der soziolinguistischen Forschung ein. Kommunikative Gattungen (Günthner und Knoblauch 1995) werden differenziert nach Prinzipien der Gesprächsanalyse beschrieben (z.B. Bewerbungsgespräche: Birkner 2001 u. Kern 2001).

(3) Die sprachlichen und kommunikativen Unterschiede zwischen ost- u. westdeutschen Sprechern nach der Wiedervereinigung werden auf breiter Ebene erfasst (lexikalische, grammatische und diskurspezifische Untersuchung). Eine Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse findet sich in Auer und Hausendorf (2001) sowie in Antos, Fix et al. (2001). Eine umfassende state of the art-Studie findet sich in Dittmar (2002). Die Ost-West-Unterschiede sind einzigartig in der Soziolinguistik; in diesem Bereich gibt es originelle deutsche Beiträge.

(4) Der Ansatz der kontextbezogenen Variationsanalyse. Hier handelt es sich um das Gumperz'sche Modell der Beschreibung sprachlicher Ausdrücke in ihrer kontextuellen pragmatischen Wirkung. Sowohl die Stadtsprachenbeschreibung von Kallmeyer u.a. als auch die Beschreibung von Bewerbungsgesprächen verwenden einen solchen Ansatz (vgl. Art. 96).

6. Ausblick

Die Geschichte der Soziolinguistik nach Aufkommen dieses Begriffs in den fünfziger Jahren zeigt deutlich einen Bezug zur anwendungsbezogenen gesellschaftlichen Aktualität in relevanten Bereichen. Genau dieser aktuelle und soziale Bezug erschwerte die Theoriebildung. Da sich Normen und kommunikative Orientierung ändern (vgl. die neue elektronische Kommunikation etc.), ist es schwer, eine allgemeine Theoretisierung soziolinguistischer Beschreibungs- u. Erklärungszusammenhänge zu liefern (vgl. Art. 96 zur Theorie der Soziolinguistik). Umso wichtiger erscheint es, die Anfänge und die Entwicklung der Soziolinguistik, d.h. die historiographische Entwicklung, mit den aktuellen Entwicklungen zu verbinden, um Theorie auch historisch an die Kontinuität der Disziplin zu binden.

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81. Dialektsoziologie – Soziolinguistische Aspekte der Dialektologie Dialect Sociology – Sociolinguistic Aspects of Dialectology

1. Einleitung
2. Dialekt, soziale Macht und Emanzipation
3. Hypostasierende Sprachkonzeptionen: Sprache als Organismus
4. Jenseits der Lautgesetze: Jedes Wort hat seine Geschichte
5. Sprache als soziale Institution
6. Ein vorläufiges Fazit: Dialektologie und Soziolinguistik
7. Literatur (Auswahl)

1. Einleitung

Das Augenmerk der Dialektologie galt traditionellerweise den von der jeweiligen Hochsprache möglichst stark abweichenden Sprachformen. Diese Sprachformen wurden unter Bauern, Ungebildeten und all jenen Anderen gesucht, von denen man annahm, dass sie das ‚Echte‘, ‚Alte‘ am besten bewahrt hätten – eine soziologisch motivierte Auswahl von Gewährspersonen. Selbst die traditionelle Dialektologie kann als im weitesten Sinne soziolinguistisch angesehen werden, denn sowohl die Betrachtung von einzelnen Ortsmundarten als auch von ganzen Dialektlandschaften legt die Einsicht nahe, dass sprachliche Variation und das soziale Leben miteinander etwas zu tun haben. In allen Epochen und Schulen der Dialektologie finden sich denn auch Angaben zu sprachlichen Merkmalen, die mit außersprachlichen sozialen Faktoren kovariieren. Auch der traditionelle außersprachliche Faktor der Dialektologie, die Arealität, ist zumindest insofern ‚sozial‘, als sie die Migration von relativ geschlossenen sozialen Gruppen und deren Siedlungsstruktur und -geschichte betreffen. Im Folgenden jedoch geht es darum aufzuzeigen, wann und wie die Dialektologie Sprache als soziales Phänomen betrachtete und zusätzliche Faktoren wie gesellschaftliche Stratifikation und Bildung, Urbanität und Ruralität, Alter, Geschlecht oder Ethnizität in ihre Sprachbetrachtung integrierte. Es ist unnötig und unmöglich, hier vollständig auf einschlägige Stellen zu verweisen, wo soziolinguistische Faktoren angesprochen werden. Dem Bekenntnis zum sozialen Charakter von Sprache und ihrer Variation, dem Ansprechen sozialer Einwirkung auf die Dialekte folgt freilich nicht immer der Schritt zum tatsächlichen Erforschen der entspre-

chenden Zusammenhänge bzw. zum theoretischen Nachdenken über Sprache und Gesellschaft. Ob und wie solche Schritte vollzogen werden, hängt ganz wesentlich von den jeweiligen Sprachmodellen ab, die die Dialektologen verwenden – was häufig wiederum damit zusammenhängt, zu welcher Schule sie gehören und in welcher Tradition sie stehen. Erwartungsgemäß ist auch oft nicht klar, was Autoren mit dem Etikett ‚sozial‘ genau meinen.

Der vorliegende Artikel ist weder streng chronologisch noch konsequent nach dialektologischen Schulen gegliedert, sondern schlägt einen alternativen Zugang vor: Gefragt werden soll hier nach den grundlegenden dialektologischen Sprachkonzeptionen und deren Konsequenzen für die Entwicklung soziolinguistischer Ansatzpunkte. Ziel ist es, den Beitrag zu rekonstruieren, den die Ideengeschichte der Dialektologie zur Konstitution dessen leistete, was wir heute ‚Soziolinguistik‘ nennen. Die zeitweise sehr enge Vernetzung von Dialektologie und allgemeiner Sprachwissenschaft – vor allem im 19. Jh. – macht die partielle Berücksichtigung der allgemeinen Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Sprachwissenschaft für diesen Artikel unabdingbar.

2. Dialekt, soziale Macht und Emanzipation

2.1. Johann Andreas Schmeller als Sprachsoziologe

Bereits in der frühen Phase der westlichen Dialektologie gibt es beachtliche Anzeichen für ein Bewusstsein über den Zusammenhang von sozialer Schichtung und sprachlicher Variation. So kann Johann Andreas Schmeller (1785–1852), der wichtigste frühe Vertreter der Dialektologie, von Wiesinger (1979) gar als „Sprachsoziologe“ bezeichnet werden. In der Tat findet sich in Schmellers bayerischer Grammatik (Schmeller [1821] 1969) neben systematischer regionaler und diachron verankerter Darstellung der Laute und Formen (angeregt durch die Arbeiten Stalders und Jacob Grimms, vgl. Freudenberg 1968, 68; Wiesinger 1979, 586) eine soziale Differenzierung der Dialektmerkmale. Differenziert wird hier nach der „gemeinen ländlichen Aussprache“, nach der „Bürger-

classe in Städten“ und nach der Aussprache der Gebildeten (Schmeller [1821] 1969, 21). Damit wird zweifellos bereits eine Kategorisierung vorgenommen, die einer der Fixpunkte der sozialen Dialektologie werden sollte. Schmeller betrachtete dabei die Sprache der städtischen Bürger als ‚corrupter‘ als die der Landbevölkerung (vgl. für frühe Auseinandersetzungen mit stadtsprachlicher Heterogenität Heusler 1888 und Hoffmann 1890). Auf dem Land konnten sich in seiner Sicht die ‚reinen‘ Varianten länger halten. Schmeller ging es dabei jedoch nicht um eine Romantisierung früherer Sprachzustände, seine Bemühungen waren ethnologischer, aufklärerischer und emanzipatorischer Natur (Steger 1982, 403). Unter dem Einfluss von Aufklärern, Philantropen und Pädagogen – u.a. Pestalozzi – und mit seinem eigenen ländlichen biografischen Hintergrund bemühte sich Schmeller um einen Abbau der (sprachlichen) Diskriminierung der Mehrheit, der dialektprechenden Unterschicht. Neben einer Rehabilitierung der mundartlichen Sprachform machte sich Schmeller ([1803] 1965) schon sehr früh Gedanken darüber, wie die Schule mit der sprachlichen Manifestation sozialer Ungleichheit umgehen sollte. Entgegen dem Zeitgenossen Jacob Grimm vertrat Schmeller dabei den frühen und von kompetenter Seite erteilten Hochsprachenunterricht; sein Wörterbuch war als ein Instrument zur besseren Kenntnis der Hochsprache gedacht (Steger 1982, 401). Schmellers Sprachbild ist insofern soziologisch, als sprachliches Prestige klar auf gesellschaftliche Prozesse zurückgeführt wird und nicht mit innersprachlichen Qualitäten erklärt wird (Wiesinger 1979, 58).

Schmeller steht zu Beginn der europäischen Dialektforschung recht isoliert da. Im Vergleich zu den dialektologischen Schulen des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts mutet Schmeller ungewöhnlich modern an. Sein pädagogischer Impetus wurde später in anderen Dialekträumen wieder aufgenommen (z.B. Meyer 1866 für den alemannischen Raum); namentlich die Dialekt-Hochsprache kontrastiv Bände (Dialekt/Hochsprache 1976ff, vgl. auch Mattheier 1980, 107ff, Löffler 2003, 36f) im Zuge der Sprachbarrierenforschung haben in Schmellers Werk einen wichtigen und frühen Vorläufer. Was Le Page (1998, 17) für die urbane Dialektologie der 50er Jahre des 20. Jahrh. feststellt, nämlich die Umorientierung vom Studium des

‚echten, alten‘ Dialektes auf die gesellschaftlich-erzieherischen Probleme im Zusammenhang von Dialekt und Hochsprache, ist bereits bei Schmeller vorgezeichnet.

2.2. Dialektologie im Sowjetstaat

Unter völlig veränderten historischen und ideologischen Vorzeichen, aber mit ähnlichem emanzipatorischem Impetus wird das Thema Muttersprache und soziale Machtverhältnisse erst wieder im 20. Jh. aufgegriffen: einerseits durch die sowjetische Sprachwissenschaft und andererseits durch die Sprachbarrierenforschung in England und Deutschland (Bernstein 1960, Ammon 1973).

Die sowjetische Linguistik zeichnete sich schon aufgrund der politisch-ideologischen Einbettung durch ein großes Interesse für soziale Rahmenbedingungen der Sprachen und Dialekte aus (Svejcer 1976, 81). Im Anschluss an die Oktoberrevolution studierten in Russland auch die Sprachwissenschaftler die Werke von Marx und Lenin, und ihr Sprachbild ist dasjenige eines sozialen Determinismus: „Die Sprache wird nicht als natürliche biologische Funktion des menschlichen Organismus verstanden, sondern als [...] soziales Produkt, das durch die Gesellschaft, durch das Kollektiv, geschaffen und weitergegeben wird“ (Eckert 1977, 581). Neben sprachpolitischen Problemen der Alphabetisierung nicht-russischer Sprachen in den Sowjetrepubliken (vgl. Svejcer 1976, 81) sowie dem Interesse für die Herausbildung der Literatursprachen entstand ab den 30er Jahren des 20. Jh. die sogenannte ‚soziale Dialektologie‘. Das Bewusstsein der sozialen Stratifikation der Dialekte nahm auch in Russland seinen Anfang in den Städten: B. A. Larin interessierte sich seit der zweiten Hälfte der 20er Jahre des 20. Jh. für die städtischen Varietäten, die sowohl von der Hoch- oder Literatursprache als auch von den Dorfdialekten deutlich abweichen (Eckert 1977, 583). Gerade bei Larin findet sich auch ein Interesse für die soziolinguistische Stratifizierung historischer Sprachstufen, etwa der ‚Stadtarmut‘ im 17. und 18. Jh., aber auch Handels- und Gewerbesprachen sowie Kanzleisprachen wurden berücksichtigt (vgl. Eckert 1977, 583). – Bei Karinskij finden wir Anfang der dreißiger Jahre eine Zuwendung zum ‚sprachlichen Prozess‘ und zu einem sozial determinierten Kontinuum zwischen ‚archaischer‘ Mundart und ‚fortgeschrittenster‘, d.h. der Literatursprache naher Mundart

(Karinskij 1936; vgl. Eckert 1977, 584). In Leningrad leitete Viktor Schirmunski (1891–1971) ein ‚Kabinett für soziale Dialektologie‘, welches Feldarbeiten im Dorf- und Stadtkontext leitete und koordinierte. Erkenntnisinteresse war die Beschreibung der gesellschaftlich stratifizierten Dialekte. Schirmunski untersuchte auch deutsche Dialektenklaven in Russland, und sein Begriffspaar der primären und sekundären Dialektmerkmale erschließt den Bewusstseinsgrad bestimmter auffälliger Dialektvarianten (vgl. dazu Jakob 1985, Bd. 1, 34), ein Aspekt, der gerade auch in der neueren gruppenpsychologisch orientierten Soziolinguistik wichtig ist.

Die Dialektologie und Soziolinguistik der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (z. B. Herrmann-Winter 1979; Schönfeld/Donath 1978) war den bekanntesten ideologischen Rahmenbedingungen unterworfen. Wissenschaftsgeschichtlich interessant ist dabei, dass sie sich auf die im Westen wenig bekannte sprachgeschichtliche Arbeit von Friedrich Engels zum fränkischen Dialekt berufen konnte (Engels 1963, wahrscheinlich 1882 verfasst). Engels sah im Gebiet des Fränkischen so große Variation in der Durchführung der 2. hochdeutschen Lautverschiebung, dass er forderte, die Betrachtung, die sich an den Lautgesetzen orientiert, durch eine historisch-soziale Perspektive zu ersetzen: Die früheren sprachlichen Verhältnisse sollten unter Berücksichtigung der vermuteten Stammesverhältnisse und Migrationsbewegungen rekonstruiert werden. Diese Rekonstruktionsversuche wurden später dann in der DDR als „meisterliche Anwendung des historischen Materialismus auf die Sprachwissenschaft“ gerühmt (Vorbemerkung zu Engels 1963, 5f; vgl. auch Agricola/Fleischer/Protze 1969, 354ff).

3. Hypostasierende Sprachkonzeptionen: Sprache als Organismus

3.1. Vom romantischen Sprachbild zum linguistischen Szientismus

Eine der wichtigsten linguistischen Traditionen, die das Aufkommen von soziolinguistischen Fragestellungen eher hemmte, trennt Sprache von ihren Trägern ab und schreibt ihr ein Eigenleben zu. Sprache wurde dabei als ‚Materie‘, ‚Naturphänomen‘ oder gar ‚Organismus‘ kategorisiert. – Jacob Grimm

(1785–1863) und Franz Bopp (1791–1867) gingen von einem in frühen Zeiten perfekt geformten Sprach-Organismus aus, der im Verlauf der Zeit mehr und mehr korrumpiert wurde (Steger 1982, 401). Die Beschäftigung mit Sanskrit, mit dem Alten und Exotischen bei Schlegel und Grimm kann im Zeichen dieser romantischen, rückwärtsgerichtet-idealisierten Ideologie gesehen werden (Amsterdamska 1987, 35), zumindest Grimm jedoch kann nicht einer pauschalen Geringschätzung der modernen Sprachen und Dialekte bezichtigt werden (Haas 1990, 20).

August Schleicher (1821–1868) demgegenüber verband die organistische Sichtweise mit einem naturwissenschaftlichen Anspruch. Er versuchte auf (nicht erst heute) ausgesprochen naiv erscheinende Weise an Darwins naturgeschichtlichen Ideen anzuknüpfen. Der Begriff des *Organismus* wird hier nicht in einem metaphorischen Sinn verwendet: Der Sprachorganismus ist ein Objekt wissenschaftlicher Auseinandersetzung wie es die Spezies der Natur sind. Sprache wird geboren, hat eine Blütezeit und stirbt ab. Auch Max Müller (1823–1900) vertrat eine biologistisch-szientistische Sicht von Sprache, allerdings ohne von einem *Organismus* zu sprechen (vgl. Seuren 1998, 87f). Whitney (vgl. 5.1.) kritisierte eine solche Sprachkonzeption vehement, wenn er auch den metaphorischen Gebrauch von *Organismus* als zulässig erachtet (Whitney [1901] 1971, 35; zur Kontroverse Whitney vs. Max Müller vgl. Seuren 1998, 87).

3.2. Das Sprachmodell der Junggrammatiker

Die Junggrammatiker – von Whitneys Ideen durchaus beeinflusst (Jakobson 1971, xxvi) – grenzten sich zwar auch von den Schleicherschen Sprachvorstellungen ab (Steger 1982, 408), in ihrer historisch-vergleichenden Methodik jedoch unterschieden sie sich nicht wesentlich von ihren Vorläufern. Einige Dialektologen, die klar der junggrammatischen Richtung zuzuordnen sind, arbeiten auch ganz offen mit der Organismusmetapher (Wiesinger 1983, 14f). Die Junggrammatiker „überwinden [...] die Organismus-Theorie im Grunde nicht, sondern geben ihr nur ein anderes Aussehen“ (Schneider 1973, 21). Die biologistische Sichtweise wird bei den frühen Junggrammatikern abgelöst durch eine Orientierung an der Physik, besonders an den Naturgesetzen. Die Sprachwissenschaft hat Kausalerklärungen dafür

zu suchen, dass die Sprachen und Dialekte so geworden sind, wie sie sind (Amsterdamska 1987, 103). Später dann gaben auch die Vordenker der Junggrammatiker die Idee der Naturgesetze in der Sprache auf (Paul 1898, 61) und wandten sich eher psychologischen Erklärungsversuchen zu, wobei auch die psychischen Rahmenbedingungen der Sprache den Status von Universalien haben sollten (Sommerfelt [1932] 1971, 36f). Der wesentliche Unterschied zwischen Schleicher und etwa Hermann Paul besteht in theoretischer Hinsicht darin, dass sich die Junggrammatiker auf andere Faktoren beriefen: nicht dem *Organismus* inhärente Gesetzmässigkeiten standen im Vordergrund, sondern physiologische und psychologische Rahmenbedingungen wurden für Wandel und Stase von Sprache verantwortlich gemacht. Die Leitdisziplin für die Junggrammatiker war neben der Physik die Geschichtswissenschaft: Die aktuellen Zustände sind nur als Resultate historischer Prozesse wissenschaftlich erklärbar. Gerade Paul integrierte in seine Prinzipienlehre diverse außersprachliche Faktoren und sprach gar von der Sprachwissenschaft als einer ‚Gesellschaftswissenschaft‘ (Paul 1898, 7), doch bedeutete dies keineswegs, dass sprachliche Variation und gesellschaftliche Prozesse systematisch auf Zusammenhänge hin untersucht wurden.

Ein junggrammatisch-hypostasierendes Sprachbild konstituiert einen ganz bestimmten Gegenstandsbereich, für die Dialektologie eben die Ortsmundart, die als ein isoliertes, in sich weitgehend homogenes Phänomen betrachtet wird, das jeweils seine eigene Geschichte hat. Paul (1898, 65) blendete explizit die Vermischung von Dialekten aus, um die Prämisse der Ausnahmslosigkeit der Lautgesetze aufrechterhalten zu können. Ortsmonographien wie die Arbeiten von Winteler ([1876] 1972), Holthausen (1886) oder Schatz (1897), aber auch vergleichbare Arbeiten etwa im Niederländischen Raum (z.B. Simons 1889; für weitere ndl. Ortsgrammatiken vgl. Goossens 1968, 182) stellten Versuche dar, die Ortsmundart als die „kleinste Einheit der Sprachgemeinschaft“ (Hünert-Hofmann 1968, 6) darzustellen, indem ihre Laute und Formen systematisch auf historische Vorstufen bezogen wurden. – Schon sehr früh wurde jedoch klar, dass es selbst in den abgelegenen Ortschaften Variation gibt. Auch Philipp Wegener betrachtet, ganz in junggrammatischer Art, Sprache als phonetisch-physiologisches Phänomen, er unterschied in seiner

programmatischen Schrift von 1880 jedoch wie lange vor ihm schon Schmeller (vgl. 2.1.) die Dialekte der Gebildeten, der halbgebildeten Städter sowie der Bauern (Wegener 1880, 465). Bildung und soziale Macht werden hier als determinierende Faktoren für Dialektalität angeführt: „Die sprachenfrage ist wesentlich eine sociale machtfrage“ (Wegener 1880, 466). Es ist vor allem die Schriftsprache, die die Dialekte bedroht. Wegener postulierte aber nicht die systematische Untersuchung der sozial bedingten Variation, sondern verlangte das rasche Anlegen von Dialektgrammatiken, „um zu einer samlung der dialecte nicht erst dann zu schreiten, wenn alles oder doch viel verloren ist“ (Wegener 1880, 464, vgl. auch 475). Auch andernorts in Europa erwachte das Bewusstsein dafür, dass der gesellschaftliche Wandel, insbesondere Industrialisierung und verbesserte Volksbildung, die ländlichen Dialekte bedrohte. So wurde beispielsweise von Ellis (1889, 3) in England und von Vetsch (1907, 3) in der Schweiz festgestellt, dass die bäuerliche Bevölkerung zwar unter sich die Grundmundart spricht, mit Fremden aber oft eine veränderte Dialektvariante kennt, die der Hochsprache (oder dem für dafür Gehaltene) näher ist. In Frankreich riefen zuerst Abbé Rousselot und dann auch Gaston Paris im Jahr 1888 dazu auf, die Dialekte zu erforschen, bevor sie von der Standardsprache ausgelöscht würden (Pop 1950a, 114f; Petyt 1980, 41). Auch das niederländische Forschungsprojekt der Koninklijk Aardrijkskundig Genootschap (te Winkel 1898ff, vgl. Goossens 1968, 187) kann in diesem Zusammenhang gesehen werden. Einher mit diesem dialektologischen ‚Artenschutz‘ ging das Festhalten an der Fiktion der homogenen oder zumindest ehemals homogenen Ortsmundart, und zwar noch bis weit ins 20. Jh. hinein (vgl. 6.2.).

Variation und Sonderentwicklungen sorgten dafür, dass die Annahme der Ausnahmslosigkeit der Lautgesetze sich empirisch nicht bestätigte. Das heuristische Prinzip ‚Lautgesetz‘ jedoch wird noch lange von vielen Dialektologen als wertvoll betrachtet (Haas 1998, 836), und zwei wichtige dialektologische Schulen (in Wien und Zürich) bauten ihre Forschungstätigkeit ganz wesentlich auf junggrammatischen Fundamenten auf.

3.3. Wiener und Zürcher Schule: Dialektologie auf der Basis der Lautgesetze

In Wien beschäftigte sich Johann W. Nagl mit dem soziologischen Gegensatz von Stadt- und Landbevölkerung und seinem Einfluss auf die Dialekte (Nagl [1895] 1983). Die Unterscheidung in ‚bäuerisch‘ und ‚herrisch‘ wurde von Nagls Schülern übernommen und durch deren eigene Forschung bestätigt. Schließlich sollte Pfalz (1925) dazu anregen, zwischen lautgesetzlich-junggrammatischem‘ Lautwandel und verkehrsbedingtem, soziologisch erklärbarem Lautersatz zu unterscheiden. Diese Unterscheidung erlaubte ein Festhalten am junggrammatischen Gedankengut bei gleichzeitiger Integration außersprachlicher Faktoren. Selbst wenn wir mit Wiesinger (1983, 5) davon ausgehen wollen, dass die Dorfgemeinschaften im 19. Jh. „auf Grund der noch verbindlichen bäuerlich-landwirtschaftlichen Sozialstrukturen“ auch sprachlich homogener waren als sie es heute sind, waren sozial induzierte Dialektunterschiede unübersehbar und mussten irgendwie in die Sprachtheorie eingebaut werden können. Die Wiener Schule antizipierte dabei in z. T. erstaunlicher Weise moderne Konzepte, so behandelt beispielsweise Pfalz in seinem Aufsatz „Formenwucher“ (Pfalz [1928] 1983) den Einfluss von situativen und gesprächspartnerspezifischen Faktoren. Damit schafft Pfalz gewissermaßen die Urform einer ‚accommodation theory‘ (Giles/Coupland/Coupland 1991). Aufgrund des wachsenden Bewusstseins für soziolinguistische Stratifikation eben auch innerhalb einer Dorfgemeinschaft kritisiert Pfalz die dialektologische Arbeit Wredes (vgl. 4.1.), weil sie seines Erachtens ihr Erkenntnisinteresse soziologisch zu sehr einengt, d. h. sich einzig auf die bäuerliche Mundart beschränkt (Wiesinger 1983, 11). – Auf den genannten Arbeiten der Wiener Schule konnte Kranzmayer (z. B. 1953) aufbauen und neben der arealen Dimension v. a. in seinen Arbeiten zum Wienerischen auch Alter, Bildung, soziale Schicht und Mobilität als Faktoren berücksichtigen. Er differenzierte verschiedene Sprachformen wie Hochsprache, Verkehrssprache, Verkehrsmundart und (Grund-)Mundart, daneben aber auch ‚Hyperwienerisch‘ und ‚Jargon‘ (Kranzmayer [1953] 1983, 171).

Die ‚Zürcher Schule‘ stand ebenfalls dem junggrammatischen Ideengut nahe (vgl. Wiesinger 1983, 1ff). Winteler (1846–1929) hatte bei Delbrück und Sievers studiert, was

man seiner für die deutsche Dialektologie wegweisenden Mundartmonographie zur Kerenser Mundart deutlich anmerkt (Winteler [1876] 1972). Winteler interessierte sich jedoch auch für das Problem von Mundart und Hochsprache in der Schule (Winteler 1878). Albert Bachmann (1863–1934), der seinerseits ganz im Paradigma der historischen Grammatik stehende Lehrer Rudolf Hotzenköcherles (1903–1976), kann als Gründer der Zürcher Schule angesehen werden. Hotzenköcherle, der Gründer, Leiter und Herausgeber des Schweizerdeutschen Sprachatlas (SDS), war sowohl in seiner Dissertation zur Mundart von Mutten (1933) als auch mit dem SDS ganz der Erforschung der bäuerlich-ländlichen Sprachgemeinschaft verpflichtet. Im SDS finden sich nur im Kleingedruckten Angaben zu soziolinguistischer Variation, und dies vor allem an städtischen Ortspunkten. Trotz der klaren Vorliebe für das ‚Bodenständige‘ finden sich jedoch bereits in Hotzenköcherles Arbeit zu Mutten zahlreiche Hinweise auf soziolinguistische außersprachliche Faktoren (lokale Assimilation der Zugezogenen, Geschlecht, Kontakt mit Fremden). Solche Faktoren werden jeweils wegen ihrem Potenzial zur ‚Entäußerung‘ der ‚reinen‘ Mundart angesprochen (z. B. Hotzenköcherle 1933, 27). Hotzenköcherle erkannte denn auch, dass weder die Mundart von Mutten noch irgendeine andere Mundart die „ideale innere Einheit und gleichmäßige Dichte“ erreicht (Hotzenköcherle 1933, 26). Baumgartner (1889–1944), Mitherausgeber des SDS, zeigte in seiner Arbeit zur Stadt- und Landmundart von Bern (1940) soziologisch stratifizierte Unterschiede und Sprachwandel von oben sowie von unten auf. – Wolfensberger (1967) untersuchte die Variation in der Mundart von Stäfa mittels unabhängigen Variablen wie Alter und Ortsansässigkeit, aber auch die Faktoren Beruf, Bildung und Geschlecht wurden berücksichtigt. Im Anschluss an Christen (1988) entstehen sodann auch im schweizerdeutschen Raum vermehrt soziolinguistische Untersuchungen im engeren Sinne (Siebenhaar 2000, Berthele 2000).

3.4. Die Württemberger Schule: Wachsende Distanz zu junggrammatischen Konzepten

Am Ausgangspunkt dessen, was gemeinhin als ‚Württembergische Schule‘ bezeichnet wird, steht der Tübinger Gelehrte Karl Moritz

Rapp (1803–1883). Sein Werk, namentlich der *Versuch einer Physiologie der Sprache* (1836–1841), steht im Zeichen einer naturwissenschaftlichen Sprachkonzeption (vgl. 3.1.; Ruoff 1983, 135). Bemerkenswert im soziolinguistischen Zusammenhang ist, dass bereits Rapp bei der Beschreibung der württembergischen Dialekte die soziale Schichtung sprachlicher Variation benannte, sie sogar als wichtiger einschätzte als die areale Variation (Rapp 1841, 19). – Von 1883–1888 war Sievers in Tübingen, was dazu führte, dass sein Schüler Bohnenberger (1863–1951) „Statthalter der junggrammatischen Schule in Tübingen“ werden konnte (Ruoff 1983, 129). Die Württemberger dialektologische Schule wird oft als eine Art Kompromiss zwischen junggrammatischem und kultur-geografischem Gedankengut gesehen (z. B. Wiesinger 1983, 1). Charakteristisch für die württembergische Schule ist sicherlich das Misstrauen gegenüber einer zu großen Theorielastigkeit der Sprachwissenschaft, und sie setzte dieser den hohen Stellenwert von Empirie, von sorgsam erhobenem und ausgewertetem Material entgegen. Der Stellenwert der Württemberger Schule ist damit weniger in der theoretischen Sprachreflexion als vielmehr in methodischen Fortschritten begründet. Während Hermann Fischer (1851–1920) zuerst noch in Wenkerscher Manier Fragebogen an 3000 Pfarrämter Württembergs verschickt hatte (Sonderegger 1968, 16; vgl. 4.1.), wurde besonders von Haag (1860–1946) und Bohnenberger größtes Gewicht auf direktes Befragen und Durchwandern der zu explorierenden Räume gelegt. Karl Haag exemplifiziert dies beispielsweise in seiner Studie *Die Mundarten des oberen Neckar- und Donaulandes* (1898). Außerdem schuf Haag neue Techniken der Kartografierung von dialektologischen Befunden und bemühte sich um die sorgfältige Interpretation und Gewichtung von Isoglossen und Isoglossenbündeln (Auer 1993, 13). Der hohe Stellenwert der direkt gewonnenen Explorationsdaten und die Priorität der Empirie nähern, ähnlich wie im Fall der französischen Schule (vgl. 4.2.), die Dialektologie württembergischer Prägung den sozialwissenschaftlichen Methoden an, sie stehen jedoch in einem gewissen Gegensatz zur eher inkonsistenten sprachtheoretischen Konzeption. Nicht nur finden wir wiederum ein organisches Sprachbild vor (Haag 1929, 10), Haag postuliert auch noch immer – über 20 Jahre nach Gauchats Studie in Charmey

(vgl. Kap. 5.1.) – die Einheitlichkeit der Ortsmundart (Haag 1929, 18). Zwar wird auch von Haag auf Unterschiede zwischen den Generationen verwiesen, doch seien diese „unmerklich in Zeiten der Ruhe“, und Haag sagt offen, dass er sich nicht für die „Sturmzeiten“ interessiert (Haag 1929, 19). Gleichzeitig jedoch finden wir bei Haag (1929, 21) eine im weitesten Sinne soziolinguistisch zu nennende prestigegeleitete Motivierung von Lautwandel: „Aus tonangebenden Kreisen muss der Lautwandel stammen. Dort entsteht er; von dort aus erobert er die Ortsmundart.“ Bohnenbergers Erkenntnis, dass der Verkehr eine entscheidende Grundlage für die Ausbreitung von Wandlerscheinungen ist (Bohnenberger 1897), sollte im 20. Jh. zu einem Teil des soziolinguistischen Allgemeingutes werden. – Als ein Kompromiss zwischen junggrammatischer und kulturhistorischer Auffassung kann auch die von den schwäbischen Dialektologen in Anschluss an Pfalz (vgl. 3.3.) vertretene Unterscheidung von regelmäßigem, lautgesetzlichem Wandel gegenüber der Übernahme von einzelnen ‚Wörtern‘ gelten. Dieses bis in neuere Zeit weiterverwendete Begriffspaar erlaubt es, die offensichtlichen Vorteile des Lautgesetz-Konzeptes mit seiner häufigen Unanwendbarkeit zu versöhnen (vgl. z. B. Haag 1929, 18). – Bohnenbergers Schüler Engel (1954) und Moser (1960) endlich untersuchten, was bereits Fischer gefordert hatte (Fischer 1908, 90), nämlich die sprachlichen Zwischenstufen zwischen Grundmundart und Hochsprache sowie deren soziologische Korrelate.

4. Jenseits der Lautgesetze: Jedes Wort hat seine Geschichte

4.1. Marburger Schule

Die wichtigste Auseinandersetzung innerhalb der Dialektologie des späten 19. und frühen 20. Jh. ist jene zwischen junggrammatisch ausgerichteten Dialektologen – z. B. Wiener und Zürcher Schule – und der kulturhistorischen Dialektologie Marburger Provenienz (in der Nachfolge Wenkers und Wredes). Die meisten Streitpunkte dieser Kontroverse werden bereits im Schlagabtausch zwischen Wenker und dem Sievers-Schüler Bremer deutlich (vgl. Haas 1995): die Junggrammatiker, deren Sichtweise Bremer weitgehend vertrat, bekundeten größte Mühe mit der Marburger „Abkehr von jeg-

licher linguistischer Erklärung sprachlicher Fakten“ (Haas 1995, 331), wo also keine Lautphysiologie mehr betrieben wird, sondern kulturgeografische und -historische Kartographierung (vgl. zu dieser Auseinandersetzung auch Wrede 1963, 337; Auer 1993, 13).

In einem direkten methodischen Gegensatz zur lautphysiologisch orientierten Dialektologie der junggrammatischen Ortsmonographien stand Georg Wenker (1852–1911), der seine Daten mittels Fragebogen, also mittels der bereits früher erprobten indirekten Methode erhob (Knoop 1982, 42). Die berühmten Wenker-Sätze wurden zumeist von Dorfschullehrern in die jeweilige Mundart übersetzt – ein Verfahren, mit welchem wohl ganz bewusst lokale Variation ausgeklammert und gleichsam eine prototypische, ‚reine‘ Ortsmundart (re-)konstruiert werden sollte. Wenker war selbstverständlich sprachhistorisch gebildet, und es ist umstritten, ob seine Arbeit ursprünglich dazu dienen sollte, die Lautgesetze empirisch zu belegen (Niebaum/Macha 1999, 55). Sicher aber wollte Wenker die bis dahin immer a priori angenommenen Mundartgrenzen mittels einer strengen und vorbildlichen Versuchsanordnung feststellen (Haas 1995, 332). Die vielen problematischen Aspekte von Wenkers Methode sind bekannt und wurden schon sehr früh kritisiert (z. B. von Rousselot, vgl. Pop 1950a, 114), die quasi totale Abdeckung des Untersuchungsgebietes ist jedoch noch heute bemerkenswert. Die Suche nach klar abgrenzbaren Dialektlandschaften scheiterte: die sprachlichen Gegensätze bündelten sich nicht wie erwartet. Die Erkenntnis, dass jeder Ortspunkt seine ganz eigene Entwicklung aufwies, machte Wenker ratlos. Aus dieser enttäuschten Hoffnung auf eine empirische Absicherung der Mundartgrenzen resultierte eine zunehmende Abkehr von linguistischen Erklärungsversuchen.

Bei Ferdinand Wrede (1863–1934) wurde die historisch-vergleichende Untersuchung der Lautgesetze ersetzt durch die historische Untersuchung der politischen Einheiten, der Verkehrswege und deren Einfluss auf die Dialekte. Diese Konzeption ist mit ihrer Berücksichtigung von außersprachlichen Faktoren, besonders der Mobilität, mit moderneren soziolinguistischen Fragestellungen durchaus in Beziehung zu bringen. Andererseits dokumentiert eine Sprachenkarte, die auf der Wenkerschen Methode basiert, keine

soziolinguistische Variation innerhalb der Ortspunkte. Von Seiten der Wiener Schule, besonders von Pfalz, wurde kritisiert, dass Wrede mit der starken Gewichtung der bodenständigen Grundmundart ganz wesentliche Teile der sprachlichen Realität, etwa die regionalen Verkehrssprachen, ausklammert (vgl. Wiesinger 1983, 11). Schon seit Wenker war man sich aber auch in der Marburger Schule bewusst, dass gerade in den Städten mehrere Dialektvarietäten gesprochen werden: Wenker versuchte solche soziologisch stratifizierten Unterschiede durch die Möglichkeit von Mehrfachantworten zu erfragen. Dies entspricht dem traditionellen Konsens der Sprachwissenschaftler aller Schulen, dass in den Städten soziale und sprachliche Unterschiede parallel laufen.

Die Sprachauffassung der Marburger Schule löste sich von der Suche nach universal-linguistischen Bedingungen der Sprachentwicklung und wandte sich dem sprachlichen Einzelphänomen (dem ‚Wort‘) zu. Anstelle lautgesetzlicher Zusammenhänge wurde nun betont, dass jedes Wort seine eigene Geschichte hat (vgl. auch zur Französischen Schule 4.2.). Neuerungen breiten sich von einem mit Prestige ausgestatteten Verkehrszentrum wellenförmig aus, die sprachlichen Zustände sind nichts anderes als Symptome der Kulturgeschichte und werden vorzugsweise auf Karten dargestellt, „Zungenmuskel und Gaumensegel haben die führende Rolle an den historischen Atlas abgetreten“ (Wrede 1963, 337). Bei Frings reichte die historische Dimension bis ins Mittelalter zurück, andere (etwa Maurer 1942) erweiterten sie bis in vorgeschichtliche Zeit. Ansätze zu soziolinguistischen Fragestellungen finden sich beim Interesse der Marburger Schule am ‚sozialen Verkehr‘, allerdings immer mit Blick auf dessen Auswirkungen auf Kulturräume (vgl. etwa Aubin/Frings/Müller 1926). Der Einfluss der Marburger Schule von Wenker über Wrede bis Frings beschränkte sich nicht auf den deutschen Sprachraum, auch die ungarische, skandinavische und die niederländische Dialektologie übernahmen die Marburger Konzeptionen (Goossens 1968, 191f; Weijnen 1982, 191f). In der niederländischen Dialektologie arbeitete vor allem Kloeke (1927) mit dem Konzept einer ‚expansionsologischen‘ Kulturräumforschung, er verwendete dabei einen soziolinguistischen Prestige-Begriff, der die Übernahmen von Innovationen erklären sollte.

Außersprachliche Faktoren wurden in der Marburger Schule so dominant, die Parallelisierung von Sprache und Geschichte so wichtig, dass unter ihrer Führung die Sprach-Wissenschaft in eine eigentliche Sackgasse geriet (Haas 1995, 331). Indirekte Erhebungsmethode und historisch-kulturell ausgerichtete ‚Theorie‘ verhinderten im Paradigma der Marburger Schule ein Elaborieren von Fragestellungen, die über das aus heutiger Sicht problematische Postulat der sozialprestigebedingten Übernahme hinausgingen (vgl. z. B. den Begriff *covert prestige* von Trudgill 1974; bereits Baumgartner 1940, 44 spricht von Übernahmen „von unten nach oben“).

4.2. Die französische Schule

Das Sprachmodell der französischen dialektologischen Schule ist, ähnlich wie im Fall der Marburger Schule, als Auseinandersetzung mit den junggrammatischen Ideen zu verstehen. Neben ihren anti-junggrammatischen Positionen zeichnet sich die französische Schule durch die entscheidende Verbesserung der empirischen Methodik aus. In Gilliérons (1854–1926) Arbeit zum Patois der Unterwalliser Gemeinde Vionnaz (Gilliéron 1880) wird neben der Beschreibung von lautgesetzlichen Zusammenhängen bereits der Stellenwert der Einzelwortgeschichte ersichtlich. Gilliéron interessierte sich für die abgelegene kleine Gemeinde, weil das Französische im Unterland und in vielen Städten der französischsprachigen Schweiz die Patois ‚besiegt‘ hatte. Bereits Bridel (1789) hatte festgestellt, dass sich in der Westschweiz eine Sprachbarriere zwischen der Ober- und Unterschicht, zwischen Französisch- und Patoissprechern zu etablieren begann – zweifellos eine Konsequenz eines sozialen Wandels, der auch die abgelegenen Gemeinwesen zunehmend erfasste. Gilliéron beobachtete, wie die Standardsprache über die Bezeichnungen neuer Objekte oder Konzepte auch in die Dialekte eindrang. Als maßgeblicher außersprachlicher soziologischer Faktor erschien dabei das Geschlecht: Frauen waren in Vionnaz ‚progressiver‘, d. h. standardnäher als Männer (Gilliéron 1880: iv). In seinem *Petit Atlas phonétique du Valais roman* (1881) beschrieb Gilliéron außerdem einen weiteren soziolinguistischen Aspekt: den sprachlichen Einfluss wichtiger Zentren auf benachbarte kleinere Dörfer. – Im Verlaufe seiner Arbeit in der Schweiz und in verschiedenen

Regionen Frankreichs arbeitete Gilliéron die Methodik aus, die später unter seiner Leitung für den *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (ALF, Beginn der Feldforschungen 1897, Publikation ab 1902) verwendet werden sollte. Seine verbesserte Methodik (nur direkte Erhebungen durch geschulte Exploratoren, die Sorge um eine solide Materialbasis, vgl. Pop 1950a, 184) wurde für viele Atlasprojekte in Europa und der Neuen Welt maßgeblich (Le Page 1998, 17). Der berechtigten Kritik am sehr weitmaschigen Ortsnetz sowie weiteren Einwänden gegen die Methoden der Datenerhebung wurde durch das Atlasprojekt Albert Dauzats Rechnung getragen (NALF, *Nouvel Atlas linguistique de la France par régions*, begonnen 1939, vgl. Pop 1950a, 136). – Wenn auch Gilliérons Interesse durchaus kultur- und sprachhistorisch sowie von einer Verfalls-ideologie geprägt war, so bereitete er gerade mit seiner Methodik den Weg für die zunehmende Berücksichtigung soziologischer Aspekte in den Arbeiten seiner Nachfolger.

5. Sprache als soziale Institution

5.1. Erwachen eines soziolinguistischen Bewusstseins: Whitney, Schuchardt, Gauchat

Im Jahr 1867 schrieb der amerikanische Sanskritologe William Dwight Whitney (1827–1894) folgendes: „Language is an institution founded in man’s social nature, wrought out for the satisfaction of his social wants“ (Whitney 1971, 177). Whitneys wissenschaftliche Laufbahn hatte mit naturwissenschaftlichen Studien begonnen: Ornithologie, Botanik und Geologie (ELL, Bd. 9, 4982). Vor diesem Hintergrund nahm er explizit gegen die Organismuskonzeption Schleichers, seines Lehrers, Stellung (vgl. 3.1.). Dabei verwendete Whitney jedoch selber naturwissenschaftliche Metaphern, um die ‚Kräfte‘, die auf Sprache einwirken, zu bezeichnen: „[...] while individuals are the sole ultimate agents in the formation and modification of every word and meaning of a word, it is still the community that makes and changes its language. The one is the molecular force; the other, the organic“ (Whitney 1971, 177). Whitney vertrat die Meinung, dass letztlich nur Individuen Sprache schaffen und verändern, gleichzeitig machte er in wegweisender Art auf die soziale Bedingtheit sprachlichen Handelns aufmerk-

sam (Whitney [1867] 1971, 45). Damit wird ein Problem angesprochen, mit dem sich Soziolinguistik und Sprachwandelforschung bis heute außerordentlich schwer tun: um Sprachwandel verstehen zu können, müssen wir verstehen, wie sich Neuerungen nicht nur in der Sprache eines Idiolektes verfestigen, sondern auch, wie sie eine ganze Gruppe von Menschen betreffen können, kurz: wie aus individuellen Handlungen ein kollektives Phänomen entstehen kann (vgl. als Lösungsansatz Keller 1994). Whitney postulierte keine ‚natürlichen‘ oder ‚naturgesetzlichen‘ Vorgänge, und sein Vorschlag, Sprache als eine primär soziale Institution zu sehen (Whitney [1875] 1994, 34), wurde bald sprachwissenschaftliches Allgemeingut (Botha 1992, 200). Sowohl das gemeinhin de Saussure zugeschriebene Sprachmodell eines ‚fait social‘ (vgl. 5.2.) als auch die Betonung der Arbitrarität in der Beziehung von ‚signifiant‘ und ‚signifié‘ finden sich bei Whitney (Jakobson 1966, xxxiv, ähnliche Ideen wurden jedoch bereits in der Antike und der Scholastik vertreten). Obwohl die Junggrammatiker sich ebenfalls auf Whitney beriefen, war doch ihr Sprachmodell viel stärker als dasjenige Whitneys an den Naturgesetzen orientiert.

Whitneys Werk zeichnet sich nicht durch dialektologische Feldarbeit, sondern durch theoretische Sprachreflexion aus. Sie wird hier angesprochen, weil sich wichtige Dialektologen später explizit auf Whitneys Ideen berufen. In seinem Werk finden sich Passagen, die sozialpsychologische Konzepte der Soziolinguistik des 20. Jh.s vorwegzunehmen scheinen, etwa wenn es um den Zusammenhang von Sprache und Gruppenidentität geht (Whitney [1867] 1971, 160). Natürlich ist Whitney noch weit entfernt von einem operationalisierbaren Ansatz der sozialen Netzwerke, es finden sich aber doch deutliche Gemeinsamkeiten mit diesem später so außerordentlich erfolgreichen soziolinguistischen Konzept: „A multiplication and strengthening of the ties which bind together the different sections of one people tends directly toward the effacement of already existing varieties of dialect and the production of linguistic uniformity“ (Whitney [1867] 1971, 161).

Ein anderer Linguist, der früh soziolinguistische Konzepte entwickelte, war Hugo Schuchardt (1842–1927). Der Romanist zeichnete sich durch vielfältigste Interessen und (Sprach-)Kenntnisse aus. Schon sehr

früh wehrte sich Schuchardt gegen die in der Sprachwissenschaft seiner Zeit vorherrschende Ausschließlichkeit, mit der man alten Sprachstufen Priorität zuschrieb (Sommerfelt 1971, 374). Schuchardt sah Sprache als ein „soziales Produkt“ an (Schuchardt [1885] 1928, 82), wobei er insbesondere Wert darauf legte, dass selbst in der homogensten „Verkehrsgenossenschaft“ Sprachmischung in Form eines ständigen gegenseitigen Angleichens stattfindet. Mit explizitem Verweis auf Schuchardts „Creolensprachen“-Forschung vertraten Georg v. der Gabelentz (1891: 272) und etwas später auch Baudouin de Courtenay ([1901] 1972) ähnliche Thesen bezüglich der Sprachmischung als Normalzustand jeder Sprache. Die Akzentuierung der Mischqualität steht für eine Sprachkonzeption, der seit neuestem in der Sprachkontaktforschung wieder höchste Aktualität zukommt (vgl. Bechert/Wildgen 1991, 19). Variation findet sich nicht nur innerhalb der „Sprachgenossenschaften“, sondern auch innerhalb der Sprachproduktion von Individuen (Schuchardt 1885, 10). Aus dieser Position kritisierte Schuchardt die von den Junggrammatikern vertretene These von der Ausnahmslosigkeit der Lautgesetze. Er sprach eine Vielzahl von extralinguistischen Faktoren an, die Sprachvariation mitsteuern (Schuchardt 1885, 13) und dachte in bemerkenswerter Weise über Sprachmoden und prestigebedingte Übernahme von Neuerungen nach, was als eine frühe Form einer Theorie der sozialen Diffusion betrachtet werden kann (Schuchardt 1885, 15). Auch maß Schuchardt der Lautlehre nicht mehr den Stellenwert zu, den sie traditionellerweise hatte: er zog die Wortgeschichte und -geografie vor und forderte die Untersuchung von Bedeutungen statt Formen. Damit trug er ganz wesentlich zum Aufbau der späteren Areallinguistik bei (Sommerfelt 1971, 375f). Schuchardts Interesse für Sprachmischung (vgl. die zahlreichen Schriften zum Thema im Verzeichnis der Druckschriften in Schuchardt 1928) als Normalzustand jeder Sprache führte naturgemäß zu einer intensiven Beschäftigung mit Pidgin- und Kreolsprachen (vgl. Art. 135). Über den Korrespondenzweg sammelte er große Mengen von Daten aus allen möglichen Regionen; heute kann Schuchardt als ‚Vater der Kreolinguistik‘ bezeichnet werden (ELL, Bd. 7, 3684). – Schuchardts Kritik an den Junggrammatikern kommt einem Plädoyer für eine multifaktorielle Sprachbetrachtung

gleich: die Verabsolutierung des Prinzips der Lautgesetze verstellt den Blick darauf, dass eine Vielzahl von ‚Gesetzen‘ auf die sprachlichen Formen einwirken. Die Vielzahl der relevanten Faktoren hat die allgegenwärtige Variation und Mischung zur Folge. Ein solchermaßen revidiertes Sprachmodell begünstigt die Berücksichtigung von soziolinguistisch zu nennenden Konzepten, und so sollte denn auch die (statistische) Gewichtung solcher außersprachlicher Faktoren im Hinblick auf sprachliche Variation eine der Hauptaufgaben der Soziolinguistik werden. Schuchardt kann deshalb zweifellos als Wegbereiter der soziolinguistisch orientierten Dialektologie des 20. Jh.s angesehen werden, und spätere soziolinguistische Forschungsergebnisse bekräftigen die Qualität der Argumente und Überlegungen Schuchardts (Seuren 1998, 97f).

Louis Gauchat (1866–1942) suchte sich für seine Untersuchung des frankoprovenzalischen Patois eine für die traditionelle Dialektologie prototypische Sprachgemeinschaft, das relativ isolierte Dorf Charmey (Kanton Freiburg, Schweiz). Von sprachlicher Homogenität kann allerdings auch hier keine Rede sein, und es ist sicher kein Zufall, dass der Autor sich in der Konklusion seiner Arbeit mit großem Nachdruck auf Schuchardt und dessen Kritik an der Ausnahmslosigkeit der Lautgesetze beruft (Gauchat 1905, 232). Gauchat untersuchte die sprachlichen Unterschiede zwischen drei Generationen der Dorfbevölkerung von Charmey: „Rigoureusement, il n’y a pas d’unité dans le parler de Charmey, parce que les générations ne sont pas d’accord“ (Gauchat 1905, 227). Gauchat sah die Unterschiede zwischen den Generationen als Konsequenz sozialen Wandels („transformation de civilisation“, Gauchat 1905, 222). Die ältere Generation zeigte einen älteren Lautstand als die jüngere, und mit jeder Generation schien die Sprache einen weiteren Schritt vorwärts zu machen. Gauchat präsentierte somit das, was Labov (1972, 163) später die *apparent-time*-Hypothese nennen wird (gut 20 Jahre später, 1929, wird Eduard Hermann in Charmey den Sprachwandel in *real time* überprüfen). In Gauchats Arbeit wird stärkere Innovationsfreudigkeit bei den weiblichen Gewährspersonen festgestellt (Gauchat 1905, 218). Während auch in der Soziolinguistik des 20. Jh.s noch lange einzig nach Anpassung an (sogenannte, vermutete) Prestigevarianten und -varietäten ge-

sucht wurde, bemerkte schon Gauchat, dass es neben der „tendance autoritaire de la part des plus forts“ auch ein „Streben nach Differenzierung“ innerhalb der Dorfgemeinschaft gibt (Gauchat 1905, 223).

5.2. Sprache als ‚fait social‘

Die Arbeiten Gilliérons und Gauchats sind vor dem Hintergrund der sprachtheoretischen Vorgaben der Junggrammatiker sowie in der Auseinandersetzung mit der Wenkerschen Methode zu sehen. Auch Antoine Meillet (1866–1936) hielt daran fest, dass eine Variante des Sprachwandels lautgesetzlich ablaufen kann. Gleichzeitig jedoch nahm Meillet, in Übereinstimmung mit anderen prominenten Linguisten wie Bally und de Saussure, auf radikale Weise Abschied vom hypostasierenden Sprachmodell der Junggrammatiker. Sprache wird explizit nicht mehr als etwas Autonomes, Selbständiges angesehen (Meillet 1926, 16), und Meillet gilt als einer der Pioniere der Erforschung des Zusammenhangs von Sprache und Gesellschaft (Sommerfelt 1971, 89). Meillet erweiterte die Sprachwandeltheorie, indem er prestigegeleitete Entlehnung und Imitation als weitere Bedingungen von Sprachwandel mitberücksichtigte. In Berufung auf seinen Lehrer Emile Durkheim (1858–1917) forderte Meillet, dass Sprache als eine gesellschaftliche Institution und ihr Wandel als ein Korrelat gesellschaftlichen Wandels zu gelten hat. Meillet beklagte, dass die Soziologie von der Sprachwissenschaft bisher ignoriert worden sei (Meillet 1906, 2), und ganz bewusst wird die Linguistik von der Geschichtswissenschaft, der Leitdisziplin des 19. Jh.s., abgekoppelt: „Le XIXe siècle a été le siècle de l’histoire, et les progrès qu’a réalisés la linguistique en se plaçant au point de vue historique ont été admirables; les sciences sociales se constituent maintenant, et la linguistique y doit prendre la place que sa nature lui assigne“ (Meillet 1926, 18). Bei Meillet findet sich die direkt an Whitney und Schuchardt anknüpfende Kategorisierung von Sprache als einem »fait social« (Meillet 1906, 1f), seine Prämisse der sprachlichen Homogenität und Konformität innerhalb einer sozialen Gruppe (Meillet 1926, 49) war jedoch schon seit Gauchat (1905) empirisch falsifiziert. Meillets Sprachbegriff hatte direkte Auswirkungen auf die dialektologische Arbeit, nicht nur über seine Schüler Vendryes, Sommerfelt, Benveniste und Cohen, sondern auch in

den Niederlanden namentlich auf diejenige van Ginnekens (1913–1914). Letzterer untersuchte die niederländischen Dialekte nicht mehr nur entlang der arealen Dimension, sondern auch in Abhängigkeit von Faktoren wie Alter, Geschlecht und sozialem Status.

Der Norweger Alf Sommerfelt (1892–1965), Schüler Meillet's, gilt als Begründer der keltischen Dialektologie (ELL 8, 4048). Sommerfelt vertrat ganz dezidiert die These, dass ein Kind erst durch das Erlernen einer Sprache in der Gruppe zu einem sozialen Wesen wird (Sommerfelt [1932] 1971, 37). Seine Studie im irischen Torr (1922) erinnert in ihrer Methodik an Rousselot und Gauthat, es wird beispielsweise ebenfalls phonetische Variation in drei Generationen untersucht. Wieder zeigt sich, dass alte und neue Formen in der mittleren Generation nebeneinander existieren. Sommerfelt vertrat strukturalistische Ideen in Anlehnung an Trubetzkoy und de Saussure, ohne jedoch deswegen (dialektale) Variation zu den vernachlässigbaren Aspekten der ‚linguistique exterieure‘ zu zählen. Die Sicht von Sprache als ‚fait social‘ führte bei Sommerfelt vielmehr zur These, dass die variablen Faktoren, zu denen die sozialen Phänomene gehören, die von den Dialektologen beobachteten variablen Resultate hervorbringen (Sommerfelt [1932] 1971, 41).

Wenn also in der modernen soziolinguistischen Theorie (z. B. Romaine 1984, 26) fast unisono festgestellt werden kann, dass Sprache kein persönlicher Besitz sei, sondern ein primär kollektives Phänomen, so kann dies unter Berufung auf einige frühe wichtige Vordenker in der westlichen Sprachwissenschaft geschehen.

5.3. Besinnung auf die Inhaltsseite der Sprache: Wörter und Sachen

Eine weitere Reaktion auf die Junggrammatiker kann im ethnografischen Ansatz der „Wörter und Sachen“ gesehen werden. Prominente Vertreter dieses Ansatzes sind Rudolf Meringer und Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke (die Gründer der gleichnamigen Zeitschrift) sowie die Leiter des *Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz* (AIS), Karl Jaberg (1877–1958) und Jakob Jud (1882–1952). Zwei Aspekte der junggrammatischen Auffassung rückten ins Zentrum der Kritik: die Fixierung auf einen einzelnen Ortspunkt sowie die Vernachlässigung der Inhaltsseite der sprachlichen Zeichen. Um

dem „Dogma“ der Lautgesetze zu genügen, ging die „sogenannte junggrammatische Schule [...]“ stillschweigend oder ausdrücklich von der Voraussetzung aus, dass jede Dorfmundart eine selbständige Tradition und eine in sich geschlossene Entwicklung besitze“ (Jaberg 1932, 9). Unter Berufung auf Schuchardt forderte Jaberg die dialektologische Erforschung von größeren Sprachräumen. Diese Forderung, die sich mit der Dialektologie Marburger Provenienz (vgl. 4.1.) durchaus traf, wird ergänzt durch das Bestreben, die ‚Sachen‘, insbesondere die bäuerlichen Gegenstände und Arbeitsweisen, in die Untersuchung der kulturell-historischen Räume zu integrieren (Pop 1950a, 565). Nicht nur Wörter ‚wandern‘, sondern auch die ‚Sachen‘ verbreiten sich in Raum und Zeit. Auch der AIS suchte sich seine Informanten vorwiegend im bäuerlichen Milieu, weder soziale Stratifikationen noch Variation nach Altersstufen wurden systematisch untersucht. Da aus Ökonomiegründen nur jeweils eine vom Explorator an Ort und Stelle ausgewählte Gewährsperson einen Ortspunkt vertritt, bleibt es bei sporadischen Anmerkungen etwa zu Unterschieden zwischen Männern und Frauen und der Feststellung, dass in einem zukünftigen Projekt innerhalb der Ortspunkte soziologische Differenzierungen vorgenommen werden sollten (Jaberg 1936, 20f). Das Interesse des AIS an extralinguistischen Faktoren, wenn auch auf die bäuerliche Kultur ausgerichtet, zeigt jedoch Ähnlichkeiten mit der späteren Ausrichtung der Soziolinguistik auf gruppenbedingte sprachliche Übernahmen im Allgemeinen sowie auf die Wechselwirkungen zwischen regionalen Zentren und ihrem Umland im Besonderen. Der AIS war das Modell für weitere Sprachatlanten in- und außerhalb der Romania (vgl. Quadri 1952), aber auch für Roukens *Wort- und Sachgeographie in Niederländisch-Limburg* (1937).

Wenn der AIS im Hinblick auf soziolinguistische Fragestellungen im engeren Sinne noch wenig hergibt, so gilt dies für ein direkt von diesem Atlas inspiriertes Projekt jenseits des Atlantiks nicht mehr. Hans Kurath ließ sich für seinen *Linguistic Atlas of New England* (LANE) in den Jahren 1930–1931 von Jaberg, Jud und ihrem leitenden Feldforscher Scheuermeier ausführlich beraten und übernahm die Grundzüge der Methodik des AIS (Bagby Atwood 1968, 572; Pop 1950b, 915). Doch die jüngere Siedlungsgeschichte und die daraus folgenden offen-

sichtlichen Unterschiede in der Distribution sprachlicher Variation ließen es nun endgültig nicht mehr zu, sich auf eine – wie sorgfältig auch immer ausgewählte – Gewährsperson pro Ortspunkt zu verlassen. Kurath konnte und musste die soziolinguistische Dimension in seiner Dialektforschung operationalisieren, wie das die Verfasser des AIS bereits früher gefordert hatten. Auch in Kuraths Atlaserhebungen wurden die Gewährspersonen vor Ort durch die Feldforscher ausgewählt, jedoch wurden neu drei Typen von Informanten befragt, nämlich solche mit rudimentärer Schulbildung, solche mit „besserer“ Schulbildung und solche mit „hohem Bildungsstand“ (Bagby Atwood 1968, 574; Kurath 1962, 136). Innerhalb dieser nach dem Bildungskriterium etablierten Typen wurde außerdem nach Altersstufen und damit erwartbarer Dialekt-Konservativität differenziert (Petyt 1980, 44). Eine solche Differenzierung und Multiplizierung der Gewährspersonen führte dazu, dass mit dem LANE erstmals ein Atlas systematisch dialektale Variation innerhalb einzelner Ortspunkte aufzeigt. – In ähnlicher Weise erhob zwischen 1979 und 1988 auch der Mittelrheinische Sprachatlas (Bellmann 1994, 45) zwei Datenserien, einmal mittels älteren und nichtmobilen und einmal mittels jüngeren und mobilen Gewährspersonen. Das Beispiel des Mittelrheinischen Sprachatlas zeigt gut, wie die aktuelle Dialektologie zunehmend soziolinguistisch verschränkt ist und als „synchrone gesellschaftsbezogene Dialektologie“ bezeichnet werden kann (Niebaum/Macha 1999, 140).

6. Ein vorläufiges Fazit: Dialektologie und Soziolinguistik

6.1. Sprachwissenschaftler und ihre Gesellschaftsbilder

Die Gesellschaftskonzepte und besonders die Vorstellung von sozialem Wandel, auf die sich fast alle Sprachwissenschaftler bis heute (selten) explizit oder (fast immer) implizit beziehen, werden seit einiger Zeit als beschränkt, problematisch oder gar naiv kritisiert (z. B. Cameron 1990, 57; Williams 1992, 238ff). Zur Verteidigung der Soziolinguistik ist allerdings festzuhalten, dass es sich hier um einen Teilbereich der Sprachwissenschaft handelt, man sich also primär für sprachliche Phänomene interessiert und

es weder nötig noch möglich ist, dass sämtliche aktuellen Diskussionen der Soziologie sofort in der Soziolinguistik mitberücksichtigt werden. Dialektologen und Soziolinguistinnen haben das Recht, sich für eine ihnen angemessen scheinende Auswahl von soziologischen Konzepten zu interessieren, allerdings ist eine gleichzeitige Reflexion der zugrundeliegenden Gesellschaftsbilder sicherlich notwendig. – In der Soziologie besteht bekanntlich kein Konsens, wie gesellschaftliche Differenzierungen operationalisiert werden sollen (vgl. Milroy 1992, 14; Löffler 1994, 37). Das Studium der dialektologischen Tradition zeigt, dass sich trotz allen sprachwissenschaftlichen Differenzen *eine* Konzeption von gesellschaftlichem Wandel hartnäckig zu halten vermochte – sie lässt sich z. B. mit dem Durkheimschen Begriffspaar *mechanische* vs. *organische Solidarität* umschreiben, ähnliche Gesellschaftsmodelle finden sich allerdings auch bei anderen einflussreichen Sozialphilosophen des 19. Jh.s (Williams 1992, 6). Nach Durkheim zeichnet sich die Modernisierung der Gesellschaft, namentlich die zunehmende Arbeitsteilung, durch das Verschwinden der traditionellen mechanischen Solidarität aus („solidarité mécanique ou par similitudes“, Durkheim 1902, 73). Die Individuen einer traditionellen Gesellschaft haben eine bestimmte Anzahl von Bewusstseinsinhalten („états de conscience“) gemeinsam. Je ‚primitiver‘ die Gesellschaften sind, desto ähnlicher sind sich die ökonomischen Aktivitäten und desto ähnlicher sind sich auch die Mitglieder, welche diese Gesellschaft formen (Durkheim 1902, 103). Die Ähnlichkeit bezieht sich also nicht nur auf äußere Merkmale, sondern auch auf Bereiche wie Gefühlsleben und Religiosität. Die Kategorie *Individuum* ist in einem solchen Gesellschaftsmodell nicht zentral und auch nicht sinnvoll. Es liegt auf der Hand, dass dieser Durkheimschen Sicht einer kollektiv-egalitären primitiven Gesellschaft der Prototyp des dialektologischen Gegenstandes entspricht: die ländlich-bäuerliche Ortsmundart.

Arbeitsteilung und besonders stark natürlich Industrialisierung sind gleichbedeutend mit dem endgültigen Abschied von der mechanischen und dem Aufbau der organischen Solidarität. Diese zeichnet sich durch hohe Komplementarität der ausgeübten Funktionen aus, wie in einem Organismus den Organen werden im gesellschaftlichen

Ganzen den Individuen bestimmte Rollen zugeordnet, die Gesellschaft differenziert sich aus und verliert die egalitäre Struktur des ‚primitiven‘ Gemeinwesens (Durkheim 1902, 98). Mit dem Fall der mechanischen Solidarität wird auch die Suche nach der ‚reinen‘ Mundart immer problematischer. Die dialektologischen Exploratoren konzentrieren sich in der Regel auf einen ganz bestimmten Typus von Gewährspersonen (die berühmten und oft geschmähten NORMS, vgl. Chambers/Trudgill 1998, 29) – mittels diesen besonders alten und alteingesessenen Informanten wird versucht, noch einen Rest von der vermuteten ‚originalen‘ Mundart zu erschließen (zum Topos der ‚reinen‘ Mundart vgl. Haas 1992). – Mit der Industrialisierung und dem weitgehenden Ersatz der mechanischen durch die organische Solidarität begannen auch die Dialektologen, andere Fragen zu stellen. Arbeit, Bildung, Verkehr als außersprachliche Korrelate zu den linguistischen Phänomenen wurden immer mehr und immer systematischer in die Untersuchungen einbezogen, und hier kann man vom Einsetzen eigentlicher soziolinguistischer Fragestellungen sprechen.

Es ist für die Geschichte der Soziolinguistik und Dialektologie im Prinzip zweitrangig, wie adäquat oder problematisch eine Soziologie auf der Basis des oben eingeführten Durkheimschen Begriffspaares ist. Entscheidend ist vielmehr, dass die Sprachwissenschaftler den Dialektwandel im Zusammenhang mit sozialem Wandel ganz offensichtlich durchgehend mit Gesellschaftsvorstellungen angehen, die den Kategorien *organische* und *mechanische Solidarität* eng verwandt sind. Selbst das in der aktuellen Soziolinguistik so populäre Konzept der sozialen Netzwerke (vgl. Milroy 1992, 61, 52) – mit der Grundannahme, dass hohe Netzwerkdichte bzw. hohe Multiplexität mit Konformismus und einheitlichen Normen korrelieren – kann als ein Gradmesser gesehen werden für Anteile der mechanischen Solidarität in einer bestimmten Sprachgemeinschaft. Wie groß auch die Differenzen im Sprachmodell sein mögen, über das Modell des gesellschaftlichen Wandels ist man sich in der westlichen Sprachwissenschaft seit über 100 Jahren einig.

6.2. Abschied von der homogenen Sprachgemeinschaft

Wir können also davon ausgehen, dass die Dialektologie bis heute einem Durkheimschen Modell von Gesellschaft und gesell-

schaftlichem Wandel verpflichtet ist. Die in diesem Artikel bereits mehrfach nachgewiesene Prämisse der homogenen Ortsmundart ist eine direkte Konsequenz eines solchen Gesellschaftsmodells. In Vertretung der unzähligen entsprechenden Stellen sei hier das „politische Sprachgesetz“ Karl Haags zitiert (1929, 18): „I. Die Einheit der Ortsmundart. Sie stellt die strengste, geschlossenste Spracheinheit dar, die es gibt: in Lauten, Wortgestalt, Beugung, Satzbau, Wortschatz, ja Redensarten; die vorherrschende Zeit der Ruhe vorausgesetzt, die vorherrschende gesellschaftliche und berufliche Gleichartigkeit der Gemeinde ebenfalls. Die Enge der Gemeinschaft duldet keinerlei Abweichung.“ Diese Einheit der Ortsmundart ist eine Fiktion, die seit längerem immer wieder problematisiert wurde. Auch im vorliegenden Artikel wurde bereits aufgezeigt, dass seit den Anfängen der dialektologischen Datenerhebungen immer wieder auch Variation innerhalb der kleinsten Untersuchungseinheit festgestellt wurde. Es gab und gibt keine Sprachgemeinschaft, die bei aller Konformität nicht minimal variiert.

Die Entwicklung von soziolinguistischen Konzepten in der Dialektologie geht einher mit dem langsamen Verabschieden der Homogenitätsannahme. Seit Schmeller war das Postulat der Homogenität der Ortsmundart eigentlich systematisch in Gefahr, doch die Dialektologie konnte noch sehr lange von dieser Homogenitätsfiktion ausgehen. Je nach Forschungsfrage kann ein solches Ausblenden der sprachlichen Heterogenität wohl auch legitim sein. Der soziale Wandel, wahrgenommen als zunehmendes Verschwinden von Gemeinschaften mit mechanischer Solidarität, zwingt die Dialektologie zum theoretischen und empirischen Nachvollziehen der gesellschaftlichen und sprachlichen Differenzierungen. Eine Dialektologie, die sich im Sinne Meillet's (vgl. 5.2.) an der Soziologie als Leitdisziplin orientiert, kann nicht mehr auf eine einzige Gewährsperson für eine Ortsmundart abstellen. Auch in der Dialektologie etablieren sich also im 20. Jh. sozialwissenschaftliche Methoden, und besonders bei der Auswahl der Gewährspersonen wird zunehmend eine bessere Berücksichtigung der verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Gruppen, Schichten oder Klassen angestrebt. Mit sozialwissenschaftlicher Methodik arbeitende Stadtsprachenstudien (prototypisch: Labov 1966) sind eine Forschungsdomäne, die bis heute ein be-

trächtliches Potenzial bietet (vgl. etwa Schlobinski 1987; Auer 1990; Debus/Kallmeyer/Stickel (1994–1995; Hofer 1997). Für den bäuerlich-ländlichen Raum hatten die Dialektologen nicht zuletzt deshalb länger an der Homogenitätshypothese festgehalten, weil sie selber zumeist gebildete Städter waren, die im Landleben eine heile Welt zu erkennen glaubten und einem romantisch-verklärten Stereotyp im Sinne der mechanischen Solidarität verfallen waren. Städtische Nonstandardvarietäten hingegen galten tendenziell eher als *unrein*, vermischt, korrupt und nicht bodenständig (vgl. dagegen den veränderten Blick auf ländlichen Sprachgebrauch in der modernen Dialektologie, etwa in Besch 1981–1983).

Wir haben in 5.1. gesehen, dass mit Schuchardt und Whitney erstmals die Mischung und Variabilität als sprachlicher Normalzustand angesehen wird. Solche Sprachkonzepte werden bald von empirischen Studien gestützt, die auch innerhalb von Ortspunkten mehrere Gewährspersonen berücksichtigen, wie etwa die Arbeiten Gauchats und Kuraths. Bach (1950, 248) postuliert dann gar, ähnlich wie vor ihm Paul (1898, 37), die Individualsprache: „[...] so hat auch, genau genommen, jeder Mensch seine eigene, von der anderer unterschiedene Sprache. Niemand verfügt über den Gesamtbesitz der sprachlichen Gemeinschaft, der er angehört.“

6.3. Abschied vom konsistenten Idiolekt

Dem Abschied von der homogenen Ortsmundart folgte bald auch der Abschied vom homogenen Idiolekt. Auch auf die intraindividuelle Variation finden wir bereits bei Schuchardt ([1885] 1928, 59f) einen frühen Hinweis, und die Dialektologie bezieht spätestens mit Pfalz ([1928] 1983) auch situative Faktoren in ihre Untersuchung gesprochener Sprache ein. Hier finden sich starke Ähnlichkeiten mit späteren Konzepten wie dem des ‚verbalen Repertoires‘ (etwa Gumperz 1971, 152; 1975, 144) oder des ‚Möglichkeitsraumes‘ (Macha 1991, 216). Spätestens für die zweite Hälfte des 20. Jh.s ist es oft nicht mehr sinnvoll, zwischen Dialektologie und Soziolinguistik zu unterscheiden. Sprachliche Variation wird als multifaktoriell aufgefasst und die Dimensionen, die jeweils für bestimmte Varietäten als wichtig betrachtet werden, können diachron, synchron, areal oder sozial sein (vgl. die Varietätengrammatik von Klein 1974). Kapitel 2–5 haben gezeigt, dass viele soziolinguistische

Konzepte ihre Vorläufer in der dialektologischen Tradition haben. Viele Aspekte werden bereits im 19. Jh. angesprochen, andererseits blieb es in der Dialektologie oft beim pauschalen Benennen von als wichtig erachteten Faktoren, ohne dass eine systematische Erforschung derselben gefolgt wäre – oft wird darauf hingewiesen, dass man ‚eigentlich‘ diesen oder jenen Faktor in die Untersuchung einschließen sollte, dies jedoch aus Geld-, Zeit- oder methodischen Gründen nicht machen könne. Daraus lässt sich der (tautologische) Schluss ziehen, dass für die Dialektologie das Primat des arealen Faktors sehr lange Bestand hatte. Die Soziolinguistik des 20. Jh.s holt die Integration dieser weiteren Faktoren nach, mit kontinuierlich verfeinerter sozialwissenschaftlicher Methodik werden unabhängige Variablen wie Alter, Geschlecht, Bildung und soziale Schicht, aber auch Verkehr und Einstellungen wie Ortsloyalität auf ihre Zusammenhänge mit sprachlicher Variation hin untersucht. Bald hat jedoch auch die *korrelative* Soziolinguistik (zu diesem Begriff vgl. Dittmar 1997, 46ff) dasselbe Problem wie die Ortsgrammatik des 19. Jh.s: alle Lekte, kaum sind sie aufgrund eines außersprachlichen Kriteriums definiert, erweisen sich als tendenziell labil, als künstlich homogenisierte Konstruktionen. Der sprachliche Gegenstand, in der Dialektologie wie in der Soziolinguistik oft unhinterfragt als gegeben angenommen (vgl. die Kritik an dieser Sichtweise bei Le Page/Tabouret-Keller 1985, 2), zerfällt unter der empirisch-auswertenden Lupe in einen nur schwer homogenisier- und erklärbaren ‚Formenwucher‘.

Die soziolinguistische Theorie macht bis heute wenige Angebote, wie die Problematik rund um die Lekte entschärft werden könnte. Ein möglicher Ansatz ist die Verlagerung des Interesses auf die identitätsstiftenden Handlungen, welche durch sprachliche Wahlen in einem Möglichkeitsraum vorgenommen werden („acts of identity“; Le Page/Tabouret-Keller 1985, Gumperz 1990). Sprachen und Lekte sind damit keine gegebenen Einheiten mehr, sondern kommen in einem dauernden sozialen Wechselspiel zwischen individuellen Identitätshandlungen zustande.

Eine weiterer und bisher erstaunlich selten begangener Ausweg wäre der Verzicht auf traditionelle (und offensichtlich nicht ausreichende) Lektdefinitionen mittels wissenschaftlicher bzw. aristotelischer Katego-

risierungsverfahren (vgl. zur linguistischen Kategorisierung Taylor 1995). Christen (1998, 267ff) zeigt, dass im dialektologischen Bereich neben den wissenschaftlich-aristotelischen Kategorien mit Vorteil auch natürliche Kategorisierungsverfahren zu berücksichtigen sind: Dialekte werden – gerade auch im volkstümlichen Empfinden – nicht aufgrund wohldefinierter Merkmalsätze kategorisiert (Merkmale, die allen Mitgliedern einer Kategorie gemeinsam sind), sondern aufgrund von prototypischen Eigenschaften (Familienähnlichkeit, unscharfe Grenzen, gute Beispiele, Basiskategorien). In der Tat suchen Soziolinguistik und Dialektologie bis heute uneingestandenmaßen nach den *echten, reinen, klar abgrenzbaren* Varietäten, also nach einem Phantom, wie dies bereits frühe Vertreter der Dialektologie gewusst hatten. Der mögliche Ausweg aus dem Gefängnis der aristotelischen Kategorien führt also hin zur Erforschung von Prototypikalitätseffekten, zur Suche etwa nach typischen Dialekten, und damit vielleicht sogar zurück in die Nähe dessen, was der Dialektologie so oft zum Vorwurf gemacht wurde: die Orientierung an ältestmöglich noch elizitierbaren Formen.

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82. Die Rolle der Sprache in der soziologischen Forschung – historisch gesehen

The Role of Language in Sociological Research – in a Historical Perspective

1. Einleitung: Relevanzen der Sprachbetrachtung für die Soziologie
2. Klassische Fragestellungen der soziologischen Sprachbetrachtung: Mead
3. Klassische Fragestellungen der soziologischen Sprachbetrachtung: Durkheim
4. Die Klärungsrelevanz des sprachbezogenen Denkens für die soziologische Theoriebildung
5. Spätere Themenbereiche des sprachbezogenen Denkens in der Soziologie
6. Methodologische Implikationen der soziologischen Sprachbetrachtung und neue Weisen des forschungsstrategischen Zugangs zur sozialen Wirklichkeit in den 1970/80er Jahren
7. Weiterentwicklung methodologischer Implikationen soziologischer Sprachbetrachtung in den 1990er Jahren: Qualitative Sprachbetrachtung als Zugang zur sozialen Wirklichkeit
8. Methodologische und forschungsstrategische Umsetzung qualitativer Ansätze in der soziologischen Sprachbetrachtung der 1990er Jahre
9. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Einleitung: Relevanzen der Sprachbetrachtung für die Soziologie

Das Thema der Sprache hat in der soziologischen Theoriebildung und Forschung seit dem Entstehen der Soziologie Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts immer wieder Faszination ausgelöst, ist aber zeitweilig auch aus ihrem Interessenfokus verdrängt worden. Ganz grob lassen sich folgende Arten der Beschäftigung mit dem Thema der Sprache in der Soziologie unterscheiden:

(a) Von den Sozialtheoretikern Mead, Durkheim und Schütz sowie in der Marx-Nachfolge wurden grundlagentheoretische Aspekte des konstitutiven Beitrags von Sprache zur Erzeugung, Aufrechterhaltung und Veränderung der gesellschaftlichen Realität herausgearbeitet. Solche Beiträge sind: die kommunikative, interaktive Formung sozialer Handlungen durch das sprachliche Symbolsystem; die kodifizierte

Dinghaftigkeit der sozialen Realität kraft sprachlicher Klassifikation; die Speicherung des Alltagswissens in Typisierungen durch das implizite Wörterbuch der alltäglichen Umgangssprache; sowie einerseits die Herrschafts-, Unterdrückungs- und Ausblendungsfunktion sprachlicher Formulierungen und Kodes und andererseits deren Protestwirkung.

(b) Nicht nur Linguisten, sondern auch Soziologen haben die Korrelation und Variation des Sprachgebrauchs und der ihm entsprechenden Sprach- und Regelsysteme mit gesellschaftlichen Strukturen untersucht. Diesbezüglich sind einerseits die Forschungen zum elaborierten und restringierten Sprachkode von Bernstein und seinen Mitarbeitern und Nachfolgern zu nennen, die sich insbesondere in erziehungssoziologischen und pädagogischen Diskussionen niedergeschlagen haben. Andererseits müssen hier aber auch die Forschungen zu multilingualen Sprachgemeinschaften, insbesondere von Fishman (1972; 1972a), Erwähnung finden, in denen die Abhängigkeit der ‚Wahl‘ – bzw. allgemeiner Verwendung – eines sprachlichen Kodes bzw. einer sprachlichen Variante von den kulturellen Regeln der jeweiligen sozialen Domäne (wie Familie, Erziehung, Berufarbeit, Behörden), in welche die jeweils gerade betrachteten Kommunikationsaktivitäten der Kommunikationsgemeinschaft eingebettet sind, untersucht wird. Die letztere Forschungstradition steht in engstem Austausch mit den soziolinguistischen Forschungsansätzen sprachwissenschaftlicher Forscher.

(c) In forschungslogischen Reflexionen, die in den USA insbesondere von Blumer ([1969] 1973), Garfinkel (1967; 1973) und Cicourel (1970; 1975) und in Deutschland insbesondere von Habermas (1967; 1968) initiiert waren, wurde auf den versprachlichten Charakter der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit hingewiesen. Der sich wandelnde Zustand der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit müsse deshalb von den Gesellschaftsmitgliedern fortlaufend interpretiert und reinterpretiert werden. Auch die soziologischen

Forschungsverfahren könnten so nicht umhin, dem ‚flüchtig‘-interpretativen Charakter der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit und ihrem Medium der Versprachlichung Rechnung zu tragen. Dies schließe in weiten Bereichen der Soziologie die positivistischen Strategien der quantitativen Standardsozialforschung aus, die ja den Umstand der sprachlichen Manifestation der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit im Wege von Skalier-, Kodier- und Einschätzungsverfahren und von raffinierter statistischer Datenprozessierung mit eingebauten Techniken der Konsistenzprüfung zu ignorieren versuchten. (Dies sei gerade deshalb problematisch, weil die ‚standardmethodologische‘ bzw. ‚positivistische‘ Erforschung quantitativer Verteilungen sozialer Merkmale in gesellschaftlichen Grundgesamtheiten mit der fragebogengeleiteten Interviewtechnik, mit der Fragebogenkonstruktion sowie mit den diversen Skalier-, Kodier- und Einschätzungsverfahren in besonderer Weise auf alltäglichen Prozeduren der sprachbegründeten Interpretation fuße.)

(d) Aus den forschungslogischen Reflexionen folgend haben sich innerhalb der Soziologie eine Reihe von konkreten Forschungsstrategien entwickelt, welche das sprachliche Medium systematisch als Zugang zur gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit nutzen. Hier sind insbesondere Interaktions- und Konversationsanalyse; die Komponentenanalyse elementarer Wissensstrukturen bzw. die Analyse narrativer und anderer interaktionsdetachierender Texte; die Betrachtung des professionellen und organisatorischen Handelns unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Produktion von (schriftlichen) Berichtstexten in Aktualkommunikationen – Berichtstexten, die dann den weiteren Bearbeitungsprozess des Problemfalls mitsteuern – sowie die hermeneutische Fallanalyse der sozialisatorischen Interaktion und der mit dieser verbundenen Prozesse der Identitätsentfaltung und -behinderung zu nennen.

(e) Die Praktizierung der neuartigen Forschungsverfahren hat zu erneutem grundlagentheoretischem Interesse an Aspekten der sprachlichen Konstitution der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit geführt. Dies lässt sich insbesondere an der Erforschung und Reflexion der Gegenstandsfelder der elementaren Strukturen kommunikativer Interaktion, der herrschaftsfreien und der herrschaftsverzerr-

ten Kommunikation, der Identitätsentwicklung und der Entfaltung des moralischen Bewusstseins, der Biographieforschung sowie der Prozessierung von Fallproblemen durch professionelles und organisatorisches Handeln aufzeigen.

Der vorliegende Artikel zeichnet zunächst einige Aspekte der Theoriebildung der sozialwissenschaftlichen Theorie-Klassiker Mead und Durkheim zum Thema Sprache nach und leitet daraus Folgerungen für grundlagentheoretische Rekonstruktionsfragen der Soziologie ab. Es wird deutlich, dass das Thema ‚Sprache‘ in besonderer Weise die Reflexion grundlagentheoretischer Kernfragen der Soziologie angeregt hat. Im Orientierungsrahmen des durch die ‚Sprachtheorien‘ von Mead und Durkheim markierten Spannungsbogens sprachbezogenen soziologischen Denkens werden sodann spätere, z. T. neuere, grundlagentheoretische und empirische Forschungsgebiete der Soziologie von sprachtheoretischer Relevanz stichwortartig skizziert. Der Artikel schließt dann eine Auflistung wichtiger forschungsstrategischer Ansätze in der Soziologie an, Sprache zentral als Zugangsmedium zur sozialen Realität zu verwenden und zeigt schließlich deren aktuelle Weiterentwicklung. Der Artikel blendet die (insbesondere unter Punkt b genannten) spezialisierten Themenbereiche der Korrelation und Variation von sprachlichen Strukturen mit gesellschaftlichen Strukturen aus, weil diese in anderen Artikeln des Handbuchs ausführlich behandelt werden. Auch haben die auf Sprachkorrelation und -variation bezogenen sprachsoziologischen oder – gängiger – soziolinguistischen (dagegen jedoch Fishman 1972b, 8ff., 337ff.; vgl. auch Schütze 1975, 149, 161ff., 976) Fragestellungen im engeren Sinne die allgemeine Theorie- und Methodentwicklung der Soziologie wenig beeinflusst.

2. Klassische Fragestellungen der soziologischen Sprachbetrachtung: Mead

Weitaus am differenziertesten von allen sozialwissenschaftlichen Klassikern hat sich George Herbert Mead (1863–1931) mit der Funktion der Sprache für die Gestaltung sozialer Prozesse beschäftigt. Mead geht davon aus, dass das entscheidende Problem menschlicher Vergesellschaftung das der Herstellung von interaktiver Wechselseitigkeit bzw. von Interaktionsreziprozität ist. In menschlichen Vergesellschaftungen werde – so Mead – die Herstellung von Interaktionsreziprozität deshalb zum Problem, weil sie nicht mehr durch organspezifische und instinktgesteuerte Arbeitsteilung organisiert sei. Menschliche Interaktion habe deshalb

im Gegensatz zur tierischen die Fähigkeit der Interaktionspartner zur Bedingung, sich in die Perspektive des jeweiligen anderen vorstellungsmäßig hineinzusetzen und von *dort* aus jeweils zu erkunden und zu betrachten, was die Erfahrungsaspekte des jeweils anderen sind und welche Bedeutungen und Konsequenzen die eigenen Kommunikations- und Interaktionsbeiträge für den jeweils anderen haben (Mead 1968, Teil IV, insbes. Kap. 30–33; 1987, 311–323). Soweit das Meadsche Ausgangsszenario.

Der Prozess der Perspektivenübernahme setzt nun aber die Unterstellung von Bedeutungsidentität derjenigen Symbole bzw. Gebärden voraus, mit deren Mitteln der Perspektivenwechsel vollzogen wird. Mead nennt solche Symbole bzw. Gebärden ‚signifikante‘, weil sich mit ihrer Hilfe ego an seiner eigenen inneren Reaktion auf seine (geplante) Aktivität antizipierend aufzeigen kann, wie alter auf seinen Kommunikationsbeitrag reagieren wird (Mead 1968, 106ff.; 1987, 294f., 311ff.). Das Medium der natürlichen Alltagssprache liefert einen Rechtstitel für derartige Identitätsunterstellungen, weil das gesprochene Wort vom Hervorbringer akustisch genau so gehört wird wie vom Adressaten – d.h. es tritt keine räumliche Perspektivendifferenz auf, wie sie etwa beim Blickaustausch erzwungen ist – und weil beide Akteure im wesentlichen von der soziokulturellen Bedeutungsgeteiltheit und der übersituativen Bedeutungskonstanz der Wörterbucheinträge der gemeinsam gesprochenen Alltagssprache ausgehen können (Mead 1968, 101f., 105, 111, 113, 129f.; 1987, 293, 296f., 323). Auf der Grundlage der unterstellten Bedeutungsidentität der Kommunikationssymbole vermöge Perspektivenübernahme müssen sich dann die Interaktionspartner zudem wechselseitig unterstellen, dass bei einem Austausch der Interaktionsstandpunkte die Situationsperspektiven der Interaktionspartner, die fest mit den jeweiligen Interaktionsstandorten verbunden sind, identisch bleiben: d.h. ego werde mit denselben Perspektivenkoordinaten die Interaktionsszene anschauen wie alter, falls er den Interaktionsstandpunkt mit ihm vorstellungsmäßig wechsele (Mead 1968, Teil II, sowie 224, 235, 268, 281, 290, 403–429; 1987, 294, 321).

Selbstverständlich findet in jeder kommunikativen Interaktion ein vorgestellter Wechsel der Interaktionsstandpunkte und Betrachtungsperspektiven zwischen den kon-

fligierenden bzw. kooperierenden Akteuren statt (vgl. Mead 1968, 192–194, 300f., 414–423; 1987, 325–328). Aber die Perspektivenwechsel können auf unterschiedlichen Niveaus von Interaktionsreziprozität liegen. Minimale Reziprozitätsebenen sind die der jeweiligen Anerkennung als Aktoren und die des wechselseitigen kommunikativen Verstehens. Kooperation im Rahmen eines Handlungsschemas setzt dagegen ein sehr hohes Reziprozitätsniveau voraus, denn die Akteure müssen sich dann wechselseitig ihre sach- und handlungsbezogenen Orientierungen und Sichtweisen aufzeigen (vgl. Schütze 1978, 102–108).

Es ist wichtig zu sehen, dass Mead dem sprachlichen Symbolsystem die entscheidende Funktion für die Herstellung der Fähigkeit zur Perspektivenübernahme und der flexibel rückgekoppelten Interaktionsreziprozität, wie sie für menschliche Gesellschaften kennzeichnend ist, zugesprochen hat. Die menschliche Sprache ist das einzige in der Entwicklungsgeschichte irdischen Lebens entstandene *elementare* (d.h. von anderen ‚höheren‘ Symbolmechanismen unabhängige) Symbolsystem, das den Anforderungen der wechselseitigen Unterstellung und Rückkoppelung der Handlungsfiguren, wie sie von menschlichen Akteuren ausgehen, genügt. (‚Höhere‘ Symbolmechanismen haben sich dann im weiteren Verlauf der Entwicklungsgeschichte der Menschheit – so Mead – in den spezifischen Aktivitätsbereichen von Wirtschaft, Religion und Wissenschaft entfaltet. Auch sie hätten die Funktion der Reziprozitätsherstellung, würden aber mit Notwendigkeit auf den Leistungen des elementaren sprachlichen Symbolsystems fußen – vgl. Mead 1987, 320ff.; 1968, Kap. 33f., 36–38, 41).

Die Sprachtheorie Meads hat vier Implikationen, die für die soziologische Theoriebildung sehr wichtig geworden sind:

(a) Mead hat die Grundlagen für eine naturalistische Betrachtung sozialer Handlungsabläufe und für ein empirisch überprüfbares Verständnis des zugleich intentionalen und interaktiven Charakters sozialer Handlungen gelegt. Wichtig sind hier die folgenden Gesichtspunkte: Handlungsplanungen entstehen aus Schwierigkeiten des Lebensvollzugs bzw. aus ‚Objektwiderständen‘. Spätere Handlungsstadien werden im Planungsstadium (das Impuls und Wahrnehmung umfasst) vorgehend-phantasierend vorweggenommen und zu kontrollierenden Orientierungsgesichtspunkten. Das ist nur auf der Grundlage sprachlicher Typi-

sierungen möglich. So wird eine Umwandlung vergangener Erfahrungen in spezielle Zukunftserwartungen (Handlungsfahrpläne) möglich. Soziale Handlungen werden in ihrem *Planungsstadium*, aber auch später, anderen Akteuren andeutend aufgezeigt; so werden die Handlungsbeteiligungen koordiniert. Auch dies ist in der Elementarverrichtung nur mit sprachlich-signifikanten Symbolen möglich. Im Realisierungsvollzug der Handlung entsteht kraft der Kreativität der beteiligten Ich-Identitäten der Akteure und durch die Kontingenz der Weltereignisse fortlaufend Neues (das Emergente); die Akteure stellen sich in den nächsten Handlungsstadien immer wieder auf das Neue ein; sie arrangieren bzw. ‚artikulieren‘ ihre Handlungsbeiträge unablässig um, ohne das Grundmuster aus dem Auge zu verlieren (Mead 1968, 115f.; 1969, 102–146; 1987, 313, 321; Strauss et al. 1985, Kap. 7; Kallmeyer/Schütze 1976; Kallmeyer 1981).

(b) Mead hat eine Theorie der Abstraktion und Generalisierung menschlicher Kulturleistungen entwickelt, die auf der grundlegenden Abstraktionsstendenz des signifikanten Symbolsystems der Sprache fußt. Folgende Grundgedanken sind hier entscheidend: Jeder interaktive Handlungsablauf beginnt mit einer Problematik, die den Aktivitätsvollzug verzögert und reflexive Handlungsanalyse und -planung in Gang setzt. Letztere beruht auf dem Mechanismus des Austauschs der Interaktionsstandpunkte, und sie vollzieht sich in wechselseitigen kommunikativen Andeutungen oder gar im expliziten Diskurs. Dieser Sozialitätsbezug ist die Grundlage der Freisetzung menschlicher Geistestätigkeiten vom unmittelbaren Handlungsdruck, d.h. der erste Schritt der Abstraktion gegenüber den unmittelbaren Aktivitätsabläufen. Denn während die Akteure sich wechselseitig die Interaktionsbeiträge der Interaktionspartner aufzeigen, sehen sie – gerade indem sie sie in Rechnung stellen – von den Spezifitäten der jeweiligen Interaktionsstandpunkte und Biographien ab. Die Interpretation der Bedeutung einer Handlung muss im Prinzip für jeden beliebigen Akteur nachvollziehbar sein. – Die Geteiltheit der Bedeutungsgehalte beruht nun aber letztlich auf den signifikanten Symbolen der Sprache, d.h. der Verbreitung und Konsistenz der Bedeutungen ihrer Wörterbucheinträge. Jeder Wörterbucheintrag beinhaltet auch allgemeine Merkmale; gerade in den Termini dieser allgemeinen Merkmale ist die interaktive Perspektivenübernahme möglich. Die allgemeinen Merkmale der Wörterbucheinträge entstammen dem Vorstellungshaushalt des verallgemeinerten anderen: dieser beinhaltet wechselseitig bestätigte Vorstellungen von der Haltung der gesellschaftlichen Gruppe gegenüber dem Handlungsobjekt bzw. -problem; der mit dem verallgemeinerten anderen verbundene ‚dritte‘ bzw. ‚neutrale‘ Standpunkt kann in seiner Zusammensicht aller anderen Interaktions- und Betrachtungsstandpunkte natürlich nur Allgemeinklassen von Merkmalen erfassen. – Mead zeigt auf, wie im Entwicklungsprozess der Menschheitsgattung der

verallgemeinerte andere im Wege der Orientierung an stets universelleren symbolischen Mechanismen (vom Wirtschaftstausch über die religiöse Ethik bis zum logischen Universum) nach und nach allgemeiner und analysemächtiger wird sowie immer abstrakteres logisches Denken ermöglicht (Mead 1987, 294–298, 323, 328; 1968, Kap. 20, 24, 33f., 37, 38; Habermas 1985, 18–33, 141–169).

(c) Mead hat die These vertreten, dass das signifikante Symbolsystem der Sprache im Wesen egalitär ist und sich in die egalitäre Grundstruktur der spezifisch menschlichen Interaktionsanforderungen einpasst. Der Kerngedanke ist der, dass im Gegensatz zur physiologischen Reziprozitätssteuerung in Tier-, Staaten², in der die eine Kategorie von Individuen nicht die Aktivitätsstandpunkte und -funktionen anderer Kategorien von Individuen in die eigene Vorstellung per Perspektivenwechsel übernehmen kann, genau dies für die Reziprozitätssteuerung menschlicher Gesellschaften notwendig ist. Jeder Akteur muss sich prinzipiell und gleichermaßen in die Standpunkte der anderen am Handlungsablauf beteiligten Akteure hineinversetzen und deren Handlungsprobleme, -planungen und -beiträge imaginieren können. Zugleich muss er einräumen können und annehmen, dass auch jeder andere Interaktionsbeteiligte eine grundsätzlich identische Befähigung zur Perspektivenübernahme hat. – Dieser egalitäre Grundsatz prinzipiell unendlicher und gleichgewichtiger Perspektivenübernahme hat das grundlegendste Symbolsystem für diese Perspektivenübernahme, die Sprache in ihrem Kernaufbau entscheidend geprägt. Das kommt darin zum Ausdruck, dass sprachliche Kommunikation mit egalitären Reziprozitätsunterstellungen arbeitet und dass für sie eine entwicklungsgeschichtliche Tendenz zur zunehmenden Eliminierung expliziter Macht- und Herrschaftssymbole besteht. (Freilich wird dadurch soziale Interaktion nicht per se egalitär; vgl. Mead 1968, Teil IV; 1987, 317, 321 f., 327 f.; Schütze 1975, Kap. 9, 10; 1978; 1989)

(d) Mead hat mit seiner Sprachtheorie das Fundament für die Untersuchung der Ontogenese der Kommunikations- und Interaktionsfähigkeit des Kindes im primären Sozialisationsprozess gelegt. Nur durch die Einsozialisation des Kindes in das sprachliche Symbolsystem sind das rollenimitierende Phantasiespiel und das Wettkampfspiel möglich. Diese Sozialarrangements sind für die Ausbildung einer differenzierten Mich-Struktur der Identität, die Entwicklung einer Vorstellung vom signifikanten anderen und die Entfaltung einer stabilen reflexiven Selbstidentität unabdingbare Voraussetzungen. Vermögen tendenziell allgemeiner sprachlicher Kategorien kann sich das Kind in der eigenen Verhaltensstimulierung von der Unmittelbarkeit der Deutungsreaktionen der signifikanten anderen ablösen und die Essenz dieser Deutungsreaktionen auch auf andere Situationen übertragen, in der die signifikanten anderen nicht zugegen sind. Dies ist die Grundlage dafür,

dass das Kind schließlich auf eigene Handlungsimpulse reagieren und komplexe eigene Handlungslinien ausbilden kann – Handlungslinien, die Grundlage sowohl der moralischen Handlungsorientierung als auch der Konsistenz der biographischen Gesamtformung bzw. Identitätsstruktur sind (vgl. Mead 1968, Teil III; Mead 1987, 293–296, 319f.; Denzin 1977, 76–91; Habermas 1985, 65–68).

3. Klassische Fragestellungen der soziologischen Sprachbetrachtung: Durkheim

Emile Durkheim (1858–1917) hat im Gegensatz zu Mead stets den versachlichten, Zwang ausübenden Charakter der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit betont. Die Gesellschaft – so Durkheim – wirkt auf den einzelnen über das Kollektivbewusstsein ein, an dem jedes einzelne Gesellschaftsmitglied durch Enthusiasmierung, moralische Obligation und Denkwänge teilhat; es erlebt, wie die Vorstellungen des Kollektivbewusstseins als Orientierungsnormen auf es wirken; und – weit unbewusster – muss es erfahren, wie das eigene Denken und Handeln weitgehend aus dem Stoff der Vorstellungsinhalte des Kollektivbewusstseins gebildet werden. Das Kollektivbewusstsein unterliegt nach Durkheim eigenen Ordnungs- und Veränderungsprinzipien, die von seiner internen Organisationsweise und seiner Geschöpftheit in spezifisch kollektiven Interaktionen, wie denen des religiösen Ritus, abhängen (Durkheim [1894] 1970, 94ff., 187; Durkheim [1898] 1967, 70–83). Das Kollektivbewusstsein sieht Durkheim gespeichert in den Wörterbucheinträgen der in der jeweiligen Gesellschaft gesprochenen Umgangssprache (Durkheim [1912] 1968, 434–437) – Wörterbucheinträgen, welche die in jeder Handlungs- und Lebenssituation stets präsente Zustandsmanifestation des kollektiven Gedächtnisses und der kollektiv erfolgten definitorischen Festlegung der sozialen Tatsachen sind. (Für den Einfluss von Durkheims Konzeption des Kollektivbewusstseins auf de Saussures Kategorie ‚la langue‘ und auf die linguistische Theoriebildung generell vgl. Hymes 1964, 5f.; Doroszewski 1933; Coseriu 1958, 19–25.)

Man kann insgesamt zunächst festhalten, dass in der Sicht Durkheims in dessen mittlerer Schaffensperiode (die durch das ‚Selbstmord‘-Buch und die Schrift über die ‚Regeln der soziologischen Methode‘ besonders intensiv auf die soziologische Theorie-

bildung und Methodologie eingewirkt hat) das Symbolmedium der in einer Gesellschaft bzw. Gruppe gesprochenen Umgangssprache (neben religiösen und quasireligiösen Riten bzw. Feiern) die entscheidende empirische Manifestationsweise des Kollektivbewusstseins ist. Dieses wiederum stellt in der Sicht Durkheims die Essenz von Gesellschaft dar und hält letztere als Erscheinung *sui generis* von den Tatsachen der individuellen Psyche geschieden.

Der engen Verflechtung von Sprache und Kollektivbewusstsein in der Theorie Durkheims entspricht zunächst, in der mittleren Schaffensperiode, nahtlos Durkheims Bestimmung des Gesellschaftlichen durch die dinghafte Äußerlichkeit und Zwanghaftigkeit sozialer Tatsachen. Durkheim wollte mit einer solchen Festlegung einerseits zwei wichtige Aspekte der gesellschaftlichen Realität herausarbeiten: nämlich dass diese den einzelnen als versachlichte gegenübertritt, als Zusammenhang dinghafter und äußerlich beobachtbarer sozialer Tatsachen (Durkheim [1894] 1970, 125f.), und dass die sozialen Tatsachen als Vorstellungsgehalte, kollektive Sentimente und mehr oder weniger festgelegte Handlungsregeln einen wirksamen Einfluss im Sinne einer moralischen Obligation auf den einzelnen und seine Interaktionen mit anderen ausüben, da er Mitglied der entsprechenden gesellschaftlichen Kollektivität ist (Durkheim [1894] 1970, 188f.; Durkheim [1898] 1967, 87, 94f., 105, 113). Andererseits beabsichtigte Durkheim, durch seinen immer wieder vorgebrachten Hinweis auf die dinghafte Äußerlichkeit und Zwanghaftigkeit sozialer Tatsachen, die Soziologie als eigenständige Wissenschaft neben derjenigen der Psychologie zu begründen. Hieraus erklären sich einige Überspitzungen und Kurzschlüssigkeiten in der mittleren Schaffensperiode seines Werkes.

Man kann die Überspitzungen in der Konzeptionierung des Kollektivbewusstseins ganz grob so charakterisieren, dass Durkheim in seiner mittleren Schaffensperiode sich nicht hinreichend mit der Frage beschäftigte, wie denn die Tatsachen des kollektiven Lebens und ihr Obligationscharakter überhaupt entstehen und was ihre interne Veränderungsdynamik ist. Diese Frage mag für ihn deshalb anfangs nicht wichtig gewesen sein, weil ihn im ‚Unabhängigkeitskampf‘ der Soziologie gegenüber der Psychologie verständlicher Weise zunächst einmal der Umstand der äußerlichen Beob-

achtbarkeit der sozialen Tatsachen besonders faszinierte. Gerade die Entdeckung, dass die sozialen Tatsachen deshalb dinghaft beobachtbar sind, weil sie als Kollektive auf das Individuum einen Vorstellungs-, Orientierungs- und Beurteilungszwang ausüben (Durkheim 1970, 98, 106f., 111f., 186f.), muss für Durkheim anfänglich erregend und alle weiteren Fragestellungen absorbierend gewesen sein. Auch entsprach dieser Entdeckung eine immer wieder vollziehbare Alltagserfahrung.

Die bei Durkheim als erstem Sozialtheoretiker systematisch formulierte soziologische Vorstellung, dass soziale Tatsachen als kollektive Erscheinungen in der Realität dinghaft vorhanden sind und auf den einzelnen Akteur einen sozialen Zwang ausüben, geht auf die Alltagserfahrung zurück, dass vorherrschende Meinungen, Verhaltensstile, Normen und Werte dem einzelnen Akteur als vorgegebene kollektive Erwartungen, Setzungen und Gewohnheiten entgegentreten, die man allgemein befolgt, beachtet und praktiziert. In der Soziologie als Wissenschaft entstand hieraus bei ihrem ‚Gründungsvater‘ Durkheim anfangs die Vorstellung, dass die Erscheinungen der sozialen Realität in ihrem Charakter relativ feststehend und unverrückbar sind sowie in ihrer Bedeutung offensichtlich und allgemein zugänglich. Analyse und Interpretation der Konstitutionsmerkmale sozialer bzw. kollektiver Erscheinungen sowie die Wahrnehmung und Interpretation ihrer spezifischen Eigenbedeutungen erscheinen dann zunächst gerade deshalb überflüssig, weil die Hervorbringungs- und Abwicklungsstrukturen sozialer Ereignisse als feststehende und immer wieder vollzogene allgemein bekannt und selbstverständlich seien. – Diese Annahme der Selbstverständlichkeit der Erscheinungen der sozialen Realität ist der Grundstein aller positivistischen bzw. objektivistischen Richtungen und Schulen der Soziologie geworden.

Zwar ist Durkheim im Hinblick auf die mittlere Periode seines Werkes zum grundlagentheoretischen Kronzeugen solcher Annahmen der objektivistischen Soziologie geworden, zugleich ist er aber auch wiederum von dieser Art der Soziologie geschieden, weil er es überhaupt für notwendig erachtete, über die mehr oder weniger selbstverständlichen Annahmen des Alltagsdenkens zur Dinghaftigkeit sozialer Erscheinungen sorgfältig nachzudenken. Auch trennt Durk-

heim von Teilbereichen der positivistischen Soziologie, dass er den Kollektivitätscharakter sozialer Tatsachen nicht für ableitbar aus den individuellen, ganz persönlich erfahrenen Erscheinungen des sozialen Lebens hielt. (Durkheim lehnt also entschieden das Prinzip des methodologischen Individualismus – vgl. Albert 1964 – ab.)

Schließlich hat Durkheim die positivistischen Züge seines Denkens endgültig in seinen ethnologisch-religionssoziologischen Spätwerken „De quelques formes primitives de classification“ (zusammen mit Marcel Mauss [1901/1902] 1969) und vor allem „Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse“ ([1912] 1968, 417f., 421f., 427, 431–446) abgestreift. Beide Arbeiten versuchen – fußend auf reichhaltigem ethnographischem Material – die interne Struktur und Dynamik der Kollektivvorstellungen, insbesondere solcher im ‚geheiligten‘ bzw. religiösen Bereich, empirisch-analytisch zu erfassen. Dies ist ein deutlicher Fortschritt gegenüber Durkheims vorherigen ‚Bausch und Bogen‘-Überlegungen zu den Kollektivvorstellungen, die stets nur relativ abstrakt das Zwanghafte, Obligatorische, Übermächtige, emotional Intensive der Kollektivvorstellungen in Abgrenzung zu individuellen Vorstellungen betont hatten. Auch wird nunmehr der Funktion der Terminologie der jeweiligen Alltagssprache für die empirische Repräsentation der elementaren Klassifikationen des Kollektivbewusstseins genauere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Besonders wichtig ist freilich der Umstand, dass sich Durkheim in seinem letzten Hauptwerk über die „Elementarformen des religiösen Lebens“ auch mit dem Aspekt der *Erzeugung* der Kollektivvorstellungen, d. h. ihrer interaktiven Hervorbringung in religiösen Riten und Festen, beschäftigt. In ihm finden sich differenzierte Überlegungen zum Beitrag von Sprache und Sprechen (insbes. rituellem) zur Erzeugung, Speicherung und Veränderung des Kollektivbewusstseins, zur elementaren gesellschaftlichen Ordnung sowie zum Aufbau gesellschaftlicher Erkenntnispotentiale (vgl. auch Habermas 1985, 69–92).

Die sprachbezogenen Überlegungen Durkheims haben erhebliche Folgen für die soziologische Theoriebildung und Forschung gehabt:

(a) Durkheim hat einerseits die versachlichte Struktur der Sprache als Manifestation der elementaren Schichten des Kollektivbewusstseins herausgearbeitet; ihr Klassifikationssystem übe

Denkwänge aus, welche das individuelle Verhalten und die Gestaltung der gesellschaftlichen Ordnung erheblich mitbeeinflussten. (Durkheim und Mauss sahen andererseits keine *eindeutige* Beziehung zwischen Sprachkategorien, Denkkategorien und sozialen Kategorien (vgl. Mauss 1964, zur Weiterentwicklung der Überlegungen Durkheims im ethnologischen Strukturalismus vgl. Levi-Strauss 1967, 43–111 und zur Kritik an der dort entwickelten analogisierenden Denkweise vgl. Schütze 1975, 71). Andererseits hat Durkheim aufgezeigt, wie mit sprachlichen Mitteln über idealisierende Projektionsaktivitäten im religiösen und festlichen Ritual der gesellschaftliche Zusammenhalt und gesellschaftliche Einheiten sowie ihre selbstreflexiven Identitätsstrukturen immer wieder erst hergestellt werden (Durkheim [1912] 1968, 416–423). Diese doppelte Betrachtungsweise hat moderne soziologische Theorieaufrisse auf eine gleichzeitige Beachtung des Erzeugungs- und des Versachlichungsaspektes der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit verpflichtet (vgl. exemplarisch Berger/Luckmann [1966] 2001).

(b) Durkheims sprachbezogene Betrachtungen haben eine soziologische Auffassung von Sprache als (partiell) ‚Kodierer der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit‘ gefördert. Dies hat sich einerseits im Rahmen der Religionssoziologie in Überlegungen zur Systematisierung der transzendenten Ordnungsvorstellungen von Gesellschaft zu einem ‚heiligen Kosmos‘ bzw. ‚Nomos‘ mit einer expliziten oder impliziten religiösen Terminologie niedergeschlagen – Ordnungsvorstellungen, die sich in verdeckter Weise, zumindest in Versatzstücken (‚unsichtbare Religion‘), auch noch in modernen Gesellschaften fänden (Luckmann 1963; 1967; Berger 1967). Dieser heilige Kosmos sei mit einer Obligationsmacht zur Orientierung der kollektiven und biographischen Vorstellungen der einzelnen Gesellschaftsmitglieder ausgestattet. Auf diese Weise werden der Prozess der persönlichen Individuation, d. h. die ontogenetische Entfaltung der Selbstidentität, im impliziten und expliziten Sozialisationsprozess mit den strukturellen Vorgaben der Gesellschaft versehen. – Andererseits hat Durkheims Vorstellung von Sprache als Kodierer der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit die Konzeption Bernsteins vom ‚restringierten Sprachkode‘ von in Unterschichtlebenssituationen aufwachsenden Kindern (Bernstein 1971) beeinflusst. Zwar hat – wie Bernstein betont – der restringierte Sprachkode von Unterschichtkindern auch Eigenschaften eines subkulturellen Soziolekts (Bernstein 1971, 143–169, 193–201); aber wichtig sei andererseits zudem der Gesichtspunkt, dass kraft seiner Existenz, d. h. aufgrund der Einschränkung der symbolischen Generalisierungsmöglichkeit, eine systematische Entfremdungssituation sekundär symbolisch festgeschrieben werde (vgl. Schütze 1975, Kap. 7, 937–958 zu dieser Interpretation des Bernsteinschen Forschungsansatzes). Es kommt hier zu einer Berührung der Denktradition Durkheims mit der von Marx.

(c) Die Umgangssprache einer Gesellschaft manifestiert und speichert in der Sicht Durkheims in ihrem Wörterbuch, in den semantischen Relationen der Wörterbucheinträge untereinander sowie in den Anwendungsregeln der Lexeme (weniger in grammatisch-semantischen Grundmerkmalen wie etwa dem Genus) deren elementare Ordnungsstrukturen bzw. Klassifikationssysteme, aus denen soziale Einheiten, deren Identitätsorganisation und die Relationen individueller und kollektiver sozialer Einheiten zueinander aufgebaut sind. Schon Durkheim und Mauss selbst haben in ihrem bedeutenden Essay zur elementaren Klassifikation ([1901/1902] 1969) forschungspraktisch aufgezeigt, wie diese Erkenntnis in eine rigorose naturalistische Analysestrategie zur Aufdeckung der elementaren Ordnungsstrukturen einer Gruppe oder Gesellschaft umgesetzt werden kann. Die elementaren Kategorien der Umgangssprache bilden Segregate, die durch die Überschneidung von Merkmalsdimensionen sowie durch eine spezifische logische (kontrastive, alternative, sequenzielle, taxonomische, paradigmatische) Zusammenordnung gekennzeichnet sind. Durch Praktiken der Hervorlockung der Terminologie eines abgegrenzten Ausschnitts der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit und die Analyse ihrer semantischen Binnenstruktur (im Wege von Kontrastbildung, Aufdeckung des Nacheinanders usw.) kann der logisch geordnete Realitätsgehalt eines gesellschaftlichen Klassifikationssystems erfasst werden. Die komponentenanalytische Forschungsstrategie findet heute insbesondere in der kognitiv orientierten Sozialanthropologie bzw. Ethnolinguistik (‚ethnoscience‘, ‚Ethnotheorie‘) Anwendung (vgl. Frake 1973; [1964] 1980; Agar 1975, 1994; Spradley 1980, 85–154; 1979, 107–203; Spradley/Curdy 2002); aber auch für die soziologische Forschung ist sie von zunehmendem Interesse (vgl. Rose 1962; Eglin 1980; ABS 1976, 45–51; Weymann 1976; Schütze 1975, 72–90; 1976, 229–240; Knoblauch 1991; Honer 1993).

(d) Das sprachliche Symbolsystem als Manifestierer und Speicherer von sozialer Realität wird im Zuge kollektiver Höhepunkterfahrungen, ob diese nun durch historische Krisen erzeugt oder durch Feiern und Feste hervorgerufen sind, verdichtet. Eine besondere Rolle bei dieser Verdichtung spielen religiöse Riten, welche über feierlich enaktierte symbolische Projektionen bzw. Idealisierungen die zentralen Identitätsstrukturen der Gesellschaft bekräftigen oder auch abändern. Das von Durkheim gezeigte Interesse am Ritus als symbolischem Verdichter der kollektiven Identitätsstrukturen von Gesellschaft (und sekundär dann auch: von individueller Selbstidentität) ist zunächst wenig in der Soziologie aufgegriffen worden (vgl. jedoch Soeffner 1986, 16–30; 1992; Döhnert 2000; Tyrell/Krech/Knoblauch 1998; Wulf 2001; außerdem: eine interessante Übertragung auf alltägliche Interaktionsabläufe und das dort erwartete Benehmen ist Goffman 1986, 54–104). Demgegenüber haben Sozialanthropologen, allen voran Mary Douglas (1973) und Victor Turner ([1969] 2000; 1974), Durkheims Über-

legungen zur soziogenetischen Wirkung und symbolischen Verdichtungsleistung des Ritus in empirischen Untersuchungen und grundlagentheoretischen Überlegungen vertieft. – Freilich haben Durkheims Überlegungen zum Ritus über Umwege, die in der soziologischen Traditionsreflexion noch nicht genügend durchschaut werden, dann schließlich doch noch zentrale Auswirkungen auf die soziologische Forschung gehabt. Der Ritus ist ja nur eine der kommunikativen Weisen der Erzeugung und symbolischen Verdichtung des sozialen Zusammenhalts, im Zuge von dessen emotional intensiver Erfahrung dann die Erkenntnisressourcen der Kollektivvorstellungen einer Gruppe oder Gesellschaft mit ihrem Potential der symbolischen Transzendenzierung des alltäglich-gegenständlich im individuellen Erfahrungsbereich Vorgefundenen aktiviert werden. Ein anderes Mittel der Erzeugung und symbolischen Verdichtung des sozialen Zusammenhangs ist das Argumentieren und Erzählen innerhalb natürlicher Gruppen im Rahmen einer unrestringierten und unbeschwerteten Kommunikationssituation, wie sie im Zuge einer sozialwissenschaftlichen Gruppendiskussion hergestellt werden kann (Mangold 1960; Bohnsack 1999, Kap. 7; Loos 2001; Littig/Wallace 1998). Bohnsack (1987) hat mit Hilfe des Konzepts der ‚Fokussierungsmetaphern‘ herausgearbeitet, wie es in natürlichen Diskussionsgruppen Jugendlicher zu ähnlichen symbolischen Verdichtungen und begleitenden kollektiven Erkenntnisstößen kommt wie in der rituell-festlichen Enaktierung des Kollektiven.

4. Die Klärungsrelevanz des sprachbezogenen Denkens für die soziologische Theoriebildung

An den sprachbezogenen Überlegungen von Mead und Durkheim lässt sich die grundlagentheoretische Spannweite soziologischen Denkens über Sprache markieren (vgl. hierzu auch Habermas 1985, Abschn. V). Während es Mead in seinem allgemeinen theoretischen Aufriss im wesentlichen darauf ankam, die Genese wohlgeformter interaktiver Handlungsabläufe und die Entfaltung von Ich-Identität aus dem vorgegebenen gesellschaftlichen Interaktionsprozess zu erklären, konzentrierte sich Durkheim in seiner Theorie des Gesellschaftlichen auf die Genese, interne Struktur und Steuerungsfunktion der kollektiven Vorstellungen, des kollektiven Wissensbestandes der Gesellschaft. In der ‚wissensdialektischen‘ Terminologie von Berger und Luckmann ([1966] 2001) kann man sagen, dass sich Mead insbesondere mit dem Entäußerungs- und Verinnerlichungsaspekt des Gesellschaftsprozesses beschäftigte, während Durkheim sich

auf dessen Versachlichungszustand konzentrierte. Die beiden Theoretiker haben dementsprechend den Beitrag von Sprache und Sprechen zur Konstitution des Gesellschaftsprozesses untersucht.

Mead konnte aufzeigen, welche entscheidende Funktion Sprache für die Ausformung und wechselseitige Kalibrierung von interaktiven Handlungsabläufen hat und wie die Ausformung einer Selbstidentität, die mit sich selbst in Interaktion treten kann, von der Kompetenz zu intentional-interaktiven Handlungsabläufen abhängt. Durkheim konnte herausarbeiten, wie das sprachliche Symbolsystem, insbesondere die semantische Struktur der Sprache, die kollektiven Erfahrungen, das kollektive Denken und die Organisation der Gesellschaft durch elementare Klassifikation speichert und mitsteuert. Der entscheidende Dissens zwischen beiden Theoretikern ist sicherlich darin zu sehen, dass einerseits Durkheim immer wieder dazu neigte, die versachlichte Struktur des sprachlich manifestierten Kollektivbewusstseins absolut zu setzen, d.h. seine fortlaufende Erzeugung und Veränderung aus dem Auge zu verlieren, und dass andererseits Mead dazu tendierte, die ‚emergenten‘ Erzeugungsmöglichkeiten im Interaktionsprozess hinsichtlich der Hervorbringung völlig neuartiger Interaktionsarrangements und damit auch die Freiheitspielräume der einzelnen Akteure zu überschätzen. Der Dissens bezieht sich also auf die Einschätzung des Konstitutionsgeflechts zwischen Individuum und gesellschaftlicher Gruppe sowie der Funktionen von Sprache und Sprechen innerhalb dieses Konstitutionsgeflechts. Das Konstitutionsgeflecht wird in der auf Erzähl- und Argumentationstexten fußenden Biographieforschung erforscht (vgl. Kap. 8; zudem Bohnsack/Marotzki 1998; Fuchs-Heinritz 2000; Kohli/Robert 1987; Lucius-Hoene 2000; Maurenbrecher 1985; Riemann 1987; Schütze 1981; 1984; 1987)

Trotz der tiefgreifenden Differenzen zwischen Mead und Durkheim, die in innersozialen Theorievergleichen immer wieder betont worden sind, dürfen aber auch die erstaunlichen Konvergenzen der Theoriebildung zwischen diesen beiden Antipoden soziologischen Denkens nicht übersehen werden – Konvergenzen, die sich bezeichnenderweise gerade an ihren jeweiligen Sprachbetrachtungen auskristallisiert haben. Beide beginnen ihre Überlegungen

mit der Fragestellung, wie die Gemeinsamkeit, die Interaktionsreziprozität zwischen Akteuren bzw. gesellschaftlichen Gruppen, hergestellt und aufrechterhalten werden kann. Sie zeigen auf, dass daran das Symbolsystem der Sprache über seinen normierten Lautkörper und über die implizite bzw. explizite Standardisierung seiner Bedeutungen wesentlichen Anteil hat. Zugleich weisen beide Theoretiker darauf hin, dass die Gemeinsamkeit zwischen Interaktionspartnern bzw. sozialen Gruppen durch sprachliche Kommunikationsmittel nicht einfach nur *abgebildet* wird, sondern in wesentlichen Aspekten durchaus erst im sprachlichen Kommunikationsvollzug im Wege von Projektionen und wechselseitigen Unterstellungen *hergestellt* wird.

Weiterhin arbeitet nicht nur Durkheim, sondern auch Mead heraus, dass sich das sprachliche Kommunikationsmedium immer wieder in seinen impliziten Vorstellungen und Konstitutionsaktivitäten *systematisiert* und *versachlicht*: bei Mead in Gestalt des verallgemeinerten anderen, der im Wettkampfspiel – gerade auf der sprachlich-symbolischen Plattform der Wettkampfterminologie – zunächst ins Bewusstsein gehoben, später dann bekräftigt und schließlich auch allmählich bzw. rasant verändert wird. Sodann weisen beide Theoretiker auch darauf hin, dass das sprachliche Kommunikationsmedium auf den gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhang vermöge seiner Abstraktions- und Verallgemeinerungstendenz eine universalisierende, immer weitere Gruppen einschließende Wirkung hat (die freilich zunächst von den Grenzen der Einzelsprachen behindert, dann aber im sprachlich konstituierten ‚logischen Universum‘ bzw. im ‚internationalen Leben‘ und im damit verbundenen ‚Kommunikationsaustausch‘ tendenziell überwunden wird (vgl. Mead 1968, 306f., 376; Durkheim 1968, 445f.)). In seinem Spätwerk stimmt Durkheim mit Mead auch darin überein, dass die gesellschaftliche Kollektivität in sprachlichen Projektions- und Definitionsakten erzeugt wird; freilich war er sich nicht über die grundlegende Struktur solcher gesellschaftserzeugenden Aktivitäten und Handlungen im klaren. Schließlich betonen beide Theoretiker die selbstreflektierte Identitätsstruktur kollektiver (und natürlich individueller) gesellschaftlicher Einheiten. (Mead sah freilich diese kollektiven Identitätsstrukturen immer wieder an die Leistungen der individuellen Gesell-

schaftsmitglieder zur fortlaufenden wechselseitigen, imaginierten ‚Übernahme‘ der Perspektive des verallgemeinerten anderen rückgekoppelt, während Durkheim den übermächtigen ‚Obligationseinfluss‘ der kollektiven Identitätsstrukturen auf die individuellen Akteure in Gestalt der Kollektivvorstellungen betonte. – Beiden Aspekten kommt ein partieller Wirklichkeitsbezug zu.)

An der Erörterung der sprachbezogenen Theorieanstrengungen von Mead und Durkheim wird deutlich, dass in der soziologischen Forschung und Theorereflexion Sprache und Sprechen ein entscheidender Ausgangspunkt dafür sein konnten, grundlegende Aspekte und Mechanismen der Gesellschaftskonstitution aufzudecken. Die Betrachtung sprachlicher Aktivitäten und Repräsentationsweisen führte bezeichnenderweise immer wieder zu einer vergleichsweise ausgewogenen ‚dialektischen Analyse‘ der gesellschaftlichen Konstitutions- und Beharrungsmechanismen – zu einer Sichtweise, die sowohl den Erzeugungs- und Veränderungsaspekt der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit als auch ihren Versachlichungsaspekt, sowohl die individuellen Projektionsleistungen der einzelnen Akteure als auch die kollektiven Universalisierungen berücksichtigte. (Diese theoretische ‚Ausgleichsfunktion‘ der Sprachbetrachtung wird paradigmatisch durchsichtig an Bergers und Luckmanns grundlagentheoretischer Abhandlung „Die gesellschaftliche Kontruktion der Wirklichkeit“ ([1966] 2001), die sprachliche Produktionen und Manifestationen in theoretischen Termini wie ‚symbolisches Universum‘, ‚Vergegenständlichung‘ und ‚Legitimation‘ berücksichtigt.)

Gerade die grundlagentheoretische Beachtung des sprachlichen Symbolmediums führt in der soziologischen Theoriebildung dazu, die Elementarerscheinungen der Handlungskonstitution, der Sicherstellung von Interaktionsreziprozität, der individuellen Produktions- und Verinnerlichungsleistungen, der kollektiven Identitätsstrukturen von Gruppen und Gesellschaften und ihrer Veränderung sowie der Transzendierung des Faktischen durch Projektions- und Idealisierungsleistungen (als Mittel der Stabilisierung und Veränderung von Interaktionsreziprozität bzw. der Konstitution kollektiver Einheiten) systematisch aufeinander zu beziehen und sich wechselseitig erhellen zu lassen.

5. Spätere Themenbereiche des sprachbezogenen Denkens in der Soziologie

Die Sprachbetrachtungen Meads und Durkheims haben einen grundlagentheoretischen Horizont abgesteckt, der im Laufe der Jahrzehnte, insbesondere nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, konkretisiert und zum Teil auch erweitert worden ist. Aus Platzgründen kann hier nur noch die phänomenologische Denktradition diskursiv skizziert werden.

In der phänomenologischen Denktradition wurde zunächst der Zusammenhang zwischen dem von der sprachlichen Manifestation transportierten sozialen Wissen und der Alltagsbewältigung in sozialen Handlungen untersucht. Fragestellung war also, wie der sprachmanifestierte kollektive Wissensbestand individuell angeeignet und verwendet und das heißt zugleich: handlungspraktisch wird. Insbesondere von Alfred Schütz wurde herausgearbeitet, wie die impliziten Typisierungen und Klassifikationen, die im Wörterbuch und in den semantischen Relationen der Alltagssprache gespeichert sind, als Alltagswissen bzw. Hintergrundwissensbestand von den Akteuren mühelos-automatisch angewandt werden, um die soziale Welt für die eigene Existenz zu „kosmisieren“ und praktische Handlungsmuster aufzubauen (Schütz 1962, 260–286). Andere phänomenologische Autoren sprechen in Erinnerung an die Leitidee von der ‚inneren Form der Sprache‘ bei Wilhelm von Humboldt, die sich in ihrer ‚Weltansicht‘/ ‚world view‘ semantisch niederschlägt (v. Humboldt 1963, 19–21, 224, 413, 434, 468), von ‚relativ natürlicher Weltanschauung‘ (vgl. Scheler 1926, 58–68, insbes. 59) oder von ‚Weltansicht‘/ ‚world view‘ (vgl. Luckmann 1963; 1967) bzw. ‚symbolischem Universum‘ (Berger/Luckmann [1966] 2001).

Die Handlungsplanung der Akteure nimmt typisierte Ergebniszustände des interaktiven Handelns vorweg und richtet daran die eigenen faktischen Handlungsschritte aus (Schütz 1962, 67–96); dies steht im Gegensatz zu den Routineaktivitäten unterhalb der Ebene bewusst intentionalen Handelns, die Husserl von einer vorsprachlichen, ‚vorprädikativen‘ Erfahrung begleitet sah (Schütz 1962, 278f.). Alles Handeln ist also nur möglich über Abstraktionen, die in der semantischen Struktur der Alltagssprache vorgegeben sind und eine kognitive Vergegenständlichung von Weltausschnitten und Handlungstableaus er-

möglichen. Auch ist nur über die abstrakten Typisierungsgehalte des Hintergrundwissensbestandes, die in ihren Grunddimensionen von der Alltagssprache transportiert werden, die wechselseitige Verständigung zwischen den an einem gemeinsamen Handlungsschema beteiligten Akteuren herstellbar (Schütz 1962, 218–222, 273, 275f.). Zugleich können die abstrakten Typisierungsgehalte aber nur dann aktiviert werden, wenn sich die Interaktionspartner die Austauschbarkeit der Interaktionsstandpunkte und die Irrelevanz biographischer Erfahrungsunterschiede bei der Orientierung an den Allgemeintypisierungen des Alltagswissensbestandes wechselseitig unterstellen. Solche projizierenden ‚Idealisierungsgrundlagen‘ der Alltagsrealität und der Reziprozitätsherstellung, auf die ja schon Mead und Durkheim immer wieder hingewiesen hatten, sind von Schütz ([1962] 1971, 10–13) und später von Garfinkel (1963; 1973; vgl. auch Schütze 1980) eingehend untersucht worden.

Dem impliziten Allgemeinheitscharakter des Alltagswissensbestandes entspricht die natürliche Einstellung der Gesellschaftsmitglieder in ihrem Leben in der Alltagswelt. Die Akteure nehmen an, dass die soziale Welt, in der sie sich bewegen, auch in Zukunft so sein wird. Solange keine Störungen des Interaktions- und Handlungsablaufs auftreten, verzichten sie also auf Zweifel; sie vollziehen die Iterierungsidealisierung, die nur auf der Grundlage der Typisierung und Klassifikation vergleichbarer Anlässe und Ereignisse und ihrer Systematisierung zu alltäglichen Erwartungsfahrplänen praktikabel ist (Schütz 1962, 224f.). Die Typisierungen und Klassifikationen sind ihrerseits ohne die semantische Struktur der Alltagssprache undenkbar. (Später hat der Ethnomethodologe Garfinkel noch weitere Idealisierungen herausgearbeitet, die für die Aufrechterhaltung der natürlichen Einstellung des Alltagshandelns konstitutiv sind, so z.B. die Unterstellung der Übereinstimmung zwischen der sprachlichen Typisierung und dem durch sie erfassten Gegenstand bzw. Ausschnitt der sozialen Realität oder die Unterstellung des Hintergrundwissensbestandes und seiner Typisierungen als „bekannt in Gemeinsamkeit mit anderen“ – vgl. Garfinkel 1973, 191–194). – In die semantische Struktur der Alltagssprache sind zudem nicht nur deskriptive Hintergrundwissensbestände der Mitglieder einer Gesellschaft, sondern auch die Relevanz-

bzw. Interessenstrukturen der elementaren Handlungspraxis dieser Gesellschaft eingelassen (Schütz 1972, 283–286).

Schütz hat aber nicht nur die Grundlagen für eine Theorie des Alltagswissensbestandes und seiner sprachlichen Manifestationen gelegt. Darüber hinaus hat er mit seinen Überlegungen zu den ‚geschlossenen Sinnbereichen‘ (‚finite provinces of meaning‘) ein theoretisches Erklärungsmodell für gesellschaftliche Prozesse der symbolischen Transzendierung des faktischen Zustands von natürlicher und sozialer Alltagsrealität gelegt (Schütz 1962, 207–259, 287–356). Diese Symbolisierungsaktivitäten betreffen außeralltägliche Erfahrungen und Erkenntnisse wie die des Tagtraums, der musikalischen Produktion, der Wissenschaft und jeder Form von professioneller Sinnwelt, in deren Bezugsrahmen die Fallmanifestationen von Klienten in systematischer Weise reinterpretiert werden. Schütz weist darauf hin, dass jeder dieser geschlossenen Sinnbezirke einen besonderen kognitiven Stil (Schütz 1962, 230f.) aufweist, der durch spezielle erkenntnisgenerierende Verfahren enaktiert wird. Dem entsprechen einschlägige Relationierungsprinzipien (Schütz 1962, 303ff.) und sprachliche Prozeduren, welche es einerseits den Akteuren ermöglichen, sich aus dem Hier und Jetzt der Existenzwelt in den Vorstellungsbereich der höhersymbolischen Sinnwelt imaginär zu versetzen bzw. sich partiell in der eigenen Orientierung auf diese zu beziehen, und welche andererseits das Mittel der Applikation der dort gewonnenen Erkenntnisse auf das Hier und Jetzt des existenzweltlichen Interaktionsprozesses sind (vgl. Schütze 1987a).

Weitere Entwicklungen des grundlagentheoretischen Denkens zu Sprache und Sprechen in der Soziologie können hier nur noch stichwortartig aufgelistet werden. Folgende Erscheinungen der sozialen Realität wurden bearbeitet:

(a) Dokumentarische Methode der Interpretation. In der *Ethnomethodologie* (Bergmann 2000; Patzelt 1987) und von den *Colorado-Soziologen* sind der Andeutungscharakter der sprachlichen Kommunikation und der auf ihnen aufbauenden Handlungsabläufe sowie die Interaktionspraktiken der Akteure, aus den Andeutungen Gesamtheiten von Ordnungsstrukturen interpretativ herzustellen, unter dem Gesamtkonzept der ‚dokumentarischen‘ Methode der Interpretation (vgl. Mannheim 1964, 103ff. und Bohnsack 1997a; Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann/Nohl 2001; Bohnsack/Nohl 2001) genauer untersucht worden. Hierbei hat die Untersuchung der Vagheit

der Kommunikation, ihrer Situationsoffenheit und Emergenz und der darauf bezogenen rückgreifenden und vorgreifenden Interpretation eine besondere Beachtung gefunden. Es sollte rekonstruiert werden, wie die Gesellschaftsmitglieder aus in der kommunikativen Interaktion sequenziell produzierten und wahrgenommenen Andeutungsbezügen nach und nach das zugrundeliegende Muster einer durchlaufenden gemeinsamen Sinngestalt herausarbeiten und wechselseitig ratifizieren (vgl. Garfinkel 1973; 1967, 262–283; Sacks 1966; 1972; Cicourel 1975, 13–68; Rose 1962; Kjolseth 1972; McHugh et al. 1974; Schütze 1980; Eberle 1984). Zudem kam es auch darauf an, dem alles bestimmenden ‚unheilbaren‘ Umstand systematisch Rechnung zu tragen, dass solche Orientierungsmuster und Aktivitätszusammenhänge in der kommunikativen Interaktion Schritt für Schritt lokal hergestellt werden (vgl. Lynch 1984; Lynch/Livingston/Garfinkel 1985).

(b) Sequenzielle Organisation der Interaktion. Schließlich war es dann nur folgerichtig, dass in der *ethnomethodologischen Konversationsanalyse* (Bergmann 1981; 1995; 2000; Deppermann 1999, 2000; Eberle 1997; Psathas 1984; Schenkein 1978) begonnen wurde, die sequenzielle Organisation sprachlicher Interaktionsabläufe systematisch empirisch auf der Grundlage von Audio-Transkriptionen und Videomaterialien zu untersuchen. Es mussten sowohl ganz grundlegende Mechanismen wie die des Sprecherwechsels (vgl. Sacks/Schegloff/Jefferson in Schenkein 1978, 7–55; Lenz 1988; Mühlemann/Foppa 1989; Schneider 1997) und die der Beendigung von Gesprächen (vgl. Schegloff/Sacks 1973) in ihrer tendenziellen Ubiquität als auch lebensbereichsbesondere Interaktionsmodalitäten und kommunikative Gattungen (vgl. neuerdings Knoblauch/Luckmann 2000; zu z.B. ‚Klatsch‘ Bergmann 1986; 1987; Niehuser 1995; Streeck 1994) im Rahmen des Kommunikationshaushalts einer Gesellschaft (vgl. Luckmann 1985) untersucht werden.

(c) Organisatorische Prozessierung: Text und Diskurs. In der *Ethnomethodologie*, in der *kognitiven Soziologie* im Stile von Cicourel und im *Symbolischen Interaktionismus* (Wagner 1999) war schon lange die professionellenseitige Prozessierung von Betroffenen durch Verfahrensinteraktionen in Organisationen (vgl. Goffman 1972; Bergmann 1980; Bohnsack 1983; Gück/Matt/Weingarten 1984; Koerfer 1994; Ludwig-Mayerhofer 1997; Nolda 2000; Schütze 1978a) und die Steuerung solcher Verfahrensinteraktionen durch die in der Organisation von den Professionellen produzierten schriftlichen Aktenstücke untersucht worden (vgl. Garfinkel 1967, 167–207; Cicourel 1968; Müller/Müller 1984; Wolff 2000). Es wurde z.B. herausgearbeitet, dass die Aufhäufung und Aneinanderreihung der Aktenstiftstücke nach und nach ein Eigenleben gewinnen und dass so die Akte der gelebten Biographie des Betroffen-

nen als zweite, heteronome Realität gegenübertritt. Zudem wurde erforscht, wie der aktuelle Kommunikationsablauf dadurch beeinträchtigt ist, dass der professionelle Akteur im Anschluss an die Aktualkommunikation (z. B. eine Prüfung, eine Anamnese, eine Drogenberatungssitzung, eine Ermahnung durch den Bewährungshelfer) als Ergebnis ein Aktenstück über den Kommunikationsablauf mit ‚justizfester‘ Festschreibung abgelaufener Aktivitäten (Protokoll), mit Trend einschätzungen und/oder mit prognostischen und/oder ätiologischen Urteilen formulieren muss, auf welches die Organisation oder die nachbearbeitenden Instanzen im Rahmen ihrer Kontrollpraktiken jederzeit zurückgreifen können. Im weiteren Diskussionsverlauf hat Cicourel (1975a) die Beziehung zwischen Verfahrensinteraktionen und den mit diesen verbundenen schriftlichen Dokumenten zur Wechselbeziehung zwischen ‚Diskurs‘, d. h. der aktuellen Kommunikation (z. B. einer medizinischen Untersuchung) und ‚Text‘ abstrahiert, d. h. den mündlichen und schriftlichen Berichten, die aus der aktuellen Diskurskommunikation als Ergebnisse zu Tage befördert worden sind und die die nächsten Diskurskommunikationen als Wissensplattform im Verfahrensablauf entscheidend mitbeeinflussen. Die Untersuchung der Wechselbeziehung von Text und Diskurs ist für das Verständnis aller Abstraktionsprozesse in komplexen Gesellschaften und der diesen zugrundeliegenden professionellen und bürokratischen Aktivitäten der Prozessierung von Betroffenen von entscheidender Bedeutung.

(d) Biographische Identität und Rahmen der Interaktion. Im *Symbolischen Interaktionismus* ist ethnographisch und auch grundlagentheoretisch die Entfaltung, Bewahrung, Veränderung und Präsentation der Ich-Identität in außerorganisatorischer und organisatorischer Interaktion analysiert worden (vgl. Goffman 1961; 1971; 1972; 1974; 1986; Fink/Kammerl 2001; Gebhardt, J. 2001; Kamps 2000; Krappmann 1993; 1997; Riemann 1987). Sodann wandte sich das Interesse der ethnographischen Erforschung der situierten Aushandlung von interaktiven Handlungsmustern und der ihnen jeweils entsprechenden Arbeitssequenzierung und Arbeitsteilung zu (vgl. Strauss et al. ([1964] 1981); Strauss 1978; Strauss et al. 1985; Becker 1982; Meyer 1997). Schließlich sind komplexe Modalisierungen von Interaktionsabläufen – wie etwa in strategischen Interaktionsprozessen (vgl. etwa Goffman 1970; Schütze 1978a; Holzinger 2001; Wolff/Müller 1995) – sowie unterschiedliche Bewusstseinskontexte (vgl. Glaser/Strauss ([1965] 1974) und Interpretationsrahmen von Interaktionsabläufen (vgl. bes. Goffman 1996; auch Gebhardt, J. 2001; Willems 1997) grundlagentheoretisch untersucht worden.

(e) Herrschaftsstrukturierte bzw. -verzerrte Interaktionsabläufe. In der *frühen Ethnomethodolo-*

gie, im *Symbolischen Interaktionismus*, bei Habermas und in der *Habermas-Nachfolge* sind herrschaftsstrukturierte und herrschaftsverzerrte Interaktionsabläufe sowie die Bedingungen des herrschaftsfreien Diskurses im Sinne einer idealen Sprechsituation untersucht worden, letzteres z. T. unter Rückgriff auf die Meadsche Theorie der Perspektivenübernahme und auf sprechakttheoretische Überlegungen (vgl. Habermas 1971; 1973a; 1976; Schütze 1975, Kap. 9/10). Bei der Analyse herrschaftsverzerrter Interaktion haben z. T. psychoanalytische Modelle der Störungen des Symbolisierungsvorgangs und die Beziehungsfallen-Theorie der Schizophrenie-Forschung Pate gestanden (vgl. Lorenzer 1979; Lorenzer et al. 1971; Habermas 1968, Kap. 10–12; Watzlawick/Beavin/Jackson 1969, Kap. 3, 5). Die empirischen Untersuchungen von Interaktionsabläufen in Organisationen der sozialen Kontrolle (z. B. Strafgerichten, Drogenberatungsstellen, vgl. Ludwig-Mayerhofer 1997) sind von der grundlegenden Vorstellung ausgegangen, dass die Professionellen als mächtige Verfahrenswalter die kommunikativen Kapazitäten der Betroffenen systematisch einschränken, indem sie diese an der eigengesteuerten Entfaltung voll ausgebauter Kommunikationsmuster (z. B. des Erzählens) durch verfahrenstrategische Abkürzungs- und Störpraktiken hindern. Zudem entziehen sie sich den Reziprozitätsbedingungen solcher Kommunikationsmuster, indem sie zwar dem unterlegenen Interaktionsgegenüber Reziprozitätsverhalten abverlangen, aber selbst nicht bereit sind, die entsprechenden Interaktionsverpflichtungen (z. B. auch die, die *eigenen* argumentativen Entgegnungen zu begründen) zu erfüllen (vgl. Grundmann/Keller 1999; Schütze 1978a).

(f) Herrschaftsstrukturierende und -verändernde Wissens- und Symbolisierungssysteme, die sprachlich manifestiert und mitgesteuert sind. Erstaunlicherweise ist bis heute für die empirische Verwendung des *Marx'schen Ideologiekonzepts* trotz Mannheims Systematisierungsversuch (Mannheim 1964; [1931] 1959) keine praktikable empirisch-soziologische Forschungsstrategie entwickelt worden. Das mag einerseits mit dem Umstand zusammenhängen, dass das Ideologiekonzept einen totalisierenden und bewertenden Interpretationscharakter hat, dem schlecht mit empirischen Indikatoren beizukommen ist. Andererseits muss aber auch gesehen werden, dass in der soziologischen Theoretiktradition das Ideologie-Phänomen stets nur ‚uneigentlich‘ bzw. unempirisch aus dem jeweiligen gesellschaftlichen ‚Substrat‘ abgeleitet bzw. extrapoliert, also niemals in konkreten Erzeugungs- und Anwendungskontexten untersucht worden ist. Und dies ist wiederum darauf zurückzuführen, dass bis in die 1980er Jahre die soziologische Text- und Diskursanalyse unterentwickelt war. – Stattdessen sind aber schon seit längerem erfolgreiche Versuche unternommen worden, *Topoi* des Arbeiterbewusstseins wie ‚die da oben‘ in ihrer sozial-symbolischen Verortungsfunktion (vgl. Popitz et al. 1957, Abschn. V;

Negt 1968, Kap. III) oder auch orientierungs- und legitimationsuggestive *praktische Sozialtheorien* in ihrer Auswirkung auf die Reorganisation von gesellschaftlichen Bereichen (wie etwa das holländische sozialtheoretische Konzept der ‚Versäulung‘ als spiritus rector der Sozialhilfegesetzgebung von 1961, das den Kirchen im Sozialhilfebereich zu nie gekannter Autonomie bei gleichzeitiger staatlicher Subvention verhalf – vgl. Matthes 1964; s. auch Topitsch 1965, 17–26) empirisch zu erfassen. Auch soll hier auf die Arbeiten Bernsteins, des frühen Oevermann sowie ihrer Nachfolger zum restringierten ‚Sprachkode‘ hingewiesen werden, der zwar als entstehungsabhängig von der Unterschichtlage der betroffenen Kinder gedacht war, diese dann aber durch eine symbolische und kommunikative Überformung sekundär gleichsam zu ‚plombieren‘ schien (vgl. Bernstein 1971; 1973; Oevermann 1970; Auwärter 1982). Hier sind interessante Fragen gestellt worden; die Aporien der korrelativen Apartsetzung von Sprachstruktur und Gesellschaftsstruktur lassen sich freilich wie beim Ideologiebegriff nur durch die empirische Analyse natürlicher Interaktionssituationen beheben, in deren Textproduktionen und Rahmenbezügen erst die sozialstrukturellen Parameter ‚naturalistisch‘ empirisch nachweisbar werden (vgl. Schütze 1975, Kap. 7 u. Abschn. 11.4).

(g) Sprache und Identitätsentwicklung. Im *Symbolischen Interaktionismus* und in der *Oevermannschen „Objektiven Hermeneutik“* (vgl. Kap. 8) ist schließlich das Konstitutionsgeflecht der Sprachentwicklung, der Entfaltung von Interaktionsfähigkeiten (insbesondere der Perspektivenübernahme) und der Identitätsentwicklung in der Ontogenese des Kindes und Jugendlichen einer immer eingehenderen empirischen Analyse unterzogen worden (vgl. Denzin 1977; Geulen 1982; Döbert/Habermas/Nunner-Winkler 1977; Oevermann et al. 1976; Simm 1986; Hildenbrand 1983; Grundmann 1999; Honig/Lange/Leu 1999). Diese Forschungen gehen grundlagentheoretisch von Mead sowie Freud, Piaget und Kohlberg aus und konzentrieren sich auf die Entwicklungsbeiträge kindlicher Spielwelten und Kommunikationsspiele für die Ausgestaltung der Interaktionsfähigkeit (vgl. Denzin 1977, Kap. 8/9; Kirsch-Auwärter 1986) sowie auf die anfängliche Begrenzung und schrittweise Steigerung der Fähigkeiten zu moralischer Argumentation im Zuge der Identitätsentwicklung, insbesondere in der Kindheit und in der Adoleszenzkrise (vgl. Miller 1986; Döbert/Nunner-Winkler 1979; Bohnsack 1997; Breitenbach 1999; Breitenbach/Kausträter 1998). Im Hintergrund steht Habermas‘ Frage nach den Bedingungen der Entfaltung postkonventioneller Vernunft und Sittlichkeit in komplexen Gesellschaften, die durch Erodierung und Zerstörung konventioneller Moral- und Legitimationsmuster gekennzeichnet sind (vgl. Habermas 1973; vgl. auch Gabriel 1974).

6. Methodologische Implikationen der soziologischen Sprachbetrachtung und neue Weisen des forschungsstrategischen Zugangs zur sozialen Wirklichkeit in den 1970/80er Jahren

Grundlagentheoretische Sprachbetrachtungen im Stil Meads und Durkheims hatten nicht nur direkte Auswirkungen auf den Theoriebildungsprozess der Soziologie, sondern auch auf die Ausarbeitung von Strategien der empirischen Forschung – wenn auch mit vierzig- bis fünfzigjähriger Verspätung:

(a) Erstens erschien es erfolgversprechend, die grundlagentheoretisch festgestellten Ordnungsmechanismen der interaktiven Reziprozitätsherstellung (vgl. Bergmann 1981; Streeck 1983; Deppermann 1999; 2000), des Handlungsvollzugs (vgl. Kallmeyer/Schütze 1976; Kallmeyer 1979; Schütze 1978; Bausch 1994; Meyer 1997; Schneider 1997) sowie des kollektiven Wissenssystems (vgl. Rose 1962; Bohnsack 1986; Kallmeyer/Keim 1994) und der Identitätsstrukturen (vgl. Riemann 1987; Schütze 1981; 1984; Abels 1998; Kallmeyer/Keim 1995a; Kallmeyer/Keim/Nikitopoulos 1994; Schwitalla 1994) einer rigorosen empirischen Analyse zu unterziehen, die gerade dadurch möglich war, dass sich diese Ordnungsstrukturen sprachlich manifestieren. (Freilich setzte die Analyse von interaktiven Handlungsabläufen die neuen Techniken der elektronischen Aufzeichnung und Speicherung voraus, die erst seit den fünfziger Jahren mühelos zur Verfügung standen.)

(b) Zweitens musste man sich dann aber auch die Frage stellen, was die Grenzen der sprachlichen Repräsentation der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit sind (vgl. Schütze 1975, insbes. 913–934). Solche Grenzen sind dadurch gegeben, dass sprachliche Manifestationen egalitäre Aspekte des Interaktionsablaufs und der Gesellschaftsstruktur, insbesondere in modernen Gesellschaften, expliziter ausdrücken als herrschaftsstrukturierte, dass sprachliche Manifestationen dem Ökonomieprinzip und dem Euphemismusprinzip von Interaktionsabläufen und Darstellungen folgen, deshalb viele Aktivitäten, insbesondere routinehafte und traumatische, nur andeuten und rezipientenseitigen Deutungsanstrengungen mittels der

dokumentarischen Methode der Interpretation auf der Grundlage von Hintergrundwissensbeständen überlassen (vgl. Garfinkel 1967, 35–75; Schütze 1987; Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann/Nohl 2001); sowie dass der Strukturcharakter des sprachlichen Symbolsystems nicht nur zur Repräsentation versachlichter Ordnungen und Wissensbestände der Gesellschaft, sondern auch zur Versteinerung gegenstands- und funktionslos gewordener Regelungs- und Wissensselemente tendiert (vgl. Mauss 1964). Wenn man also den empirischen Zugang über sprachliche Manifestationen zur gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit behutsam und ohne in die Irre geführt zu werden nutzen wollte, war es erforderlich, für verschiedene Teilbereiche sprachlicher Produktion und Manifestation empirische Teiltheorien der Begrenzungen und Lücken der sprachlichen Repräsentation des jeweiligen Ausschnitts bzw. Aspekts der sozialen Realität im Gesellschaftsprozess zu entwickeln. – Für all diese ‚Daten‘- und ‚Methodentheorien‘ über die Ausdrucks- und Indikatorfunktion sprachlicher Manifestationen sozialer Realität gilt freilich das forschungslogische Prinzip der ‚pragmatischen Brechung‘: sprachliche Symbolisierungen und die durch sie gespeicherten Definitions- und Wissensfiguren können nur unter Ansehung ihres jeweiligen Erzeugungs- und Anwendungskontextes innerhalb der von ihnen repräsentierten sozialen Prozesse (z. B. Interaktion, Biographie, kollektive Auseinandersetzungen) als Indikatoren und Analysemittel Anwendung finden. Deshalb ist es forschungsstrategisch notwendig, die Elementarstrukturen solcher sozialen Prozesse empirisch-grundlagentheoretisch zu untersuchen.

(c) Schließlich lag es nahe, die Darstellungs- und Interpretationsressourcen des sprachlichen Kommunikationsapparates (etwa im Bereich systematisierter Sachverhaltsdarstellungen des Erzählens, des Beschreibens und des Argumentierens, aber auch im Bereich der fortlaufenden aktuellen Orientierung an den Interaktionsbeiträgen des Gegenübers) zu explizieren sowie für die eigene Datenerhebung und/oder Datenanalyse rekonstruktiv zu nutzen.

Hier lassen sich folgende forschungsstrategische Vorgehensweisen unterscheiden:

– Die ‚Begriffs-Explikation‘ von sprachlichen Kategorien des Alltagswissensbestandes (neuerdings z. B. Bausch 1994; Bohnsack 2001a; Haas/

Scheibelhofer 1998; Kelle/Kluge 1999; Kluge 1999; Nentwig-Gesemann 2001) und ihre Ausformung zu objektsprachlichen Typustheoremen; dieses Verfahren ist schon vor langer Zeit exemplarisch von Weber (1963, 150–163, 207–236) und Troelsch (1912, 362–382, 969–973, 980f.) zur Entfaltung der Typustheoreme ‚Kirche‘ und ‚Sekte‘ verwandt worden; es ist dann von Schütz (1962, 3–66) zur Methode der Konstruktion von wissenschaftlichen Typen (zweiten Grades) auf der Basis alltäglicher Typisierungen weiterentwickelt worden.

– die Komponentenanalyse der domänenspezifischen Terminologien und Ordnungsstrukturen (‚Elementarklassifikationen‘) in einer Gruppe oder Gesellschaft dieses Verfahren ist, wie schon ausgeführt, in Ansätzen von Durkheim und Mauss Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts entwickelt und dann in der späteren Ethnolinguistik (z. B. Frake 1973; Agar 1976) weiterentfaltet worden; es wird in der Soziologie heute zur Analyse von Terminologien abweichender Subgruppen (vgl. Agar 1973; Maeder 2002) und professioneller Arbeit (vgl. Eglin 1980) verwandt;

– die konversationsanalytische Nachzeichnung der sequenziellen Interaktionsorganisation der Akteure – dies bewerkstelligt im Wege der Ansehung der jeweiligen situations- und positionslokalen Hervorbringung der Aktivitäten; auf diese Weise können nicht nur Organisationsmechanismen des Kommunikationsablaufs wie Sprecherwechselsysteme, sondern auch die interaktive Hervorbringung und Interpretation von Interaktionsmustern untersucht werden (vgl. Schegloff/Sacks 1973; Turner 1976; Bergmann 1981; Streeck 1983; Kallmeyer/Schütze 1976; Haythornwaite/Wellman/Garton 2000; Kallmeyer 1994; Meyer 1997; Orth/Beck 1998; Schneider 1997);

– die sequenzanalytische Untersuchung der Textniederschläge von argumentativen Diskursen in Gruppendiskussionen (vgl. Mangold 1960; Bohnsack 1987; Behnke/Loos/Meuser 1998; Bohnsack 1989; 1998; Bohnsack et al. 1995, s. das Ende von Abschn. 3 des vorliegenden Artikels); im Wege der systematischen Rekonstruktion der Entfaltung einer Gruppendiskussion können kollektive Wissensbestände von Gruppen oder Gesamtgesellschaften erfasst werden; im ersteren Fall wird für den vom Forscher zu veranstaltenden Diskurs meist auf natürliche, in der untersuchten sozialen Welt bestehende Gruppenzusammenhänge zurückgegriffen, im zweiten Fall wird meist eine Diskussions-‚Gruppe‘ artifiziell unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Beteiligung der wichtigsten Sozialkategorien einer Gesellschaft zusammengestellt;

– die sequenzanalytische Untersuchung der Textniederschläge von Extempore-Erzählungen persönlicher Erlebnisse (vgl. Kap. 8); in den narrativen Texten kommt vermöge der Zugzwänge des Stegreiferzählens die Erfahrungsaufschichtung des Erzählers/Informanten z. T. direkt und z. T. indirekt, z. T. formuliert und z. T. symptomatisch

zum Ausdruck; diese Untersuchungsstrategie findet zunehmend in der Biographieforschung und bei der Erforschung kollektiv historischer Großereignisse Anwendung, sowie – die struktural-hermeneutische bzw. wissenssoziologisch-hermeneutische Rekonstruktion der Entfaltung der ‚objektiven‘ (d.h. gesellschaftlich versachlichten), z.T. auch latenten Gesamtbedeutung eines sozialen Prozesses (vgl. Kap. 8).

Das grundlagentheoretische Nachdenken über den Konstitutionsbeitrag von Sprache und Sprechen zum Gesellschaftsprozess hat so der soziologischen Forschung neuartige Mittel der naturalistischen Untersuchung der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit an die Hand gegeben, die es dem Forscher erlauben, das Allgemeine auch in Einzelfällen zu entdecken. In den 1970er und 1980er Jahren hat die empirische soziologische Forschung aus diesen Implikationen verschiedene forschungsstrategische Ansätze für empirische Forschung entwickelt, die es ihr erstmalig ermöglichten, mit Selbstbewusstsein aus dem Gefängnis der Beschränkungen auf vorkategorisierte, statistisch aggregierte Daten herauszutreten. Die empirische soziologische Forschung wandte sich im Laufe der 1980er Jahre qualitativen Methoden zu, die nun von positivistischen Methodologen nicht mehr umstandslos ‚weicher Interpretationen‘ und ‚nur ideographischer Singularaussagen‘ bezichtigt werden konnten. Es entstanden neue Sichtweisen der Gesellschaftsbetrachtung, die bisher in den Sozialwissenschaften noch nicht eingommen worden waren.

7. Weiterentwicklung methodologischer Implikationen soziologischer Sprachbetrachtung in den 1990er Jahren: Qualitative Sprachbetrachtung als Zugang zur sozialen Wirklichkeit

Die skizzierten neuen – in Anschluss an die sprachsoziologischen Überlegungen von Durkheim und Mead (sowie der Phänomenologie von Schütz) entwickelten – Sichtweisen der Gesellschaftsbetrachtung in der Soziologie, die allgemeine Regeln der Konstitution sozialer Realität aus der naturalistischen Betrachtung von Einzelfällen des Sprachgebrauchs ableiten wollen, haben seit Ende der 1980er Jahre umfangreiche Anwendung und Erweiterung erfahren. Diese Entwicklung ist dabei Teil eines generellen

Ausbaus qualitativ-interpretativ orientierter Ansätze in der soziologischen Forschung (vgl. Flick 1995; 2001; Hitzler 2002; Heinze 2001; kritisch Lüders/Reichert 1986). Diese qualitativ-intergrativ Neuorientierung folgt der seit den 1960er Jahren sich vollziehenden Hinwendung zur Betrachtung von Sprache und Sprechen als Schlüssel zu gesellschaftlichen Phänomenen, die als ‚linguistic turn‘ einen Paradigmenwechsel in der soziologischen Forschung vollzog (vgl. Rorty 1967; dazu Knoblauch 2000, 46). In den 1990er Jahren wurden nun, immer noch aufbauend auf die Überlegungen von Durkheim, Mead und Schütz (nur teilweise auch unter Einbeziehung der kommunikativ orientierten Ansätze von Habermas und Luhmann; vgl. dazu Hitzler 2002, 11) neue Theorie-Ansätze und Methoden zur Analyse der sprachlichen Erzeugungs-, Verinnerlichungs- und Versachlichungsmechanismen bei der Gesellschaftskonstruktion entwickelt.

Dabei wurden die wesentlichen Implikationen bisheriger sprachsoziologischer Gesellschaftsbetrachtung weitergeführt: die Ordnungsmechanismen interaktiver Reziprozitätsherstellung empirisch zu analysieren und dabei die Grenzen sprachlicher Wirklichkeitsrepräsentation sowie die Darstellungs- und Interpretationsressourcen der Akteure miteinzubeziehen. Im Fokus der Analysen stehen dabei einige der bereits zuvor von der Forschung als bedeutsam bzw. problematisch diskutierten Faktoren: kollektive Wissens- und Identitätsstrukturen in der sprachlichen Interaktion sowie sprachlich-kommunikative Routinen (z.B. in der Diskursanalyse), Extempore-Erzählungen (z.B. in der narrativen Biographieforschung) oder die Herstellung einer Gesamtbedeutung bei Kommunikationsvorgängen (in den hermeneutischen Ansätzen).

Neuerdings ist jedoch eine Erweiterung des sprachsoziologischen Paradigmas „(...) zur – im weiteren Sinne ethnographischen – Analyse von Alltags- und Sonderwelten und deren Kommunikationsstrukturen mit deutlich wissenssoziologischen Implikationen unübersehbar“ (Knoblauch et al. 2001, 75; vgl. Art. 121, 137, 139).

Grundlagentheoretisch bedeutet dies vor allem eine Abkehr von der Auffassung der „Sprache als eines quasi isoliert zu betrachtenden Gegenstandes“ und die Hinwendung zur Beobachtung der Verortung und Einbindung der Sprache in Handlungs- und Kom-

munikationsbeziehungen (Knoblauch 2000, 46). Sprache wird dann vor allem als Trägermedium von Sinn und kollektivem Wissen oder unter dem Gesichtspunkt allgemeinen sprachlichen oder nichtsprachlichen Handelns betrachtet (Knoblauch 2000, 50) und in den Kontext einer (an Schütz und Berger/Luckmann [1966] 2001 anschließenden) wissenssoziologischen Konzeption von Gesellschaftskonstitution eingeordnet (vgl. Maaßen 1999).

Die Grenzen der ‚klassischen‘ Sprachsoziologie werden so aufgehoben zugunsten allgemein kommunikations- und wissensorientierter Ansätze, was sich institutionell in der Umbenennung der ‚Sektion Sprachsoziologie‘ der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie (DGS) in ‚Sektion Wissenssoziologie‘ ausdrückt (vgl. Knoblauch et al. 2001; Knoblauch 2000).

Die in den 1990er Jahren entwickelten qualitativ-interpretativen Ansätze sprachsoziologischer Theoriebildung lassen sich nach ihrer Auffassung von der Art des gesellschaftskonstitutiven Beitrages von Sprache und Sprechen in zwei Paradigmen unterteilen (vgl. dazu auch Flick 2001): Erstens das strukturalistisch-objektivistische Paradigma, dessen Ansätze von einem hinter der Sprache liegenden ‚objektiven‘ Sinn als außersprachlich und gesellschaftlich versachlichter Struktur ausgehen, die es durch Analyse ‚durch die Textoberfläche hindurch‘ zu entschlüsseln gilt. Sprache stellt in diesem Verständnis eine Ebene der Abbildung oberhalb eines nichtsprachlichen gesellschaftskonstituierenden Sinngerüstes dar, das es mittels sprachanalytischer Verfahren freizulegen und zu verstehen gilt (Hitzler 2002, 23–25). Diese Sichtweise wird in den hermeneutischen Ansätzen der von Oevermann entwickelten objektiven Hermeneutik, in der Tiefenhermeneutik (vgl. König 1997), Geschichtenhermeneutik (Vonderach 1997) aber auch in relativierter Form in der wissenssoziologischen Hermeneutik vertreten (dazu Corsten 1995, 373; vgl. Hitzler/Honer 1997; Schröer 1994). Zweitens das konstruktivistische Paradigma, dessen Vertreter wie Durkheim und Mead in der Sprache das Instrument sehen, das gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeit nicht nur abbildet, sondern mittels dessen eine interaktive Ausformung sozialer Handlungen vorgenommen und letztlich Kollektivität gebildet wird (vgl. Kap. 4). Von Durkheim übernehmen die konstruk-

tivistischen Ansätze zudem die Ansicht, dass Sprache einen gesellschaftskonstitutiven Beitrag leistet als Mittel der Erzeugung, Versachlichung und Veränderung kollektiven Wissens und interaktiv konstruierter gesellschaftlicher Wirklichkeit (vgl. Kap. 3). Über Durkheim gehen die konstruktivistischen Ansätze der Sprachsoziologie insofern hinaus, dass sie durch Sprache konstituierte Wirklichkeit als ständig kommunikativ-interaktiv neu konstruiert betrachten (zu diesem Aspekt bei Durkheim und Mead vgl. Kap. 4).

Die konstruktivistischen Ansätze versuchen auf die gesellschaftlichen Konstitutionsmechanismen in und über Sprache zuzugreifen, wobei der Fokus der Analyse einerseits auf dem Zugang zu subjektiven Sichtweisen gesellschaftlicher Akteure gerichtet ist, so bei Ansätzen in der Tradition des symbolischen Interaktionismus, der wissenssoziologischen Hermeneutik und der Narrationsanalyse (speziell der narrativen Biographieforschung). Andererseits richten konstruktivistische Ansätze den Analysefokus auch auf die Beschreibung von Produktionsprozessen sozialer Interaktion, so z. B. ethnomethodologische und ethnographische Ansätze, die verschiedenen Ansätze der Diskursanalyse, die Gattungs-, Konversations- und Dokumentenanalyse und die sozialwissenschaftliche Hermeneutik (vgl. Flick 2001, bes. 56).

8. Methodologische und forschungsstrategische Umsetzung qualitativer Ansätze in der soziologischen Sprachbetrachtung der 1990er Jahre

Sowohl im strukturalistisch-hermeneutischen als auch im konstruktivistischen Paradigma haben sich mehrere Forschungsmethoden aus den grundlagentheoretischen Überlegungen der soziologischen Sprachbetrachtung herausgebildet. Im Anschluss sollen drei sprachorientierte Forschungsmethoden vorgestellt werden, die aktuell in der soziologischen Forschung stark vertreten sind bzw. gerade ausgebaut werden und so die aktuelle und zukünftige Stellung der Sprache in der soziologischen Forschung manifestieren. Da die Verfahrensweisen der einzelnen Methoden teils in speziellen Artikeln dieses Handbuchs behandelt werden, wird in diesem Überblick die Rolle der Spra-

che im jeweiligen Forschungsansatz in den Mittelpunkt gestellt.

Für das strukturalistisch-objektive Paradigma werden die Ansätze der objektiven und der wissenssoziologischen Hermeneutik dargestellt, für das konstruktivistische Paradigma wird für die prozessural orientierte Richtung die Diskursanalyse, für die subjektiv orientierte Richtung die Methode des narrativen Interviews vorgestellt.

1) Objektive und wissenssoziologische Hermeneutik: Die Ansätze der sozialwissenschaftlichen Hermeneutik stellen eine im deutschsprachigen Raum einflussreiche Weiterentwicklung der (Sprach-)Soziologie dar; Knoblauch konstatiert für die gesamte deutschsprachige qualitativ-soziologische Forschung einen ‚starken hermeneutischen Hang‘ (Knoblauch 2000b, 625). Ihr gemeinsamer ‚sprachsoziologischer Nenner‘ ist das Ziel, über sprachanalytisch-interpretative und rekonstruktive Methoden auf Sinngehalte hinter Texten zuzugreifen, die aus einer reinen Analyse der Textoberfläche nicht zu entdecken und zu entschlüsseln sind, und diesen Zugriff methodisch kontrolliert bzw. objektiv nachvollziehbar durchzuführen (Hitzler 2002, 23f.). Besondere Aufmerksamkeit gilt dabei der Rekonstruktion sozialer Alltagsregeln, deren Gebrauchsspuren sich nach den Annahmen der sozialwissenschaftlichen Hermeneutik in Texten niederschlagen (dazu Corsten 1995, 372f.).

Während die objektive Hermeneutik Oevermanns die textlich manifestierten Sinngehalte als vorsoziale, auch biologisch bedingte Strukturen betrachtet, sieht die wissenssoziologische Hermeneutik diese als interaktiv konstruiert, wenn auch sozial vorbedingt (Corsten 1995, 373).

Die wissenssoziologische Hermeneutik (vgl. Soeffner 1979; 1982; 1989; 1992; 1999; Hitzler/Honer 1997; Schröder 1994; Hitzler/Reichert/Schröder 1999;) schließt an die phänomenologisch-wissenssoziologischen Ansätze von Alfred Schütz und Thomas Luckmann an, die sich auf die interpretative Analyse und Rekonstruktion gesellschaftlicher Wissensordnungen konzentrieren.

Von der objektiven Hermeneutik unterscheidet sich die wissenssoziologische in der Einbeziehung der Selbstdeutungen von Akteuren, die als eingebunden in einen historischen Kontext und ein sprachlich repräsentiertes System sozialer Kategorien betrachtet werden (Corsten 1995, 373).

Die hauptsächlich in der deutschsprachigen Soziologie verbreitete objektive Hermeneutik (z. B. Gartz/Kraimer 1994; Reichertz 1986; 1988; 1997), die wesentlich um Ulrich Oevermann entwickelt wurde (vgl. Oevermann et al. 1976; 1979; 1983; Oevermann z. B. 1993; 1999; Reichertz 1997), versucht die ‚objektiven‘, latenten und unbewussten Sinnstrukturen zu rekonstruieren, die als im (sprachlichen) Handeln realisiert angenommen werden (Flick 2001, 54f.). Sprache wird dabei als ‚doppelt abgeleitet‘ betrachtet, einerseits durch soziale Strukturen, andererseits durch biologische Erzeugungsregeln (Hitzler 2002, 31).

In der (objektiven) Hermeneutik werden mehrstufige Analyseverfahren eingesetzt (vgl. Wernet 2000), die zunehmend auf außersprachliche Objekte angewandt werden, beispielsweise auf Bilder (vgl. z. B. Ackermann 1994; Bohnsack 2001; Burkard 2001; Hauptert 1994; Loer 1994; Müller-Doohm 1997; Wagner-Willi 2001). Methodische Voraussetzung ist in der Regel eine Versprachlichung der Dokumente, um sie texthermeneutischen Verfahren zugänglich zu machen.

2) Diskursanalytische Ansätze: Ein in den letzten Jahren verstärkt in der Soziologie diskutiertes Forschungsprogramm stellen die zahlreichen diskursanalytischen Ansätze dar (vgl. Art. 9 und z. B. die Beiträge in Keller et al. 2001; Bublitz et al. 1999; Fairclough 2001; Jäger 1999; Keller 1997; 1997a; Keller/Viehöfer 2002; Laclau/Mouffe 1995; Nullmeier 1997; Sarasin 1996; Van Dijk 1985; 1997a; 1997b; Wodak 1996), die gesellschaftskonstituierende Prozesse im ‚Diskurs‘ (vgl. Art. 71) anhand institutionalisiert-regelhafter, thematisch verknüpfter sprachlicher Einheiten oberhalb der Satz- und Einzeltextebene analysieren wollen.

Die verschiedenen theoretisch und methodologisch heterogenen Ansätze der soziologischen Diskursanalyse haben gemeinsam, dass sie wichtige gesellschaftsbildende und -strukturierende Kategorien (Identität, Familie, Geschlecht etc.) rekonstruieren wollen, die sie als sozial produziert, immer wieder diskursiv aktualisiert und mittels Sprache symbolisch objektiviert annehmen (vgl. Keller 1997).

Dazu werden dokumentierte natürliche Kommunikationsereignisse oder von den Forschern zusammengestellte Textkorpora auf typische, routinisierte und verallgemeinerbare Formen und Inhalte – wie Topiken

(Knoblauch 2000a; 2001; Radtke 1983; Quasthoff 1973) oder Gattungen (Knoblauch 2000; Knoblauch/Luckmann 2000; Günthner/Knoblauch 1994; 1996) – mittels eines breiten Spektrums empirischer Methoden durchsucht (vgl. dazu Keller 1997, 325) und analysiert, beispielsweise inhaltlich-interpretierend (vgl. Jäger 1999), qualitativ-rekonstruierend (vgl. Brand/Eder/Poferl 1997) oder mittels Kodierung (vgl. Jung 1994).

Die Diskursanalyse schließt so einerseits theoretisch an die phänomenologische Tradition von Schütz (vgl. Kap. 5) an, indem sie Diskurse als sprachliche Manifestation des Alltagswissens und damit symbolische Transzendierung der Alltagsrealität betrachtet. Andererseits greift sie die Implikationen aus der bisherigen grundlagentheoretischen Sprachbetrachtung in der Soziologie auf (vgl. Kap. 6), indem sie erstens empirische Analysen des (sprl.) Handlungsvollzuges mit neuen empirischen Techniken durchführt, zweitens die Grenzen der sprachlichen Wirklichkeitsrepräsentation durch Hinzuziehung von Hintergrundwissen bzw. Kontextbedingungen und Analyse von Routinen auslotet und drittens die Darstellungs- und Interpretationsressourcen der Akteure analysiert.

Auch in der Diskursanalyse werden zunehmend nichtsprachliche Phänomene behandelt, die sich als Diskurse z.B. in Objekten, Organisationen, Gebäuden usw. manifestieren (Keller 1997a, 126). Sprache fungiert dann primär als ‚Trägermedium‘ für außersprachliche Diskurse, das allerdings als Rohstoff für die empirische Analyse weiterhin unerlässlich ist, wie bei allen qualitativ-interpretativen Ansätzen der Soziologie: „Soziologie ist somit zwar keine Text-Wissenschaft im engeren Sinne, aber sie ist (...) gleichwohl *textbedürftige* Wissenschaft“ (Hitzler 2002, 5, Hervorhebung im Original; vgl. dagegen Soeffner 1982).

Die soziologische Diskursanalyse setzt sich so zunächst also vor allem theoretisch von der linguistischen Diskursanalyse ab (zu dieser vgl. Bluhm et al. 2000; Busse/Teubert 1994), ohne sich methodologisch völlig lösen zu können, auch wenn eine stärkere Abtrennung vom ‚*prison-house of language*‘ (Chalaby 1996; dazu auch Schwab-Trapp 2001) teilweise in der Soziologie gefordert wird.

3) *narratives Interview*: Ein bedeutender konstruktivistischer Ansatz der soziologischen Sprachbetrachtung, der bei den sub-

jektiven Sichtweisen der Akteure ansetzt, hat sich in den 1980er Jahren in der soziologischen Biographieforschung etabliert: das ‚*narrative Interview*‘ (Kallmeyer/Schütze 1976; 1977; Schütze 1976; 1977; 1982; 1983; 1984; 1987; 1991; 2001; dazu auch Bude 1985; Fischer-Rosenthal/Rosenthal 1997; Glinka 1998; exemplarische Studie Brosziewski 1994).

Die soziologische Biographieanalyse (vgl. Bohnsack/Marotzki 1998; Denzin 1989; Marotzki 2000; Fischer-Rosenthal 1995) betrachtet Sprache als wesentliches Medium für biographische Arbeit. Die soziologische Biographieanalyse will über die Analyse von Konstitution, Funktion, Sinn und Struktur biographischer Arbeit der Akteure das Verhältnis von Individuum und Gesellschaft beleuchten und auf prägende soziale Größen (Milieu, soziales Handeln o.ä.) zurückschließen (vgl. dazu z.B. Fischer-Rosenthal/Rosenthal 1997; Marotzki 2000).

Für die Analyse von Biographie als Produkt des ‚*Miteinander-sprechens*‘ (Fischer-Rosenthal/Rosenthal 1997, 134) wird folglich auf sprachorientierte Modelle zurückgegriffen (zur Überlegenheit gegenüber identitätsorientierten Ansätzen Fischer-Rosenthal 1995a), besonders auf das ‚*narrative Interview*‘.

Kern des narrativen Interviews ist eine (nicht durch den Interviewer unterbrochene) Stegreiferzählung einer Person, in der diese ihre Biographie zusammenhängend wiedergeben soll. Annahme des Ansatzes ist, dass in der Form der ‚*Erzählung*‘ (darin die Formen ‚*Beschreibung*‘ und ‚*Argumentieren*‘, vgl. Kallmeyer/Schütze 1977) die Lebensgeschichte in der Strukturierung wiedergegeben wird, wie sie der Erzähler erfahren hat (vgl. Schütze 1981; 1984; dazu Bohnsack 1999, 107).

Die Form der ‚*Stegreiferzählung*‘ soll erreichen, dass der Erzähler durch die sich einstellende Eigendynamik der Erzählung nicht mehr auf vorstrukturierte ‚*Regeln der Alltagserzählung*‘ (vgl. Kallmeyer/Schütze 1976; 1977) zurückgreifen kann und so narrative Formen verwendet, die spontan und nur durch die Zwänge des zu erzählenden Gegenstandes konstituiert werden (Bohnsack 1999, 108f.). So werden Wissensbestände freigesetzt, die dem Erzähler nicht bewusst selbstreflexiv zugänglich sind und nur durch die Interview-Analyse erschlossen werden können (vgl. Schütze 1987; Riemann 1987). Bei der Analyse des Interviews (dazu

z. B. Fischer-Rosenthal/Rosenthal 1997, 139–147) werden auf der sprachlichen Ebene formaler Aufbau und Struktur des Textes, auf der inhaltlichen Ebene formaler Aufbau und Struktur der berichteten biographischen Erfahrungen und die Prozessstrukturen der Lebenslauf- und Identitätsbildung (vgl. Schütze 1981) analysiert, vom konkreten Kontext abstrahiert und systematisch in Zusammenhang gesetzt. Letztlich sollen theoretische Modelle für Erzählergruppen (vgl. z. B. Riemann 1987 für psychisch Kranke) und ‚Elementarkategorien‘ (Schütze 1983, 288) der Biographiebildung isoliert werden (Bohnsack 1999, 107–112).

Die Weiterentwicklungen und die methodologisch-forschungsstrategische Umsetzung der grundlagentheoretischen Erkenntnisse soziologischer Sprachbetrachtung in qualitativ-interpretativen und rekonstruktiven Paradigma führen zu neuen Sichtweisen von und Zugangsmöglichkeiten zu sozialer Wirklichkeit. Ausgehend von empirischer natürlicher Sprachbetrachtung anhand von Einzelfällen wurden sprachanalytische Methoden zu sozialkonstituierenden Mechanismen und zuvor wenig erfassten Phänomenen wie Hintergrundwissen, Kontextbezügen und Gesamtbedeutung (sprachlicher) Interaktion, zudem von sprachlichen Routinen und über Einzeltexte hinausgehenden Kommunikationsseinheiten entwickelt.

Die qualitativen Methoden gilt es systematisch weiterzuentwickeln und ihr Verknüpfungspotenzial mit quantitativen Methoden zu erschließen (vgl. Kelle/Erzberger 1999), um Analyseergebnisse breiter abzusichern. Dies soll aber keine Rückkehr zu quantitativmethodologischem Positivismus darstellen, sondern vielmehr eine methodologische Erweiterung des qualitativen Paradigmas.

Die neueren interdisziplinären und methodenpluralistischen Ansätze erweitern die Perspektive ursprünglich hauptsächlich sprachfokussierten Ansätze über die Betrachtung von Sprache hinaus.

So zeigt sich ein genereller Trend zu ethnographischen Methoden (vgl. Agar 1989; 1993; Bergmann 2000; Denzin 1997; Depermann 1999; 2000; Neumann-Braun/Depermann 1998; Eberle 1997; Hirschauer/Amann 1997; Honer 1993; 2000; Lüders 2000; Patzelt 1987; Schütze 1994), wodurch sich die soziologischen Analysen für nicht-sprachliche Hintergrund- und Kontextinfor-

mationen öffnen (Flick 2001, 58). Ethnographische Ansätze betrachten (sprachliche) Interaktion im Verwendungszusammenhang und analysieren deren Organisationsregeln. Dabei zeigt sich eine verstärkte Behandlung nicht-sprachlicher Interaktion (Eberle 1997, 246). Die Ethnographen bedienen sich neben sprachanalytischen Verfahren auch der Methoden der Feldforschung (vgl. Art. 121; 137; 139 und Girtler 2001; Schütze 1994). Innerhalb der deutschsprachigen Soziologie sind einige aktuell ethnographisch arbeitende Forscher nicht-sprachlich orientiert (Hitzler 2002, 20; vgl. z. B. Honer 1993; Knoblauch 1991, Schnettler 1999), Hubert Knoblauch plädiert zudem für einen weiteren Ausbau des ethnographischen Paradigmas in der Soziologie (Knoblauch 2000b, 626). Ethnographisch angelegte Arbeiten sind in den letzten Jahren einige in der Soziologie (z. B. in Hitzler/Pfadenhauer 2000; 2001; Schröer 1999) oder auch der angrenzenden Soziolinguistik (z. B. Kallmeyer 1994) entstanden und werden dort mit verschiedenen Analysemethoden verknüpft; Bezüge ergeben sich auch zur phänomenologisch fundierten Lebensweltanalyse (Hitzler/Eberle 2000; Honer 1993; 1999; 2000; Luckmann 1990).

Darüber hinaus zeigt sich in den letzten Jahren ein Trend zur Deutung gesellschaftlicher Wirklichkeit unter kultureller bzw. kulturalistischer Perspektive (vgl. z. B. Knoblauch 1995), beispielsweise im Rahmen der ‚Cultural Studies‘ (Barker 2000; Hepp/Winter 1999; Hörning/Winter 1999; Winter 2000; kritisch Gebhardt, W. 2001), mit zahlreichen neuen Publikationen (z. B. Engelmann 1999; Göttlich/Winter 2000; Hepp 1999). Die Cultural Studies analysieren stark kontextbezogen sprachliche und nichtsprachliche kulturelle Phänomene und Praktiken, besonderes Augenmerk gilt dabei Machtstrukturen und Sinnkonstitution. Methodologisch zeichnen sich die Cultural Studies durch besondere Methodenoffenheit und -vielfalt aus (Winter 2000, 208–210).

Es wird sich zeigen, inwiefern sprachsoziologische Überlegungen auch im Rahmen einer kulturalistischen und ethnographischen Neuorientierung der Soziologie zu neuen Sichtweisen der Gesellschaftsbetrachtung beitragen können.

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83. Sociolinguistic Aspects of Cultural Anthropology Soziolinguistische Aspekte der Kulturanthropologie

1. Introductory remarks
2. Elements of a relationship between sociolinguistics and cultural anthropology
3. The Eastern tradition of sociolinguistics: its roots in ethnographic studies and national language politics
4. The Western tradition of cultural anthropology and its sociolinguistic implications
5. The impact of human genetic studies on disciplines of the humanities
6. Literature (selected)

1. Introductory remarks

When we consider the sociolinguistic implications of cultural anthropology, the focus is on language and its central role in human relations. Still some decades ago, sociolinguistics could be simply defined as the study of language in its relation to society. And yet, research efforts in recent years have demonstrated how intrinsically social and cultural aspects are interwoven in human relations, and how elementary language is in processes of sociocultural identification. Ever more insights into the complex network of sociocultural relations involving language have become available (see fig. 83.1 for human sign systems). Sociolinguistics as an ever more expanding field has, to an increasing degree, assumed interdisciplinary characteristics. Sociolinguists today engage in the investigation of the sociocultural embedding of language as much as anthropologists, ethnologists, semioticians, or scholars of ethnic studies do.

The central interests of the different fields become apparent in the application of specific methods and in a selective treatment of language-oriented issues. The range of selected subjects does not necessarily point at clear boundaries between the fields. According to a widely held view by westerners, cultural anthropology distinguishes itself from ethnology in that the anthropologist investigates an individual culture, while the ethnologist assesses findings from anthropological studies in a comparative view. In the eastern (Russian) tradition, anthropology (Russian *antropologiya*) is concerned with the study of racial features (corresponding to biological anthropology in the west) while ethnography (Russian *etnol-*

giya or *etnografiya*) focuses on the study of cultural issues.

The relationship between these adjacent fields of study is crucial for the research progress made in any one of them. The sociolinguist may profit from both anthropological and ethnological approaches, that is from the focus on any specific culture as well as from cross-cultural research. Examples of studies which offer valuable material and findings for interdisciplinary exploitation include two recent works, one American, the other Russian: J.H. Hill's and K.C. Hill's *Speaking Mexicano* (1986), written by anthropologists, presents elementary insights into the working of linguistic fusion processes (of Nahuatl with Spanish) and into how constantly interfering languages function in a community where cultural patterns belonging to two different worlds interact: the indigenous Indian tradition and the Christian dominated life-style of Spanish-speaking Mexican mestizos. The other study – the collective volume *Russkie – Etnosotsiologicheskie ocherki* (Russians – Ethnosociological sketches) edited by Ju.V. Arutiunian in 1992 – is a prime achievement in the empirical analysis of various aspects of Russians, their life-styles, sociocultural behavior and attitudes. This analysis is based on a wealth of anthropological, ethnographic and sociolinguistic data. Of particular interest for sociolinguists is the outline on settings of cultural and linguistic contacts of Russians in non-Russian environments and the analysis of different degrees of bilingualism among the Russian population.

2. Elements of a relationship between sociolinguistics and cultural anthropology

When trying to pay due credit to the complex nature of language and its intrinsic interwovenness with human affairs, one hardly finds any legitimization for a strict separation of fields such as sociolinguistics and cultural anthropology. There is much evidence to prove, on the one hand, the relevance of cultural issues for the explanation of sociolinguistic problems and to illustrate, on the other hand, the interference of social

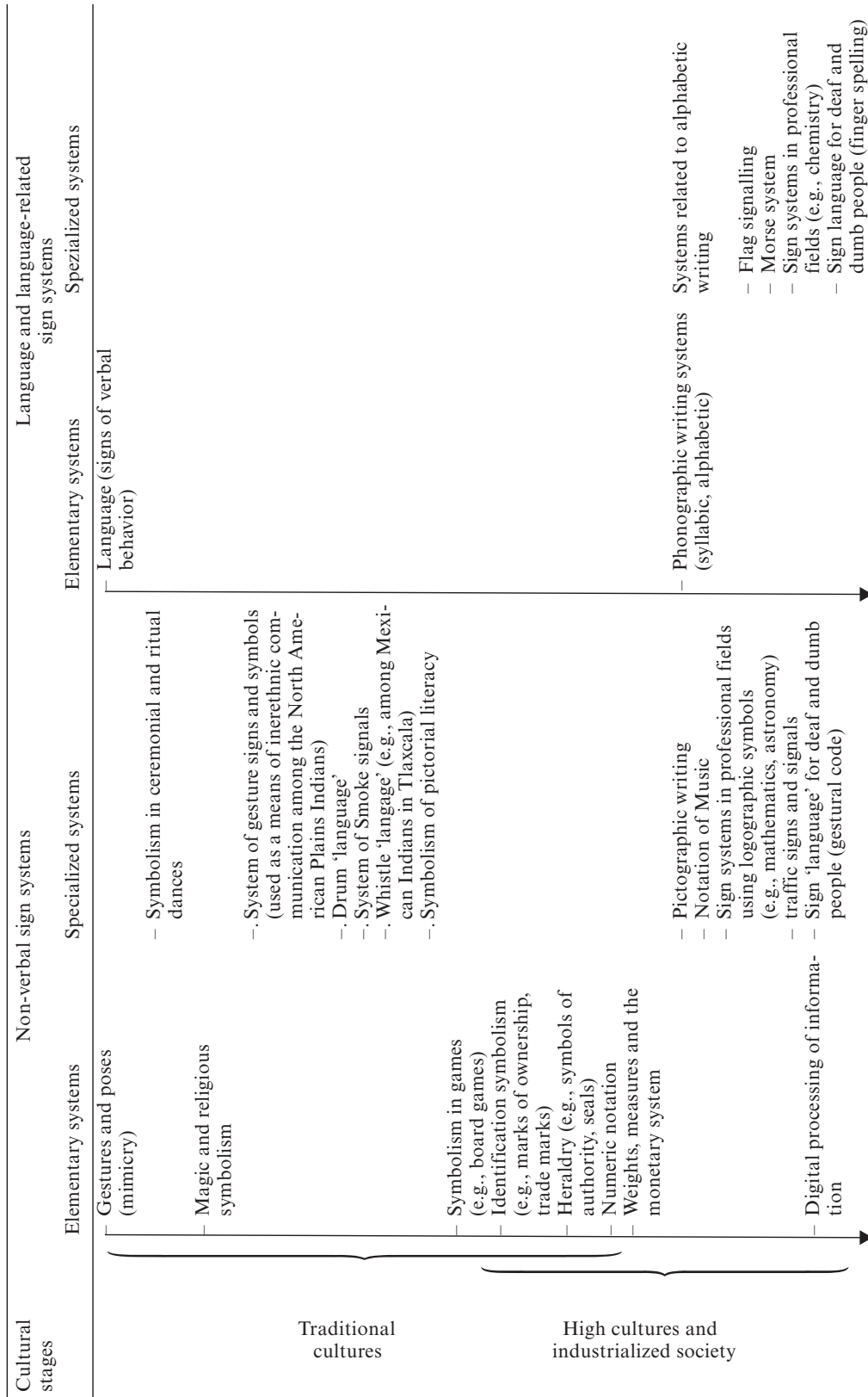


Figure 83.1: Sign systems in a sociocultural framework

factors in cultural activities. Arguably, for the purpose of a proper interdisciplinary assessment of the elementary role of language it is more substantial to highlight the interrelations and convergences of adjacent fields of study (i.e. of sociolinguistics and cultural anthropology) rather than to delimit oneself to a consideration of certain methodological aspects of one discipline from the perspective of another.

2.1. Conceptual and terminological convergences

Regarding the names given to the fields of study in question, there is no direct association connecting *sociolinguistics* with *cultural anthropology*. And yet, the close interconnection between these fields is brought into focus by certain features of their infrastructure. Sociolinguists as well as anthropologists investigate the role of language in the community of their speakers. Although such investigation is carried out from different perspectives and using different methods, scholars of both fields operate with elements of a common terminology. Examples of this are key terms such as *speech community*, *bilingualism* or *identity*, functional categories such as *diglossia*, *official status* or *linguistic minority*, or a conceptual duality such as *standard language* versus *dialects*. Arguably, among all the key terms in the common terminology, *culture* is the most difficult to assess. Up until now, several hundred definitions have been offered by scholars of different fields. It is obvious that *culture* is “one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language” (Williams 1981, 87). *Culture* is a well-established item in sociolinguistic and cultural-anthropological terminology, as are the many derivations and compositions including the element *culture*. Among the derivations are the common adjective *cultural*, and terms with specific meaning such as *sociocultural*, *ethnocultural*, *acculturation*, etc. Examples of compound expressions which feature in the common terminology are *culture-oriented*, *culture theory*, etc. The complexity of the term *culture* results from its relational character. This means, it can be defined only in relation to something else (i.e. to community, to social activities, to processes of identity, to language as its instrument, etc.). Furthermore, *culture* is not a solid, indivisible concept, but rather a conceptual conglomerate with multiple features.

The totality of what is culture exists as a stratified manifestation (i.e. elite culture, official culture, urban culture, subculture, popular culture, etc.). About a hundred years ago, high culture was the only variety that was recognized by the learned elite, and it was the measure of values of a civilized life-style. Popular culture, instead, was not considered a serious object of scholarly study. Anthropology started out to study ‘primitive’ cultures with all the prejudicial values about deficiencies of development (see 4.). While, in the English-speaking world, the concept *culture* has assumed a wide and inclusive meaning (often being even synonymous with *civilization*), in the French-speaking world, there is a prominent difference in quality dividing concepts such as the ordinary *culture* and the prestigious *civilisation* (as in *civilisation française* Bénéton 1975).

All our knowledge and the conceptual network that structures it reflect trends of contemporary worldview (Weizsäcker 1992). This is also true for our assessment of the nature of culture and its infrastructure. With the increase of anthropological findings and insights into the working of culture as a process, the evaluation of varieties of culture has gradually changed in the course of time. Today, we seemingly enjoy a greater freedom and balance when evaluating the stratified features of the culture concept. In these evaluations, too, the zeitgeist of our era is reflected. “Roughly speaking, official high culture is suspect, and mass-produced culture condemned as ersatz, if not irredeemably corrupt (though a certain camp pleasure in soap operas may be allowed), but popular culture is treated sympathetically” (Kuper 1999, 229). Most probably, the assessment of what culture is will change again in time and in accordance with the standards of the discipline in the humanities which is concerned with it. Culture may be understood as existing in its manifestations of subcultures. Seemingly radical, this view nevertheless is pragmatic since it allows a neutral approach without the burden of attributing values to individual cultural varieties. Traditionally, *subculture* is defined as a deviation from common or public cultural standards (Gelder/Thornton 1997). If, instead, *subculture* is understood as a subsystem of culture in terms of a collective item (macrosystem), then it refers to any organized gravitation of a given macroculture.

Viewed from such an angle, all cultural varieties may be assigned a place on an imagined continuum, from official high culture as a recognizable subsystem, to the most extravagant social grouping with distinguishing features (e.g. the subculture of drug dealing and consuming).

Subcultures – and the language varieties by which they distinguish themselves – have always been on the agenda of cultural studies and sociolinguistic research in the west, and this field of study has been continuously explored. In recent years, it can be observed that, in a number of speech communities, the language varieties of subcultures challenge standard language to a degree as to cause processes of destandardization or destabilization of previous standards. This is true for Italian or Spanish as much as for Polish or Albanian (see Mattheier/Radtke 1997 for a recent outline). Similar developments have taken place in Russia. However, before 1991, the conditions of sociolinguistic research there were fundamentally different from those in the West. In the East, we can observe dramatic changes in recent years. In the 1990s, the study of substandards has experienced a renaissance in the eastern (Russian) tradition of sociolinguistics and ethnography. Although various forms of slang and of young people's underground culture have always existed in society, their existence was tabooed by Soviet ideology and their scientific research was banished from the official canon. In recent years, a wealth of documentation has been published in which material illustrating lexical and grammatical variation of Russian is collected. And yet, the modernization process which the Russian language is experiencing still warrants thorough investigation (see Ryazanova-Clarke/Wade 1999 for an assessment of the current situation). One may expect valuable insights both for sociolinguistics and cultural anthropology from ongoing research efforts on the variational process of language change in which Russian and its varieties are involved. It is widely acknowledged that the elementary factors *language* and *culture* exist in a state of symbiotic interaction and that cultural identity is closely (even if not exclusively) linked with language as a major identifier of human activities (Haarmann 1986). Terminologically, these key concepts are harmoniously associated in a special field of sociolinguistic

study, namely in the discourse about norms in Russian sociolinguistics. The norm debate received essential impulses from Coseriu's (1958) study on the linguistic hierarchy of system – norm – speech. Since the mid-1950s, Soviet sociolinguists engaged in the study of what was called *culture of speech* (Russian *kul'tura rechi*, German *Sprachkultur*). In the Soviet approach, norms were defined as the collectivity of linguistic means to satisfy societal needs. Such means (orthographic, lexical, grammatical, stylistic) have to be selected from the overall repertory of linguistic techniques offered by the language system. The norm discourse in Soviet sociolinguistics was more empirically oriented during the 1950s and 1960s, more theoretically oriented in the 1970s and stagnated during the 1980s. The 1990s have seen a revitalization of studies relating to the *culture of speech* (see Kretschmer 1999 for an historical outline).

2.2. Contrasting traditions of sociolinguistic studies and their background of cultural-anthropological reasoning

There is another intriguing element in the relationship between sociolinguistics and cultural anthropology, and this is the history of the disciplines in question. Sociolinguistics as a well-defined field of study evolved rather late, later in any case than cultural anthropology. In fact, sociolinguistics developed against the background of established disciplines such as linguistics, sociology and anthropology. And it is from the perspective of the development of their historical boundary marking that the relationships between the individual disciplines can be most favorably emphasized. During the course of the 20th century, the linkage of sociolinguistics with adjacent fields of study involving language has evolved into two fairly divergent scholarly traditions. Using generalizing, although convenient labels, one may be termed the *western* tradition, which is Anglo-American dominated, the other the *eastern* tradition, which is Russian-dominated. Of these two, the eastern tradition has a longer history although, in a world-wide perspective, the western tradition has had a more decisive impact on most local developments of sociolinguistic studies in other parts of the world. There are still lingering traces of a simplistic view of sociolinguistics as having emerged in the USA

in the 1960s. This is true for the name chosen by the American branch of the discipline but not for the field of study itself. Sociolinguistic investigations had been carried out much earlier, in western Europe and in the Soviet Union although not under the heading of *sociolinguistics*. For understanding the historical development of the discipline and its interrelation with adjacent fields it is essential to distinguish between the label *sociolinguistics* and the content of this pertinent field of study. Since the two traditions emerged out of contrasting scientific backgrounds, their focus and selection of relevant problem areas have differed in time and methodology.

In America, sociolinguistics emerged as an offshoot of linguistics concentrating on subjects with sociological implications. In the East, sociolinguistics evolved out of a forum of cultural, ethnographic and ethnopolitical studies. In the west, sociolinguistics gradually expanded into the subject area of culture-related studies and eventually was connected with cultural anthropology. In the East, sociolinguistics developed into an independent discipline in a process of specialization on language-oriented subjects from a canon of ethnocultural studies. So, the direction of contacts between sociolinguistics and culture studies in the West differs significantly from that in the East. The so-called *western tradition* encompasses pertinent approaches to sociolinguistic studies in the Anglo-American world, including western Europe with its various local developments. Many, if not most of these local developments (e.g. in Germany, France, Italy) have been heavily influenced by the Anglo-American mainstream. So, one can readily subsume mainstream approaches and local developments in the west under the general heading of *western tradition*. The *eastern tradition* emerged in Russia, with its roots in the czarist era, its elaboration in the Soviet period and its continuation into modern Russia of the post-Soviet era. In the post-war period since 1945, the Russian mainstream tradition influenced local developments in eastern Europe. These local variants of the *eastern tradition* merged with western trends in the 1990s. Some decades ago, at a time when western sociolinguistics was in the stage of being organized as a field of scientific study, scholarly interest focused mainly on aspects of microanalysis, that is on problems of structural variation of lan-

guage. Then, the cultural embedding of language was thematicized as a simplistic relationship between language and culture, as if language and culture were independently existing objects of investigation. When Fishman (1970, 43ff) introduced the fundamental differentiation of microsociolinguistics versus macrosociolinguistics, he still had to legitimize the inclusion of the latter into the realm of sociolinguistic studies. This was true for Haugen's approach as well who outlined the ecology of language as an integral field of research (Haugen 1972). If we take this pertinent distinction between micro- and macrosociolinguistics, now generally acknowledged, as a parameter of methodology, then the western and eastern traditions went in opposite directions. The western tradition gradually evolved from a level of microlinguistic analysis into one where linguistic issues merged with a sociocultural and political agenda, with issues of cultural anthropology and of ethnic studies. In the eastern tradition, the level of macrosociolinguistics was explored from the very beginning as a reflection of political pressures to organize the multinational and multilingual population in the newly emerging Soviet Union. In the east, issues of microsociolinguistic concern were associated with the basic macrosociolinguistic issues that were addressed by Soviet language planning.

In the 1960s, the eastern tradition experienced a renaissance when elements of its theoretical foundation were adopted in the West, primarily as part of the political discourse in leftist academic circles. Strangely, the western discourse of eastern sociolinguistic views on language in society almost exclusively drew on Marxist theory rather than on pragmatic approaches made by Soviet language planning. Adopting eastern views in the west served the eclectic needs of theorizing about the role of language in society (along the lines of language as a distinctive marker of social class) rather than practical needs of analyzing language conflicts in the West (Marcellesi/Elmam 1987). Apparently, there was a side-effect to the Marxist discourse, and this was the interest in problems of minority languages which was stimulated. In France, the role of French as a language of the state was assessed from a Marxist viewpoint (Balibar/Laporte 1974), and the status of regional languages as media of school instruction against the pressure of French was discussed (Marcelle-

si 1975). Marxism was en vogue in cultural studies as well. In the late 1960s and early 1970s almost everybody in the field took an interest in Marxist theory. By the mid-1990s, a reversal of the trend can be observed, in a way “that almost nobody today active in the field of cultural studies identifies themselves with the theoretical framework of what was once Marxist cultural studies” (Sparks 1996, 96).

So far, the western and the eastern traditions of sociolinguistics have not yet experienced much of a balanced exchange of ideas or theoretical reasoning (Jachnow 1999a, 1164f). It is true that already during the Soviet era some American texts of major importance were translated into Russian and their contents evaluated by Soviet scholars (e.g. Shveitser 1971). Given the extreme ideological contrast between East and West, the reception of western ideas by Soviet science remained shrouded under the cover of ideological considerations. In the post-Soviet era, the reception of western ideas in Russia has continued while, in the West, the language barrier of Russian still functions as an impediment to exchange. The findings of eastern sociolinguistics have not been made accessible in a systematic way, e.g. by translating basic Russian works into English. The critical evaluation of Soviet ideas and findings has always remained dependent on individual scholars' initiative. Among such studies are Lewis (1972), Girke/Jachnow (1974), Haarmann (1978; 1986) and a few others (e.g. Fishman's and Alloni-Fainberg's review of Shveitser 1971). As yet no documentary collection of Russian sociolinguistic texts exists, nor any companion in English to Russian sociolinguistics and its history. In this contribution, I will try to shed some light on the emergence and development of the two traditions of sociolinguistics which have developed separately, each in a more or less self-contained way, have created specific priorities of linkage with cultural anthropology, have partly intermingled with this adjacent field eclectically, and are continuing as independent mainstream trends. Since the eastern tradition is not yet well known in the West, there is good reason for sketching major phases of its consolidation.

3. The eastern tradition of sociolinguistics: its roots in ethnographic studies and national language politics

The study of language in its relationship to society and as a vehicle of culture emerged out of a consciousness of linguistic diversity. From the 16th century onwards when Russia's military campaigns continuously expanded state boundaries – first into territory east and southeast of Moscow, then into Siberia, into the Caucasus region during the 18th century and into Central Asia in the 19th century – ever more ethnic groups of differing linguistic affiliation came under the sovereignty of the czarist empire. The foreign languages were soon understood by the Russians as the elementary markers of the diversified cultural heritage among non-Russians. From the viewpoint of the Russians, non-Russian languages were an element of seclusion of foreign people with whom Russians had to deal. Soon, the experience of linguistic diversity and cultural contrasts, of Russian Christians and Tatar Muslims or Siberian Samoyeds with their animistic beliefs, stimulated research interests in academic circles.

The tradition of Russian ethnography and the comparative study of languages reaches back as far as the early 18th century. First suggested as a project to Czar Peter the Great (ruled 1689 – 1725) by Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646 – 1716), the systematic collection of ethnographic materials started in the first half of the 18th century. After Russians had established themselves in Alaska (Grinev 1991), there was a vast array of cultures and languages in a territory stretching from Europe to America that was waiting for exploration. With the patronage of academic studies under Catherine the Great (ruled 1762 – 1796) linguistic diversity and the divergent cultural heritage in imperial Russia became more thoroughly investigated. It was during this period that Russian expeditions operated also outside Russia herself, and Russians participated in the exploration of the western Pacific and Polynesia (Vigasin/Karpiuk 1995). St. Petersburg, the seat of the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences was then the center of scientific research. During the Age of Enlightenment in Russia, the groundwork was laid for Oriental studies, and Russian re-

search interests focused on the study of Turkic languages and Muslim culture in the Volga region, in the Caucasus and, later, in Central Asia (Kononov 1972). Collecting and evaluating data from the various languages eventually resulted in the publication of a monumental comparative dictionary (edited by Peter Simon Pallas in 1786–89) and in a series of studies on the languages and cultures of the non-Russian peoples of the empire (Haarmann 1999). Contemporaneous with the expanding academic research activities were practical efforts to deal with linguistic diversity. The Russian Orthodox church organized a large-scale missionary movement to spread Christianity among the non-Russians. Although far from succeeding in mass conversions, Christianity gradually spread, particularly among Finno-Ugric peoples in the Volga region (i.e. among Mordvins, Maris and Udmurts). Among the Islamic communities, that is the Turkic peoples living in the Volga basin, only the Chuvashs showed themselves receptive to Christian faith and Russian culture while the Tatars have maintained their Islamic heritage up to the present. In the Caucasus region, Christianity remained confined to the old cultural centers of Armenia and Georgia. The missionary activities of the Russian church in the Volga region did not only affect the patterns of religious beliefs as such but the non-Russian languages as well. The oldest specimens of texts in the Finno-Ugric languages of the Volga region are translations of Russian religious texts and of parts of the Bible. Since the Russian Orthodox church was a state religion in czarist Russia and, thus, a governmental institution, the missionary movement was a state affair and a major factor in community life.

Against this institutional background, cultural and linguistic contrasts in Russia became a matter of political concern. The political impact of cultural and linguistic contrasts in Russia grew in magnitude in the course of the 19th century, with non-Russian communities coming under an increasing pressure of Russian as the tool of Russian nationalism. One hundred years after the large-scale collection of ethnographic data about the peoples of Russia under Catherine the Great, the relationship between Russians and non-Russians had developed into a major issue in an atmosphere of growing political tensions. Among several non-

Russian communities, an academic elite had emerged whose members engaged in activities of language cultivation with the aim of elaborating norms for a modern literary standard. Fieldwork in the domain of standard languages can be said to have started in this milieu of secondary national movements among the non-Russian population. An illustrative example of this is the elaboration of a standard language for Komi, a Finno-Ugric language in the northeastern part of Europe, for which the philologist G. Lytkin (1835 – 1906) has to be credited (Hajdú/Domokos 1987, 534). Russification was a tool of political control applied by the czarist administration, and the academic projects for cultivating and safeguarding the non-Russian languages can be readily understood as a counterreaction to Russian dominance. The political frictions between Russian as the language of the state and the many local non-Russian languages can hardly be overestimated (Haarmann 2000, 785ff). It is noteworthy that, in the final period of czarist rule, Russians did not make up even half of the population in the Russian empire. According to the first Russian census of 1897, only 44.3% of the population were Russians. Although constituting the largest of all nationalities, Russians were a minority in the state which they politically dominated. The sociocultural status of non-Russian languages in imperial Russia ranged from that of traditional vehicles of high culture such as Armenian, Georgian, German or Swedish, that of less used literary languages such as Tatar, Finnish, Polish, Ukrainian or Komi, and of the many smaller languages in the Caucasus and in Siberia which were confined to their role as home languages.

Another problem area of political concern which was characterized by contrasts in the interests of Russians and non-Russians was public education. Russia's nobility had always organized education for themselves. Catherine the Great was the first ruler to promote public education. Her heritage, however, was not honored by subsequent rulers, despite growing demands for a working literacy in the newly industrializing country. The demands for the organization of public education on a large scale were ultimately associated with the crucial question of which of the languages should be used for school instruction. In multilingual Russia, Russian was not the only candidate as a ve-

hicle for public education although it was favored by nationalists. Russian dominated in the center, that is in the major towns with a sizable Russian population although, during czarist times, it never gained ground as a state-wide language of instruction. On the periphery, there were other languages which either exclusively functioned as media of school education (e.g. Swedish and Finnish in the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland) or which competed successfully with Russian (e.g. German in the Baltic region and in St Petersburg). Alphabetization, the immediate result of primary education, failed as a state-wide project. Toward the end of the czarist era, literacy rates were high only in the big cities (particularly in St Petersburg and Moscow) and in peripheral regions with non-Russian population (i.e. in Finland and the Baltic area). Among the rural population literacy did not even reach an average of 10%.

The growing demands among the non-Russian population for the elaboration of their languages as written means, for the right to be educated in the mother tongue and for rights relating to cultural and political autonomy met with the fierce opposition of Russian nationalistic forces that supported Russification. This atmosphere of antagonistic national interests and social contrasts with no chances of reconciliation nourished the revolutionary movements of 1905 and 1917. It is not surprising that, from the beginning, the Bolshevik push for power placed the solution of the 'social' and 'national' questions on top of their political agenda. It is a misconception to believe that the problems of Russia's nationalities and of their national languages were exploited by Lenin to serve as a political weapon in the struggle against the bourgeois and aristocratic elite in Russia. These problems had gained in political momentum already before the Bolshevik coup d'état in 1917 and had been instrumentalized by activists in the anti-Russian national movements, especially among non-Russians in the European part of czarist Russia (Kappeler 1993, 233ff). In fact, the communist leadership of the newly established Soviet Union inherited the national language problem as a politicized pragmatic item on their agenda. All aspects of linguistic and cultural diversity in Soviet society were treated as political issues, and it is out of such a milieu of ideological over-forming that the Soviet traditions of eth-

nography and sociolinguistics were shaped. Soviet linguistics has always advocated language as "prezhde vsego sotsial'noe javlenie, kul'turno-istoricheskii fakt" [above all as a social phenomenon, a cultural-historical fact] (Berezin 1984, 275) and has identified itself as a *sotsiologicheskoe yazykoznanie* [sociological linguistics]. Soviet ethnography was a domain that covered not only ethnographic studies in the narrow sense, but also anthropological domains, which were either more biologically or culturally oriented. Ethnographers and sociolinguists had their share in the investigation of Soviet peoples' ethnogenesis.

Soviet language planning – with its history of some seven decades being the longest in modern Europe – drew on the experience of older ethnographic studies about the particularities of individual ethnic groups which became nationalities (Russian *natsional'nosti*) in the political terminology. Soviet language planning was a highly efficient instrument of political power. The activists (i.e. linguists, sociolinguists and ethnographers) were assigned pragmatic goals, and these goals focused in several major domains:

- (a) Alphabetization: the pragmatic choice of languages and scripts

The Soviet campaigns to eradicate illiteracy (Russian terminology used the term *likvidatsiya: liquidation*) succeeded in raising the level of literacy in the Soviet Union to that of countries in western Europe within one and a half decades. This historical project of alphabetization in the Soviet Union has been hailed as "the largest literacy campaign in history" only recently (World education report 2000, 33). By the end of the 1930s the average rate for literacy in the Soviet Union was 87.4% and, in the heartland of Russian population (i.e. in Russia), it reached almost 90%. Among the problems which warranted pragmatic solutions were the choice of the language and writing system in which literacy was supposed to be achieved (Isayev 1979). In the literacy campaigns Russian was always the major vehicle, and the Cyrillic alphabet the major script. However, until the early 1930s many non-Russian languages alongside Russian served as the driving force of literacy, and the Latin alphabet was widely applied. Toward the end of the 1920s projects aimed at a shift from the Cyrillic to the Latin script even for Rus-

sian, Ukrainian and Belorussian were seriously discussed. The progress of the literacy campaigns in the 1930s relied mainly on achieving skills of reading and writing Russian since the promotion of non-Russian languages for school instruction had come to a standstill. By the end of the 1930s, the writing system of most non-Russian languages had shifted to Cyrillic, making this script the most wide-spread among Soviet nationalities.

- (b) The elaboration of standard languages: the pragmatic selection of a dialectal basis

Intrinsically interwoven with the efforts to eradicate illiteracy was the monumental project of elaborating literary standards for non-Russian languages. For a number of languages, this meant the consolidation of literary varieties which had lacked standard norms (e.g. Mari, Mordvin, Udmurt). For others, especially smaller languages which had not been written before 1917, this meant the establishment of a new variety, a literary form (e.g. Permyak, languages of the Caucasus region, of northern Siberia). In each case the problem of the dialectal basis for the literary standard had to be solved. For several nationalities it was not possible to elaborate common standard languages. This was true for Mordvin and Mari. These languages were written in two variant standard varieties each (i.e. the Moksha versus Erzya literary standard for Mordvin, highland and lowland Mari). The selection of a proper dialectal basis for a standard language was governed by pragmatic considerations, and these were always subdued to ideological reasoning. This means that the choices which were made in favor of a certain dialect as the basis for a literary standard were not always just or appropriate, but rather judicial and politically motivated. For example, the efforts made to create an independent literary standard for Moldavian were mainly motivated by creating a cultural distance toward the Romanian language in neighboring 'bourgeois' Romania (see Haarmann 1978, 247ff for an assessment). The main distinctive markers of the Moldavian literary standard were the Cyrillic alphabet (as against the Latin script for Romanian) and stylistic features of specifically Soviet origin (Gabinskii 1980). Soviet language planning in Moldavia never succeeded in creating a major trend of cultural separatism among

the local population. Indeed, in 1989, the parliament of Moldavia decided to adopt the literary standards of the Romanian language in Romania for Moldavian. Politically motivated was the choice for distinct literary standards for each of the Turkic languages in Soviet Central Asia. Language reform in Turkey (with its shift from the Arabic alphabet to the Latin script in 1927 for Turkish) had been a model for language planners in Central Asia in the late 1929, and the adoption of the Turkish literary standard as used in Turkey for Turkic-speaking communities in Central Asia was discussed. However, within the framework of an increasing political centralism during Stalin's rule a decision was made to elaborate local varieties of written standards for Kazakh, Uzbek, Turkmen and Kirghiz, respectively. This was an obvious cultural-political measure along the lines of *divide et impera* and, at the same time, a measure of boundary-marking toward Turkey as a 'bourgeois' foreign country. Most of those languages which had an older literary tradition experienced measures of modernization (Desheriev 1973). This was true for European languages such as Ukrainian, Ossetian or Komi, and Asian languages such as Uzbek, Aseri or Tadjik. Language reform also affected the major linguistic instrument of Soviet ideology: Russian. Russian orthography was simplified (e.g. the 'hard sign' was abandoned).

- (c) The elaboration of functional styles for Soviet languages

Modernization was not only concerned with the linguistic structures of literary standards but also included the elaboration of different styles of the written language according to its functional diversity. Among the major functional styles which were considered relevant for the working of Soviet society were the ordinary literary language (as used in the printed mass media, in political pamphlets of wide distribution and in school instruction), the style used in literature (belles-lettres) and different styles in the professional fields (including scientific language). In a long-term project, language planners elaborated style-specific terminology and phraseology for the Soviet languages. Special attention was paid to the lexical structures of languages which were used in different domains of science. Scientific terminology had to be constantly mod-

ernized and enlarged, a process which continued well into the 1960s. In the last decades of the Soviet era, however, scientific terminology was modernized only in the major languages (i.e. Russian, Ukrainian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Georgian, Armenian) while earlier efforts to use even smaller languages in science were abandoned. As for the ordinary literary style that dominated language use in the mass media and in school instruction, Soviet ideology prescribed that this should not differ significantly from the common spoken language variety. The ordinary speech (Russian *prostaya rech' oder prostorechie*), which served as a basis of orientation for the common literary style, was cherished by ideology as an icon of unified language use shared by all members of the speech community. The existence of language varieties other than those mentioned above (e.g. army slang, GULAG talk, youngsters' Russian-English hybrid substandard) were tabooed by Soviet linguists, sociolinguists and anthropologists. In the 1990s, there has been a boom in Russian slang studies. The intensification of research activities in this domain has to be understood as a liberation of sociolinguistics and anthropology from former ideological constraints.

(d) The assignment of political status to Soviet languages

The acknowledgment of non-Russian Soviet nationalities as equal with the Russians – a corner-stone of Leninist national policies – was a sensitive element in the framework of national-societal order which had been devised for the Soviet population. When, in the 1920s, the Soviet territory was divided into administrative units, the question arose of which languages to choose as official means in the newly established non-Russian republics. In the early years, that is as long as Lenin's democratic principles of language politics were still practiced, non-Russian languages were assigned the status of official languages in the territories organized for their speakers. This meant that Ukrainian, Georgian, Armenian and other languages enjoyed official status in the Ukrainian S.S.R., Georgian S.S.R., Armenian S.S.R., etc. In official functions, Russian ranked second after the language of the respective titular (eponymous) nationality. In the course of growing centralism since the early 1930s, Russian practically came to dominate

official language use in the non-Russian territories, with local languages holding nominal ranks. The change in practice was not tabooed as such but rather disguised as an advance in the communicational strategies of Soviet society. As an argument in favor of linguistic centralism, Russian was advocated as the all-Union-language (Russian *vsesoyuznyi yazyk*). In ideological terminology, Russian was not assigned the status of a *language of the state* (Russian *gosudarstvennyi yazyk*) although this was its factual status. This status was finally acknowledged in 1990, shortly before the Soviet system collapsed.

(e) Optimizing trends in language and culture contacts

Soviet ethnographers continued the tradition inherited from Russian ethnography in imperial Russia, namely studying cultures and languages not in isolation from each other but highlighting their areal interaction and mutual influences. Of great interest to Soviet researchers was the study of how Russian as a language of wider communication worked in different regions among people with different mother tongues and how it affected social life among the non-Russian population. During the times when non-Russian languages were introduced, together with Russian, as media of instruction in school education, the functional balance between the latter and the former was a matter of great concern. Later, when Russian was given priority in school education, Soviet ideology drew on the prestigious image of Russian that had been constructed in the era of nationalism in the 19th century, in order to legitimize its predominance. By reviving the older Pushkinian tradition, Russian was cherished as a *prominent language* (Russian *velikii yazyk*). In Soviet society every aspect of public life was a potential target of planning. Such was the case with biculturalism and bilingualism as well. The history of planning in this domain, from the early projects of bilingual school education in the 1920s to the promotion of second language skills of Russian among non-Russians in the 1980s, offers valuable insights into the potential of society planning on the one hand, and into its limitations on the other. Of particular interest was the project of *national-Russian bilingualism* (Russian *natsional'no-russkoe dvuyazychie*) with its sociocultural and

highly political implications (Desheriev 1976). Since this pattern of bilingualism involved almost 70 million speakers, it was of a magnitude unknown in other parts of Europe. The element *national* stood for any of the non-Russian languages with its status as a first language (or mother tongue), while the attribute *Russian* pointed at the second language component of the bilingual pattern. National-Russian bilingualism was strongly advocated by planners in the 1970s, and much effort was made to raise the level of second language skills in Russian in all parts of the Soviet Union. In theory, national-Russian bilingualism promoted language skills equally in the mother tongue and in Russian. In practice, however, priority lay in the promotion of Russian as the all-Union-language. As a consequence of the covertly favored unbalance in the promotion of language skills a shift in language status occurred. There was a growing tendency toward assimilation which meant the abandonment of the non-Russian mother tongue and the shift toward Russian as the only means of communication among non-Russians. This tendency toward shift perfectly fitted into the political scheme of Soviet language planning with its ultimate goal of unifying communication on the basis of Russian. Among ideologists, assimilation to Russian was not evaluated as negative and the loss of the non-Russian mother tongue was not acknowledged as a deficiency. Instead, the shift to Russian among non-Russians was disguised as a shift to the *second mother tongue* (Russian *vtoroj rodnoi yazyk*). Since the Russian term *rodnoi* literally means *kin* and *rodnoi yazyk* means *kin language*, the terminology can be understood as emphasizing the unifying aspect of Soviet socialist society in which all Soviet citizens (Russians and non-Russians) were supposed to be akin. Variants of national-Russian bilingualism still persist in the regions of the Russian Federation with non-Russian population, e.g. in Tatarstan, Mari-El', Khalm-Tangsh (formerly Kalmyk A.S.S.R.), Sakha (formerly Yakut A.S.S.R.). After the lifting of the former ideological cover of the Soviet era, settings of minority languages struggling against the dominance of Russian have been exposed. For many smaller speech communities such as the Permyaks in eastern Europe, the Mansi and Khanty in western Siberia and others it will be difficult to find a balance, in their bilingualism, with

Russian as the second, and dominating component (Funk/Sillanpää 1999). In the former non-Russian Soviet republics which achieved independence in 1991 (e.g. in the Baltic states, Ukraine, Georgia), a flip-flop change occurred. With some regional exceptions (Belarus, the autonomous region of Crimea in the Ukraine), national-Russian bilingualism has been abandoned, having been replaced by national monolingualism (e.g. former Estonian-Russian bilingualism > actual Estonian monolingualism). The eastern tradition has produced a wealth of documentary material and of scholarly literature not only with respect to language and culture contacts within Russia (and the Soviet Union, respectively), but also regarding pertinent settings throughout the world. The political interest which the Soviet Union took in affairs of Third World countries served as an incentive for ethnographers and sociolinguists to study the languages and cultures in Africa, Asia and in the Pacific region. As a side-effect of the political conflicts between east and west during the era of the 'Cold War', abundant ethnographic and linguistic data were accumulated, evaluated and selectively published. Among the highlights of Soviet science is the large collection of descriptions of the world's languages, starting in 1959 with Yushmanov's "Amharic Language". Most of the studies are written in Russian, only some in English (e.g. Elizarenkova/Toporov 1976) and only a few have been translated into English (e.g. Myachina 1981). In the post-Soviet era, the Soviet tradition of producing grammars and outlines of language families (containing many ethnographic and sociolinguistic data) has continued, although in a less organized manner than before (e.g. D'iakonov/Sharbatov 1991 for a compendium of Afroasiatic languages).

4. The Western tradition of cultural anthropology and its sociolinguistic implications

The western tradition of culture-oriented studies in North America shares several major features with the eastern tradition in Russia. One is self-evident, that is the basic motivation for studying human culture. In the West and in the East impulses for empirical research found their origin in the experi-

ence of linguistic and cultural diversity in an expanding multinational state. The other is the assumption that language is the major vehicle of culture and a crucial factor in cultural boundary-marking. In fact, the emphasis on the prominence of language in cultural processes is typical of both traditions for most of their respective histories. This may be partly explained by the fact that ethnography in Russia and anthropology in the USA emerged in a milieu of national sentiments and of a spreading cult of the national language: Russian in Russia and English as a unifying factor in North America.

As far as the cultures of North American Indians and their languages were studied as early as the 18th century, these approaches were unsystematic and eclectic. Amateur linguists engaged in the collection of data on American Indian languages. Among them was John Wesley Powell (1834 – 1902), founder of the Bureau of American Ethnology. The best known of these amateurs was Thomas Jefferson “who devoted considerable energy to collecting Indian vocabularies in the years before his presidency” (Darnell 1992, 69). The American Philosophical Society, founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1769, became a forum for academic interests in Indian languages. A controversial figure of this period was the Finland Swede Pehr Kalm who visited North America in the years between 1747 and 1751 (Kerckonen 1959). Among others, he wrote down many observations about the Indians, about the Iroquois in particular. Although of comparatively little ethnographic value Kalm’s description raised attention among European literati and philosophers. The most prominent of them was Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744 – 1803) who saw in Kalm’s report a confirmation of Rousseau’s belief in the noble nature of ‘primitive’ peoples (the idea of the ‘noble savage’). More than one hundred years later than in Russia, cultural studies were introduced into science in North America. The first to systematize the domains of anthropology was Franz Boas (1858 – 1942). In one of his early anthropological outlines (Boas 1898) he distinguishes between somatology (the study of the physical appearance of human beings) – from which developed biological anthropology –, linguistics (the study of the languages spoken by different communities), and ethnology (the study of customs and beliefs). Linguistics (i.e. anthropological linguistics)

has always occupied a prominent place in this configuration of anthropological disciplines. Most of the basic works on the genealogical affiliation of Indian languages have been produced by anthropologists. Although Boas exploited the materials about Indian cultures and languages that had been gathered by amateurs at earlier times, he criticized those materials as inconsistent and deficient. Influenced by his education in natural sciences Boas advocated systematic fieldwork in order to gain a higher degree of exactness for the material basis of research. For Boas, linguistics occupied a central place in his scheme of anthropological endeavours. The linguistic element also features in the name given to Boas’ enterprise which was called the ethnologic-linguistic school. In Boas’ opinion, the Indian languages of North America were in decline and partly on the verge of extinction. So he saw anthropological research as an instrument to serve an urgent need for documenting the cultural and linguistic heritage of the Indian population. Boas (1911a; 1911b) was the first to compile a comprehensive classification of North American Indian languages. In the early decades, the linguistic enterprise of American anthropology stood under the impression of Indo-European studies with its refined historical-comparative method. Boas called for comparative research also with respect to Indian languages. At the same time he was aware of the limitations of such an enterprise because of the lack of written material, something Indo-European scholars were accustomed to rely on. It should take decades before the comparative method was refined enough to be successfully adapted to languages with a predominantly or exclusively oral tradition (e.g. McQuown 1956 for the classification of modern Mayan languages).

Cultural anthropology was for long concerned with the study of unwritten languages. Still in the 19th century the general opinion among white North Americans about Indian cultures was dominated by strong negative values. The Indians were evaluated as *pagans*, *barbarians* or *savages*, their cultures and languages as *primitive*. The founder of social anthropology, the British scholar Edwin Burnett Tylor who did fieldwork in Mexico, applied the attribute *primitive* as central to his theory of social evolution (Tylor 1871). There is a steady canon of scholarly writings where

this attitude is exposed. Ideas about cultural *primitivism* were obviously influenced by evolutionist views of European and American civilization as the highest level of development in human culture, and it persisted for decades in anthropological research. Repercussions can still be observed in the 1960s and 1970s (e.g. in the title of Goody's study of 1977). Boas applied the term *primitive* extensively in his writings, and Malinowski (1923) compares the languages of American Indians and of Papuans in New Guinea in their alleged *primitiveness* with the developmental stage of children's language. Since Euro-American civilization was associated with Indo-European languages, the prominent features of languages such as English, German, French and others were evaluated as an index for the high level of cultural development. Anthropologists argued that Indian languages were *primitive* because they lacked such features as grammatical gender, inflection and extensive derivation by means of pre- and suffixes. In fact, this argumentation turned out to be itself *primitive*, and it is the irony of self-deception that it was anthropological-linguistic research that mainly contributed to the eradication of misconceptions of *primitiveness*. It is well known today that the structures of Indian languages offer highly refined systems of denominations of the cultural environment and that, in such semantic systems, a highly complex mechanism of human adaptation is revealed.

There was another source of prejudice about Indian languages and this was the fact that they were not written. The civilization of white people depended ultimately on the use of writing and on the storage of information for re-use. The oral tradition was long considered second-rate because it allegedly possessed much less capacity to store information precisely and for re-use when compared with written records. Here, once again, one can observe the ironical trend of anthropological research eradicating misconceptions of its own fabric. Today, anthropologists are aware of the richness of oral narrative tradition and of the vast amount of information that can be preserved in spoken texts (see Honko 2000 for a state-of-the-art documentation). Significant contributions to the understanding of the narrative potential of oral tradition among American Indians and of their sign systems were made not only by American scholars

but also by representatives of the eastern tradition (e.g. Vashchenko 1989). Although subject to variation as oral narratives are, their contents may, nevertheless, preserve archaic features, provided there is continuity in that such narratives are regularly handed down as prototype texts from one generation to the next. This is especially true for ritual texts in which elements of an archaic worldview may be fossilized. An example of this is presented by the ritual chants in association with sandpainting among the Navajo Indians (Griffin-Pierce 1992). Research efforts in the domain of oral history have experienced a boom in recent years which may be partly explained by modern scholarly insights into how cultural memory works in humans. Anthropologists have gradually abandoned older theories according to which the brain of a new-born child is culturally like a *tabula rasa*. Previous notions have been discarded, according to which cultural patterns are adopted and the capacity to operate in a cultural environment is conditioned exclusively through interaction with other humans. This view has proved to be too simplistic because it fails to explain the extensive information flow that we can observe, in the cultural heritage of many communities throughout the world, in the horizon of time. A person's lifetime is too short for constructing his/her repertory of cultural knowledge as extensively as it is demanded for behaving according to preset norms in a community, if everything had to be acquired 'from the scratch'. It has to be concluded that there has to be a mnemonic mechanism that facilitates the concrete process of enculturation in humans. Much evidence has been produced to show that the working of cultural memory depends on a mechanism which is encoded genetically and preconditioned according to the specifics of a given community into which a child is born. This mechanism is called "meme machine" by Blackmore (1999). Cultural memory is a collective phenomenon which manifests itself in the culturally adaptive and preconditioned memories of individuals in a generational chain.

In a comparative view of achievements in the two traditions of cultural-sociolinguistic studies (that is, comparing those of the West with those of the East), one can notice that elementary findings about the nature of cultural processes have been elaborated, in the West, independently from the eastern tradi-

tion where research activities have produced similar results. As an example of coinciding developments I mention functionalism in American anthropology. In the west, we owe the systematic outline of functional aspects of culture to the seminal works of Malinowski (in particular of 1923 and 1935). For Malinowski, elements of culture are to be explained according to their functions in a community, and language is an instrument of coordinated behavior. Although westerners understand functionalism as an innovation of western anthropology, this is not true in a comparative view of the world's scholarly canon. Functional aspects of language and culture had been on the agenda of Soviet society planners from the beginnings of their planning activities in the early 1920s. The essence of what assumed shape as a scientific paradigm in the West (Malinowski's functionalism) was substantially known earlier among ethnographers and sociolinguists in the East. In addition, the eastern experiences with functional planning for pragmatic purposes produced a wealth of empirical knowledge about the functional interaction of language and culture. And yet, the eastern canon has never been contrasted with functionally oriented studies in the west, despite a wide array of convergent items of knowledge to be exploited.

Cultural anthropology pursues research interests that are specific for the field and by which it distinguishes itself from other disciplines, and this may be highlighted by certain problem areas where language is involved but where the analysis of linguistic issues, arguably, is marginal to sociolinguistics. This is true, for example, for one of the major domains of American anthropology that deals with the issue of linguistic relativity (see Lehmann 1998, 17ff for an historical outline). The nucleus of this problem area is the well-known Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, with its variant of the (Sapir-)Whorf-Weisgerber hypothesis in the context of German linguistics. The essence of this hypothesis is actually rooted in German thought of the 19th century and ultimately linked to Wilhelm von Humboldt's concept of language (Penn 1972). The hypothesis of linguistic relativity favors the idea of linguistic determinism according to which language determines thought, and linguistic structures decisively shape worldview as well as the conceptual construction of how we perceive reality. Many scholars believe that

the crucial relationship between language, thought and reality draws on the scientific methodology of ethnolinguistics, psycholinguistics, cognitive linguistics, and of anthropology. Within the realm of the latter it is, arguably, social and/or cognitive anthropology, rather than cultural anthropology which is warranted for research efforts. In the history of research, one can observe that only a minority of scholars treat linguistic relativity as a sociolinguistic issue (e.g. Hymes 1971). It is noteworthy, however, that work carried out by cultural anthropologists has produced much of the linguistic material (e.g. color terminology) that has been analyzed for comparative research in the process of verification/falsification of the theory of linguistic relativity. For the longest time in their scientific history, anthropologists shared the view that their field of study was essentially ahistoric or, in other words, that anthropological investigation was per se synchronic and descriptive, and that it lacked a diachronic dimension. This was true in the sense that the investigation of cultures with oral tradition did not offer direct links with historical processes. Such links could only be established via deductive methods of assigning traditional cultures and their languages a place on the continuum of the assumed evolutionary trajectory of humankind. However, an exclusively ahistoric view on the cultures of the world is no longer valid. In recent years, anthropologists have engaged in research on palaeoculture, that is in the assessment of cultural capabilities in different human species such as *Homo erectus* or Neandertal man i.e. archaic *Homo sapiens*; (see Haarmann 1997 for an outline of the field). This rather new domain of study is not reserved for anthropology. Here, best results can be expected from interdisciplinary research: anthropological, semiotic, archaeological, biological, glottogenic. Another historical dimension has opened up to anthropological research, and this is the comparative investigation of determinant factors in the emergence of civilizations, of the Old World (Maisels 1999) and the New World (Canuto/Yaeger 2000). In recent contributions to civilization research a new perspective on cultural evolution in the horizon of time is offered. Instead of the simplistic model of stadial development in a chain from band to tribe to chiefdom to state organization which had previously been favored and has been newly

advocated by Johnson and Earle (1987), a multivariational approach is elaborated which sheds light on the development of contrasting trajectories of cultural development and on the emergence of civilization out of a formation process under specific local conditions. Civilization is no longer viewed as the result of a straightforward process of cultural development with an exclusive prototype as its result (i.e. the Mesopotamian model of civilization), but rather as a multivariational construct which manifests itself in different form under varying local conditions of community life (Haarmann 2003, 155ff). For example, the fabric of civilization in Old Europe resembles that in the ancient Indus valley which both differ significantly from the Sumerian model of civilization. This, in turn, is very similar to the model of civilization that emerged in ancient Egypt. The idea of civilization as a multivariational construct breaks away from older prototype notions and offers elements of a new paradigm for historical perspectives in cultural anthropology.

5. The impact of human genetic studies on disciplines of the humanities

In recent years spectacular progress has been made in the domain of genetic research. Still about twenty years ago, it had been believed that charting the total repertoire of human genes was a task that would not be achieved in the near future, because of its complexity and technical challenges. But scientific progress was faster than could have been expected. In fact, since the early 1990s, the genomic patterns of local populations around the world have been identified, and at the turn of the century, the genetic enterprise was close to mapping out the entire genetic code of the human species. In 1994, the first world-wide inventory of major genomic determinants was published, together with an analysis of the origins, the history and the distribution of human populations (Cavalli-Sforza et al. 1994). The International Human Genome Project which is supposed to be concluded by 2005, has already produced a diversified range of findings which call for a thorough investigation from the angles of all disciplines of the humanities. Since genetic science can produce evidence for stages in the evolutionary his-

tory of humans that reach back as far as some 150,000 years, the whole historical horizon of modern man (*Homo sapiens sapiens*) has opened up to scientific inspection. Long- and short-distance migrations in the remote past, the ethnogenesis of culturally specific groups, the origin of languages and language families, language and culture contacts in prehistory, these and many other problem areas can now be assigned their proper place on the continuum of the evolutionary history of modern man.

A first attempt to reconcile data from genetic science with data from archaeology, cultural anthropology, ethnicity research and contact linguistics has been made by Haarmann (1995). In this study with its focus on European settings, the necessity of interdisciplinary research including findings from human genetics is emphasized, and a sketch of European identity (i.e. identity of European populations and their languages) is presented which is intended to highlight the profits that may be obtained from interdisciplinary approaches. In the process of reconciliation of data from different fields, revisions are called for which are likely to change our perception of cultural evolution and of the role of language in this process. These will eventually call for a replacement of older scientific paradigms in the humanities by new ones. Most probably, in this permanent process of revisiting our cultural and linguistic history boundary-marking between sociolinguistics and cultural anthropology as separate fields will be less important than the emphasis given to exchange between these disciplines. In addition, scholarship from around the world is needed to cope with the tasks of scientific enterprises that lie ahead. For this purpose, the accumulated knowledge of both the western and the eastern traditions has to be reconciled. Especially the results of Russian scholarship concerning the ethnogenesis of human populations appear to provide information which would be interesting to check against western genetic findings (e.g. Arutiunov 1989).

This exchange of knowledge and ideas which is needed cannot evolve in a competitive atmosphere since no discipline of the humanities can any longer claim priority over others. Human culture and its linguistic resources are exceedingly complex and universally show a great range of local diversity (Nettle 1999). The complexity of the sub-

jects studied requires various approaches, thus making it possible to profit from viewpoints exploiting the resources of a diversified but integrated scientific methodology.

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84. Marxian Approaches to Sociolinguistics Marxistische Ansätze der Soziolinguistik

1. Introduction
2. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels
3. The development in the Soviet Union
4. Developments in the second half of the 20th century
5. Concluding remarks
6. Literature (selected)

1. Introduction

A contribution about Marxian approaches to language and society might seem at odds with the situation at the beginning of the 21st century, as the historical changes around 1989 had massive effects on the academic and intellectual landscapes in the ‘East’ and in the ‘West’. To show the problematic of this constellation, a paradox that Aijaz Ahmad identified at the centre of Jacques Derrida’s (1994) text ‘Spectres of Marx’ – an essay on the relationship between Marxism and deconstruction – can serve as a starting point: “Neither the political nor the philosophical traditions usually associated with the name of Marx are allowed to be identified with what Derrida takes to be the ‘spirit of Marx’, and yet it is the defeat of those traditions that is identified as the moment of the death of Marx, which then becomes the occasion of this mourning” (Ahmad 1994, 102). This paradox is a warning both not to abandon Marxism as a theoretical and political project with the end of state communism in Eastern Europe after 1989 and not to present oneself too easily as the inheritor of some ‘essence’ of Marxism or ‘spirit of Marx’ after its reported death. Both gestures can be one and the same and in any case fail to account for the differences and the tensions, and mainly for the critical potential of works that can be labelled as *Marxian approaches*. The following text addresses this paradox in two ways: by presenting Marxian approaches and accentuations in their irreducible plurality, and by performing the presentation plurivocally. The first part reproduces, largely unaltered, the sections of Jean Baptiste Marcellesi’s and Abdou Elimam’s (1987) article about the theorising of language in the works of Marx and Engels (2.), and about the ‘orthodox’ theoretical and political perspectives on language and society from Marx to Stalin (3.).

The second part presents a new section on – mainly ‘western’ – Marxist perspectives of the second half of the 20th century (4.).

2. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

Language as an issue did not appear as the subject of any thorough specific work either by Karl Marx or by Friedrich Engels. However a 600 pages book (Marx/Engels 1974) gathers some of their positions on this very issue. It is out of a whole set of punctual remarks that we will be able to point out the main thoughts. Taking into account both the movement of historical reality (the rise of nationalism in Germany, social revolutions in France and in Great Britain, etc.) and the logical dialectics accurately developed by Hegel, Marx worked out a dialectical logics historically determined. His methodology led him to separate those attributes of any human society in general (labour, language, consciousness, etc.) from those historically determined, which are as a result, highly specific and transitory. His thorough critical approach enabled him to condemn the theoretical blindness providing the illusion – if not necessary, at least real and practical – of a supposed eternal dominant social order. The following sketches out the place occupied by linguistics in this scheme: “Although it is true that the most developed languages have laws and characteristics in common with the least developed ones, nevertheless, just those things which determine their development; i.e. the elements which are not general and common, must be separated out from the determinations valid for production as such, so that their unity [...], their essential difference is not forgotten. The whole profundity of those modern economists who demonstrate the eternity and harmoniousness of the existing social relations lies in the forgetting.” (Marx 1974, 85). Language is also the crystallisation of ideas, representations and social praxis: “The production of ideas, representation and consciousness is above all directly and closely connected to human material activity and intercourse; it is the language of real life.” (Marx/Engels [1845–46] 1958, 26; 1968, 50).

2.1. If intellectual production crystallises most notably within the language of politics, law, etc., it is because in so doing, it takes the form of a social tie. Social ties (which are fixed, overwhelming and subjugating the individuals) must not be confused with social interactions (Marx 1957, 236). In language according to Marx and Engels, “a tie can only be expressed in the form of a concept. If these general concepts take the value of some mysterious power, it is the necessary result of the fact that the real relations they express have become autonomous.” (Marx/Engels 1968, 399–400). The concept of ‘consciousness’ linked to the question of language merits clarification. In fact Marx distinguishes ‘pure consciousness’ (indetermined) from ‘real, practical consciousness’ (determined). “Language is as old as consciousness, language is the real, practical consciousness, existing for other beings as well as it does exist for myself [...]” (Marx/Engels 1958, 30; 1968, 59) If there is no such thing as ‘pure consciousness’, it is because consciousness is an abstraction that can be actualised only in some specific and concrete forms; i.e. in the form of the being who is necessarily a product of culture and language. Consciousness includes, on the one hand the very form of individuality (since it only materialises on an individual level), and on the other hand, a condensation of social integration. Marx underlines the fact that: “The mode of production of material life determines the whole process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, it is their social existence that determines their consciousness.” (Marx 1957, 4). The concept of ‘social relations’, apprehended in their hypostatic forms, becomes the catalyst for the Marxian approach and for the comprehension of the analysis of the link between language and society. Language can only be apprehended within the polity where it is produced and reproduced. It will, thus, crystallise and memorise the metamorphosis inherent to the social body and will consequently be shaped into specific forms serving both as a means of communication and of socialisation.

2.2. What do specify the individual languages are precisely those attributes exclusive of the abstract and general determinations. The determinations of the pre-

vailing social order will shape the language into a specificity. This caused Marx and Engels to state that “it is too easy for the Bourgeois to prove, using their own language, the identity of commercial relations and individual relations, or, else, human relations in general, since the language itself is a product of the Bourgeoisie. [...] The same is true for the other modern languages.” (1968, 263). Under these conditions the ‘language of the Bourgeois’ can only be the unified language which necessarily accompanies the nation’s integration in parallel with the sphere of economic exchanges. “Moreover, language has lost its aspects of natural phenomenon in all the modern and highly developed tongues; this is either due to the history of the language evolution out of a raw material (as in the Romance or Germanic languages), or to the contacts and melting of various nationalities (as with English), or to the fusion of different dialects which produces a national language within the framework of a nation; in other words a linguistic fusion based on a political and economic one. This implies, that this human product among others will eventually fall totally under the individual’s control.” (1968, 468–469). Modern languages lose their ‘natural characteristics’ because their universal and abstract determinations (which pertain to all languages at all times) become diluted to favour the emergence of forms based on political and economic ‘fusion’. – Quite simply, they take the form of a social relation which grants them an autonomous and ‘sublime reality’. Taking as an example philosophical rhetoric, Marx and Engels note that “in the same way that philosophers have made thought an autonomous reality, they couldn’t help allowing the language an autonomous reality in order to dispose of it as their own private domain. This is the key to philosophic language in which the thoughts themselves, in the form of words, have a content of their own. The problem: to descent from the world of ideas into the real world raises the problem of passing from language into real life [...]. Language will naturally become nonsense as soon as it is treated as an autonomous reality.”

2.3. The scope of this point of view is both diachronic (the evolution of languages) and synchronic (the actualisation of thought). It also grasps the notion of system, but a system inserted into the history of economic so-

cial formations. If the system of a language never does appear as such it is in discourse that it materialises and becomes real (see 4.2.3.) But a language is characterised both by its general and abstract determinations and by its specific ones. The life of the system, therefore, must be fed from both types of determinations. It has to do with the dialectic articulation of the general and human characteristic on the one hand; and the socialised characteristic on the other. The Marxian critique of the notion of 'system' is twofold: It condemns the simplistic approach "which takes appearances at face value, ruminating over and over for its own ends and for the simplification of the most vulgar phenomena"; but at the same time, it criticises the approach "which attempts to penetrate the whole real and intimate set of social relations in the bourgeois society" for limiting itself "to pedantically elevate to the status of system and proclaim as eternal truths those illusions out of which the bourgeois likes to populate his own narrow world; the best of all possible worlds" (Marx 1977, 532, note 31).

2.4. It must be emphasised that such a critique underscores an epistemological break, in that it opens the way to other perspectives: not only those which take into consideration the persistent presence of those real illusions, the social ties turned into fetish, but also those which consider the socio-historic process that allows for these illusions to exist, while at the same time creates the conditions for their eventual surpassing.

2.5. An early example for the analysis of political vocabulary that sets out to confirm the thesis of historical materialism can be found in the linguistic works of Paul Lafargue (1894; see Marcellesi/Gardin 1974, 52–57 for a detailed analysis). Looking at the unique conjunctural process of the 1789 revolution, he identifies a transition between two 'states of language': the language of the aristocracy and the language of the bourgeoisie that appears "on the platform of parliamentary assemblies and in the pages of journals and brochures". He underlines the active resistance of conservatives who viewed the linguistic field as an arena for socio-political stakes (1894, 255). Methodologically, (i) the linguistic phenomenon is seen as a "consequence of the social and

political phenomenon"; (ii) despite the ambiguity of the word 'langue' one can clearly apprehend a whole conception of the form taken by the language, (iii) the value of words evolves in parallel with lexical innovation: lexical creativity evolves and imposes itself; (iv) linguistic change is firmly sociopolitically based.

3. The development in the Soviet Union

3.1. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's theory of languages and multilingual politics

Few references are made to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin on language and languages. Yet Lenin's interventions (a number of them collected in Lenin 1983) which were essentially glottopolitic seem to be of considerable interest to sociolinguistics; particularly to those who must deal with the application of theory in the problematical field of language planning, modernisation, and maintenance of languages.

3.1.1. Lenin is guided by the historical materialist approach in his treatment of cultural and political problems. For him, the development of the social forces of production is the material process which fosters social and economic integration, giving access to modernity (Lenin 1958–65, vol. 3, 392). But, above all, the emergence of and generalisation of modernity mean the access to the broadest possible democracy (Vol. 19, 355). Complete democracy and total equality for all languages seem to be a summary of Lenin's basic position. If he does not reject the possibility of a single (common) language, he does envision it as a form of 'voluntary' integration linked to the development of social productive forces. This implies a complete equality between nations, ethnic groups and languages to achieve a better unity – not a 'chauvinistic nationalist' one but one aiming at improving the (modern) state system which governs and codifies the relations (Vol. 20, 41f). Only if equality exists, the risks of domination or xenophobia will be diminished (Vol. 20, 290). Unification is a byproduct and cannot result from a policy of repression and coercion (Vol. 20, 48; 222). This implies that (i) the discussion of local particularities requires a great deal of time and voluntary compliance, (ii) there is no sol-

ution to linguistic problems outside social and economic life, (iii) access to democracy needs the recognition and equality of all languages.

3.1.2. Following Kreindler (1982) one could say that the core of Lenin's national policy can be found in his language policy. Plurilingualism is a reality one cannot bypass. Trying to make an abstraction out of "something which exists" is "pure fantasy" according to the formula Lenin used in his controversy with Nicolai I. Bukharin (Vol. 29, 170–175). This concern for realism, but also for emancipation, will also occur as a 'Leitmotiv' in his position on the national question. This led him to act as a sociolinguist when analysing and commenting on statistics on the nationalities of school-children (Vol. 19, 531 f): It is unnecessary for him to increase the number of schools in order to offer education to children in their mother tongue. The real challenge lies in the application of an effective democratisation. On that point, he argues with liberals who claim for the freedom of language within 'cultural self-determination'. Lenin points out that this slogan is nothing but an empty verbage if it does not entail political conditions which legitimise the equality and freedom of languages. Therefore, it is not in the separation of schools according to languages that multilingualism will survive. Quite the contrary, Lenin affirms. It is in fostering the equality of all languages within the same school that the equality and peaceful co-existence of various communities will be preserved (Vol. 19, 549 f; vol. 20, 222–24). The important points are: (i) that the language policy lies at the heart of the national one, (ii) that multilingualism is a sociohistorical reality which fosters emulation, mutual recognition, and activates the necessary and complete equality of languages and their respective communities, (iii) that internationalism is to be elaborated on these very foundations; by a voluntary support of the communities or nations who share in what is most democratic and socialist in the expression of their particular 'national' culture.

3.1.3. Already in 1903, the strategic objectives concerning the language question led him to issue an amendment proclaiming "the right to education in the mother tongue and to official use of said language" (Vol.

41, 87). This highly principled position, as was already mentioned, emerges from a clearminded analysis of a multilingual and multiethnic society. In numerous arguments he rejects the principle of imposing a single official language. In a letter from 1913 (Vol. 19, 449–500), attempts to impose the Russian language constitute for him "königlich-preussischen Sozialismus!" [monarchist-Prussian socialism]. It would require coercion. Thus, it does not make sense for him to "drive people with violence to the gates of heaven" (Vol. 41, 316). Multilingualism is in no way a handicap. "If all privileges are abolished and one language is no longer imposed upon, all Slavs will learn quickly and easily to understand one another and will not dread the 'horrifying' idea that speeches could be delivered in many different languages within the common Parliament" (Vol. 23, 424; vol. 11, 12 in French).

3.1.4. Once the Soviet power was established, Lenin's language policy found its form and consistence from practice. Here are some of the main steps of that policy:

- extensive programs aimed at developing the languages and literature of the formerly oppressed nations;
- the creation of alphabets for those languages with oral tradition: 52 new alphabets and 16 reconstructed ones in 1921;
- rejection of Cyrillic alphabet in favour of the Latin one (which allowed the identification of the Latin alphabet with the expression of the victory of the 1917 revolution);
- the reconstructed or maintained local languages were to be as broad as possible in order to face up with all economic, social and scientific spheres necessary to modern life;
- from 1920 on, the developed and written languages (Georgian, Armenian, Tatar, and Yiddish) were used in higher education, the textbooks had to be published in the local languages. In 1924, there were 25 different languages, in 1927, 44 were included, and 56 in 1929.

3.1.5. Lenin's period saw the expansion of a wide range of linguistic activities, both theoretical and applied. Let's note that linguistics as a science is not lacking in tradition. Among others were: The 'Kazan

school' (Baudoin de Courtenay), the 'linguistic circle of Moscow', the 'Society of Poetic Language Study' (Roman Jakobson, Vladimir Propp), the 'Bakhtin group' (Michael Bakhtin, Valentin N. Voloshinov, Pavel N. Medvedev, see 4.2.1.), etc. Their practical tasks included the fight against illiteracy, the absence of written systems for dozens of languages, the shortcoming of the educational systems, editing educational means such as textbooks, etc. Before 1917, only 30 of the 152 nationalities had an alphabet. Between 1917 and 1932, 118 nationalities acquired their own systems of writing, Latin alphabet being adopted by 64 of them. Such initiatives are largely due to the lucid work of Evgeny D. Polivanov, who as early as 1928 opposed the conceptions of Nicolai Ya. Marr.

3.2. The dominance of Nicolai Ya. Marr's school

The school of Nicolai Ya. Marr became dominant in the 1920's. Its predominance and, until 1950, official recognition led to the dismantling of the formalist trends and the eradication of other linguists (Polivanov, Voloshinov, etc.) Marr's theories themselves were, in turn, contested by Stalin in 1950. Marr, famous already before the revolution, based his ideas of language on a very mechanist reduction of Marxism. He advanced a collection of surprising assertions further substantiated by a few interesting works. The principle of such a patchwork sociolinguistics is well-known: (i) Language was supposed to be a superstructure and a class phenomenon. (ii) Linguistic change was to occur by sudden leaps separated by stages rather than by an evolution. Languages are subject to hybridisation. (iii) Any change in the social order was to bring about automatic changes in the typical traits of a language (for a detailed presentation of Marr's work see Marcellesi/Gardin 1974 and Marcellesi 1977). If the ideas of Marr's school were enthusiastically embraced, it was because they supported the ideological policies of language planning, an essential activity of Soviet linguistics. Moreover they added fuel to the fire of the defenders of 'russification'. The socio-historic context, however, was contradictory: on the one hand 1938/39 more than 70 languages (in the Rep. of Uzbekistan alone 22) were used in the field of education, which could indicate advances of Lenin's language policy; on the other hand,

from March 1938 onward, Russian was to become the 'national' language in all schools of the USSR. Sorry for the lack of enthusiasm for Russian, some favoured the implementation of Cyrillic as the standard alphabet instead of the 'new alphabet of 1917' (Latin). But ultimately, the national or ethnic languages enjoyed a local priority and Russian was introduced only after one or two years of instruction in the language of the particular republic or region. With the Second World War, the Russians were elevated to the status of 'heroic nation' and it was their language that was subsequently identified with the expression of socialism. Thus, the principle lines of thought in Marr's theory coincided with the language policy of the USSR as they allowed linguistic oppositions to be disregarded and were compatible with the ultimate objective of the 'classless society'. But although the Marris conceptions dominated in the Soviet union from 1930 to 1950 that did not imply a complete absence of solid linguistic work during that time. Eventually, those very lines of thought worried the minority nationalities, especially as they were working on written grammars for those languages which did not yet have any.

3.3. The linguistic intervention of Joseph Stalin

Joseph Stalin's intervention in this issue was essentially a political one. As a self proclaimed 'expert in Marxism', he also affected the field of linguistics. Arguing that Russian had not changed fundamentally despite the revolution, he admitted that evolution can occur in language, and that language belongs to the people as a whole, not to any one class: "It is the product of an entire series of epochs, during which it crystallises, it gets richer, it develops and refines" (Stalin [1950] 1974, 3–5). After having dramatically refuted Marr's three theses, Stalin offered his own conceptions on the status of national language and finally, some perspectives for Soviet linguistics: (i) Language is an instrument of communication enabling the survival, the struggles, and the development of societies; (ii) every language has a basic lexical fund whose core include 'radicals' and a grammar conceptualised in its functions of regulation and abstraction (this view being parallel with the formalist's and historical linguist's one); (iii) if language is a system, it is also nothing but a 'national language'.

Stalin's point of view, purporting to be 'materialistic, political and linguistic', represented a turning point in Soviet and in most of foreign Marxist linguistics (for a detailed discussion see Marcellesi/Gardin 1974; Marcellesi 1977). His 'clarification' had serious consequences. Although it was welcomed as a 'return to sensible thinking', it did freeze the climate for any debate in the linguistic community for the years to come. New problems and questions were subsequently tackled by a Marxist linguistics outside the Soviet Union.

4. Developments in the second half of the 20th century

Whether Soviet and Eastern European linguistics in the second half of the 20th century developed a consistent theory of Marxist sociolinguistics or merely legitimised work that was informed by other paradigms through an explicit reference to the classic paragraphs in Marx/Engels and Stalin, is a question that cannot be discussed here (see e.g. Adler 1980 and Jacobs 1992 for diverging accounts). In any case, the explicit framing of linguistic theorising and research in Marxist terms (e.g. Marcellesi/Gardin 1974; Marcellesi 1977; Houdebini 1977; Ponzio 1978; Gadet et al. 1979) has almost vanished during the last decade (for exceptions see e.g. Jäger 1999 and Holborow 1999). Yet, there is a considerable number of works using theoretical resources that can be related to Marxian concepts. This research tradition is often called *critical linguistics* and *critical social science* (as in CDA, see 4.2.4.) or it is described as employing a 'conflict model' of language and society (a categorisation popular in the Anglo-American context; see e.g. Rickford 1986; Williams 1992, 230ff; Mesthrie et al. 1999, 317). It is opposed, then, to work using a 'consensus model' based on the structural-functional sociology of Talcott Parsons and others. Whereas sociolinguists in the consensus perspective relate linguistic variation to a functional differentiation of society seen as an evolutionary product and see the social consequences of individual utterances as fitting in with the rationalities of social systems, those adopting the conflict perspective conceptualise the very differentiation of society as the product of social relations characterised by power and domination, with the individual activities and ut-

terances as moments of reproduction or challenge. Often only implicitly Marxist, this conflict model can be seen as the latest stage in a development of theoretical discourses to which the following paragraphs are devoted – e.g. Western Marxism (see Anderson 1976), New Left (Winter 2001, 23ff), structural Marxism (Althusser 1971; 1976; Poulantzas 1981), cultural materialism (Williams 1980), plural Marxism (Haug 2001) and post-Marxism (Laclau/Mouffe 1985; critical Mouzelis 1988). Drawing on Marxist writings of the 1920's and 30's by Antonio Gramsci (1971; 1985), Valentin N. Voloshinov [1929] (1973) and Michael Bakhtin (see Dentith 1995) – sometimes also Lew Semyonovich Vygotsky [1934] (1986) – works that were suppressed in fascist Italy and the Stalinist Soviet Union, they all combine a critique of economic reductionism with a sustained emphasis on the antagonistic character of society and the complex power relations securing the dominance of certain groups and discourses throughout history (see e.g. Larrain 1986). Whereas initially this double relationship was articulated still in terms of class-based differences and a political utopianism, subsequently these concepts were also criticised by feminist and post-structuralist theories (see Laclau/Mouffe 1985; Derrida 1994; Winter 2001) for being essentialist and universalist.

4.1. Ideology/Power/Hegemony/Resistance

Central to the question of language are the interrelated Marxian concepts of *base/superstructure* and *ideology*. It is here, that unresolvable tensions have been detected within the writings of Marx and Engels (see Larrain 1986) and competing theories have been developed (for an overview see Eagleton [1991] 1993, 38f). The orthodox Marxism of the second International (as in Marr) saw the political and cultural spheres of societies – including language – as part of the superstructure determined by the economic base with ideology being either the distorted representation of the relation to the economic base in ideas serving to support the ruling class (critical concept as in Marx' [1846–47] critique of German idealism) or the specific representation of these relations inherent to any position in a given mode of production (neutral concept as in Lenin). The two concepts can be neutral or critical regarding the epistemic and/or political function of ideology. This 'orthodox' view

was challenged by cultural theorists granting some autonomy to individual experience and emphasising the cultural mediation of economic relations themselves, which are not pre-existing their 'representations' in linguistic and cultural material practices (see Williams 1980 a; 1980 b). Since the 1970s, two tendencies can be distinguished within the debates on the status of ideology, culture and economy.

4.1.1. Positions that focus on the inevitability of power and the reproduction of existing relations of dominance: The most important example is perhaps Louis Althusser's (1971) attempt to combine structuralism and Marxism in his theory of ideology. It accounts for multiple and disjunct contradictions in society and includes a positive view of the 'relative autonomy' of ideology as the lived relation to the real relations of production experienced in multiple ways through 'ideological state apparatuses' (school, church, etc.). But Althusser also retains a notion of determination in the last instance by the relations of production that allows for a unifying 'overdetermination' of the multiple contradictions (see Link 1994 for a critical assessment). For Althusser, ideology works by 'interpellating individuals as subjects' with subjectivity and consciousness as mere effects of the reproduced structures of society. This raises the question of the subject as a site of resistance (see 4.1.2.) and of a relation to the psychoanalytic theory of the subject (Freud 1905; Lacan 1966). The theoretical articulation of language-ideology-unconscious-history aroused a great deal of interest (see Macherey 1966; Kristeva 1969; 1974; Sebag 1973; Sollers 1974; Calvet 1975; Pêcheux 1975 b; Plon 1976; Coward/Ellis 1977; Henry 1977; Houdebine 1977; Lafont 1978 b; Zizek 1989; 1998). Structuralist Marxism has been criticised for being functionalist and pessimistic leaving almost no room for theorising resistance or change (see Hall 1980; Eagleton 1991). A similar critique can also be addressed to Pierre Bourdieu's (1983) concepts of 'habitus' and 'symbolic power' (though in other aspects comparable to Antonio Gramsci's notion of 'hegemony' (4.1.2.); see also Mesthrie et al. 1999, 346ff) and to Michel Foucault's theory of subjectivity as an effect of either discourses or power relations (Foucault 1971; 1975). Seeing discursive formations as constitutive for and power as

penetrating all social practices it becomes difficult to account for differences between the power of the dominant and the power of the dominated that can serve as a starting point for political intervention (see the introduction to Foucault 1984).

4.1.2. Positions that focus on the fragility of dominance, impossibility of ideological closure and the possibility of resistance: Of central importance for this tendency within the theory of ideology is the work of Antonio Gramsci (1971; 1985) and his concept of 'hegemony'. *Hegemony* is not simply a synonym for *ideology*. It comprises the processes by which the dominant groups try to achieve agreement with domination among the dominated. This agreement is necessary to sustain domination, but also always includes some recognition of the interests of the dominated. Therefore hegemonic positions are never fixed but part of an ongoing struggle for leadership. Gramsci identifies the cultural and intellectual practices of 'civil society' as an important site of this struggle, besides the economy and the state, the latter being based on the power of coercion rather than on consent and agreement. It is the necessary recognition of the other within the striving for identity and leadership that renders unifying hegemonic articulations theoretically problematic (if not impossible) and accounts for their practical fragility (see Eagleton [1991] 1993, 133ff). Within Marxism, this focus on the diverging and incompatible interests of different social groups allows to criticise a privileged position of class differences and to integrate the problematics of race, ethnicity and gender (see e.g. Hall 1986). Often combined with a refusal of any final suture or ideological unification of a social formation, it resembles poststructuralist and deconstructionist positions (see Laclau/Mouffe 1985; Zizek 1998; critical Mouzelis 1988; Eagleton [1991] 1993, 223ff). Without devaluing this theoretical conjuncture in trying to rescue some essence of Marxism from its deconstruction one might nevertheless draw a distinction between two lines of theorising within this conjuncture, one highlighting the playfulness of difference and plural forms of social resistance and the other emphasising the always open but also painful struggle for cultural identity and recognition in relation to economic and political power relations. A combination of

both can be found within some notions of 'performativity' (see e.g. Judith Butler's works on the discursive constitution of gender, e.g. Butler 1997).

4.2. Approaches to specific (socio-)linguistic topics

The different theoretical positions on ideology and hegemony have been explicitly used for or can be found at work within contributions on specific aspects of language and linguistic activity. For reasons of a better survey they are grouped here according to certain conceptual levels within linguistics, but this should not be taken as a strict categorisation. There are often overlaps and combinations of more than one concept. It is common to all positions to keep a critical distance from a structuralism that abstracts linguistic systems along the 'langue-parole' dichotomy and also from certain forms of conversation analysis and ethnomethodology that are seen to cut off the field of linguistic analysis from the wider social conditions of certain linguistic facts. The material and unequal social relations are understood as central to any signification and communication process and to the exchanges within and between languages.

4.2.1. Signs and the signification process

Granting productivity to linguistic practices, thought can not be seen as merely 'reflecting' an independent reality or nature as in Lenin (1950, 110; 1955, 61) with signs merely indexing thoughts. The whole notion of 'reflection' becomes problematic: How can language be used to explain "human realities which are experienced entirely according to the language" (Lafont 1978, 34)? Can one retain a notion of signs and language determined by reality in the last instance as indicated by Marcellesi/Guardin (1974; 250)? These questions were debated from the perspective of philosophy (Schaff 1960; 1964; Foucault 1966) psychology (Vygotsky 1934; Luria/Youdovitch 1956; Leontiev 1972; Cornforth 1976) and linguistics (Klaus 1969; Reznikov 1974; Marcellesi/Gardin 1974; Pêcheux 1975; Lafont 1978). In conceptualising the signification process, a materialist semiotics is confronted with the problem of 'reflection' in that it has to account for both the reality of the social relations limiting individual signifying activities and the possibility of changing this reality in social struggles. Here, the reassess-

ment of the semiotic theories of Valentin N. Voloshinov (1929; see Weber 1975; Dentith 1995, 22–32; Holborow 1999, 24–39) and Michael Bakhtin (see Dentith 1995, 32–40) set off interesting work that transcends Saussurean semiotics (see e.g. Rossi Landi 1968; Ponzio 1990; 1993; Guespin 1980). No longer conceiving of distinct signs and their fixed meanings as indicating different ideological positions, the 'sign' itself is taken to be ideological, a site of social struggle. One and the same sign material is given different and irreducible thematic and evaluating accents in the historical processes of signification. They are socially and dialogically organised and serve to reorganise the social relations between subjects and objects (neither individualist/subjectivist nor structuralist/objectivist theory of the sign, Voloshinov 1973, 51 ff). Signification breaks with any one (ideological) context, as every sign is 'multiaccentual': it bears the traces of different former accentuations and to act as sign it must allow for new accentuations. Its very identity is nothing but an effect of these differences (Weber 1975, 22). Here, parallels can be found to Derrida's (1967) theory of the sign and his notion of 'différance'. The semiotics of Ferruccio Rossi-Landi (1968) foreground the homology between Marx' economic theory of labour/commodities and semiotics (Marx' theory being in fact a semiotic analysis of commodity exchange). The distinction between 'use value' and 'exchange value' is employed to conceive of a semiotic market with production, exchange and consumption (see Bourdieu 1991 [1983] for a similar notion) that is opposed to Saussure's economics of equal exchange where the reception of a sign is merely the inverted production both guided by a unified code (the 'langue'). Presented as a finished product signs and language are alienated from the process of production, from the producers and their linguistic labour (Rossi-Landi 1968; Ponzio 1974; Lafont 1978b; Guespin 1980 a). Thus disalienation or the process of 'glottonomy' (Guespin 1984) demands critical participation in the process of elaborating social codes (Rossi-Landi 1968). Combining materialist semiotics with Peirce's strongly realist concept of semiosis a performative theory of signification can be envisioned (Ponzio 1990; 1993): of the sign-material as the reality given to semiosis (sign), of reference as a specific form of articulation (object), and of articulation as the

social process of producing signs on signs (interpretant) existing within dialogue (see Ponzio 1990, 188ff).

4.2.2. Texts and communication

From the 1970's 'cultural studies' presented models that combine a concept of hegemony/resistance with ideas of Umberto Eco alongside Valentin N. Voloshinov (see Göttlich 1996; Winter 2001, 129ff) to understand the ideological function of mass media in the circulation of certain representations of social and political reality within popular culture. The analysis concentrates both on the structure of texts (in newspapers or television) and more importantly on the process of audience reception, in which the reproduction of dominant meanings is secured and contested ('preferred reading', see Hall 1974; compare with Fairclough 2001, 20). The text as a meaningful product and as a hegemonic structure guides the process of 'decoding', but in contrast to a technical model of media effects or the Althusserian concept of ideology it does not determine it completely. Though audiences are (a) pushed to accept a 'dominant-hegemonic position', they can also (b) find pleasure in actively 'negotiating' the encoded meanings of texts according to their lived experiences (Williams 1977) and their differential and unequal relation to power (similar to Bakhtin's notion of 'carnival', see Dentith 1995, 65ff). Or they can (c) 'oppose' the preferred reading offered by the text. It is the difference inherent to the various and socially framed uses of texts rather than the polysemic character of linguistic elements that accounts for a 'semiotic excess' uncontrollable by the dominant culture. Foregrounding the contradictions in media texts and the non-cooperative practices of reading (extreme in 'zapping' TV-programs), irony, metaphor, humour, and excessive stylisation become concepts central for textual analysis (Fiske 1987, 86ff). Media discourses are seen as 'dialogically-popular': popular discourses partly resist and struggle with the dominant strive for closed meanings, and media producers have to recognise the diverging interests of 'the people' to produce popular – in the sense of intertextually open (Fiske 1987, 109ff; Winter 2001, 175) – texts.

4.2.3. Critical discourse analysis

Like *cultural studies*, *critical discourse analysis* (CDA) is used to refer to a field of diverse

workings at the intersection of sociology, anthropology, philosophy and linguistics. And whereas in the former ethnological methods predominate to a certain extent, in CDA the linguistic ones do. The object of CDA are series of texts as the linguistic side of ordered social practices (see Chouliaraki/Fairclough 1999, 19ff; Jäger 1999, 113ff using Vygotsky/Leontiev; for overviews of CDA see Bluhm et al. 2000; Blommaert/Bulcaen 2000). CDA is not to be confused with the critical theory of discourse in the tradition of the Frankfurt School (see Habermas 1981) whose notion of discourse is detached from everyday practices and relations of dominance retaining an utopianism of communicative reason as the foundation for critique. In contrast to this, CDA drawing on the work of Michel Foucault (1966; 1969; 1971; see also Pêcheux 1975) conceives of discourse as the "Fluß von Wissen durch die Zeit" [flow of knowledge through time] (Jäger 1999, 129). As power structures discourses actively (re-)constitute all social formations throughout the praxis of articulation: the fields of what can and cannot be said at a certain historical point, which concatenations of elements are possible, and which (subject) positions can be taken by individuals or groups. It is in discourses that the working of ideology can be analysed (see Fairclough 2001, 64ff). Recurrent topics of interest for CDA are political discourse (Wodak 1989), media language, advertisement, institutional discourse, education (Fairclough 1992), racism (Reisigl/Wodak 2000; van Dijk; Jäger), and gender (Caldas-Coulthard/Coulthard 1996). Fine grained analysis – of the syntactical, metaphorical ('Kollektivsymbole', see Jäger 1999), and rhetorical structuring of the intertextual relations, and of the texts grouped around the theme or social field in question – is employed to reveal and criticise large scale structures of dominance and discrimination (Wodak), or processes such as democratisation or commodification (Fairclough 1992).

4.2.4. Relations between language varieties and relations between languages

Dealing with the social determination of languages and language varieties, as well as with the linguistic impact on the social realm, sociolinguistics is interested in geographical variation, in variation related to ethnicity, class (Bourdieu 1991 [1983]; Mar-

cellesi 1979; 1984), gender (Holborow 1999) profession etc., as well as in the relations between different languages, language groups and language minorities (see e.g. the contributions in this volume, and for the socialist work of Eastern Europe Legrand 1980 a). These constellations are always linked to power relations in (and between) given societies. Thus talking about language change, language spread or language death, means (if only implicitly) talking about struggles for dominance, about ‘Language Wars and Linguistic Politics’ (Calvet 1998): in their striving for power, postcolonial politics are trapped between an internal recognition of various vernaculars (becoming ‘popular’) and the struggle for global recognition by adopting the former colonial languages as *lingua franca*s (see Calvet 1998 and contributions to Blommaert 1999); the hegemonic integration of a global linguistic market is contested by identity politics of various national and ethnic groups (e.g. Woolard 1985; Heller 1999); the critical analysis of the spread of English as the hegemonic global language should also be mentioned here (Phillipson 1992; Holborow 1999). The historical ‘production’ and development of diglossic situations and bilingualism (see Lafont; Marcellesi; Ninyoles), of standard norms (Kaminker; Baggioni) and national languages (Calvet; Marcellesi/Gardin; Lafont; Baggioni) has always been influenced by what has been recently called ‘linguistic ideologies’ (see Woolard/Schieffelin 1994; Schieffelin/Woolard/Kroskrity 1998; Blommaert 1999). In contrast to the problem of the ideological character of signs and signification (4.2.1.), here, language is focused as the object of ideological representation: widely accepted, dominant notions of the supposedly ‘inherent’ or ‘natural’ qualities of languages and certain varieties guide their recognition in social institutions, marginalise or exclude groups from political power, and in many ways influence the everyday life of the people.

5. Concluding remarks

Looking at the various approaches that use Marxian concepts of language, culture and society or can be related to them, they must be described as a wide field with fuzzy borders, ranging from the macro-politics of language planning and language ideologies to the micro-politics of resistance and iden-

tity within marginalised social groups. And taking into account the tensions between supposedly central Marxian concepts within the works of Marx and Engels themselves, any unifying project of a materialist linguistics (as e.g. in the ‘praxematics’ of Lafont 1978 b and others) is doomed to fail. It is not even desirable, if one recalls the imperialistic consequences of unifying Marxist-linguistic theory and its application in the Soviet Union. But on the other hand the history of this strand in Marxist linguistics reveals the inevitable political and ideological positioning of any sociolinguistic work. Any study always already participates in the polycentric networks of power, domination and resistance it investigates, and here, the various approaches present ways how to actively link the own work with a wider social context or with the political projects of certain groups. Moreover, it is the recognition of the ‘politics of sociolinguistics’ that should inform future thinking about the (scarcity of) recent theoretical rearticulations of Marxism and about new intellectual/political conjunctures to come.

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85. History of Research on Language Contact Geschichte der Sprachkontaktforschung

1. Introduction
2. Two major pre-structural impetuses
3. Geographical fields of research
4. Linguistic fields of research
5. Towards a terminology
6. Theoretical and methodological advances
7. ‘Language and society’-perspective
8. Conclusion
9. Literature (selected)

1. Introduction

Countless treatises and dissertations have been written on language contact, which has been a topic of interest to linguists for centuries. For instance, Schuchardt (1884, 30) cites a work by G. Lucio (1666) discussing the mixture of Croatian and Romance in Dalmatia on the basis of 14th century Dalmatian records. This brief summary will discuss the treatment of linguistic and sociolinguistic problems in language contact literature prior to Weinreich (1953) and exclude case studies of bilingual language acquisition and the advantages and disadvantages of bilingualism (art. 45), which were strongly represented in the earlier literature (see Weinreich 1953, 116; Clyne 1975, 74–76). – The turning point in the field was the work of Weinreich and Haugen. As the two linguists were working simultaneously, there was much ‘cross-fertilization’ between their contributions. Although Haugen survived Weinreich by 27 years, he had started researching in the field over a decade earlier. Weinreich (1953) cites six works by Haugen, including three published in 1938. I shall therefore include in this survey Haugen’s work up to and including 1953. Both Haugen and Weinreich worked within the framework of structural linguistics, but both demonstrated a need and ability to incorporate social and psychological aspects into the study of bi- and multilingualism. Haugen’s and Weinreich’s work can be considered the beginning of (American) sociolinguistics (see Haugen 1980; Neustupný 1975). Haugen, who saw bilingualism as a *human* problem, devoted the first volume of his 1953 book to the bilingual community and to questions of migration history, the adaptation of immigrants, language maintenance and shift, and language conflict –

which others were to take up later. – Language contact was regarded for many decades as an integral part of linguistic research. It was addressed by such great linguists as Müller (1875), and Paul (1886), Sapir (1921), and Bloomfield (1933). However, it has featured less prominently in recent works on general linguistics (see Mühlhäusler 1982), whose ‘synchronic emphasis’ has apparently downgraded the importance attached to the field.

2. Two major pre-structural impetuses

1.1. Johannes Schmidt – A methodological break with the past

An important impetus for language contact research was provided by Schmidt (1872), who challenged the Darwinian approach of his contemporaries. They had used correspondences between ‘Indo-European languages’ as evidence for genealogical relationships. Having examined free and bound morpheme correspondences which applied to only two or three Indo-European subgroups, Schmidt developed an alternative explanation of some correspondences, the *Wellentheorie*. According to this, there is a continuum of related languages without boundaries where, due to non-linguistic factors, particular features of a language may be influenced by one or the other neighbouring language. Schmidt replaces the *Stammbaum* (family tree) by a model of concentric circles diminishing with distance. Thus, geographically neighbouring languages have more in common than geographically more distant ones.

2.2. Schuchardt and the study of “language mixing”

The study of language contact was frequently seen in terms of *Sprachmischung*. A precursor of most aspects of the field was Schuchardt, who wrote (1884, 21): “daß bei dem jetzigen Stande der Sprachwissenschaft kein Problem in höherem Grade verdient untersucht zu werden als das der Sprachmischung [...]” In his works, especially 1884, Schuchardt himself treats a host of language contact issues, which will be discussed in the course of this entry.

3. Geographical fields of research

Due to the historical emphasis in prestructural linguistics, there were many studies on such questions as Finnish loanwords in Germanic, English as a 'lexically mixed' language, the Latin and/or French influence on German, German influence on Italian (e.g. Kleinpaul 1900; Karsten 1915; Richter 1919; Gamillscheg 1934–5; Collinder 1935; Öhmann 1939; 1951). Other popular subjects of language contact research have been the influence of neighbouring languages, e.g. in the Balkans or along the German-Polish border (Sandfeld-Jansen 1930; Havránek 1933; Mak 1935; Capidan 1936), Sprachinseln and the impact of the national language on long-standing ethnic minorities (art. 147), e.g. German-Hungarian and German-Latvian contact (Pfaunder 1914–14; Mitzka 1923), immigrant languages in North America and elsewhere (e.g. Reid 1948; Herzog 1941; Seiffert 1951; Schach 1948; Pap 1949), and the development of 'new' (Creole or mixed) (art. 135) languages, e.g. Russenorsk (Broch 1927). Schuchardt (1884) took his data from a number of such situations. Derooy [1955] (1980) gives a 77-page bibliography on 'linguistic loans' encompassing pre-1955 studies of Indo-European languages and languages of many other groups. Haugen (1950a) stressed the importance of linguistic diversity in the U.S. for the study of language, for a single language was replacing a wide range of American Indian and immigrant languages. While Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1956) did examine this from a 'universals' point of view, comparisons of language contact can, in the future, throw more light on the nature of language. It is perhaps surprising that, in the period up to 1953, almost the entire literature on immigrant languages in the U.S. was devoted to old rural settlements, with a concentration on the exotic Pennsylvania German situation, and very little work was undertaken on more dynamic, urban language contact.

4. Linguistic fields of research

4.1. Lexical transference

In studies before Weinreich, much attention was paid to lexical transference ('borrowing'). Lexical transference was often discussed as a curiosity – a piece of exotica – or

as an evil or parasitic threat to the purity of the language which needed to be stamped out. Lexical transfers were presented mainly anecdotally, as 'washing lists' of items, arranged thematically and/or in alphabetical order. (See e.g. the appendix to Mencken 1921).

4.1.1. Integration

Imported items are frequently integrated into the system of the recipient language. This is mentioned by Schuchardt (1884), Whitney (1882), and Paul (1886), who gave the phenomenon a more extensive coverage. He attributes phonic integration to both linguistic and social factors – non-overlap of the phoneme inventories of the two languages, a lower level of education of the speakers, and distant language contact. A synchronic approach to the study of transference and integration, based on foreignness markers (morphemic, phonemic, graphemic) developed by the structuralists (e.g. Mathesius 1934) contrasts with the earlier historically-oriented research. – In studies of English transference into other languages, the question of gender assignment in the recipient language becomes crucial. The systematic study of this topic was pioneered by Flom (1903–5) and Aron (1930), who took their corpuses from, Scandinavian and German speakers in the U.S. respectively. Haugen (1938) noted that the older generation of Norwegian speakers in America tended to use less integrated transfers and the younger generation more integrated ones. Grammatical integration of 'loanwords' is discussed in Haugen (1950b; 1953). It was Haugen (1953; 1956) who, more than anyone else, succeeded in separating the concepts of *importation* and *adaptation* (later, *integration*). Weinreich (1953) still discusses *phonic treatment of transferred morphemes* under *phonic interference*, *grammatical integration* under *grammatical interference*, and *lexical integration* under *lexical interference*.

Haugen (1950a) also discusses the insoluble problem that synchronically one can only detect "structural irregularities, indices of foreignness" based on the speaker's consciousness. He poses the question (1950b, 230) "[...] just how infrequent must a pattern be before it begins to feel 'foreign'". However, it was Schuchardt who first took up this point in a review of 1897, when he criticized the dichotomy *Fremdwort-Lehn-*

wort, preferring a continuum based on synchronic criteria such as speakers' consciousness of 'foreignness' and their familiarity with the item rather than on diachronic ones (see Höfler 1977, 52). This is yet another instance in this field of an approach initiated by Schuchardt being rediscovered later.

4.2. Phonological and syntactic transference and their role in language change

While the studies of bilinguals and bilingual communities had stressed, but not exclusively treated, lexical transference, there was a long-established interest within historical linguistics in the role of substrata in language change (art. 164). That is, if the speakers of language A shifted to language B, what effect would the original language have on the phonology and syntax of the adopted one, and to what extent would this influence spread to the non-contact area of language B? Numerous examples of this from Slavic-German, Slavic-Italian and Balkanese contact are given in Schuchardt (1884), though he avoids the term *Substrat* and, in fact, expresses some healthy scepticism about substrata as a blanket explanation. The relation and balance between internal and external explanations of language change has been considered again in the more recent literature (Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Harris and Campbell 1995; Silva-Corvalán 1994). Among investigations on substrata were those involving intra-Germanic migration. (Wrede 1924, Frings e.g. 1937a; b, Schwarz 1950). Central German as a 'colonial compromise language', for example, contains numerous instances of grammatical transference.

The structuralist Polivanov (1931) showed that those learning a new language tend to reinterpret its phonological system in terms of the first language. Giving instances from many contact situations, he deals with over- and under-differentiation and with intonation.

4.3. Code-switching

The phenomenon of code-switching (art. 144) within the speech of a bilingual was first observed by Braun (1939) who noticed that transferred lexemes triggered off switches between Russian and German. Haugen (1953, 65) comments on the functions of longer switches within the discourse of his informants. Code-switching was an

underrated phenomenon during the period under review.

5. Towards a terminology

By the turn of the century, the terms *Fremdwort* and *Lehnwort* had become part of the discussion, the latter being a 'foreign word' that had been formally integrated into the system of the recipient language. Some interest was shown in 'loan translation' (e.g. by Kluge 1901; Mauthner 1923; Jespersen 1925), and several scholars (e.g. Paul 1886; Singer 1902; Sandfeld-Jansen 1912) saw the lexicon as being influenced in its 'inner' as well as its 'outer form' by other languages. Sandfeld-Jansen, for instance, distinguished between semantic loans, translations, and loan-idioms. Seiler (1912) first distinguished between obvious neologisms, expressions indicative of conspicuous metaphors, e.g. *aufgeweckt* (*éveillé*), and multi-morpheme idioms. This mixing of formal and semantic criteria creates confusion in the framework. By 1917, Seiler had adopted a trichotomy of translation, semantic loan, and loantranslation. With Kaufmann's (1939) article, perhaps a reflection of the time in which it was written, the evaluative element comes to the fore. He differentiated between *Lehnzwang*, *Lehnbedürfnis*, and *Lehnneigung* (words adopted out of compulsion, need, and inclination). – From the wealth of terms that had by then been used and suggested, Betz (1949) devised a coherent terminology, which he applied to the Latin lexical influence on the Old High German translation of the Benediktinerregel (c. 800).

Betz first distinguished between *Lehnwort* (loanword) and *Lehnprägung* (loancoinage), which he further subdivided into *Lehnsyntax* (loan-syntax), *Lehnbedeutung* (loan-meaning), *Lehnbildung* (loan-formation), and *Lehnwendung* (loan-idiom). *Lehnbildung* then incorporated a number of subcategories – *Lehnübersetzung* (loan-translation, e.g. *Wolkenkratzer* for skyscraper), *Lehnübertragung* (loan-rentition, e.g. *Vaterland* for *patria*), and *Lehnschöpfung* (loan-creation, e.g. *Kraftwagen* for *Auto*). – By this time, Haugen (1950a) had started to differentiate between *importation* and *substitution*. This dichotomy, based synchronically on the presence or absence of foreignness markers (Haugen 1950b), was more far-reaching than that of his German colleagues, for he was working with the spoken

as well as the written language. His terms embraced phonology and syntax as well as lexicon. Substitution required a redistribution of existing forms or structures in the recipient language, as was the case with Betz's *Lehnprägungen*. Haugen (1953) criticized the metaphorical basis of, and cast doubt on the usefulness of, terms such as *loans* and *borrowing*, preferring *importation*. – Weinreich's term *interference* was originally taken over from behaviourist psychology (e.g. Epstein 1915). The notion focused on the process rather than the result of 'mixing', and on speech and the individual rather than on language and the community. – Now that there has been some reaction against the overriding place given to 'interference' in the 1960s, one should mention that, as early as 1884, Schuchardt (1884, 57) pointed to the limitations of interference as an explanation in language contact situations: Slovenes prefer open *e* and *o* in German though they have close equivalents to the German realizations in Ll. Haugen (1953) too devoted far more attention to phenomena other than 'interference' than did Weinreich.

6. Theoretical and methodological advances

A matter occupying the minds of 19th century scholars was whether grammatical transference was 'really possible'. In a polemic with Müller (1875), who claimed languages were never mixed in grammar, Whitney (1882), another precursor of language contact research, affirmed that grammatical transference occurs just as lexical transference does. However, Whitney stressed that two languages never mingle their grammar on equal terms (a similar statement is made by Paul 1886). This question is central to the Matrix Language Frame Model (Myers-Scotton 1993). On the other hand, the impenetrability of grammatical systems is an axiom later defended by the structuralist Meillet (1921, 82). Whitney did admit that nouns are generally borrowed more than verbs, adjectives and other parts of speech (see also Haugen 1953), but pointed out that in English, parts of speech tend to be interchangeable. An interesting observation concerning language universals made by Whitney (1882) is that mixed languages are generally SVO. Windisch (1897) stated a general principle that it is the language of the learner, not that of the learned, that is in-

fluenced. In most cases this applies to the lexicon, as later studies have shown, but it cannot be extended to other levels of language. Paul (1882, 392) developed this axiom to stipulate that 'foreign words' are usually borrowed by native speakers of the recipient language while semantic, syntactic and phonic transference originate in non-native speakers. While Schuchardt, Whitney, and others stated principles on which languages influence each other, and these were developed further through descriptions of immigrant languages (especially by Haugen), there was, before Weinreich (1953), no systematized theory of language contact. Schuchardt (1884), apart from collecting masses of examples, argued that *Sprachmischung* is structured and introduced the notion of inter-lingual identification, developed by Weinreich. There was available to Weinreich a terminological framework which evolved from German and American work. But empirical methods were not very sophisticated, and technical facilities were primitive or cumbersome. Scholars working with historical material, of course, had to apply intuition to texts. Those investigating contemporary language often used forms of introspection or participant observation typical of other studies. Direct questioning was employed with little regard for its effects on data (cf. Labov 1970). The most substantial study of the time, Haugen (1953), used questionnaires from traditional dialectology which generally assumed an unrealistic homogeneity, something that he did not agree with (Haugen 1980, 138).

In quite a different field, Ronjat's (1913) study of the simultaneous acquisition of French and German by his son on the principle of 'une personne, une langue' has had a lasting impact on bilingual language acquisition.

7. 'Language and society' – perspective

Though the aim of most pre-1953 publications on language contact was unmistakably linguistic, many (if not most) investigators acknowledged the social nature of language contact. Whitney (1882), for instance, explicitly distinguished between cultural contact and the mingling of peoples as the two causes of lexical transference. Wackernagel (1904) differentiated three types of *Sprachmischung* – where the conquered take

over the language of the conquerors, where the reverse happens, and where mutual influence results in a 'mixed language'. Seiler (1913) focused on the way in which German culture is reflected in 'loanwords', while most of the research on Germanic loanwords in Finnish took into account archaeological discoveries. In this area, too, Schuchardt (1884) was far ahead of his time. He always gave exhaustive social data (e.g. on social setting and 'ethnic mix') to support his linguistic examples. He outlined the functions of varieties described and indicated class stratification factors, albeit in a somewhat primitive, subjective way. Schuchardt did not refrain from sociopolitical commentary. While he supported the language maintenance of migrant workers (1884, 135), he objected strongly to the source country's intervention to prevent assimilation. It was Wrede who introduced the notion of multilingualism into dialectological research, asserting that it was a heterogeneous sociolinguistic situation that caused changes in the language – an extension of Schmidt's *Wellentheorie*. The importance of *Verkehrsraum* (communicative territory) for language, propagated by Wrede, was further developed by Wagner (1927) and Frings (1932a; b). Haugen (1953), in depicting bilingualism as a human problem, demonstrated the need to develop new concepts accordingly, and avoided any evaluative or intolerant element in his terminological framework. He stimulated an interest in the bilingual's linguistic creativity, something also mentioned by Schuchardt (1884). One as yet unreplicated study is Efron's (1941) investigation of intergenerational change in non-verbal communication in two ethnic groups.

7.1. Domains; language maintenance

The precursor of Fishman, Cooper et al.'s (1971) concept of *domain* was Schmidt-Rohr (1933) though this is steeped in the racist ideology of National Socialism. Schmidt-Rohr uses more domains than Fishman and Cooper – family, playground/street/school (subdivided into: language of instruction, language as object, language of informal interaction), church, literature, press, army, law, and administration. In this way he is able to distinguish a number of (existent and non-existent) modes of language function specialization.

The systematic study of language maintenance was initiated by Kloss (1927). Kloss

(1929) also developed a sociological approach to the delineation of languages and to the description of linguistic minorities. As these papers were published in political science and historical journals not read by linguists, this approach was not accessible to scholars of bilingualism. Unfortunately the topic became increasingly susceptible to abuse by National Socialism and its ideology of *Volk* in Germany (see e.g. Geißler 1938), and the fruitful interaction propagated by a border discipline called Sociology of Language only occurred well after World War II. The pioneer Kloss continued to contribute to this interaction until his death in 1987. – Research into language maintenance institutions (e.g. press, church, education) was included in American studies of immigrant languages such as Haugen (1953). The various factors in the conflict over language maintenance and shift described for Norwegian in the U.S. in this book have their parallels in other immigrant language situations.

8. Conclusion

It may be concluded that most of the topics and issues of recent years were already the object of inquiry in the pre-Weinreich period. There are the beginnings of a coherent theory as well as an emerging terminological framework, but the earlier literature is weak on methodology and systematization and especially inept in empirical methods and experimental design, leading to difficulties in comparisons. There is much anecdotal information, much of it unvalidated.

While there was, in the period under investigation, a strong emphasis on lexical transference (especially lists of items), phonological and syntactic transference were also studied, and some theoretical issues were resolved. The developments described in this survey reflect changes in linguistic movements, from historical to structural, and to 'pre-sociolinguistic'. In fact, language contact research about 1953 can be seen as the beginning of Sociolinguistics. The developments also reflect a relocation of the centre of linguistic research from Europe (especially Germany) to the U.S. and a trend away from prescription to description. The leading figures emerging from the survey are Schuchardt (precursor) and Haugen (pioneer).

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86. History of Research on Pidgins and Creoles Geschichte der Pidgin- und Kreolforschung

1. Early observations
2. Early grammars and theories
3. Hugo Schuchardt and Dirk Hesseling
4. Pidgin- and Creole-research 1900–1936
5. John Reinecke and Robert A. Hall
6. Consolidation of the field of Pidgin and Creole studies
7. Perspectives
8. Literature (selected)

1. Early observations

The earliest full-length treatments of creolized languages were a grammar of Virgin Islands Creole Dutch by Joachim Magens (1770), and a dictionary and phrasebook of Java Creole Portuguese by Lodewyk Dominicus (1780), though neither addressed the question of the actual formation of these languages. – The recent discovery of the Nevill Manuscript of 19th century Ceylon Creole Portuguese (Jackson 1987) and of the Moravian Archives in Herrnhut which contain hitherto unexamined 18th C. *mss* in Creole Dutch, Sranan and Saramaccan (Gilbert 1986) promises to expand out knowledge of these early creoles. – The first writer to venture an explanation of pidginization was probably pierre Pelleprat, who also provided one of the first specimens of Caribbean French Creole. He believed that the Africans were responsible for the changes from French in their language, and that the Europeans accommodated themselves to those changes (1655, 53). Four years later, André Chevillard, writing in 1659 on the same linguistic situation, suggested just the opposite, i.e. that it was the Europeans who voluntarily corrupted their French to make it easier for the Africans to understand. – In 1830, William Greenfield, who was born in London in 1799, published his defence of the linguistic discreteness of Sranan (Suriname Creole English), against the charges by the editor of a certain theological journal that it was gibberish and a babyish lingo. In it, Greenfield proposed that the processes which gave rise to Sranan were the same as those which gave rise to any other language (1830, 48). He also provided comparative texts in Sranan and Virgin Islands Creole Dutch, followed by a lexical analysis of each. This predated Van Name's comparative study by nearly 40 years.

Wilhelm von Humboldt, in a book which appeared in 1836, advanced a number of notions about language which were to influence later creolists. Although he didn't deal with creoles at all, his concept of an inner and an outer linguistic form was applied to pidginization and creolization processes by Schuchardt, and later by Hymes. – The next writer who tried to account for what happens to languages in these situations was E. Bertrand-Bocandé, in a short description of West African Pidgin French which appeared in 1849. In the spirit of his times, he believed the 'genius' of western languages to be too remote from the 'barbarous languages of semi-savages', and saw European grammar as having been 'stripped away' ('dépouillât') by Africans, who substituted African grammar in its place. In the same year, August Fuchs, writing about Papiamentu, the Iberian creole of Curaçao, suggested that it was the result of the accommodation of non-European (specifically, Amerindian), grammatical forms to Romance languages (1849, 7). This view was accepted uncritically by the Italian linguist Emilio Teza in 1863 fourteen years later, in his own brief description of the same language.

2. Early grammars and theories

The person usually considered to have written the first comparative grammatical treatment of these languages was the then librarian at Yale University, Addison Van Name. In an article which appeared in 1870, he compared nine Caribbean creoles derived from four different European lexicons: Dutch, French, English and Spanish. He did not believe that there was anything exceptional about creolization, but rather that it was the same process of linguistic change found anywhere, the Romance languages growing out of Latin, for instance, but, because of social circumstances, all happening much faster. Like Greenfield, he believed that creolization involved the loss of morphology, and that since some European languages had already progressed quite far in this direction (English, or spoken French, for example), they were more susceptible to creolization than other languages which re-

tained more complex morphologies. Hugo Schuchardt, who followed Van Name, held the same belief, though in the light of what we now know, this does not seem to be a significant criterion. Pidginized and creolized forms of languages such as Russian, Romani and Chinook have come into existence, and these have relatively complex morphosyntactic structures. – Van Name also believed that once creolization had begun, it could continue as an independent process if the lexifier language were removed from the same environment (an idea pursued by Whinnom in the 1970s); that is, it could generate new grammatical rules and vocabulary using its existing resources, in innovative combinations. Modern evidence tends to support this, and Van Name's implication that creolization would be retarded, or even reversed, if the metropolitan language remained in use alongside the creole, is today recognised by many creolists as being an implicit condition in perhaps the majority of creole language situations. From its study have sprung the notions of decreolization and of the existence of a continuum of grammars, or sets of overlapping rules, with the creole at one end and the lexically-related metropolitan language at the other. Jespersen referred to this again in 1922, although more recently such scholars as Le Page and Hancock have questioned such a concept as being too simplistic, and have challenged also the validity of the decreolization continuum as a rationale for explaining differences among related creoles (Hancock 1987). Nevertheless, the social, cultural and educational implications of explorations in this area are coming to be recognised as central to sociolinguistic theory and, more practically, to many aspects of language planning. – Van Name did not believe that there was much non-European input into creole language formation. He acknowledged some lexical carryovers, and some mothertongue interference in pronunciation, but he essentially saw them as having grown out of single European languages and, after separating from them, developing as isolated, self-contained systems having nothing in common except similarities in their social, ethnic and geographical formative criteria.

A year later, in contrast to this, although independently of Van Name, the Trinidadian schoolteacher John J. Thomas put forward the hypothesis that shared creole fea-

tures (he was comparing a French and an English creole) were to be attributed to a common origin, probably in an African language, which had been transmitted into the various creoles by their African speakers during the acquisition process. In 1901, Hamelberg was to make the same claim for Papiamentu; this notion is another which has been rediscovered by 20th century creolists who, in the 1960s, developed the relexification hypothesis. Paul Meyer, in a review of a book by Thomas on Trinidad Creole French (1870), itself the first grammar of a French creole ever published, agreed with Van Name's point of view, i.e. that creolization was, in essence, the same kind of process which created the Romance languages out of Latin (1872, 158); he didn't believe that such languages shared any genetic link, however, but all acquired a similar core vocabulary because their speakers selected only elementary and essential words, being unfamiliar with the nuances of European thought. Despite similarities, he said, "analogies between Trinidad Creole and Mauritian Creole were not adequately accounted for by the fact that they shared the same point of departure [i.e. in the French language]".

The next writer to generalize about what he called 'mixed languages', and the first to devote a whole book to the subject, was James Cresswell Clough, in 1876. He believed that such languages resulted from contact between either "civilized and barbarous nations, or nations of an entirely different civilisation" (1876, 7). He also saw this change as coming about as a result of speakers of the 'cultivated language' having to learn and repeat the learners' errors of the 'savage' which, according to Clough, affected both structure and phonology. He dealt with several languages in his book which would not be considered creoles today, although they have 'mixed' characteristics – Maltese and Hindi are examples – but he was the first to group into one category such divergent pidgins and creoles as Chinook Jargon, Lingua Franca, Angloromani and Sranan, and was also the first to include Black English, albeit briefly, under the same heading. During the same year, Charles Godfrey Leland drew a linguistic parallel between China Coast Pidgin English and Angloromani (1876, 2); it was evident that such languages were attracting the attention of a growing number of scholars. The shared character-

istics of “the various negro jargons of Guyana, of the West Indies and of Louisiana, of Chinook Jargon, etc.”, also caught the attention of Albert Gatchet, in a discussion of the origins of Papiamentu (1884, 303). – Between 1880 and 1886, the Portuguese scholar Adolfo Coelho published a three-part survey in Portuguese called *The Romance or neo-Latin dialects in Africa, Asia and America*. This was more comprehensive than the title implied, for it made reference to a number of non-Romance-related pidgins and creoles as well. Coelho’s work was valuable for several reasons: it was a comparative study, with substantial texts from a surprising number of creoles, and it provided a great many bibliographical references. Being published in a respected and learned journal helped draw academic attention to the subject, especially among Portuguese scholars, who produced a spate of works on individual Creole Portuguese languages during the following few years. – Coelho believed that features of creolization were due simply to ‘arrested development’ in language acquisition, i. e. frozen learners’ errors. In anticipation of Selinker and others (1972ff), he did not consider mother-tongue interference to be significant at all: “It is fruitless to look for any influence whatsoever from Tamil or Sinhalese in Indo-Portuguese” (1880–1881, 2, 195). Smith (1979) gives clear evidence of the opposite, however. Like Meyer, Coelho saw no historical links connecting these different ‘neo-Latin’ languages, and shared Van Name’s belief that their common features were due to the tropical, masterservant environments in which they flourished. Bos, writing at the same time, on the other hand, recognised that the creoles of the Antilles, Africa and the Indian Ocean shared even more family-like characteristics than did the modern metropolitan Romance languages (1880, 573). – Coelho’s motivation for embarking upon his series of studies was essentially political; they appeared at a time when Portugal was becoming increasingly interested in its overseas territories, and while the amount of material which he published remains of value, his theoretical contribution was not as extensive as it might have been. He did, however, stimulate a number of others to take up the issue – in particular Hugo Schuchardt, a German linguist teaching in Austria, and who has come to be regarded as the father of modern creole

studies, for the sheer volume of material he produced over a period of thirty-five years, rather than for his ideas which, though valuable, were not always coherent. As Reinecke (1937, 21) said, “Probably no man has been so well equipped to formulate a theory of creole languages, but this he never did”. He shared many of the Eurocentric attitudes of his time, and is said never to have heard a creole language actually spoken.

3. Hugo Schuchardt and Dirk Hesseling

The work of Coelho and others supported Schuchardt’s ‘neogrammarian’ ideas about language change, *viz.* that such change results from the spread of features originating in individual speakers, rather than by the operation of univesally-fixed laws. At first, he dealt with all ‘broken’ and contact-situation languages in the same way, without distinguishing different processes in their respective formations. But as his studies progressed, he began to classify differently those which were simply imperfectly learnt and those which had developed a conventionalized structure. He called the latter ‘need languages’, seeing their origin primarily in trading situations, or as a result of slavery. He recognised that creole societies existed as well as creole languages, and opposed the idea, popular among some of his contemporaries, that language mixture goes hand-in-hand with racial mixture. – Schuchardt’s work cannot be underestimated. In recent years it has become the subject of a number of learned debates, and has been translated into English in two separate versions. Many of the issues being ‘discovered’ for the first time by contemporary creolists may in fact be found, at least touched upon, scattered through Schuchardt’s eclectic writings. – In a published comment on Schuchardt’s theories, Anton Meillet went so far as to maintain that (French) Creole characteristics were due wholly to imperfect acquisition, and contained nothing attributable to African influence at all: “Les parlers créoles français ne sont pas du français africanisé (on n’y trouve rien d’africain), mais du français imparfait et incomplet” (1915, 167). – Lucien Adam adhered to the belief that creoles retained their speakers’ indigenous grammar and phonology, but had acquired a foreign lexicon – a point of view also taken by Comhaire-Sylvain (1936) and Herskovits

(1941), among others. He also believed that the grammar of such languages was more 'instinctive' (1883, 6) than that of European languages, and in the same way as Egger, four years before him, likened it to the speech of children. Some of these ideas have been developed by Bickerton (especially Bickerton 1982, 1985). A decade later, René Poyen-Bellisle reiterated the earlier notion that creolization was merely the result of "communication between men in an advanced state of civilization and men in a more primitive state" (1894, 13). – The next important figure, perhaps even more significant than Schuchardt in terms of his theoretical contributions, was the Dutch scholar Dirk Hesseling, a professor of Greek at Leiden. In a book published in 1905, he soundly refuted Poyen-Bellisle and advanced his own hypothesis that creoles owe their characteristics to the suddenness of the contact situation, and to the profusion of different languages in it, and to the fact that everyone involved was an adult, and therefore past the age of being able to learn anew. This last idea was remarkably similar to Selinker's proposed language acquisition device (1972). Probably because it was written in Dutch, Hesseling's work remained little known until recently when, along with that of Schuchardt, it was translated into English and as a result has become the subject of serious examination (Meijer/Muysken 1977; Markey/Roberge 1979; Gilbert 1980). – A year before the appearance of Hesseling's 1905 book, the German lecturer Jakob Wackernagel, in a discussion of languages in contact, enlarged upon Van Name's earlier proposal (although without referring to it), *viz.* that all languages went through the same process of change in their development as did the creoles, but more slowly (1904, 108).

4. Pidgin- and Creole-research 1900–1936

Following Hesseling, little appeared for a number of years except for some minor treatments by Winterstein (1908), and Hassert (1913), both of them Germans, writing at the time of their country's overseas expansion, and a few important studies by Schuchardt. In the 1920s, a number of other significant works appeared, notably by Vendryes (1921), Jespersen (1922) and Lenz (1926). Vendryes, a university professor in

Paris, referred to creole languages in terms of their consisting of the grammar of one language and the vocabulary of another, though he conceded that the grammar of the creole was a simplified version of that of the lexifier language (1921, 295). In an important chapter in a book published the following year by Jespersen, a Dane, the opposite view was taken. He referred to such languages as makeshift or minimal forms of communication which crystallized out of the intentional simplification of European languages in contact situations. He believed that such reduced forms approximate grammatically more and more to their lexically-related source – the European language – and if they did not disappear by being thus absorbed, they would do so by falling out of use. This drift back to the source language is now referred to as decreolization, or metropolitanization (Hancock 1986a) and like creolization itself, can only take place when specific linguistic and social factors are present. Jespersen, like others before him, did not acknowledge that creolization could take place among non-European languages; even in his discussion of Chinook Wawa he maintained that the language developed only after the arrival of the European *courcours de bois*. – In 1926–1927, in a fourpart article (published as a book in 1928), the Chilean scholar Rodolfo Lenz wrote in some detail about his own theories of creole origins. His book remains the most extensive treatment of the Iberian-derived creole of Curaçao. Lenz acknowledged a superior-inferior social situation, with learners' errors on both sides, which fluctuated in the speech of the adults involved but which acquired more stable rules when spoken by the children in the same situation. He rejected the idea of African or other non-European grammatical carryovers, but saw parallels with them in the creoles, present because of a shared 'logic' in the two systems. This echoed Adams' belief that 'primitive' languages are somehow closer to the natural order of things, and foreran the theories of Hjelmslev, Molony and others in the mid 20th century which dealt with universal creole grammar. Significantly, Lenz mentioned the speaker's "manufactur[ing] new grammars" (1928, 43), and suggested that the Guinea Coast Creole Portuguese of the 1500s had left its mark in creoles spoken from America to Asia. – After Lenz, Carlo Tagliavini summarized much of the import-

ant work done up until 1930 in an article on creole languages in the *Enciclopedia Italiana* (1931), and added a few ideas of his own. He grouped creoles as a type on the basis of their shared linguistic features, and while he saw them as having developed independently of each other, he linked them in terms of the 'psychological process' which took place in the creation of each. He also referred to the maritime nature of the European involvement.

In 1933, a German geographer, Ernst Schulze, presented the first sociological discussion of pidgin and creole languages, though it was obviously written without his prior acquaintance with earlier writings in the field. He dealt with a number of languages (Chinook Wawa, Kiswahili, Tupi, Papiamentu, Mauritian Creole French, *Lingua Franca*, China Coast Pidgin, &c.), seeing them all as having resulted from a combination of imperfect acquisition and intentional hypocorism on the part of the 'slaves' and the 'whites' respectively. "These languages", he said, "are mostly intentionally distorted artificially primitive auxiliary languages which eschew all attempts at grammatical construction, and are not possessed of a single beautiful or clear expression" (1933, 418). He made a somewhat arbitrary distinction between 'slaves' languages' and 'servants' languages', and a rather more legitimate one between stabilized trade languages and less rigidly structured trade jargons, and saw differences of social status as being central to their formation. His writings influenced to some extent the work of Reinecke which was begun the following year and which appeared in 1935 in his University of Hawaii Master's thesis. – In the same year that Schulze's article appeared, Leonard Bloomfield's *Language* was published in the United States. In it, he devoted a few pages to the process of 'intimate borrowing', illustrating the results of this with examples from Tok Pisin, Sranan and Yiddish. His statement (1933, 474) that

"When the jargon [spoken by people of different linguistic backgrounds] has become the only language of the subject group, it is a creolized language. The creolized language has the status of an inferior dialect of the master's speech. It is subject to constant leveling-out and improvement in the direction of the latter",

has become the most widely paraphrased definition of creolization, particularly in

non-specialist literature. Bloomfield was referring also to decreolization, and was probably the first to use the term 'de-creolize' (*loc. cit.*).

In 1934, the Hungarian László Göbli-Gáldi published the first modern comparative study of the Creole French dialects, the creoles which have attracted the attention of eastern Europeans most particularly. He made no attempt to discuss their origins or relationships, but agreed with Lenz that they exhibited minimal grammar. In a much later article (1949), he emphasized the importance of the study of creolization for general linguistic theory; he suggested that there was a 'general creole grammar', modified in the respective creoles by characteristics reflected from the various native substrata. – 'Suriname Folk-Lore', written by Melville Herskovits and Frances Herskovits, appeared in 1936 and was significant for the copious, carefully-transcribed texts in Sranan, and for the several pages of linguistic discussion giving overwhelming structural and phonological evidence of the shared characteristics of Sranan, Sramaccan, Jamaican, Bahamian, Gullah, Krio and West African Pidgin English. The Herskovits' rather weak conclusion, however, was merely that they were "all languages exhibiting, in varying degrees of intensity, similar African constructions and idioms, though employing vocabulary that is predominantly European" (1936, 134). Nevertheless this book, reissued in 1969, was the first extended comparative treatment of the anglophone Atlantic creoles.

5. John Reinecke and Robert A. Hall

A year later John Reinecke's mammoth dissertation completed at Yale was presented, and while much of the information it contained may be found in the section -introductions throughout his later bibliography of pidgins and creoles (Reinecke et al. 1975), it remains by far the most thorough and comprehensive source of social and historical reference to date. In it, he included a detailed summary of the work of most of the major scholars up to the mid 1930s, and his own breakdown of types of 'marginal languages' – ten in all. He dealt with the concept of standard language in its relationship to the various marginal languages, and with the role of church, school and nationalism in the development of such languages. He also

dealt at length with a number of specific languages, and included the most comprehensive bibliography until that time. – Contemporary with John Reinecke were Louis Hjelmslev and Jules Faine, the former a Dane, the latter a Haitian. Hjelmslev dealt not with any particular language but, in two articles published in the same year (1939a, 1939b), put forward the notion that creole grammar was ‘optimal’; in their formation, all creoles reordered their grammars to conform to a universal, minimally adequate, structure. He rejected the idea that creoles have ‘exotic grammars grafted onto European vocabularies’ (*cf.* the approaches of Adams, Herskovits, &c.), instead seeing their characteristics as having no structural break (*rupture à la tradition*) with their lexifier languages, and all being ultimately from them. – Faine wrote the first comprehensive description of Haitian Creole French, though from a Eurocentric perspective, attributing its characteristics to Norman French and the cosmopolitan speech of the early freebooters. He believed, like Tagliavini and Reinecke, that the nautical element was significant, and it is because of this that his otherwise unspectacular work is important. He wrote of the existence of a ‘patois nautique’ (1937, 17) which was already being spoken before the creole, and out of which the creole grew. This was later challenged for the French creoles by Goodman (1964, 128), but was developed for them by Hull (1979), and for the English creoles by Hancock (1969), who, in the same paper, laid the groundwork for his domestic hypothesis (also 1972, 1986).

Robert A. Hall Junior’s first article on Melanesian Pidgin English (now called Tok Pisin) appeared in 1942; a year later it was followed by a full-length grammar of the same language. Since then, he has produced over fifty creole-related articles and, in 1966, published the first book-length treatment of the subject. His theoretical stand has been unbendingly polygenetic, i. e. that each pidgin has developed independently of the others. Like Coelho, he sees their similarities as being due to their having developed in similar social and geographical environments. He also follows Hjelmslev in tracing the essential grammatical elements in the pidgins and creoles to their lexifier languages, to the extent that he can call Haitian Creole French a ‘North Gallo-Roman language’. Hall’s position (e.g. Hall 1958)

was questioned by Taylor (1959) who argued that pidgin and creole languages are more similar to one another than to their respective lexifiers, and that their histories do not conform to the requirement of continuity which Meillet had specified for genetic relatedness. – In 1988 Thomason/ Kaufman returned to the question of the genetic classification of contact languages in their seminal work on contact-induced language change. Genetic relatedness, according to Thomason/ Kaufman, requires ‘normal transmission’ across generations. The extraordinary circumstances under which pidgin and creole languages emerged, however, were characterized by an abrupt break-up of communications, and imperfect learning led to the formation of languages whose lexicons matched the superstrate but whose grammars diverged substantially from those of the lexifiers. Because of their ‘abnormal’ transmission pidgin and creole languages cannot be incorporated into the family trees of their lexifiers. – Hall’s theoretical stance has not changed in forty years. His sometimes outspoken championing of pidgin languages has to some extent enhanced the academic and political acknowledgement of them. The principal advocate of Hall’s approach during the 1950s was Sommerfelt, who shared his views on genetic affiliation, although he made no contributions of his own (1958). Hall’s cyclic theory (1962), viz. that ‘normal’ languages – Hall’s term – can become pidgins, which can become creoles, which can decreolize back towards the lexifier language and thereby have become ‘normal’ again (and susceptible once more to pidginization), has also become widely accepted. A number of later scholars, however, such as Valdman (1977) have discussed the possibility that pidginization may not necessarily be a prior requisite for creolization.

6. Consolidation of the field of Pidgin and Creoles studies

It was in the same decade, in March and April, 1959, that the first international creole conference was held in Jamaica, and creole studies became recognized as a discrete discipline. Hall (1962, 155–156) wrote that “a major purpose of the First Conference on Creole Languages ... was to provide backing for the supporters of creole languages in their efforts to overcome official and unoffi-

cial hostility, based on social prejudices". The conference may certainly have rung a change here, but it was equally, and perhaps more, significant in that it brought together a number of scholars who, until that time had not really felt that they were working in a common area. Several of the scholars who attended the 1959 conference became the first generation "founding fathers" of the post-war period, and it is upon their work that much modern research rests. The second international conference took place nine years later, again in Jamaica, and brought together a range of theoretical perspectives (sociolinguistics, generative linguistic theory, anthropology; cf. Hymes 1971). In 1973 a newsletter, the 'Carrier Pidgin', was founded and in 1975 the third international conference took place in Hawaii. In the same year, Reinecke 'et al.' published their bibliographical handbook of pidgin and creole studies. In 1976 the first Colloque International de Créolistes took place and led to the formation of the Comité International des Etudes Créoles (with its own journal 'Etudes Créoles'). In 1986 the 'Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages' was founded as the organ of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics, and in 1996 the electronic Creolist Archives were established by Mikael Parkvall at the University of Stockholm (The archives were discontinued in late 2002). In 1991 the first 'Colóquio sobre Crioulos de base Portuguesa' was organized in Lisbon and a specialized journal was founded ('Papia: Revista de Crioulos de Base Ibérica'; cf. Holm 2001, chapter 2, for further details on the institutional history of creolistics).

The 1950s and 1960s saw much debate of the monogenesis or relexification hypothesis. Taylor (1963), who had worked on Dominican Creole French, had argued strongly in favour of the relexification hypothesis: this stated that creoles of all European lexical bases originated in a Portuguese pidgin (an idea first suggested by Hesseling in 1905), but because of later contact with other European nations, the originally Portuguese-derived words were replaced by words from e.g. Dutch, English or French, while the structure remained essentially unaltered. Other champions of the relexification hypothesis were Thompson (1961), Stewart (1963) and Whinnom (1965), the latter suggesting that the Portuguese pidgin itself derived from an earlier Mediterranean Lingua

Franca (Sabir). The relexification hypothesis has been challenged by Hancock (1969), Alleyne (1971) and Hall (1962), but was defended by Voorhoeve (1973). Although the strong version of the monogentic theory (i.e. relexification of a Portuguese pidgin) has been largely abandoned by creolists, the idea of relexification still has a firm place in creolization theory. Lefebvre (1998, also Muysken 1981), who has worked on Haitian Creole French, sees relexification as a fundamental mechanism of creolization. She argues that the structural properties of Haitian Creole French can be explained as the result of relexification of Fon-Gbe, a West African Language. – The idea that another linguistic system underlies and unites the Atlantic creole languages – the substrate-diffusionist hypothesis – has been referred to in the writings of Thomas (1870), Vendryes (1925), Stoney/Shelby (1930) and Lichtveld (1954). Cassidy (1961a) suggested a West African origin for the western hemisphere creoles, a possibility alluded to by Krapp (1925, 253) who maintained that "it is not improbable that the English of the original Gullah negroes was a kind of Pan-African English, used all along the slave coast". Cassidy sought to establish an African origin not only for Gullah, but for "all the English-African pidgins and creoles that have since come into existence" (1961a, 268). The Portuguese element in those creoles he saw as adoptions from a coexisting Guinea Coast Portuguese pidgin rather than remnants of an incomplete relexification of it. He later argued for Barbados as the central distribution point in the Western hemisphere for the anglophone Atlantic creoles (1975; 1980). The idea that the anglophone creoles of the Atlantic area have an ultimately Caribbean origin was revived by Goodman (1987). It was challenged by Hancock (1980; 1986; 1987) who has developed arguments supporting a West African origin for the creolization process, and who has proposed the 'componential' approach to explaining features shared by creoles in this group, and to account for some of the aspects of what has traditionally been seen as decreolization. West African substrate influence was also argued by Boretzky (1983), and McWorther (1995) suggested that the Atlantic creoles derive from a stable West African pidgin used in the early 17th century. The substratist position has been most vigorously challenged by the universalists (cf. the

earlier works of Tagliavini, Hjelmslev and Molony) whose chief exponent is Derek Bickerton (1981; 1984). Bickerton formulated the language bioprogramme hypothesis (LBH) which argued that creole genesis constitutes a special case of first-language acquisition in which a universal, natural semantics guides the children's language development in the absence of a stable and well-formed adult model. The collection of papers edited by DeGraff (1999) provides an important contribution to the discussion of language change, language acquisition and the LBH. While the controversy between substratists and universalists has dominated much of the debate in the English-speaking world, French creolists such as Chaudenson (1974, 1992) have emphasized the importance of the structures of the superstrate input (i.e. the non-standard sociolects and regional dialects spoken by the European settlers) for the development of pidgin and creole languages. Mufwene (2001) has tried to balance superstrate and substrate influences in his 'complementary hypothesis' which assumes competition between substrate and superstrate structures during creolization. Selection of features is regulated by universal principles such as regularity, frequency, semantic transparency and/or perceptual salience.

Le Page's work on the Linguistic Survey of the Caribbean (which started in 1951) was a first milestone of Caribbean descriptive linguistics. It led to the publication of 'General Outlines of Creole English Dialects in the Caribbean' (1957–1958) and the 'Dictionary of Jamaican English' (Cassidy/ Le Page 1967, 1980). Le Page was one of the most convincing and outspoken opponents of the universalist approach to creole language origins, and his work contributes much to our understanding of the sociolinguistic context of creolization. Together with André Tabouret-Keller (1985) he developed, on the basis of data from Belize, the 'acts of identity' model to explain the linguistic choices of individuals that lead to divergence or convergence in language contact. Further work on Jamaican Creole was presented by Bailey (1966) and DeCamp (1961). DeCamp produced several articles on this language, but is better remembered now for his contributions to a theory of language variability and the post creole continuum (1964; 1971a; 1971b), first dealt with three decades earlier by Reinecke/Tokimasa (1934), and later pur-

sued from different perspectives by Labov (1971), Bickerton (1975; 1981) and Washa-baugh (1979). The study of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) in the USA has also received much attention from creolists who have investigated possible connections between AAVE and the Caribbean creoles (e.g. Baugh 1980). Interest in the Pacific pidgins and creoles, which differ from the Atlantic pidgin and creole languages structurally and sociohistorically, grew steadily from the 1970s (e.g. Mühlhäusler 1979). There have been brief treatments of non-European-related pidgins and creoles in the past, but proper acknowledgement of these and their importance to general creole theory has still to be exploited. The work of e.g. Polomé, Samarin, Silverstein, Wurm, Owens and others is making progress in this direction.

The 1980s and 1990s have seen a growing interest in the sociohistorical context of creole formation (Baker/Corne 1982; Arends 1995; Corne 1999). Research has focused on population demographics, the historical reconstruction of the sociolinguistic variety space during early contact (i.e. the non-standard colonial dialects of the lexifiers and the substrate languages) as well as the social organization of colonial societies. The study of historical texts (e.g. Negerhollands, Sranan and Saramaccan) has provided important information for our understanding of the evolution of creole languages over time (Arends/ Perl 1995; Muysken 1995). Historical creole studies have shown Bickerton's LBH to be problematic since in many cases adults rather than children were found to play a central role in creole genesis, leading to gradual structural expansion over a number of generations (Arends 1993; also Sankoff 1991 on the role of adults in creole genesis).

7. Perspectives

The possibility that English, Germanic, and other 'traditional' categories may have undergone creolization during their development has also been addressed, and while such claims have not always gone unchallenged, the fact that they have been seriously proposed is an indication of an increasing recognition of the universality of the creolization process (cf. Huntsman/Bailey/Maroldt &c.). Acceptance of the significance of the field to the understanding of language

origin, change and classification can no longer be held in question.

More recently creolists have begun to look at mixed (or 'intertwined') languages such as Media Lengua (Ecuador), Michif (Canada) or Ma'a (Tanzania). Unlike pidgins which arise in emergency contact situations, mixed languages emerge in situations of widespread bilingualism and typically function as in-group languages (see the case studies in Bakker/ Mous 1994; Thomason 1996). A second line of research concentrates on partially restructured contact languages which do not show a clear structural break with their lexifiers (i.e. 'semi-creoles' such as Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese, Afrikaans, Réunionnais; cf. Holm 2001, 65–66). Following from this broadening basis of empirical studies, creolists have argued for a theoretical integration of pidgin and creole linguistics into the larger field of contact linguistics and the study of contact-induced language change (Thomason/ Kaufmann 1988; Mufwene 2001; Thomason 2001; Winford 2001; see also Weinreich 1953). However, the idea that creolization should be considered in conjunction with other language contact phenomena (such as second language acquisition, code-switching, borrowing in language history, etc.) is not uncontroversial. McWorther (1998), for example, maintains that creoles constitute a typologically distinct class and can be defined structurally as follows: little or no inflectional affixation, little or no use of grammatical tone and semantically regular derivational affixation. McWorther's 'creole prototype' generated much lively debate in creole circles (see, for example, DeGraaf 2001). Although pidgin and creole languages share certain structural features, most creolists maintain that they cannot be defined synchronically as being fundamentally distinct from other languages. Creolization, as argued by Mufwene (2001, 138) is always also 'a social process', and explanations of the genesis, development and structure of pidgin and creole languages need to take sociohistorical factors (e.g. settler-slave ratio, degree of nativization, intergroup relations, issues of social identity and group formation, etc.) into account (cf. also Holm 2001, 237).

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87. Geschichte der Anwendungen der Soziolinguistik History of Application of Sociolinguistics

1. Einleitung
2. Praktische Anwendungen vor der Begründung der Soziolinguistik als wissenschaftlicher Disziplin
3. Zur Historiographie der Auseinandersetzung mit soziolinguistischen Fragestellungen
4. Anwendungsbereiche der Soziolinguistik und ihre Idealtypik
5. Historische Trends in der Anwendung der Soziolinguistik
6. Endoglossie versus Exoglossie: Die Auseinandersetzung mit dem kolonialen Erbe in der postkolonialen Ära
7. Ausblick
8. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Einleitung

Versteht man die Geschichte der Anwendung der Soziolinguistik als Geschichte der Umsetzung soziolinguistisch relevanter Handlungsinhalte, so reicht diese Geschichte in der Zeit weit vor den Beginn der modernen soziolinguistischen Forschung zurück. Mit Bezug auf Sprachenpolitik und Sprachplanung als soziolinguistische Anwendungsbereiche ist festzustellen, dass sie betrieben wurden, lange bevor überhaupt eine Terminologie für sprachorientierte Planungsobjekte und entsprechende politische Strategien existierte. Mit anderen Worten, es hat schon seit Jahrtausenden sprachplanerische und -politische Aktivitäten gegeben, einfach deshalb, weil sich konkrete Probleme stellten, die bewältigt werden mussten.

2. Praktische Anwendungen vor der Begründung der Soziolinguistik als wissenschaftlicher Disziplin

Sucht man nach illustrativen Beispielen für historische sprachpolitische Problemstellungen und deren Lösungsstrategien, so eignen sich die im folgenden hervorgehobenen Sachverhalte im besonderen, dem modernen Betrachter praktische Anwendungen im Horizont der Zeit vorzustellen:

a) Amtssprachenrevision im pharaonischen Ägypten. – Vom 20. bis 14. Jh. v. Chr. war in Altägypten das Mittelägyptische als Amts- und Zeremonialsprache in Gebrauch. Der wohl bekannteste Herrscher der 18. Dynastie, Amenophis IV. (reg.: 1340–1324

v. Chr.), führte eine radikale Reform durch. Der Häretiker-Pharao, der sich Echnaton nannte, ersetzte nicht nur den altägyptischen Polytheismus durch den Aton-Kult, sondern er schaffte auch die alte Amtssprache ab und verfügte stattdessen, dass sich an die Umgangssprache seiner Zeit anlehrende Spätägyptische als Staatssprache zu verwenden (Quirke 1990, 33). Echnatons Amtssprachenrevision blieb bestehen, auch wenn bald nach seinem Tod das Monotheismus-Modell verworfen wurde.

b) Schutz von Minderheitensprachen im römischen Reich. – Die älteste Minderheitenschutzbestimmung der Welt stammt aus dem 3. Jh. n. Chr. In einem von dem römischen Präfekten Ulpianus erlassenen Dekret, das den Sprachgebrauch bei der Abfassung von Testamenten regelt, werden außer der lateinischen Staatssprache das Griechische, Punische und Gallische namentlich aufgeführt (Haarmann 1993, 84).

c) Sprachenpolitik als Instrument staatlicher Konsolidierung. – Den Prototyp für diese Art von Sprachenpolitik finden wir im vorrevolutionären Frankreich. Korrelierend mit der Ausdehnung des staatlichen Territoriums durch die Eroberungen der nordfranzösischen Könige im Süden entfaltete sich eine an der Idee des Einheitsstaates orientierte Sprachenpolitik. Seit dem 15. Jh. wird das Französische, die Sprachform der Île-de-France, sukzessive aufgewertet, und zwar durch den systematischen Ausschluss anderer regionaler Varietäten des Französischen (z. B. Normannisch, Champagnisch, Pikardisch), anderer regionaler Sprachen wie Bretonisch, Occitanisch oder Frankoprovenzalisch sowie der mittelalterlichen lateinischen Bildungssprache (Gossen 1957). Der Zentralisierungsprozess wird vorbereitet durch eine Reihe von Dekreten zum Sprachgebrauch des Königreichs und kulminiert in der Abschaffung aller anderen Sprachvarianten in allen Funktionen durch die Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts (1539). Mit diesem Dekret wird das Fundament für die französische Staatssprachenideologie gelegt, auf das sich der exklusive Gebrauch des Französischen in amtlichen Funktionen bis heute stützt (Marcellesi/Laroussi 1997, 1174).

d) Standardisierung des Russischen im 18. Jh. – Ein Fall von Sprachplanung mit im

wahrsten Sinn des Wortes ‚imperialen‘ Dimensionen und weitreichenden Folgen für die Entwicklung des kulturellen Lebens in Osteuropa war die von Zar Peter I., dem Großen (reg.: 1689–1725), initiierte Standardisierung und Modernisierung des Russischen. Lange Zeit hatte das Russische im Schatten der kirchenslawischen Bildungssprache gestanden. Durch die Reformen des ebenso resoluten wie exzentrischen Herrschers wurde das Russische auf praktisch allen Ebenen standardisiert, was zahlreiche Innovationen beinhaltete. Die Reformen betrafen das Schriftsystem, die grammatischen Strukturen (z. B. System der formbildenden Elemente), den Wortschatz, das Stilrepertoire sowie das gesamte zeitgenössische Spektrum hochsprachlicher Funktionen (Živov 1996). Am augenfälligsten ist in diesem Innovationsprozess vielleicht die Neustrukturierung des russischen Wortschatzes, in den Tausende von Neologismen holländischer, deutscher und französischer Provenienz transferiert wurden. Über die Entlehnungen verstärkte sich auch der Anteil von Latinismen im Russischen. Die Innovationen schlugen sich im Wortschatz der Literatursprache ebenso wie in den verschiedensten fachsprachlichen Sparten (z. B. Bergbau, Schiffsbau, Waffenkunde, Handel, Administration) nieder. Von vielen entlehnten Basiswörtern sind Ableitungen mittels russischer sowie entlehnter Prä- und Suffixe gebildet worden, so dass sich unter Einbeziehung der internen Neubildungen die Zahl der westeuropäischen Elemente im Russischen erheblich erweitert (Kiparsky 1975, 111 ff.).

e) Institutionalisierung amtlicher Zweisprachigkeit in Finnland. – Ein Sonderfall in der neueren Geschichte der Sprachenregelung in Europa ist die Einrichtung amtlicher Zweisprachigkeit in Finnland. Als autonomes Großfürstentum gehörte Finnland zwischen 1809 und 1917 zum Russischen Reich, und von der Spätphase des russisch-nationalen Sprachdirigismus seit der Jahrhundertwende abgesehen war die Regelung des Amtssprachengebrauchs eine intern-finnische Angelegenheit. Bis in die zweite Hälfte des 19. Jhs. war Schwedisch die einzige interne Amtssprache Finnlands, während Russisch lediglich als externe Amtssprache im Kontakt mit der zaristischen Regierung in St. Petersburg verwendet wurde. Zar Alexander II. (reg.: 1855–1881) unterstützte die Bemühungen finnischer und finnland-schwedischer Kulturaktivisten, die auf eine

funktionale Angleichung der beiden Hauptlandessprachen Schwedisch und Finnisch abzielten, durch sein Sprachreskript von 1863. Danach sollte das Finnische dem Schwedischen als Amtssprache gleichgestellt werden. Für die Neuorganisation des Sprachgebrauchs in der Administration wurde eine Übergangszeit von zwanzig Jahren angesetzt. Gegen den Widerstand der Finnland-Schweden im Senat wurde die neue Regelung 1883 durchgesetzt. In der Verfassung des unabhängigen finnischen Staates von 1919 wurde die amtliche Zweisprachigkeit bestätigt (Klinge 1997, 296 f.).

Die Kulturgeschichte bietet zahlreiche weitere Fälle sprachplanerischer Praxis, und die obige Übersicht ist lediglich eine selektive Auswahl (für weitere Beispiele vgl. Art. 242). Diejenigen, die sprachpolitische Entscheidungen zu treffen hatten (s. unter a–e), konnten für ihre Planungen keine ‚Soziolinguisten‘ konsultieren, weil es eine solche Expertengruppe die längste Zeit der Geschichte nicht gab. Sprachpolitische Lösungsstrategien stützten sich einzig und allein auf die Intuition der Entscheidungsträger, Sprachprobleme als solche zu erkennen und praktisch anzugehen.

3. Zur Historiographie der Auseinandersetzung mit soziolinguistischen Fragestellungen

Die Tradition der Auseinandersetzung mit praktischen sprachpolitischen Problemstellungen seit der Antike und die Tradition der akademischen Diskussion über soziolinguistisch relevante Fragen seit der Renaissance (s. u.) stehen bis in die Moderne in keinem Zusammenhang, sondern entfalten sich unabhängig voneinander. Trotz einer fehlenden Koordination von Theorie und Praxis in den älteren Epochen verdichten sich Erkenntnisse und Erfahrungswerte beider Richtungen in einem Netzwerk von Wissen, aus dem die moderne Soziolinguistik schöpfen kann. Das Modalverb *können* ist hier nicht zufällig gewählt worden, denn vieles von dem historischen Wissen über soziolinguistische Problemstellungen, theoretisch oder praktisch, ist bis heute nicht ausgewertet worden. Exemplarisch dafür, wie verschüttetes Wissen für die moderne Forschung nutzbar gemacht werden kann, steht Goebls (1994) Studie über die Sprachenpolitik Altösterreichs. Es erscheint mir sinnvoll, die Diskussion über

ältere Anwendungen (s. unter 2) mit dem Diskurs über theoretische Aspekte der Vormoderne (s. unter 3.1) zu korrelieren.

3.1 Das soziolinguistische Potential in der philosophischen und politischen Sprachbetrachtung seit der Renaissance

Die Entfaltung einer Tradition der geistigen Auseinandersetzung mit soziolinguistischen Fragestellungen geht ähnliche Wege von der Phase eines zunächst intuitiven Erkennens relevanter Sachverhalte zu deren Thematisierung. Der historische Prozess des Übergangs vom intuitiven Erkennen zur Thematisierung ist für die Soziolinguistik noch nicht näher beleuchtet worden, wie dies etwa Coseriu (1975) für die Sprachphilosophie geleistet hat. Viele Stellungnahmen der älteren Sprachphilosophie beziehen sich – in philosophischer Betrachtungsweise – auf soziolinguistische Themen. Die ältere Geschichte der Soziolinguistik ist insofern die Geschichte der Ausgliederung einschlägiger Standorte aus dem Hauptstrom der sprachphilosophischen Tradition. Ein frühes Beispiel für die Thematisierung soziolinguistischer Sachverhalte finden wir in der ‚Sprachphilosophie‘ der Renaissance, bei dem Spanier Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540). Vives ist der erste, der über den Charakter der Sprache als soziales Phänomen reflektiert und das intuitive Wissen darüber thematisiert. Ihm verdankt die Geschichte auch einen elementaren Grundsatz zur Sozialität der Sprache: „Est etiam sermo societatis humanae instrumentum“ [Daher ist Sprache das Werkzeug der menschlichen Gesellschaft]. Als eigentlicher Vorreiter der modernen Soziolinguistik hat der spanische Forscher Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1735–1809) zu gelten, der in seiner monumentalen Sprachenzyklopädie – gleichsam als Nebenprodukt – eine Theorie der Sprachkontakte entwickelt. Hervás analysierte beispielsweise die potentielle Wirkung von Substratsprachen wie des Baskischen auf das Spanische oder des Etruskischen auf das Italienische. Seine Beobachtungen formierten sich zu der ersten Substrattheorie in der Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft (Haarmann 1997).

Die Geschichte der Nationalstaatidee und der Nationalsprachenideologie hat nicht nur Zündstoff geliefert für die politischen Konvulsionen des 19. Jhs., sie hat auch Manifeste und Traktate über die Rolle

der Sprache in der Gesellschaft produziert. Einer, der sich nicht nur mit seinen Schriften als Theoretiker des Verhältnisses von Sprache und Nation auswies, sondern der seine Erkenntnisse auch praktisch umsetzte, war der preußische Statistiker Richard Böckh (1824–1907).

Das Credo des Zeitalters des Nationalismus, die Identifizierung einer Nation durch das sprachliche Medium ihrer Mitglieder, findet in Böckh gleichsam seinen Chefideologen. In Böckhs Hauptwerk (1866, 266ff.) verwirft der Autor alle Gleichungen, die in der Diskussion über den Nationsbegriff seit der Aufklärung formuliert worden sind (z. B. Nationalität ungleich historisch-politische Gemeinschaft, Nationalität ungleich Kulturgemeinschaft, Nationalität ungleich Angehörige gleicher Rasse, Nationalität ungleich Gemeinschaft von Individuen gleicher Abstammung), und er lässt von diesen nur eine elementare Gleichung gelten, die als Axiom des Nationalismus gehandelt wurde: Nationalität = Sprachgemeinschaft = Volksgemeinschaft. Aus jener geistigen Atmosphäre erwuchs den sprachbewussten Europäern das ideologische Rüstzeug zum Aufbau ihrer „Sprachnationen“ (Kloss 1969a, 21 ff. Vgl. auch Art. 45). Die zeitgenössische Sprachwissenschaft konzentrierte sich auf die Analyse der historischen Verwandtschaft von Sprachfamilien und deren interne Gruppierungen sowie auf die Kategorisierung der Sprachen nach ihren Strukturelementen. Nur in wenigen Grundwerken der Sprachwissenschaft scheinen Äußerungen über soziale Aspekte des Sprachgebrauchs auf (z. B. bei Gabelentz 1891). Auch im ‚Cours de linguistique générale‘ (1916) von F. de Saussure wird die Sozialität von Sprache thematisiert, jedoch so kryptisch, dass es einer modernen Interpretation von Saussures Text bedurfte, um die soziolinguistischen Assoziationen der strukturalistischen Zeichentheorie zu eruieren (Thibault 1997).

3.2 Die Emanzipation der modernen Soziolinguistik und ihrer Anwendungen

Die Anfänge der Geschichte der modernen Soziolinguistik und die ihrer Anwendung fallen praktisch in einer Phase zusammen. Dies liegt an den besonderen Entstehungsbedingungen in einer Region, in der gesellschaftliche Umwälzungen einen weiten Spielraum für sprachpolitische Aktivitäten

schufen. Diese Region war die neugegründete Sowjetunion, deren ideologische Maschinerie in den frühen 1920er Jahren das größte sprachplanerische Projekt Europas einleitete. Hier liegen die Anfänge einer systematischen Analyse soziolinguistischer Sachverhalte wie auch der praktischen Umsetzung sprachplanerischer Maximen. Es wurde ein enormer Aufwand betrieben, um die damals geltenden Leninschen Maximen einer politischen Demokratisierung zu verwirklichen. Für die Koexistenz der Sprachen im jungen Sowjetstaat bedeutete dies, die während der zaristischen Ära nicht geförderten oder ausbaumäßig unterentwickelten Kommunikationsmedien zu modernisieren, d.h. als Schriftsprachen auszubauen, und ihre sozialen Funktionen in der Gesellschaft zu stabilisieren. Ausgangspunkt für die konkreten sprachplanerischen Maßnahmen waren die von Lenin proklamierten Leitsätze für den Aufbau der Sowjetgesellschaft, also keine soziolinguistischen Modelle. Andererseits erwuchs der sowjetischen Sprachwissenschaft durch die Erfahrung mit der praktizierten Sprachenpolitik im eigenen Land ein vielschichtiges Informationspotential, das für theoretische Überlegungen ausgewertet wurde. Die sowjetische Sprachplanung blieb ebenso wie die Tradition der sowjetischen soziolinguistischen Forschung lange Zeit isoliert. Hierfür gibt es verschiedene Gründe. Die Aktivitäten der sowjetischen Sprachplanung und die soziolinguistische Forschungsliteratur waren wegen ihrer ideologischen Überfrachtung während der Zwischenkriegszeit und noch bis in die 1950er Jahre hinein in westlichen Wissenschaftskreisen allgemein verpönt. Zum anderen bildete der Umstand, dass die sowjetische Sekundärliteratur in Russisch geschrieben war, eine Barriere für die westliche Rezeption. In Auswahl wurde sowjetische soziolinguistische Literatur erst in den 1970er Jahren ins Deutsche übersetzt (Girke/Jachnow 1974, 1975), und erst mit der Monographie von Lewis (1972) wurde sowjetische Sprachplanung in der angelsächsischen Welt bekannt gemacht.

Im Westen beginnt die Geschichte der Anwendung der Soziolinguistik mit Verzögerung. In Westeuropa bleiben Studien wie die von Kloss über Nebensprachen (1929) sowie über die Entstehung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen (1952) und die Dokumentation von Dauzat (1953) über die sprachpolitischen Verhältnisse in Europa jahrelang isoliert. In Nordamerika geht der

Initialimpuls von Weinreich (1953) aus, der sich einige Jahre später eine soziolinguistische Forschung anschließt, die vorrangig an der Lösung praktischer Aufgaben interessiert ist. Die sukzessive Auflösung der Kolonialreiche und die Unabhängigkeit ehemaliger Kolonien seit den 1950er Jahren öffnete ein neues Experimentierfeld für sprachplanerische Aktivitäten: die Standardisierung einheimischer Idiome, die Neuorganisation des Amtssprachengebrauchs und die Reform des Systems der Unterrichtssprachen im Ausbildungswesen der souveränen Neustaaten Afrikas und Asiens.

Im Verlauf der 1960er Jahre fächert sich die Soziolinguistik in zahlreiche Sparten auf, wobei die Forschung teilweise auf die akademische Diskussion beschränkt bleibt, teilweise in Verbindung mit konkreten Anwendungen steht. In der sowjetischen Tradition der Soziolinguistik waren die Kernthemen der Nachkriegszeit die terminologische Modernisierung der nichtrussischen Sprachen sowie die Umsetzung von Programmen zur Intensivierung der national-russischen Zweisprachigkeit. In Westeuropa setzten sich Soziolinguisten und Sprachplaner mit den Problemen der sprachlichen Integration von Arbeitsimmigranten, mit Statusproblemen einheimischer sprachlicher Minderheiten und mit Problemen der Amtssprachenregelung in der Europäischen Gemeinschaft auseinander. In Nordamerika öffneten sich für die Anwendung soziolinguistischer Erkenntnisse etliche Experimentierfelder wie die Regelung amtlicher Mehrsprachigkeit in Kanada sowie die Organisation zweisprachiger Schulprogramme für die Kinder von Immigranten (vgl. Art. 210; 211). Die vergleichsweise jüngeren Traditionen der Soziolinguistik in Lateinamerika und in Ostasien entfalten sich im wesentlichen durch Impulse, die von Nordamerika ausgingen. In der soziolinguistischen Forschung und deren Anwendung in afrikanischen Ländern kreuzen sich europäische und amerikanische Einflüsse. Australien mit seiner Sonderproblematik des Verhältnisses zwischen dominantem Englisch, den Immigrantensprachen europäischer sowie asiatischer Herkunft und der Vielzahl an Aborigine-Sprachen hat die Entwicklung einer relativ eigenständigen Soziolinguistik begünstigt (vgl. Art. 207).

4. Anwendungsbereiche der Soziolinguistik und ihre Idealtypik

Der Begriff „Anwendung“ ist aufs engste mit planvollem Handeln als menschlicher Aktivität assoziiert. Insofern ist es berechtigt, alle Spielarten konkreter Anwendungen der Soziolinguistik dem Oberbegriff der *Sprachplanung* zuzuordnen. Je nach dem, ob das planvolle Anwenden kulturell oder politisch motiviert ist, differenziert sich Sprachplanung in Sprach- und Kulturpflege auf der einen Seite, in Sprachenpolitik auf der anderen Seite aus. In konkreten Situationen kommen nicht selten die Aktivitäten beider Bereiche synchron zur Anwendung. Anwendungen der Soziolinguistik sind so vielfältig wie die sprachlichen Situationen und Problemstellungen, auf die sie sich beziehen. Auf den ersten Blick mag diese Feststellung zu dem Fehlschluss verleiten, einem Reihenvergleich von Anwendungen stünden wegen der Situationsspezifität relevanter Kriterien prinzipielle Hindernisse im Weg. Tatsächlich aber besteht die Möglichkeit, sprachliche Existenzbedingungen – insbesondere in Kontaktsituationen – in ein Rahmenwerk ökologischer Variablen zu projizieren. Aufbauend auf älteren Ansätzen, wie denen von Haugen (1972) und Mackey (1976), ist ein Makrosystem ökolinguistischer Variablen erarbeitet worden, dessen Schwerpunkten (Domänen ethnodemographischer, ethnopolitischer, interaktionaler u. a. Variablen) jeweils situationsspezifische Variablen zugeordnet werden können (Haarmann 1980; 1990; 1996). Sprachplanerische Aktivitäten können sich auf den Sprachkorpus (strukturelle Eigenheiten einer Sprache) und auf den Sprachstatus (funktionale Kriterien des Sprachgebrauchs) beziehen. Die Dualität von Sprachkorpus und Sprachstatus wurde von Kloss (1969b, 81 ff.) eingeführt. Jegliche Form von sprachplanerischem Handeln steht in Wechselwirkung zur Bereitschaft der beteiligten Sprecher, Inhalte der Planung anzunehmen oder abzulehnen. Als dritte Komponente fällt in der Sprachplanung also auch der Wertungskomplex ins Gewicht, der sich der allgemeinen Kategorie des Sprachprestiges zuordnen lässt (vgl. Art. 51). Die Erweiterung der Dualität von Sprachkorpus und Sprachstatus zu einer dreigliedrigen Konstellation unter Einschluss des Sprachprestiges wurde von Haarmann (1986, 86 ff.) vorgeschlagen. Ein anderer Parameter soziolinguistischer An-

wendungen ist die Aktionsdynamik. Die Gesamtwirkung planerischer Aktivität mit Bezug auf Sprache hängt entscheidend davon ab, wie viele Personen mit welchen organisatorischen Mitteln beteiligt sind, und auch davon, ob die Aktivitäten auf private Kreise beschränkt bleiben oder staatliche Unterstützung genießen. Will man Aktivitäten im privaten Bereich von solchen unterscheiden, die von öffentlichem Interesse sind, so bietet sich eine terminologische Differenzierung in einen Bereich der Sprachpflege (die sich auf Privatinitiative stützt) und einen solchen der Sprachplanung (unter Einsatz öffentlicher Mittel) an (s. Haarmann 1993, 294 f.).

Eine nach den obigen Parametern ausgelegte Idealtypik von Anwendungen der Soziolinguistik stellt sich als Rahmenwerk mit vier Ebenen und zahlreichen Unterteilungen dar (Abb. 87.1). In der Weise, wie sich die einzelnen hier unterschiedenen Ebenen gegeneinander abgrenzen, wird die schwerpunktmäßige Zuordnung konkreter Aktivitäten ermöglicht. Es wäre denkbar, weitere Parameter in die Idealtypik zu integrieren, wie etwa die Differenzierung zwischen nationaler (= einzelstaatlicher) und internationaler Planung. Derartige weiterführende Kategorisierungen lassen sich aber zwanglos dem Basisschema in den betreffenden Sektionen zuordnen, ohne dass eine zusätzliche Ausgliederung der Typik erforderlich ist.

5. Historische Trends in der Anwendung der Soziolinguistik

Jede beliebige sprachpflegerische oder -planerische Aktivität kann mit Hilfe der Idealtypik kategorisiert werden. Dies gilt für derzeit laufende Projekte ebenso wie für Aktionen, die als abgeschlossene Prozesse Teil der Geschichte sind. Im Folgenden soll das Potential der Idealtypik mit Bezug auf den Zeithorizont veranschaulicht werden.

5.1 Die historische Dimension der Idealtypik soziolinguistischer Anwendungen

In der historischen Rückblende stellt sich heraus, dass die Geschichte der Sprachpflege bzw. Sprachplanung Beispiele für alle in der Idealtypik aufgeführten Schwerpunkte bietet.

Ebene 1. – Lang ist die Liste der Namen von Kulturaktivisten, die sich seit Beginn der Neuzeit um den Ausbau schriftloser

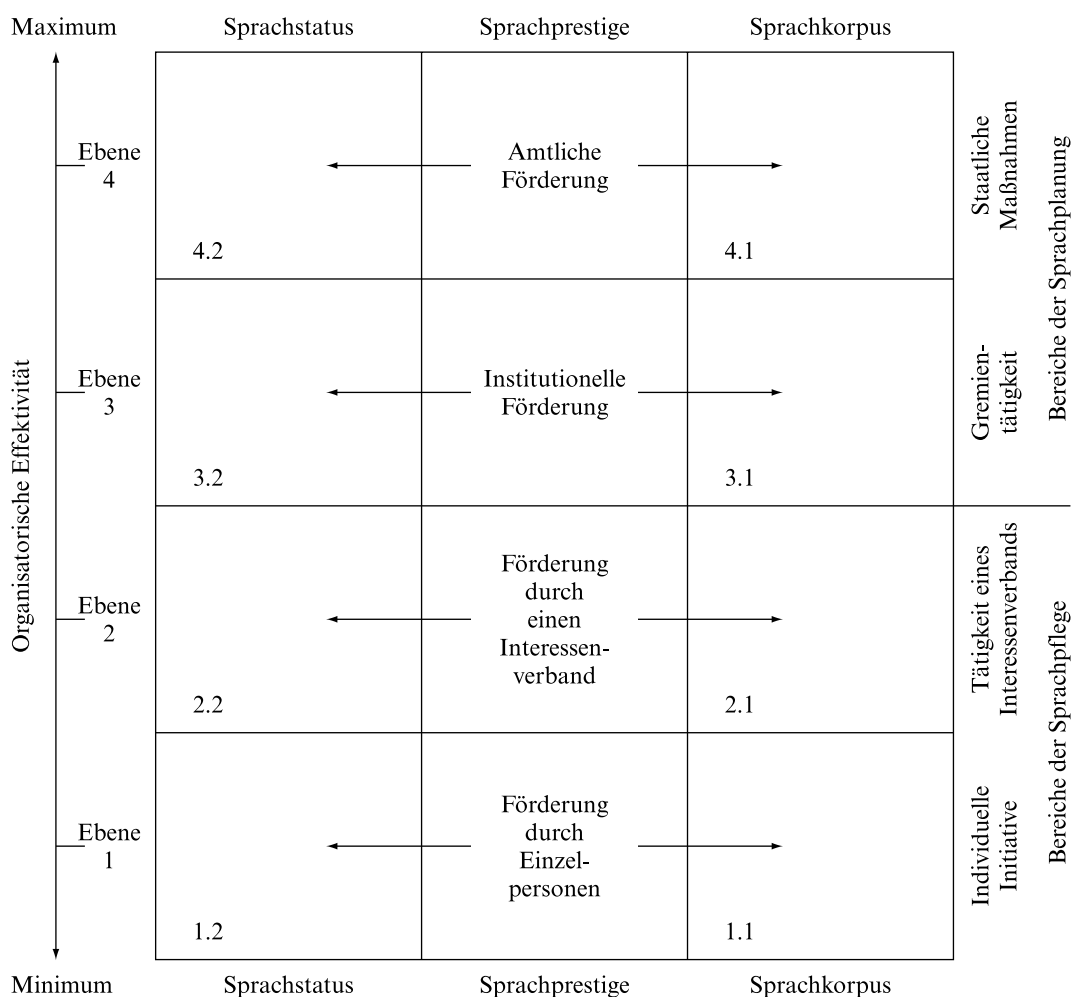


Abb. 87.1: Idealtypik von Anwendungen der Soziolinguistik (organisatorischer Aktionsradius, Anwendungsschwerpunkte, Planungsbereiche)

Sprachen, um die Modernisierung von deren Wortschatz und um die Erweiterung von deren funktionalen Anwendungsbereichen bemüht haben: M. Agricola für das Finnische (mit einer Fibel, einem Gebetbuch und der Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments, die zwischen 1543–48 gedruckt werden), P. Trubar für das Slowenische (mit einem Katechismus und einer Fibel und der Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments zwischen 1550 und 1577), A. Bernolák für das Slowakische (mit einer Grammatik und einem Wörterbuch 1790 und 1827), R. M. Nance und A. S. D. Smith für das „Revived Cornish“ (mit zwei Textbüchern von 1929 und 1939), M. Korhonen, J. Mosnikoff und P. Sammallahti für das Skolt-Saamische (mit einem Lehrbuch von 1973), H. Schmid für das Graubündne-

rische (mit seinen Richtlinien für das Rumantsch grischun von 1982), u. a.

Ebene 2. – Die sprachpflegerischen Aktivitäten von Einzelpersonen sind nicht selten Auslöser für die Entstehung eines gruppenspezifischen Trends der Sprachpflege. Auf diese Weise erhöht sich die organisatorische Effektivität sprachpflegerischer Bestrebungen. Ein klassisches Beispiel für diese Entwicklung finden wir in der Geschichte der Standardisierung des Occitanischen, die im 19. Jh. einsetzt und sich bis in die Moderne hinzieht (Abb. 87.2). Die verschlungenen Wege, die die Sprachpflege des Occitanischen in ihren Entwicklungsphasen gegangen ist, hat Kremnitz (1974) in seiner klassischen Studie beleuchtet. Auch die Integrationsbemühungen der 1840er und 1850er Jahre mit

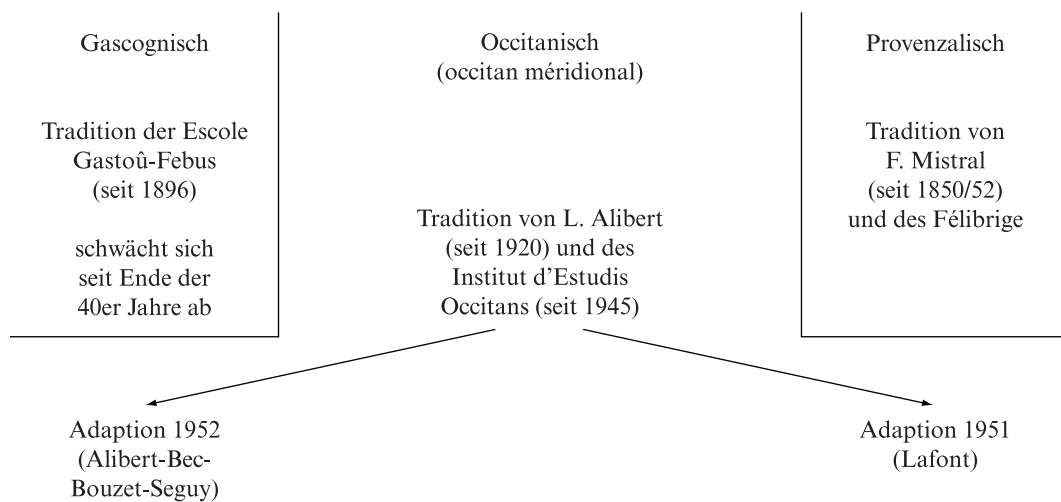


Abb. 87.2: Sprachstandardisierung des Occitanischen seit dem 19. Jh.

der Zielsetzung, eine gemeinsame serbokroatische Standardsprache zu schaffen, sind hier zu nennen. Die Vorreiter dieses sprachpflegerischen Trends waren auf serbischer Seite V. S. Karadžić, auf kroatischer Seite L. Gaj.

Ebene 3. – Die nordischen Staaten haben im Rahmen der Harmonisierung ihrer gesellschaftlichen Institutionen auch besonderen Wert auf die Sprachnormierung gelegt. Dies gilt für die Länder mit germanischen Sprachen (Dänemark, Schweden, Norwegen, Island) ebenso wie für Finnland. Seit den frühen 1990er Jahren nimmt auch Estland an dieser institutionalisierten Sprachmodernisierung teil, wenn auch nicht im nordischen Verband. Die sprachnormative Arbeit, die sich in erster Linie auf den Bereich der Lexik, insbesondere im Hinblick auf die selektive Kontrolle von Entlehnungen und deren Orthographie sowie auf die Stilwahl, erstreckt, ist staatlichen Kommissionen übertragen: Dansk Sprognævn in Dänemark, Føroyska málnevndin auf den Färöern (mit Autonomiestatus), Nämnden för Svensk Språkvård in Schweden, Norsk Språknemnd und Språkråd sowie der Samisk språknemnd in Norwegen, Islensk Málnefnd in Island, Suomen Akatemia kieli-lautakunta in Finnland. Diese haben die Funktion normativer Kontrollinstanzen (Språk i Norden 1986). Was die institutionelle Sprachplanung betrifft, so bietet Norwegen die Parallelität des für Korpusplanung zuständigen Norsk Språknemnd und des mit Statusplanung betrauten Norsk Språkråd. In der Verantwortlichkeit dieser

Institution liegt die Wahrung des Status der beiden offiziellen norwegischen Sprachvarianten, des Bokmål und des Nynorsk. Nynorsk ist – ähnlich wie das Irische in Irland – eine Minderheitensprache im eigenen Land. Der Språkråd, eine Nachfolgeorganisation für die zwischen 1951 und 1972 bestehende norwegische Sprachkommission, prüft regelmäßig die Sprachwahl der regionalen Schulbücher. Im Gegensatz zur Tätigkeit der älteren Kommission, deren erklärtes Ziel die Integration von Bokmål und Nynorsk war, richtet der Språkråd sein Hauptaugenmerk auf das Ausbalancieren des funktionalen Status beider Sprachen (Gundersen 1983).

Ebene 4. – In der Republik Irland ist die Erhaltung des Irischen und seine Sprachreform seit 1922 nationales Anliegen der Regierung. Das seit 1922 tätige Translation Office hatte ursprünglich die allgemeine Aufgabe, Regierungsstellen und Verwaltungsbehörden mit Übersetzungen englischer Texte zu dienen. Das heißt, das Office war und ist zuständig für die Ausfertigung offizieller zweisprachiger Dokumente. Mit der Übersetzungsarbeit verbunden war aber schon früh eine sprachnormative Verantwortung, aus der sich eine systematische Sprachkorpusplanung des modernen irischen Schriftstandards entwickelt hat. Im Jahre 1958 wurden Richtlinien für die Orthographie und die Wahl der grammatischen Formen erlassen, die im wesentlichen eine Vereinfachung gegenüber dem älteren, historisch orientierten Schriftstandard vorsehen (Ó Baoill/Ó Riagáin 1990). Für die Normie-

Die Regelung der modernen technischen Terminologie und des standardsprachlichen Wortschatzes war seit Ende der 1920er Jahre das Terminology Committee tätig, das seine Arbeit bis in die 1960er Jahre fortführte. Das moderne Schriftirisch ist in den beiden normativen Wörterbüchern von De Bhaldraithe (1959) und Ó Dónaill (1977) dokumentiert.

Die Regelung des Amtssprachengebrauchs in multilingualen Staaten gehört zu den anspruchsvollen Herausforderungen der Sprachplanung, nicht nur der Moderne, sondern auch der jüngeren Geschichte. Niemand kann behaupten, dass in einem multilingualen Staatswesen institutionalisierte amtliche Mehrsprachigkeit genau so einfach zu handhaben wäre wie amtlicher Monolingualismus. Die Anwendung von zwei oder mehreren Kommunikationsmedien im Amtsverkehr bedeutet im Hinblick auf die Einrichtung wie auch auf die pragmatische Durchsetzung ein Mehr an organisatorischem Aufwand und ein Mehr an Unterhaltungskosten. Im Unterschied aber zur Institution amtlichen Monolingualismus mit seiner gegen andere Sprachen im Staat gerichteten Exklusivität schafft amtliche Mehrsprachigkeit die Voraussetzungen für eine konfliktfreie Interaktion zwischen Angehörigen verschiedener Sprachgemeinschaften im öffentlichen Leben. Amtliche Mehrsprachigkeit kann auf diese Weise zum Garanten sozialen Friedens zwischen ethnischen Gruppen werden. Die Veränderung der sprachpolitischen Atmosphäre in Südafrika nach Abschaffung des Apartheid-Regimes im Jahre 1994 demonstriert den Sachverhalt der Konfliktlinderung durch die Aufwertung einheimischer Nationalsprachen zu Amtssprachen. Während zur Zeit der Hegemonie der weißen Bevölkerung ausschließlich die europäische Importsprache Englisch und die auf afrikanischem Boden auf der Basis des Niederländischen entstandene Fusionsprache Afrikaans amtlichen Status besaßen, sind im demokratischen Südafrika insgesamt elf Amtssprachen in Gebrauch. Außer Englisch und Afrikaans fungieren eine Reihe schwarzafrikanischer Sprachen als Medien des öffentlichen Lebens: Ndebele, nördl. Sotho, südl. Sotho, Setswana, Swati, Tsonga, Venda, Xhosa und Zulu. Selbst wenn Englisch und Afrikaans weiterhin die wichtigsten *linguae francae* Südafrikas sind, sind für die größeren einheimischen Sprachen ihrerseits funktionale Entfaltungsmöglichkeiten gegeben (vgl. Art. 199).

Welche verheerenden Folgen die Verweigerung öffentlicher Sprachfunktionen für eine sprecherreiche Regionalsprache in einem multilingualen Staat haben kann, dies hat die Eskalation des Kosovo-Konflikts zu einem internationalen Kriegsszenario gezeigt. Die hartnäckige Weigerung der serbischen Regierung, die Autonomierechte der Albaner und den bis 1989 bestehenden Amtsstatus des Albanischen zu erneuern, forderte die Intervention der Nato-Streitkräfte heraus. Es bleibt abzuwarten, ob die unter der Aufsicht der Kfor-Sicherheitskräfte reinstitutionalisierte amtliche Zweisprachigkeit im Kosovo (mit Albanisch und Serbisch als regionalen Amtssprachen) ihre Bewährungsprobe besteht oder nicht.

Sprachstatusplanung auf staatlicher Ebene kann auf ungeahnte Schwierigkeiten stoßen, die im Namen der Wahrung des sozialen Friedens zwischen Sprechergruppen zu überwinden sind. Ein Beispiel für einen enormen organisatorischen Aufwand bei der Planung des amtlichen Status für Minderheitensprachen bietet die neue Amtssprachenregelung in der finnischen Provinz Lappland (fi. Lappi), wo seit 1991 zwei Amtssprachen in Gebrauch sind: das obligatorische Finnisch und das Saamische in fakultativer Funktion. Die Institutionalisierung amtlicher Zweisprachigkeit (finnisch/saamisch) als solche schuf für die finnischen Behörden keine neuartige sprachpolitische Situation, denn amtliche Zweisprachigkeit (finnisch/schwedisch) herrschte ja bereits seit dem 19. Jh. – und verfassungsmäßig seit 1919 für den souveränen finnischen Staat bestätigt – im Lande vor. Die Verwendung des Saamischen warf aber bis dahin unbekannte Probleme auf. Da im Gegensatz zum standardisierten Schwedisch keine einheitliche saamische Schriftsprache existiert, ist der Amtssprachengebrauch in Lappland darauf angewiesen, sich regionaler Schriftvarianten zu bedienen. In der Provinz Lappi bedeutet dies, dass amtliche Verlautbarungen in drei saamischen Sprachen verfasst sind: in Nordsaamisch (bzw. Bergsaamisch), in Inari-Saamisch und in Skolt-Saamisch.

Statusplanung betrifft zwar zumeist die Regelung des Verhältnisses von zwei oder mehreren Amtssprachen in einem multilingualen Staatswesen, d. h. Planung ist auf den Ausbau ehemals unterprivilegierter Kommunikationsmedien und deren statusmäßige Aufwertung gerichtet, sie kann sich aber auch in Ausnahmefällen die Reduktion rivalisierender Sprachvarianten zum Ziel setzen. Ein

Beispiel hierfür ist die Modernisierung des Amtssprachengebrauchs in Griechenland (vgl. Art. 184). In diesem Land mit seiner traditionsreichen Sprachkultur herrschte bis in die 1970er Jahre ein Diglossieverhältnis vor. Dies wurde als das Verhältnis einer H-Varietät (high variety) – die Katharevussa – und einer L-Varietät (low variety) – die Dimotiki – beschrieben. Tatsächlich aber ist die Dimotiki keine einfache L-Varietät, denn sie wurde wie die Katharevussa auch geschrieben. Den Status der Dimotiki kann man besser mit einem Terminus wie Pop-Varietät (popular variety) beschreiben, denn im Unterschied zur bildungssprachlichen Katharevussa ist die Dimotiki volkstümlich, also populär. Durch das Sprachengesetz vom April 1976 ist der Gebrauch des geschriebenen Griechisch vereinheitlicht worden. Die Dimotiki ist im öffentlichen Leben die einzige Schriftvariante Griechenlands (Clairis 1983). Die Monopolisierung des Status der Dimotiki bedeutete den Ausschluss der Katharevussa vom amtlichen Schriftgebrauch. Als Bildungssprache wird die Katharevussa aber weiterhin verwendet, und diese Variante ist auch das Medium wissenschaftlicher Texte.

Das weltweit größte und älteste Experimentierfeld für sprachplanerische Aktivitäten auf der Ebene (4) der Idealtypologie war die Sowjetunion (Haarmann 1993, 303 ff.). Selbst Indien mit seiner vergleichsweise größeren Sprachenzahl hat in seiner relativ jungen Geschichte der Sprachplanung keinen derartigen organisatorischen Aufwand für den Ausbau und die funktionale Aufwertung der einheimischen Sprachen betrieben wie die Sprachplanung in der Sowjetunion. Lenins Doktrin, wonach die Lösung der sozialen Frage nur gelingen könnte, wenn zuerst die nationale Frage gelöst würde, motivierte die große Aufmerksamkeit, die dem funktionalen Aufbau der nichtrussischen Sprachen in den 1920er Jahren gewidmet wurde. Parallel mit der Modernisierung alter Schriftsprachen (z. B. Moldauisch, Usbekisch) und der Neuverschriftung (z. B. Komi-Permjakisch, Jurakisch) wurde der Status von Russisch und nichtrussischen Sprachen in der Schulausbildung geregelt. Im öffentlichen Leben hat keine andere Sprache mit dem Russischen zu keiner Zeit ernsthaft rivalisiert. Mit der Festigung des stalinistischen Zentralismus wurde auch der exklusive Status des Russischen als faktische, aber nicht nominell als solche anerkannte Staatssprache zementiert. In den Massenmedien besa-

ßen etliche nichtrussische Sprachen ihren Nischenplatz, allerdings immer im Schatten des funktional dominanten Russisch. Erst die postsowjetische Sprachplanung hat für die Nationalsprachen in den jungen souveränen Anrainerstaaten Russlands, in den ehemaligen nichtrussischen Sowjetrepubliken, den Ausbau erreicht, den die sowjetische Planung in den Anfangsjahren des Sowjetstaates theoretisch vorgesehen hatte. Innerhalb Russlands sind etliche nichtrussische Sprachen zu regionalen Amtssprachen aufgewertet worden, was eine immense Ausbauleistung zur Modernisierung des Sprachkorpus erforderte (vgl. Igušev 1995 zum Amtssprachenstatus des Komi).

5.2 Sprachplanung als dynamischer Entwicklungsprozess

Verfolgt man die sprachpflegerischen oder sprachplanerischen Bemühungen in konkreten Einzelfällen auf der Zeitachse in die Vergangenheit zurück, so stellt sich nicht selten heraus, dass sich sprachpflegerische Aktivitäten mit anfänglich eingeschränktem Aktionsradius nach und nach ausweiten, bis sie sich in institutionelle oder sogar staatliche Förderungen transformieren. Dort wo soziolinguistisch relevante Planungsinhalte zur Anwendung kommen, stellen sich häufig Fluktuationen ein, die sich als dynamische Verstärkung der organisatorischen Effektivität im Horizont der Zeit darstellen. Der Übergang von Aktivitäten der Ebene (1) zu solchen der Ebene (2) ist in vielen, wenn nicht sogar in den meisten Fällen zu beobachten, wo eine Einzelperson zum Vorreiter für eine Bewegung mit gruppenspezifischer Einflussnahme wird. Die Arbeit eines Sprachpflegers hat größere Erfolgchancen, wenn es ihm gelingt, andere Aktivisten anzuregen, die sich in einem Interessenverband zusammenschließen. Diese Entwicklung zeichnet sich deutlich ab in der Geschichte der Sprachpflege des Occitanischen und der Revitalisierung des Kornischen. Ob sich die organisatorische Effektivität der Sprachpflege in den höheren Bereich der institutionell oder staatlich geförderten Sprachplanung (d. h. zu den Ebenen 3 und 4) ausweitet, dies hängt von vielerlei Variablen ab, in erster Linie von den gesellschaftlichen Bedingungen des Staatswesens, ob nämlich Sprachplanung in einer Gesellschaft Freiraum eingeräumt wird oder nicht.

Es gibt Einzelfälle von kulturbewusstem Handeln, wo die Sprache im Horizont der

Zeit zum Objekt von Pflege und Planung auf allen Ebenen wird. Eine dieser Sprachen, die alle Stadien der Idealtypik planerischen Handelns durchlaufen hat, ist das Hebräische, das sich von einer Ritual- und Bildungssprache zu einem modernen Kommunikationsmedium (Ivrit) entwickelt hat, das sowohl in gesprochener als auch geschriebener Form von Menschen aller Altersstufen verwendet wird (vgl. auch Art. 190). Um diesen großen Entwicklungsschritt zu vollziehen, bedurfte es des Engagements kulturschaffender Individualisten ebenso wie des Vereinswesens und des institutionellen Aufbaus. Die Annahme des Ivrit als Amtssprache des neugegründeten Israel wird gleichsam die höchste Ebene eines institutionellen Schutzes für das revitalisierte Hebräisch, das ohne diese organisatorische Förderstufe womöglich nicht seine vollständige Modernisierung erfahren hätte (Masson 1983). Als Ritualsprache und als Bildungssprache (d. h. als Medium des gelehrten Schrifttums) hat das Hebräische die Juden durch die Jahrhunderte der Diaspora begleitet. Als Schriftsprache war das Hebräische sogar in der Lage, sich von der Zwangsjacke der biblischen Tradition zu befreien und lexikalische Innovationen aufzunehmen, so im maurischen Spanien während des Mittelalters und in Osteuropa im 19. Jh. Das Arabische bot die reichste Quelle für Neologismen, die Sprachpfleger griffen aber auch auf das Aramäische zurück. Als die Kulturnationen Europas im 19. Jh. von der Strömung des Nationalismus erfasst wurden, gingen davon auch Impulse für die jüdischen Gemeinschaften aus, insbesondere für die Aschkenasen Osteuropas. Das Kulturbewusstsein der aschkenasischen Juden kristallisierte sich aber vorrangig im Jiddischen aus, das die am weitesten verbreitete Muttersprache jüdischer Familien war (Fishman 1993a). Das Hebräische erlebte zunächst keinen mit dem Jiddischen vergleichbaren Aufschwung, da die meisten Vertreter des gelehrten Judentums den funktionalen Status quo befürworteten, d. h. die Beibehaltung als geschriebenes Medium. Erst Eliezer Ben Yehouda (1858–1923) stellte in einem Artikel aus dem Jahre 1879 die Forderung, das Hebräische als gesprochene Sprache wiederzubeleben. Ben Yehouda gab auch die erste hebräische Zeitung Jerusalems (*Hatsevi*) im Jahre 1886 heraus. Ben Yehouda fand mit seinem Sprachprojekt Solidarität bei einer Reihe von jüdischen Aktivisten, die im

Jahre 1912 ein Komitee für die hebräische Sprache gründeten. Auch wurde Ben Yehouda zum Vorreiter für eine Bewegung, die das Jiddische trotz seiner Verbreitung als Kultursprache nicht akzeptierten, sondern es für „degeneriertes“ Deutsch hielten. Nach Ansicht der Zionisten wäre die Verwendung des Jiddischen in Israel gleichbedeutend „mit der Einführung eines heidnischen Idols in den Heiligen Tempel“ (Fishman 1991, 308). Die Aufrechterhaltung dieses negativen Stereotyps gegenüber der Gebrauchssprache des aschkenasischen Judentums erleichterte die Weichenstellung in Richtung auf die Revitalisierung der alten jüdischen Kultursprache, des Hebräischen. Ben Yehouda unterrichtete seit 1883 – ausschließlich in Hebräisch – an der von der Jüdischen Weltorganisation eingerichteten Schule in Jerusalem. Als eigentlicher Durchbruch zur Vitalität des Hebräischen ist allerdings erst die Einrichtung von Kindergärten (seit 1889) zu werten, in denen nur Hebräisch gesprochen wurde. Damit war der Rückhalt gegeben, den das gesprochene Hebräisch für seine Tradierung im Generationenwechsel brauchte. Eine organisierte Bewegung für die Förderung des modernen gesprochenen Hebräisch entwickelte sich seit Beginn des 20. Jhs., insbesondere nach dem ersten Kongress der zionistischen Lehrer und Kulturschaffenden im Jahre 1903. „Bei ‚Kultur‘ (*kultura* oder *tarbut*, wie dies in Hebräisch genannt wurde) in der jüdischen Welt ging es mehr um Ausbildung und Literatur als um ‚die (schönen) Künste‘“ (Glinert 1993, 95).

Heute sprechen 5,1 Mio. Menschen modernes Hebräisch (Ivrit). Von diesen sind 4,51 Mio. Muttersprachler, die in Israel beheimatet sind (entsprechend 63 % der Landesbevölkerung), und 0,5 Mio. Zweitsprachler (d. h. aschkenasische Juden mit jiddischer, russischer oder anderer Muttersprache; orientalische Juden, die Arabisch, Farsi oder eine andere Sprache als Primärsprache sprechen). In den USA leben 0,12 Mio. Ivrit-Sprecher. Ivrit fungiert als gesprochene und geschriebene Sprache auf allen Ebenen, von der Funktion einer Heimsprache zu der einer Amtssprache des Staates Israel. Exklusiven Staatssprachenstatus allerdings besitzt das Ivrit nicht, denn Israel ist offiziell zweisprachig (Ivrit : Arabisch). Zum Zweck der lexikalischen Modernisierung des Ivrit haben die Sprachplaner auf verschiedene Quellen und auf verschiedene Techniken der Wortbildung

zurückgegriffen. In der Tradition von Ben Yehouda stehen diejenigen, die Lehnwörter auf der Basis arabischer Wurzelwörter befürworten. Andere Sprachen, aus denen das Ivrît Neologismen entlehnt hat, sind das Jiddische, Russische, Englische und Französische.

Die produktivste Technik der Neologismenbildung sind allerdings Ableitungen von hebräischen Wurzelwörtern, und zwar mit Hilfe interner Vokalalternation (z.B. *bima* ‚Bühne, Szenerie‘ > *iton* ‚Tageszeitung‘). Zusätzlich sind die Techniken der Wortzusammensetzung sowie der Präfigierung aktiviert worden, mit deren Hilfe Ableitungen von Wortstämmen des Biblisch-Hebräischen gebildet werden. Beide Techniken waren dem klassischen Hebräisch unbekannt.

5.3 Lehren aus der Geschichte der Sprachplanung

Die Geschichte der Anwendung der Soziolinguistik ist nicht nur eine Sammlung von attraktiven Planungsobjekten und deren erfolgreicher Durchführung, sondern auch eine Liste misslungener Planungen, die aus den verschiedensten Gründen im Ansatz steckenblieben, unterbrochen wurden, oder die im Endeffekt fruchtlos blieben. Die Geschichte der sowjetischen Sprachplanung bietet Beispiele für Erfolge ebenso wie Misserfolge auf den verschiedensten Ebenen. Versuche, die in den 1930er Jahren unternommen wurden, das Karelische, Wepsische und Ischorische zu verschriften, misslangen. Ein Sonderprojekt der sowjetischen Sprachplanung, dessen wechselvolle Geschichte sich über Jahrzehnte hinzieht und mit der völligen Aufgabe sämtlicher Planungsinhalte endete, ist der Aus- und Aufbau des Moldauischen als einer vom Rumänischen verschiedenen ‚Nationalsprache‘. Die am Moldauischen orientierten Planungen standen von Anbeginn im Kreuzfeuer ideologischer Auseinandersetzungen, zunächst im politischen Spannungsverhältnis des Sowjetstaates zum ‚bourgeoisien‘ Rumänien, nach 1944 unter dem Druck der sowjetischen Abgrenzungsstrategien gegenüber dem sozialistischen Nachbarstaat, dessen Führung einen politischen Kurs der Blockfreiheit ohne sowjetische Vormundschaft steuerte. Die Planungsinhalte schwankten dementsprechend zwischen einer Annäherung des Moldauischen an das Standardrumänische und einer Abstandnahme davon. Dieses Lavieren manifestiert sich in allen Domänen, im

Schriftgebrauch (Kyrillica versus Lateinschrift), in der lautlichen und grammatischen Strukturierung (stärkere versus schwächere Dialektalisierung der schriftsprachlichen Normen), in der Neologismenbildung (moldauische Eigenbildungen versus Anlehnung an rumänische lexikalische Trends); (Abb. 87.3). Der politische Umschwung in Osteuropa, die Demontage des Sowjetismus und die ersatzlose Aufgabe des Marxismus-Leninismus hat der bis 1989 wirksamen Ausbauplanung mit Bezug auf das Moldauische die Motivation entzogen. Im Jahre 1989 entschied sich das Parlament in Chişinău (russ. Kişinëv) dafür, den Schriftstandard des Rumänischen und dessen orthographische Normen zu akzeptieren. Das Standardrumänische ist seit Anfang der 1990er Jahre in zwei souveränen Staaten Staatssprache, in Rumänien und in Moldova (der ehemaligen Moldauischen Sowjetrepublik). Der Fall des Moldauischen zeigt, dass trotz eines enormen organisatorischen Aufwands das Planungsobjekt, die moldauische Ausbausprache, ein künstliches Produkt blieb, mit dem sich dessen Sprecher letztendlich nicht identifizieren konnten.

Im Prozess der Umsetzung planerischer Inhalte mit Bezug auf bestimmte Sprachen baut sich ein Spannungsverhältnis zwischen sprachplanerischen Aktivitäten und den Reaktionen der betroffenen Sprecher auf. Die Spannung ihrerseits setzt sich in bestimmten Fällen in eine konstruktive Aufbaudynamik um, so dass planerische Eingriffe und die positive Akzeptanz von Inhalten der Planung durch die Sprecher sich zu einem progressiven Trend formieren (Beispiel: Irisch, Ivrît, Saamisch). In anderen Fällen steht der Aufwand an Sprachplanung im Widerstreit zur Verfremdung, die Planungsinhalte bei den Sprechern hervorrufen, so dass die Planung im Endeffekt nicht erfolgreich ist (Beispiel: Moldauisch). Bei allen Planungen ist es daher sinnvoll, das Feed-back der betroffenen Sprecher zu berücksichtigen und entsprechend flexibel darauf zu reagieren. Diese Schwierigkeiten im Verhältnis von Planung und Akzeptanz sind immer gegenwärtig, wenn es um konkrete Anwendungen soziolinguistischer Erkenntnisse geht. Dies gilt vor allem in unserer Zeit, wo sich Sprachplaner verstärkt um die Erhaltung der Sprachen von bedrohten Völkern bemühen. Es mangelt nicht an kompetenten Programmen zum Schutz gefährdeter Sprachen.

	Normierung der Graphie/Orthographierform	Normierung der Schriftsprache (Grammatische Struktur/Dialektale Basis)	Lexik/Fachterminologische Normierung
1924–1929	lateinisches Alphabet	starke Anlehnung an die rumänische Schriftsprache bei gleichzeitiger Betonung von Unterschieden („romanophile Tendenz“; vgl. Heitmann 1965. 110f)	Adaption des rumänischen Kulturwortschatzes sowie der Fachterminologien
1930–1933	kyrillisches Alphabet	bewußte Abstandnahme von der rumänischen Schriftsprache sowie Loslösung vom rumänischen Kulturerbe; vgl. Grammatik (1930) von L. A. Madan (sog. Madanismus; vgl. Heitmann 1965. 111f); dialektale Basis ist die Mundart des Bezirks Orhei	Ablehnung lateinischer, französischer sowie russischer Neologismen; stattdessen Betonung von Eigenprägungen auf der Basis des moldauischen Erbwortschatzes
1933–1937	lateinisches Alphabet	leichte Anlehnung an die rumänische Schriftsprache („Latinisierungsphase“; vgl. Heitmann 1965. 112f)	Anlehnung an die lexikalischen Normen der rumänischen Schriftsprache
seit 1937	kyrillisches Alphabet	starke Dialektalisierung (концепция вулгариза-тоаре 'Vulgarisierungskonzeption' von I. D. Cobanu; vgl. Heitmann 1965. 112ff)	Vermeidung vor allem von Latinismen; Ersetzung durch slavische Lehnwörter (russ. Neologismen) oder durch Eigenprägungen; Ausmerzen von Dialektalismen, die vom Madanismus propagiert wurden
1957	kyrillisches Alphabet	Konsolidierung der schriftsprachlichen Normen auf der Basis der Mundart von Kişinëv mit leichter Anlehnung an die rumänische Schriftsprache (vgl. Heitmann 1965. 114ff)	Fortsetzung der Entrumänisierungstendenz; kompromißhafte Teilanlehnung an die lexikalischen Normen der rumänischen Schriftsprache
seit 1989	lateinisches Alphabet	rumänischer Schriftstandard	Entsowjetisierung lexikalischer Strukturen

Abb. 87.3: Periodisierung der auf das Moldauische gerichteten Sprachplanung

In diesem Zusammenhang sei auf die von Bauman (1980) und Fishman (1991) vorgeschlagenen Strategien zur Erhaltung autochthoner Sprachen hingewiesen. Solche Programme sind aber in erster Linie für Staaten gedacht, wo alle Bürger gleichermaßen eingebunden sind in das soziale Rahmenwerk der Gesellschaft. Besondere

Schwierigkeiten ergeben sich dann, wenn gefährdete Sprachen von ethnischen Gruppen gesprochen werden, die isoliert leben (wie im Fall vieler Zwergsprachen in der Regenwaldzone Brasiliens).

Heutzutage leben wir mit Erfahrungen über Sprachplanung, die frühere Generationen von Planern nicht besaßen. Die mo-

derne Einstellung gegenüber planerischen Eingriffen in das Kulturmilieu ethnischer Gruppen ist weitaus zurückhaltender als in früheren Zeiten. Das hängt in erster Linie mit dem Zeitgeist zusammen, der heutzutage Planungsprojekten und -initiativen wesentlich skeptischer gegenübersteht als noch vor zehn oder fünfzehn Jahren. Dies bedeutet, dass eine Antwort auf die Frage, wie man Schutz garantieren kann, derzeit wesentlich anders ausfällt als noch in den 1960er und frühen 1970er Jahren. Damals war die Welt in einer allgemeinen Fortschrittsideologie befangen. Die Rivalität der Supermächte trieb die Menschen in den Weltraum, die Chefideologen im Kreml hegten noch Träume von einer wirtschaftlichen Übertreibung der USA, für die Entwicklung der Weltwirtschaft wurden rosige Aussichten prognostiziert. In den jungen Entwicklungsländern gab es noch keine Langzeiterfahrungen mit wirtschaftlichem, politischem und ethnischen Krisenmanagement. Allgemein ging man davon aus, dass das weltweite Wirtschaftswachstum Ausgleichstendenzen auch in den Entwicklungsländern schaffen würde, so dass über kurz oder lang der Lebensstandard global angehoben würde. Im Rahmen einer solchen Aufschwungeuphorie waren weder Gesellschafts- noch Sprachplaner sonderlich am Schicksal der Zwangssprachen interessiert. Es ging darum, soziale Klassenunterschiede auszugleichen, in den neuen souveränen Staaten der post-kolonialen Ära Amtssprachen für die interregionale Kommunikation aufzubauen und eine Sprachenregelung für das Ausbildungswesen einzurichten. Die Zwergsprachen waren nach der damaligen Auffassung hoffnungslos veraltete Kommunikationsmedien, deren Sprecher früher oder später gezwungen wären, sich sprachlich und kulturell zu assimilieren und sozial zu integrieren. Die christliche Mission in aller Welt war bemüht, die Mitglieder von Regionalkulturen spirituell auf die Integration in die Mehrheitskultur vorzubereiten. In der Sowjetunion und in Indien war man damals schon von Idealvorstellungen abgekommen, sämtliche Sprachen des Landes – auch die kleinsten – zu verschriften. Der Einbruch der Ölkrise im Jahre 1973 erschütterte die Fortschrittsideologie weltweit, und an ihre Stelle traten Katastrophenstimmung und ein Bewusstsein, dass die rasante Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Menschheit an ihre ökologischen Grenzen gestoßen war. Planungsprojekte früherer Jahre wurden kri-

tisch überprüft und ideale Zielvorstellungen auf realistische Dimensionen zurückgenommen. Die Sprachplanung bemühte sich mehr und mehr, Zweck und Nutzwert ihrer Aufbauprojekte in Rechnung zu stellen. Gleichzeitig ist Planung immer schwieriger geworden, seit man sich bewusst ist, dass man es hierbei in besonderem Maße mit der Wirkung des Faktors Prestige zu tun hat (Haarmann 1986, 83ff.). Als in den 1980er Jahren die Auswirkungen der Erkenntnisse spürbar wurden, die die Chaos-Theorie vermittelte (Peitgen et al. 1994), war es an der Zeit, sich grundsätzlich mit der Problematik von Planungserwartungen und der Verlässlichkeit von Planungsprognosen auseinanderzusetzen. Auch verstärkte sich die Einsicht, dass Planungen nur insofern Erfolg haben können, wie deren Inhalte von den Betroffenen, das heißt von denjenigen positiv angenommen werden, für die andere planen. Dort, wo der Wille zur Erhaltung einer Zwergsprache bei ihren Sprechern schwach entwickelt ist, kann auch fördernde Planung kaum noch helfen.

Heutzutage leben wir mit einem Paradox. Einerseits hat sich das Bewusstsein des Gefährdungszustands von Zwergsprachen und der Dringlichkeit von Maßnahmen zu ihrem Schutz verstärkt, andererseits ist die Skepsis gegenüber den Möglichkeiten planerischer Eingriffe in die Existenzbedingungen kleiner Lokalkulturen angewachsen. Es gibt heutzutage mehr Minderheitenschutzbestimmungen als je zuvor in der Geschichte der Ethnopolitik. Gleichzeitig ist man vielerorts von Konzepten fördernder Planung abgerückt, da jeder Eingriff von Außenstehenden in das Umweltmilieu einer beliebigen marginalisierten Kultur Risiken mit sich bringt: Kulturschocks und Kollisionen von Wertsystemen, deren Folgen nicht kalkulierbar sind. Ob in Thailand, in den Philippinen, in Brasilien oder Malaysia, Regierungsvertreter warnen vor unbedachter Kontaktaufnahme mit Kleinvölkern, deren Lebensrhythmus dadurch empfindlich und womöglich irreversibel gestört werden könnte. In seinem Bemühen, die Erhaltung von Zwergsprachen aktiv zu unterstützen, steht der Planer (Sprach- und/oder Gesellschaftsplaner) vor einem Dilemma. Einerseits macht der Anschluss an die ‚zivilisierte‘ Welt schulische Maßnahmen und die Vermittlung von Wissen über die Mehrheitsbevölkerung (einschließlich von deren Sprache) erforderlich. Dies betrifft Versuche,

Zwergsprachen im Schulunterricht einzusetzen. Auf der anderen Seite kann der größere Nutzen von Planung gerade darin liegen, dass nicht in die intakte Sozialstruktur eines Kleinvolkes eingegriffen wird, dass also Planung unterbleibt. Beide Alternativen des Schutzes von Kleinvölkern und Zwergsprachen – aktive Planung einerseits und Nicht-Planung (im Sinn eines schützenden Abschirmens vor den Gefahren einer Kulturkollision) andererseits – finden wir in den Staaten der Welt, in denen Zwergsprachen verbreitet sind (Haarmann 2001).

6. Endoglossie versus Exoglossie: Die Auseinandersetzung mit dem kolonialen Erbe in der postkolonialen Ära

Wir Europäer halten es für selbstverständlich, dass die Amtssprachen in den Staaten Europas einheimisch sind, dass diese Kommunikationsmedien in den betreffenden Staaten, wo sie amtlichen Status besitzen, auch weithin als Muttersprachen verbreitet sind. Diese Verhältnisse sind charakteristisch für eine endoglossische (griech. *endo-* ‚einheimisch, binnen-‘ + *glossa* ‚Sprache‘) Amtssprachenregelung. In einem weltweiten Vergleich jedoch ist die Verwendung endoglossischer Amtssprachen nicht die Regel.

Die Kolonialzeit hat überall in der Welt ihre Spuren hinterlassen, auch in der Wahl der Amtssprachen für die vielen neuen Staaten, die nach 1945 ihre Unabhängigkeit erklärt haben. In den Regionen, wo sich europäische Kolonialsprachen fest etabliert hatten, sind diese bis heute in Gebrauch. Ein relativ junges Beispiel dafür ist die Sprachenregelung in dem seit 1990 unabhängigen Namibia. In diesem Staat mit seinen 28 Sprachen fungiert Englisch als alleinige Amtssprache. Englisch wird in Namibia von weniger als 0,1 Mio. Menschen als Muttersprache gesprochen. Namibias Amtssprachenregelung mit der Importsprache aus der europäischen Kolonialzeit ist exoglossisch (griech. *exo-* ‚auswärtig, außen-‘ + *glossa* ‚Sprache‘). Auf den ersten Blick weicht die Amtssprachenregelung Namibias klar ab von dem Grundprinzip, wonach die Sprache der zahlenmäßig stärksten Sprachgemeinschaft der naheliegendste Amtssprachenkandidat wäre. Dies wäre in Namibia das Ndonga (eine Bantu-Sprache), das von einer Viertelmillion Ovambo gesprochen wird.

Auch Nama, eine Sprache der Khoisan-Familie, und Kwanyama, eine Bantu-Sprache, sind bei mehr Namibiern verbreitet als Englisch. Alle diese Sprachen aber bleiben vom Amtssprachenstatus ausgeschlossen. Der Grund für die Wahl des exoglossischen Englisch als Amtssprache ist in der Geschichte des Landes zu suchen. Als ehemalige Kolonie des Deutschen Kaiserreiches (Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika) ging Namibia in den britischen Kolonialbesitz über und wurde von Südafrika aus verwaltet. Nach der Unabhängigkeit Südafrikas im Jahre 1961 verblieb Namibia als Protektorat unter der Verwaltung des Apartheid-Regimes. Zwar waren in Südafrika vor 1994 zwei Amtssprachen in Gebrauch, Englisch und Afrikaans, das letztere war aber in Namibia nur als Unterrichtssprache verbreitet, nicht im Amtsverkehr gebräuchlich, so dass dort nur Englisch als Amtssprache fungierte. In den 1980er Jahren, als mehr als eine halbe Million südafrikanische Soldaten in Namibia (Hauptstützpunkt Walvis Bay) mit ihren Angehörigen stationiert waren, hatte sich das Englische fest auf allen Ebenen des öffentlichen Lebens etabliert, in der Administration, im Ausbildungswesen, in den Massenmedien. Diesen sprachlich-funktionalen Entwicklungszustand hat Namibia in seine Unabhängigkeit übernommen. Weitert man den Blick auf die Staatenwelt Afrikas zum Vergleich, dann ist Namibia mit seiner Amtssprachenregelung in diesem Kontinent kein Ausnahmefall. Im Gegenteil, in der überwiegenden Zahl der Staaten Afrikas finden wir eine exoglossische Regelung. Im Senegal (Französisch), in Mali (Französisch) oder in Mosambik (Portugiesisch) fungieren ehemalige europäische Kolonialsprachen als exklusive Amtssprachen. In anderen Ländern, wie in Swasiland, Kenia oder Uganda besitzen neben europäischen Sprachen auch einheimische Sprachen amtlichen Status. Dies sind Beispiele für ein Mischsystem, nämlich für eine endoglossisch-exoglossische Regelung. Die Zahl der afrikanischen Staaten mit endoglossischer Amtssprachenregelung (z. B. Algerien, Sudan, Tansania) ist kleiner als die der Länder mit rein exoglossischen Verhältnissen oder die der Staaten mit einem Mischsystem. Der Umgang mit der Terminologie (endoglossisch vs. exoglossisch) ist mit Bezug auf die Sprachenpolitik in afrikanischen Staaten nicht ganz einfach. Im allgemeinen werden solche Verhältnisse als exoglossisch bezeichnet.

net, wo eine europäische Sprache dominiert. Regelungen, bei denen das Arabische als Amtssprache vorherrscht, werden nicht als exoglossisch bezeichnet, obwohl auch das Arabische eine Importsprache ist, die in Afrika nicht einheimisch war, sondern dort hin erst mit der islamischen Expansion gelangte. Allerdings ist das Arabische schon so lange in Afrika heimisch und hat sich als Muttersprache bei breiten Teilen der Bevölkerung im nördlichen Teil des Kontinents verbreitet, dass sie nicht mehr als fremder Sprachenimport empfunden wird. In der Identität der Muttersprachler ist das Arabische ebenso einheimisch wie andere afrikanische Sprachen. Insofern wird der exklusive Amtssprachenstatus des Arabischen in Staaten wie Ägypten, Tunesien oder Marokko als endoglossisch kategorisiert. Die Amtssprachenregelung eines Staates ist, was öffentliche Sprachfunktionen betrifft, lediglich die Spitze eines Eisberges. Es handelt sich bei den amtlichen Funktionen um solche auf der höchsten Ebene in den Bereichen des öffentlichen Lebens. Ebenso grundlegend für die einzelstaatliche Sprachenpolitik wie die Regelung der Amtssprachen ist die Wahl und Institutionalisierung von Sprachen im Ausbildungswesen. Welche Sprachen in welchen Ausbildungsstufen Verwendung finden (Primar-, Sekundarstufe, Oberstufe, universitäre Ausbildung), ist ebenfalls eine Problematik, bei der endoglossische oder exoglossische Entscheidungen getroffen werden können. Unter Einbeziehung der schulsprachlichen Komponente in der Sprachenpolitik afrikanischer Staaten erweitert sich die Dualität von Endoglossie und Exoglossie zu einem komplexen Schema (Abb. 87.4). Die Rubrik, in der von „bedeutender Verwendung“ bzw. „deutlicher Berücksichtigung“ die Rede ist, betrifft die Zusatzkomponente der Auswahl der Unterrichts-sprachen.

Es gibt nur eine andere Großregion der Welt, wo der Gegensatz von endoglossischer und exoglossischer Sprachenregelung eine so große Bedeutung hat wie in den Staaten Afrikas, und dies ist die Staatenwelt Ozeaniens. In Asien dagegen sind exoglossische Verhältnisse in den modernen Staaten selten. Denn trotz der jahrhundertelangen Präsenz europäischer Kolonialsprachen im südlichen und östlichen Asien sind die modernen Amtssprachen dieser Region überwiegend einheimisch. Die Rolle des Englischen als Amtssprache in Indien oder Singapur gehört eher

zu den Ausnahmefällen. Was Amerika betrifft, so werden die historischen Kolonialsprachen heutzutage nicht mehr als Fremdimport bewertet. Seit Jahrhunderten sind das Englische und Französische im nördlichen Amerika heimisch, so wie das Spanische seit langem schon die Muttersprache des größten Teils der Bevölkerung in den lateinamerikanischen Staaten ist. Hier relativieren sich die Begriffe endoglossisch und exoglossisch wie im Fall des Arabischen in Afrika.

Wenn hier die Dualität endoglossischer und exoglossischer Sprachenregelung exemplarisch für außereuropäische Staaten vorgestellt worden ist, so besagt dies nicht, dass es exoglossische Verhältnisse nicht auch in Europa gäbe. Hier allerdings sind sie historisch. Es gibt nur einen modernen Staat mit einem endoglossisch-exoglossischen Mischsystem, und dies ist Malta. Das einheimische Maltesisch fungiert als Amtssprache in allen internen Amtsgeschäften, während das Englische, die ehemalige Kolonialsprache des Inselarchipels, exoglossische Funktionen als externe Amtssprache übernimmt, also in offiziellen Kontakten Maltas mit anderen Staaten. Exoglossische Verhältnisse herrschten bis 1991 in den ehemaligen inneren Kolonien des Sowjetimperiums vor, in den nichtrussischen sowjetischen Teilrepubliken an der westlichen und südlichen Peripherie. In Estland, Litauen wie in Moldawien oder Georgien rangierte die Kolonialsprache, das Russische, neben der Hauptsprache der lokalen Bevölkerungsmehrheit, als Amtssprache. Auch in den administrativen Territorien der Russischen Föderation finden wir – zumindest nach Einschätzung der Nichtrussen – exoglossische Regelungen. Die Tschetschenen betrachteten das einheimische Tschetschenisch vor 1999 als einzige legitime Amtssprache der Republik Tschetschenien, und deren Status ist der eines souveränen Staates. Die russische Verwaltung in Moskau dagegen zählt Tschetschenien zu den Teilrepubliken der Russischen Föderation. Demzufolge hat auch das Russische amtlichen Status in Tschetschenien. Faktisch allerdings dominierte vor 1999 das Tschetschenische, und die Rolle des Russischen beschränkt sich auf die einer externen Kontaktsprache zwischen der Regierung in Groznij und der Moskauer. Solche Verhältnisse herrschten immerhin zwischen dem Ende des 1. Tschetschenien-Krieges (August 1996) und dem Beginn des 2. Tschetschenien-Krieges (September 1999) vor.

endoglossisch		SPRACHVERBREITUNG	exoglossisch	
aktiv	mit bedeutsamer Verwendung europ. Sprachen		aktiv	mit deutlicher Berücksichtigung einheimischer Sprachen
A.1 Ägypten Algerien Äthiopien Libyen Marokko Somalia Sudan Tansania Tunesien	A.2 Botswana Burundi Lesotho Malawi Ruanda Tschad Südafrika (seit 1994) ↑	mit einheimischem nationalen Verständigungsmitteln	B.1.a Senegal Mali	B.1.b Kenia Mauretanien Swasiland Uganda Zentralafrika
		mit einer einzigen dominanten Sprache	B.2.a Angola Gabun Niger Ghana	B.2.b Benin Gambia Namibia Obervolta (Togo)
		mit mehreren dominanten Sprachen	B.3.a Kongo (Zaire) (Sambia)	B.3.b Guinea Nigeria Sierra Leone Simbabwe Südafrika (vor 1994)
		ohne dominante Sprache	B.4.a Elfenbeinküste Guinea-Biss. Kamerun Liberia Mosambik Namibia	B.4.b

Abb. 87.4: Polarität endoglossischer und exoglossischer Sprachenregelung in den Staaten Afrikas (nach Reh 1981, 552 mit Ergänzungen)

7. Ausblick

Es gab eine Zeit, da glaubten Sprachplaner, mit der Regelung des Status autochthoner Sprachen und historischer Migrationssprachen (wie der Weltsprachen) in den Staaten der Welt das Hauptproblem zu bewältigen, das sich im Rahmen interethnischer Kontakte stellt. Seit den 1960er Jahren allerdings hat sich die Lage der Migrantensprachen verschärft, also die Problematik der Erhaltungsbedingungen der Sprachen von Arbeitsmigranten, Asylanten und Heimatvertriebenen im Gastland bzw. in der neuen Heimat. Die Migranten und ihre Nachkommen erleben vielschichtige Prozesse von Assimilation und Akkulturation, deren Kontrolle wie im Fall der Pflege und Planung

autochthoner Sprachen Anliegen privater Interessenverbände oder staatlicher Institutionen sein kann. Der Zustrom von Migranten hat sich in einigen Teilen der Welt dramatisch verstärkt. Gegen Ende des 20. Jhs. konzentriert sich die globale Migration in drei Hauptzonen (Chaliand/Rageau 1998, 57): a) Westeuropa mit einer Migrantendrift aus Osteuropa, aus afrikanischen und asiatischen Entwicklungsländern; b) Nordamerika mit einer Süd-Nord-Drift von Migranten aus Lateinamerika; c) die Ölstaaten des Mittleren Ostens (insbesondere Saudi-Arabien und die Vereinigten Arabischen Emirate) mit einer Migrantendrift aus südasiatischen Ländern (Indien, Pakistan). Von diesen drei Zonen maximaler Migrationsdrift ist Westeuropa die am weitesten entwi-

ckelte Region, was die Ausarbeitung von speziellen Förderungsprogrammen für Migrantensprachen betrifft (Extra/Verhoeven 1993, 1999, Broeder/Extra 1995, u. a.). Die Problematik der Migrantensprachen in den USA konzentriert sich im wesentlichen auf die Integration des Spanischen in eine englisch-sprachige Umgebung. Die Situation der Migrantensprachen in den Staaten der Arabischen Halbinsel ist noch nicht erforscht, von sprachplanerischen Ansätzen zu ihrer Erhaltung ganz zu schweigen.

Die Umsetzung soziolinguistischer Erkenntnisse und die Anwendung entsprechender Methoden zum Zweck der fördernden Statusplanung von Migrantensprachen trifft auf ähnliche Grundprobleme wie im Fall der Förderung von Zwergsprachen. In Westeuropa geht der Trend derzeit dahin, die Erhaltung von Migrantensprachen durch umfassende Ausbildungsprogramme zu fördern. In den USA andererseits ist die Einstellung gegenüber dem Spanischen geteilt. Theoretiker befürworten eine Förderung, die in Einklang mit den Maximen einer multikulturellen Gesellschaft steht (Glazer 1997). Auf der anderen Seite werden Sprachplaner mit Entscheidungen konfrontiert, die traditionelle Auffassungen von der ‚Schmelztiegelgesellschaft‘ reflektieren. Im Sommer 1998 hat sich die Mehrheit der Latinos im Bundesstaat Kalifornien in einem Volksentscheid dafür ausgesprochen, die zweisprachige (englisch-spanische) Schulausbildung aufzugeben und ausschließlich in Englisch zu unterrichten. Der Hauptgrund für diese Entscheidung der lateinamerikanischen Immigranten zur Nichtförderung der Muttersprache liegt darin, dass junge Leute Spanglish sprechen, ein Englisch mit zahlreichen spanischen Einsprengeln und spanischer Syntax bzw. ein mit Anglizismen überfrachtetes Spanisch. Die zweisprachige Schulausbildung fördert erfahrungsgemäß Phänomene von Sprachmischung und Code-switching. Im Berufsleben, wo Englisch gefordert ist, entsprechen die Sprachfertigkeiten der Latinos oft nicht dem Mindeststandard, was Unterbeschäftigung und soziale Benachteiligungen zur Folge hat. Um diesem Trend entgegen zu wirken und die Weichen für den sozialen Aufstieg der jüngeren Generation zu stellen, entschieden sich die Eltern für eine einsprachige englische Erziehung ihrer Kinder. Spanisch ist damit in Kalifornien Heim- und Alltagssprache der Latinos, besitzt aber –

was öffentliche Funktionen betrifft – selbst bei den Betroffenen keinen Rückhalt.

Die Zukunftsperspektiven für die Anwendung der Soziolinguistik liegen aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach im Spannungsfeld von Förderung und Nichtförderung der Migrantensprachen, dort wo es um deren Integration in den migratorischen Ballungszonen der Welt geht. Die soziokulturellen und -politischen Bedingungen in den Staaten mit starkem Migrationsschub können sich in Zukunft ebenso verändern wie die Kontaktbedingungen der Migranten in der Mehrheitsbevölkerung. Aufgaben stellen sich für Sprachplaner viele. Planerische Aktivitäten werden in Zukunft der Maxime verpflichtet sein, sprachliches Konfliktpotential im interethnischen Kontakt abzubauen oder zumindest einzudämmen. Dies scheint auf den ersten Blick eine eher bescheidene Anforderung zu sein, angesichts des Prozesses einer fortschreitenden Überbevölkerung der Erde und eines wachsenden Migrationsdrucks auf die Industriestaaten reflektiert diese Einschätzung eher die Einsicht in das real Machbare. Angewandte Soziolinguistik wird in diesem Sinn zum Instrument eines globalen Krisenmanagements.

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88. Forschungsgeschichte des symbolischen Interaktionismus History of Research on Symbolic Interaction

1. Einleitung
2. Die Saatbeetphase – Vorläufer und Grundlagen des S.I.
3. Die Chicago-Monographien
4. Gründungs- und Latenzphase des S.I.
5. Konsolidierungsphase des S.I.
6. Entfaltungsphase des S.I.
7. Entfaltung des Deutschen S.I.
8. Ausblick
9. Literatur (in Auswahl)

1. Einleitung

Der Begriff des „Symbolischen Interaktionismus“ (S.I.) wurde im Jahr 1937 von Herbert Blumer geprägt. Blumer gilt als einer der führenden Vertreter der Nachfolgeneration der in Chicago begründeten Tradition der Soziologie, deren wichtigste, die amerikanische Soziologie prägende Phase heute allgemein üblich zwischen 1910 und 1935 gesehen wird. Als theoretische und methodische Richtung zunächst der amerikanischen und in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts zunehmend auch der europäischen Soziologie, wird der S.I. zumeist als besondere Form der interpretativen und handlungstheoretischen Ansätze in der Soziologie gesehen, die insbesondere in jüngster Zeit gleichsam auch Amalgame mit ähnlichen Ansätzen (Phänomenologische Sozialtheorie, Ethnomethodologie, Objektive Hermeneutik, Wissenssoziologie) eingegangen ist. In Abgrenzung zu diesen Ansätzen werden häufig Strukturfunktionalismus, Systemtheorie, Strukturmarxismus und verhaltenstheoretische Soziologie genannt (Schütze 1987, 520). In seinen Kern

annahmen geht der S.I. davon aus, dass alle gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeit durch soziale Interaktionen der Gesellschaftsmitglieder beständig erzeugt und verändert wird und diese Interaktionen als Handlungsverflechtungen aufeinander bezogener Akteure durch sprachliche Kommunikation und den Austausch außersprachlicher Symbole geleistet werden. Eine ausführliche Skizze des Theoriegeflechts des S.I. findet sich bei Schütze (1987, 521f.). Die Entwicklung des S.I. lässt sich in drei Phasen einteilen. Die Saatbeetphase bis etwa 1935, die Gründungs- und Latenzphase bis um 1960, die Konsolidierungsphase bis etwa 1975 und die anschließende Entfaltungsphase, in welcher der S.I. auch in der deutschen Soziologie und Sozialwissenschaft zunehmend an Bedeutung gewonnen hat.

2. Die Saatbeetphase – Vorläufer und Grundlagen des S.I.

Zum Verständnis der Entstehung aber auch der heutigen Spielarten des S.I. ist die sogenannte „Saatbeetphase“, die Blütezeit der Chicago-Schule vor 1935 von besonderer Bedeutung. Allerdings suggeriert die Bezeichnung „Schule“ einen, insbesondere in Europa, weitaus dogmatisch geschlosseneren Charakter als er tatsächlich je gegeben war. Zwar wurzeln alle Konzepte dieser Tradition wesentlich in der von Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914) gegründeten und von William James (1842–1910) und John Dewey (1859–1952) geprägten amerikanischen Philosophie des Pragmatismus, aber eben diese versteht sich nicht nur strikt undogmatisch

(vgl. Sakmann 1931), sondern ist auch Basis einer vielfältigen, empirisch experimentellen und naturalistischen Forschungs- und Theorietradition. Zu den zentralen Forschungspersönlichkeiten der ersten beiden Professorengenerationen der Chicago-Soziologie gehören neben Dewey und vor allem George Herbert Mead (1863–1931), William Isaak Thomas (1863–1947), Robert Ezra Park (1864–1944) und Robert Ellsworth L. Faris (1874–1953). Auch die folgende Generation bleibt in dieser pragmatistischen Tradition. Zu ihnen zählen Ernest W. Burgess (1886–1966), Louis Wirth (1897–1952) und, für die spätere Etablierung des S.I. besonders wichtig, Herbert Blumer (1900–1987) sowie Everett C. Hughes (1897–1983); (Vgl. Serbser 1997, 97ff.; zur Geschichte: Bulmer 1984). Von großer Bedeutung für diese „Saatbeetphase“ sind schließlich die unzähligen empirischen Studien, die in dieser Zeit entstanden sind. Ein guter Überblick findet sich bei Faris (1970) und Carey (1975). Entscheidend ist aber zunächst die gemeinsame Wurzel im Pragmatismus, die es erlaubt, die Chicagoer Tradition als „interaktionistische Perspektive“ zu verstehen und damit die Bedeutung der Sprache in diesen Konzepten verständlich macht. Der amerikanische Pragmatismus stellt keine einheitliche Schule dar, sondern entwickelt sich in unterschiedlichen thematischen Schwerpunkten. So beschäftigt sich Peirce mit der Logik der empirisch-experimentellen Forschung und der Erkenntnis; James mit den existenziellen und religiösen Fragen, die wissenschaftlich nicht lösbar erscheinen; Dewey mit wissenschafts- und demokratietheoretischen Fragen sozialer Reform und der Erziehung, dem Verhältnis von Idealismus und Materialismus sowie der doppelten Eigenschaft des Menschen als natürliches und gesellschaftliches Wesen; Mead mit gesellschaftstheoretischen Fragen der Entstehung von Selbst- und Fremdentität und der Logik sozialer Interaktion; Thomas mit Fragen des sozialen Wandels und der Organisation, der Des- und Reorganisation sozialer Einheiten (Personen und Gruppen) und schließlich Park mit Fragen der öffentlichen Meinungsbildung und den Erscheinungen des „urbanen Metabolismus“ (vgl. Joas 1992, 37ff, 73; Serbser 1997, 108; Schütze 1987, 527).

2.1. Charles Sanders Peirce

Charles Sanders Peirce liefert mit seiner Philosophie der Praxis, die er aus einer Kritik an den Maximen der Philosophie von Des-

cartes ableitet, zwei zentrale Ansätze, die für die Entwicklung der Chicagoer Tradition und den S.I. grundlegend sind (vgl. Serbser 1997, 108ff.). Nach Descartes macht sich die menschliche Identität, das Selbstbewusstsein, an der Fähigkeit der intuitiven Selbsterkenntnis fest. „Ich denke, also bin ich“. Peirce bezweifelt genau diesen Satz und weist in seiner „Theory of Cognition“ (Peirce 1967, 157ff.) nach, dass eine intuitive Erkenntnis, eine Erkenntnis unabhängig von jeder vorhergehenden Erkenntnis, nicht möglich ist, und Selbstbewusstsein, am Beispiel der Kindesentwicklung beschrieben, nur in einem sozialen Prozess gegenseitigen intentionalen Handelns entwickelt werden kann. Der pragmatistische Grundsatz lautet daher „Ich handele, also bin ich“. Das Handeln ist in diesem Sinne immer auf andere Personen ausgerichtet, also sozial konstituiert, und nur in einem solchen Zusammenhang kann der Mensch Selbstidentität entwickeln und mithin Subjekt sein. Das Denken ist diesem Prozess logisch nachgeordnet und durch Zeichen symbolisch vermittelt. Peirce Kritik richtet sich gegen grundlegende Fähigkeiten, die der Cartesianismus behauptet, ohne sie belegen zu können, und er antwortet mit vier Verneinungen: „(1) Wir haben kein Vermögen der Introspektion, sondern alle Erkenntnis der inneren Welt ist durch hypothetisches Schlussfolgern aus unserer Erkenntnis äußerer Fakten abgeleitet. (2) Wir haben kein Vermögen der Intuition, sondern jede Erkenntnis wird von vorhergehenden Erkenntnissen logisch bestimmt. (3) Wir haben kein Vermögen, ohne Zeichen zu denken. (4) Wir haben keinen Begriff von einem absolut Unerkennbaren“ (Peirce 1967, 186). Als zweiten Punkt, der auch für die Forschungslogik der Chicagoer Tradition und des S.I. wesentlich ist, kritisiert Peirce an der Lehre Descartes‘ die Behauptung, dass die Philosophie mit universalem Zweifel beginnen müsse. Peirce stellt dem entgegen: „Wir können nicht mit völligem Zweifel anfangen. Wir müssen mit all den Vorurteilen beginnen, die wir wirklich haben, wenn wir mit dem Studium der Philosophie anfangen. Diese Vorurteile sind nicht durch eine Maxime zu beseitigen, denn es handelt sich bei ihnen um Dinge, bei denen wir gar nicht auf den Gedanken kommen, dass wir sie in Frage stellen könnten. Also wird dieser Von-vornherein-Skeptizismus eine bloße Selbsttäuschung sein und kein wirklicher Zweifel

(...). Zwar kann jemand im Laufe seiner Studien Grund dazu finden, das zu bezweifeln, von dem er anfangs überzeugt war, aber in diesem Fall zweifelt er, weil er einen positiven Grund dafür hat und nicht aufgrund der cartesianischen Maxime“ (Peirce 1967, 184). Für Peirce muss Zweifel real motiviert sein, er muss auf die konkrete Lebenspraxis und die dort auftretenden faktischen Probleme bezogen sein. Peirce weist damit das Erkenntnismodell Descartes' als idealistisch zurück, da es, abgespalten vom Handeln und der Kommunikation zwischen Subjekten, die gesellschaftliche Welt verkenne (vgl. Joas 1992, 74). Der Pragmatismus ist eine Philosophie des Handelns, das in ein Konzept von Intentionalität und Sozialität eingebunden ist. „Der Begriff der Rationalität und das normative Ideal dieses Denkens werden hier in der Idee der selbstkontrollierten Handlung gedacht. Der Leitgedanke für die Theorie der sozialen Ordnung ist dann eine Konzeption von sozialer Kontrolle im Sinn kollektiver Selbstregulierung und Problemlösungen.“ (Joas 1992, 28)

2.2. William I. Thomas

„The Polish Peasant in Europe and America“, 1918 erschienen, (Thomas/Znaniiecki 1958) ist die erste große empirische Studie, die diese Kerngedanken des Pragmatismus konsequent zu einer allgemeinen Sozialtheorie weiterzuentwickeln sucht. Als systematischen Versuch, die Herkunft der Landbevölkerung mit Blick auf das nordamerikanische Einwanderungsproblem zu untersuchen (Thomas nach Baker 1981, 252), verwendet die Studie erstmalig sprachliches Primärmaterial. Der Briefwechsel innerhalb von 50 verschiedenen Familien und die ausführliche Autobiografie eines polnischen Einwanderers bilden die Grundlage, um die Phänomene des sozialen Wandels zu erforschen und eine entsprechende Theorie der sozialen Organisation, Desorganisation, Reorganisation oder des sozialen Neubaus zu entwickeln (Serbser 1997, 123f.). In der berühmten „Methodological Note“ (Thomas/Znaniiecki 1958, 1–86) entwickelt William I. Thomas zusammen mit Znaniiecki sein Konzept der situativen Analyse sozialer Phänomene als Produkt der Wechselwirkungen der objektiven kulturellen Elemente des sozialen Lebens und der subjektiven Charakteristik der Mitglieder der jeweiligen sozialen Gruppen, die er schließlich mit den Begriffen „values“ und „attitudes“ belegt. Eine Sozialtheorie müsse den Erfordernis-

sen der modernen Sozialpraxis entsprechen und an deren praktischen Problemen ansetzen. Ihr Hauptobjekt sei die gegenwärtige zivilisierte Gesellschaft in ihrer vollen Entwicklung und mit der ganzen Komplexität der Situationen mit den zwei grundlegenden praktischen Problemen: „1. das Problem der Abhängigkeit des einzelnen von der sozialen Organisation und Kultur und 2. das Problem der Abhängigkeit der sozialen Organisation und Kultur von dem einzelnen.“ (Thomas 1965, 74; Thomas/Znaniiecki 1958, 22; Zur Bedeutung der Situation vgl. Thomas/Znaniiecki 1958, 68f.; Serbser 1997, 129f.) Da die Lebensorganisation des einzelnen niemals mit der Organisation der sozialen Gruppe völlig übereinstimmen kann, entwickelt Thomas den Theorieansatz sozialer Organisation, sowohl für die soziale Gruppe (vgl. Art. 53) und deren Veränderung, als auch für die soziale Persönlichkeit, deren individuelle Lebensorganisation und deren Veränderung (Thomas/Znaniiecki 1958, 1127f.). Beide zusammen sind Bestandteil seiner Theorie sozialen Wandels, der ständig und überall stattfindet. „Die Stabilität von Gruppeninstitutionen ist daher einfach ein dynamisches Gleichgewicht von Vorgängen der Desorganisation und Reorganisation“ (Thomas 1965, 308). Dabei ist Desorganisation nicht gleichbedeutend mit Demoralisierung und Reorganisation, nicht die bloß erneute Stärkung der verfallenden Organisation, sondern der kreative Prozess „der Hervorbringung neuer Verhaltensformen und neuer Institutionen, die den veränderten Anforderungen der Gruppe besser entsprechen“ (Ebenda). Soziale Phänomene sind für Thomas das Ergebnis evolutionärer Prozesse sozialen Wandels der Gruppen und der personalen Identitäten ihrer Mitglieder. Will man diese verstehen, dann muss die Genese dieser Evolution als gesamter Prozess rekonstruiert werden, aus Fakten, wie sie uns in biografischen oder anderen sprachlichen Primärmaterialien zugänglich sind (vgl. Thomas/Znaniiecki 1958, 1835f.). Hierin sieht Thomas auch den entscheidenden Unterschied zu den Naturwissenschaften, „daß nämlich zwar die Wirkung eines physischen Phänomens ausschließlich auf der objektiven Natur dieses Phänomens beruht und auf Grund seines empirischen Inhalts berechnet werden kann, daß aber die Wirkung eines sozialen Phänomens zusätzlich von dem subjektiven Standpunkt abhängt, den der einzelne oder die Gruppe gegenüber diesem Phänomen

einnimmt, und daß sie nur dann berechnet werden kann, wenn wir nicht nur den objektiven Inhalt der unterstellten Ursache kennen, sondern auch die Bedeutung, die sie im gegebenen Augenblick für die gegebenen bewußten Wesen hat“ (Thomas 1965, 81). Die eingangs dargestellte Kernannahme des S.I. wird von Thomas durch sein Konzept sozialen Wandels untermauert. Die von den Gesellschaftsmitgliedern erzeugte gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeit folgt entsprechend einem evolutionären Prinzip beständiger Veränderung und Hervorbringung neuer sozialer Phänomene als kreativem Prozess, die, wie Thomas (1909) in „Source Book for Social Origins“ darlegt, auf drei Ebenen untersucht werden muss: der Ebene der Mikrogenese (die einzelnen Handlungssituationen), der Ontogenese (der personalen Identität) und der Phylogenese (der Identität der sozialen Gruppen und Gesellschaften). „Source Book for Social Origins“ schlägt dabei als erstes genuin soziologisches Lehr- und Textbuch die Brücke einerseits zu den Naturwissenschaften, insbesondere den Schriften Darwins unter deutlicher Abgrenzung zu Spencer (den er dort nur ausführlich aufnimmt, um, wie er schreibt, Spencers systematischen Fehler aufzuzeigen) und andererseits zur Anthropologie, zur Ethnologie und Ethnogeographie. In der Einleitung legt er die besondere Bedeutung dieser Disziplinen dar, denn er zeigt, dass das Verständnis der Genese von Gesellschaften sich nicht primär auf historische Dokumente und Quellen beziehen kann, da diese zumeist weniger ein reales Geschehen wiedergeben, sondern spezifische Interessen verfolgen, wie beispielsweise die Überhöhung und Verklärung berühmter Herrscher. Vielmehr muss ein solches Erkenntnisinteresse sich auf sprachliches Primärmaterial beziehen und entsprechende ethnologische Studien komparativ hinzuziehen. Für Thomas zeigt sich das evolutionäre Prinzip gesellschaftlicher Entwicklung im Wirkungszusammenhang von Herrschaft, Krise und sozialem Wandel (control, crisis and social change; Thomas 1909, 14ff.). Nun meint aber Herrschaft nicht einfach die Kontrolle über die Umwelt, die Naturbeherrschung und auch nicht umgekehrt die Anpassung im Sinne von Spencer an eine gegebene Umwelt oder Natur, sondern der Begriff ist unmittelbar mit dem der Akkommodation, des sich Einrichtens in der Mitwelt, verknüpft. Es geht also bereits hier um die beständige Wechselwir-

kung zwischen sozialen Einheiten (Mensch, Person und Gruppe) und ihrem je historisch konkreten (sozialen wie natürlichen) Weltkontext, mithin um eine *interaktionistische Perspektive*. Weil aber in einer Wechselwirkung nicht jeder tätige Akkommodationsversuch auch sein Ziel erreicht, ist die Krise, der „mismatch“ zwischen Mensch und Mitwelt, notwendiger Bestandteil des Geschehens. Die Krise erfordert ein Umstellen des Akkommodationsprozesses, das Verlassen der gewohnheitsmäßig bislang erfolgreichen Handlungen und deren Reakkommodation. Ist letztere erfolgreich, so hat ein sozialer Wandel stattgefunden oder, wie es Thomas 1918 in der „Methodological Note“, (Thomas/Znaniacki 1958, 1–86) formulieren wird, so hat sich eine soziale Ordnung in einer neuen, veränderten Ordnung reorganisiert. Das von Thomas damit skizzierte formal pragmatische Konzept sozialen Wandels ist grundlegend für die spätere Entwicklung des S.I. und bildet beispielsweise auch die Basis für das von Bohnsack in den 1980er Jahren entwickelte Schema der formalpragmatischen Struktur intentionalen Handelns (ABS 1981, 41).

2.3. George Herbert Mead

Die pragmatistische Sozialphilosophie und Sozialpsychologie von George Herbert Mead wurde von Herbert Blumer als wesentliches grundagentheoretisches Gerüst in den S.I. integriert (vgl. Schütze 1987, 530ff.). Dies betrifft Meads handlungstheoretisches Konzept, nach dem alles menschliche Handeln eine intentionale und reflexive Struktur aufweist (Mead 1968, 100–142, 216–221; 1969, 102–129, 230, 240); sein identitätstheoretisches Konzept, nach dem sich personale Identität in Interaktionsprozessen mit signifikant anderen dadurch entwickelt, dass deren angenommene Sichtweisen und Standpunkte imaginierend eingenommen werden (Mead 1968, 236–244, 248, 253–266) – einschließlich der hierbei auftauchenden notorischen Diskrepanzen zwischen den Erwartungsstrukturen (Mich-Bilder, „me“) und den tatsächlichen Ich-Erfahrungen („I“), die eine fortlaufende Reflexion veranlassen, aus der sich die reflexive Struktur des Selbst („self“), der personalen Identität, entwickelt – und sein kommunikationstheoretisches Konzept, nach dem die Einnahme der Perspektiven der signifikanten Interaktionspartner nur vermittels eines Symbolsystems möglich ist wie der menschlichen Sprache, die mit ihren signifikanten Gebärden und

Symbolen einerseits dem Akteur selbst wie dem Interaktionspartner den Charakter seiner Handlungsintention ankündigen und aufzeigen kann und andererseits dem Interaktionspartner ermöglicht, vor dem Hintergrund seiner eigenen Erfahrungen und Erwartungen diese Handlungsintention des Akteurs aus dessen Sicht zu imaginieren und einzunehmen (Mead 1968, 100–122). Der menschlichen Sprache kommt in dieser Sozialtheorie von Mead eine Schlüsselrolle zu, denn „kommunikative interaktionseingebundene Sprechaktivitäten in einer allen Interaktionspartnern gemeinsamen Sprache sind signifikante Gebärden par excellence; sie ermöglichen die signifikante Rollenübernahme, d.h. die imaginierte Einnahme der Standpunkte der Interaktionspartner sowie das vorstellungs- und gefühlsmäßige Sich-Hineinversetzen in deren Handlungsperspektiven“ (Schütze 1987, 532f.; Mead 1968, 112f.; 1969, 218ff.). Aus der dadurch gegebenen Fähigkeit zur Rollenübernahme des signifikant anderen entwickelt sich dann (Mead zeigt dies an der Ontogenese des Kindes, 1968, 192ff.) die Fähigkeit zur Herausbildung des verallgemeinerten anderen, d.h. den abstrakten Standpunkt eines neutralen Beobachters einzunehmen und auf diese Weise die sozialen Regeln der gesellschaftlichen Organisation aufzunehmen und sich am moralischen Diskurs des Bezuges auf und der Auseinandersetzung um diese Regeln des Zusammenlebens zu beteiligen. Wesentliche weitere Impulse der Meadschen Sozialphilosophie auf den S.I. finden sich mit dem Prinzip der Emergenz sozialer Innovation in seiner „The Philosophy of the Present“ ([1932] 1959) – seiner Philosophie des Gegenwärtigen – und in „The Philosophy of the Act“ (1938). Beide posthum erschienenen Werke sind deutlich durch Einsteins Relativitätstheorie beeinflusst und stellen einen Ansatz einer sozial- und geisteswissenschaftlichen Relativitätstheorie vor (Zur Einordnung dieser Werke siehe das Vorwort von Morris zu „Mind, Self and Society“ in Mead 1968. Eine kurze Einführung in das Werk von Mead gibt Wenzel 1990. Zur Bedeutung Meads für die Entwicklung des S.I. siehe Faris 1970; Meltzer/Petras/Reynolds 1975. Ausführliche Informationen zum Werk von Mead und wichtigen Autoren seines Umfeldes einschließlich der Arbeiten von W.I. Thomas finden sich im „The Mead Project“ der Brook University, St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada im Internet unter <http://spartan.ac.brocku.ca/~lward/>).

2.4. John Dewey

John Dewey hat mit seinem Werk die Chicagoer Tradition in vielfältiger Weise beeinflusst. Insbesondere „Education and Democracy“ (Dewey [1916] 1922) wird von den Chicagoer Soziologen immer wieder zitiert (so in Park/Burgess 1921, 36f, 184–187; Park [1950] 1964, 3f., 40f., 262, 316, 327; Park 1952, 173, 182, 200; Park 1955, 222f). Grundlegend für die Entwicklung des S.I. als praxisorientierte Sozialwissenschaft, der es nicht nur um ein Verstehen der Prozesse sozialen Wandels, sondern auch um das tätige Einwirken auf diese Prozesse selbst geht, ist das 1922 erscheinende „Human Nature and Conduct“ von John Dewey (Dewey 1922, deutsche Übersetzung von Paul Sakmann; Dewey 1931). Als paradigmatische Grundlegung ist „Human Nature and Conduct“ gewissermaßen eine Streitschrift für die Demokratisierung der Gesellschaft und wider die Verachtung der menschlichen Natur in den Sozial- und Geisteswissenschaften. Eben diese Verachtung verhindere einen Fortschritt auf dem Weg zur Freiheit. Der Einseitigkeit von Idealismus und Materialismus, die den Wechselwirkungszusammenhang zwischen sozialem Handeln und Kontext negieren, setzt er den Pragmatismus mit seiner interaktionistischen Perspektive als dritten Weg gegenüber.

„Es gibt, um es kurz zu sagen, zwei Schulen sozialer Reform. Die eine gründet sich auf den Begriff einer Sittlichkeit, die aus einer inneren, irgendwie geheimnisvoll in der Persönlichkeit eingesperrten Freiheit entspringt. Nach ihr ist der einzige Weg zur Wandlung von Einrichtungen die Reinigung des eigenen Herzens; ist das vollbracht, dann folgt die Wandlung der Einrichtungen von selbst. Die andere Schule leugnet das Dasein einer solchen inneren Kraft und ist sich bewußt, daß sie damit alle sittliche Freiheit geleugnet hat. Nach ihr sind die Menschen, was sie sind, durch die Kräfte der Umgebung. Die menschliche Natur ist durchaus bildsam und zwar nur bildsam, und ehe die Einrichtungen geändert sind, kann nichts geschehen. Mit dem, was dabei herauskommt, sind wir offenbar ebenso hoffnungslos daran als bei einem bloßen Appell an die innere Rechtbeschaffenheit und Güte. Denn hier fehlt jede Hebelkraft für die Wandlung der Umwelt. Wir finden uns mit dieser Auffassung auf den Zufall zurückgeworfen, der sich meist als ein notwendiges Gesetz der Geschichte oder der Entwicklung verkleidet, und sie ist des guten Zutrauens, daß irgendeine gewaltsame Änderung, im Symbol des Bürgerkriegs verkörpert, die Tore zu einem plötzlich auftauchenden tausendjährigen Reich öffnen werde. Man braucht sich nicht in die Wahl zwischen diesen

beiden Theorien einsperren zu lassen; es gibt ein Drittes. Wir können einsehen lernen, daß die Lebensführung eine Wechselwirkung ist zwischen Elementen der menschlichen Natur und der natürlichen und gesellschaftlichen Umwelt. Dann sehen wir, daß der Fortschritt sich auf zwei Wegen vollzieht, und daß die Freiheit in der Wechselwirkung zu suchen ist, die sich in einer Umwelt behauptet, in der menschliches Wünschen und Wählen auch noch etwas gelten. Es gibt in der Tat Kräfte im Menschen und nicht bloß außer ihm. Sie sind ja wohl außerordentlich schwach im Vergleich mit den äußeren Kräften. Aber sie können in einer vorausschauenden und gestaltenden Intelligenz eine Stütze finden. Sehen wir das Problem an im Licht einer Anpassung, die auf den Wegen der Intelligenz zu erreichen ist, so verschiebt es sich heraus aus der rein persönlichen Innerlichkeit und wird ein baumeisterliches Problem, das der Gestaltung einer Kunst der Erziehung und der sozialen Führung.“ (Dewey 1931, 10f.) „Erst die verständnisvolle Anerkennung des unlöslichen Zusammenhangs von Natur, Mensch und Gesellschaft wird die Entwicklung einer Moral sichern, die ernst sein wird, aber nicht fanatisch, hochstrebend ohne Sentimentalität, der Wirklichkeit angepaßt, ohne unterzusinken im Herkömmlichen, verständig ohne gewinnsüchtige Berechnung, idealistisch und doch nicht romantisch.“ (Dewey 1931, 14)

Der Pragmatismus als Dritter Weg steht nach Dewey in der Tradition des Positivismus und des Naturalismus und zielt deswegen nicht auf einseitige Kontemplation. „Sein Sinn kann allein sein, ein besseres Menschengeschlecht zu entwickeln und eine gerechtere Gesellschaftsordnung zu organisieren. Das Problem der Philosophie ist nicht, wie wir die Welt erkennen, sondern wie und zu welchem Zweck wir lernen können, sie zu beherrschen. In dieser Hinsicht gibt es keine Grenze, und es ist vielleicht nichts unmöglich, sofern es das Denken nicht selbst dafür hält. Es ist falsch, mit Rousseau und Carlyle, mit Ruskin und Tolstoi die Industriekultur mit dem Bann zu belegen. Vielmehr müssen die Geisteswissenschaften endlich einmal auf die Höhe der Naturwissenschaften herankommen (...). Sie müssen lernen, auf die sozialen Fragen dieselben experimentellen Methoden und Betrachtungsweisen anzuwenden ...“ (Sakmann 1931, XIVf.). Deweys positivistischer Naturalismus ist also weder „roher Empirismus“ noch „materialistische Nützlichkeitslehre“, aber grundsätzlich jedem „Apriorismus und allen Absolutheitsansprüchen, mögen sie von Systemen oder von Einrichtungen erhoben werden“ entgegengesetzt,

ein auf die Zukunft gerichteter Experimentalismus (vgl. Sakmann 1931, XIII). Die dadurch erzeugte Offenheit gepaart mit einem positivistischen naturalistischen Denken, das grundsätzliche „lass uns ausprobieren“, kennzeichnet nicht nur die unzähligen empirischen Studien der Saatbeetphase in ihrem Methodenpluralismus, sondern auch die grundsätzliche Herangehensweise in modernen Lehrbüchern zur Methode des S.I. wie beispielsweise von Strauss und Corbin (1998). Diese Offenheit ist wahrscheinlich auch der Schlüssel, um zu verstehen, warum gerade in jüngster Zeit die unterschiedlichsten Amalgame des S.I. mit anderen Forschungs- und Theorietraditionen entstanden sind.

2.5. Urbaner Metabolismus

Es ist kennzeichnend für die Chicagoer-Tradition und den S.I., dass die Industriekultur und die moderne Stadt weder als Phänomen des Niedergangs der Gesellschaft noch technizistisch als bloßer Fortschritt aufgefasst worden ist. Die moderne Stadt – Chicago ist hierfür plastisches Phänomen und unmittelbares Forschungsfeld – ist für die Chicagoer Soziologen und Sozialtheoretiker – wie es auch Dewey deutlich macht – der Ort, an dem sich deutlich der soziale Wandel von einer traditionellen zu einer offenen Gesellschaft untersuchen lässt. Die Lebenswirklichkeit der vielfältigen und unterschiedlichen sozialen, ethnischen und rassischen Gruppen in Chicago ist beständig von schnellen und radikalen Veränderungen geprägt. Eben diese Veränderungen sind Anlass und Gegenstand der Polish-Peasant-Untersuchung (Thomas/Znaniecki 1958) und Ausgangspunkt für die Theoriekonzepte von Thomas: des sozialen Wandels; der sozialen und personalen Des- und Reorganisation. Insbesondere Robert E. Park und später Ernest W. Burgess greifen die sich daraus ergebenden Fragen und Probleme auf (vgl. Carey 1975, 95–110) und untersuchen die Erscheinungen des sogenannten „urbanen Metabolismus“ am Beispiel der Segregation der genannten sozialen Gruppen in städtischen Quartieren (natural areas) mit Phänomenen gegenseitiger Verdrängung und Sukzession und der funktionalen Differenzierung städtischer Gebiete. Sie begründen damit die amerikanische Tradition der Stadtsoziologie (Park/Burgess [1921] 1969, 1–62; Park 1952a; vgl. Faris 1970, 51–87; Bulmer 1984, 64–128; Serbser 2004). Auf die Arbeiten von Park wird im Rahmen

des S.I. zumeist nur indirekt verwiesen und wenn, dann im Zusammenhang mit dem Wirken von Thomas, der Park 1914 nach Chicago holt (Fisher/Strauss 1979). Unbestritten ist sein großer Einfluss auf den Forschungsstil, der vor allem nach dem ersten Weltkrieg in den unzähligen Chicagoer Studien und Monographien zum Tragen kommt. Zum ersten Mal in der Geschichte der Soziologie entsteht damit ein systematischer Forschungsstil „der naturalistischen empirischen Untersuchung, d.h. der Auffindung, Erhebung und Materialanalyse, von problematischen sozialen Erscheinungen und Prozessen in komplexen urbanen Gesellschaften“ (Schütze 1987, 527).

2.6. Robert E. Park

Park greift in seinem Werk vor allem die Wechselwirkung zwischen dem Menschen und seiner Mitwelt auf, wie sie Dewey u. a. in „Human Nature and Conduct“ (1922; 1931) zum Gegenstand nimmt und auch bei Thomas (1909) bereits skizziert ist (Park/Burgess [1921] 1969, 75–79; Park 1955a; Park 1964a). In makrotheoretischer Perspektive – was vermutlich die Rezeption im S.I. durch Blumer erschwert hat – entwickelt er hieraus sein Konzept der „Human Ecology“, des „natural“ und zugleich „societal man“, der sowohl in die biotische Substruktur als auch in die kulturelle Superstruktur eingebunden ist (Park 1952c; 1955a; vgl. Serbser 2004). Dabei kontrolliert die kulturelle Superstruktur über die moralische, dann die politische und Teile der ökonomischen Ordnung die biotische Substruktur, die sich aus dem anderen Teil der ökonomischen und diese basierend auf der ökologischen Ordnung zusammensetzt. Die kulturelle Superstruktur – hier integriert Park die Sozialtheorie Meads – basiert auf kommunikativen Interaktionsprozessen und ist an die Existenz der kollektiven Reziprozitätsherstellung (Mead 1968, 273–346) durch Kommunikation mit Hilfe eines gemeinsamen signifikanten Symbolsystems gebunden. Wird im Verlauf sozialen Wandels und der damit verbundenen sozialen und personalen Desorganisation die für die Reziprozitätsherstellung notwendige Kommunikationsstruktur gestört, so verliert die kulturelle Superstruktur ihre kontrollierende Wirkung. Die Gesellschaftsmitglieder drohen dann in eine Art vorgesellschaftlichen Naturzustand zurückzufallen, in der allein die ökologische und die rudimentäre ökonomische Ordnung Gültig-

keit habe – bis hin zum Krieg der einzelnen rudimentären sozialen Gruppen untereinander. Damit zielt Park auf ein Phänomen, welches sich in Chicago besonders deutlich beobachten lässt: eines gewaltigen Bevölkerungswachstums, das sich aus Zuwanderungsgruppen unterschiedlichster sozialer, rassistischer aber vor allem auch ethnischer und damit kultureller und sprachlicher Herkunft zusammensetzt. Der damit theoretisch auf Grund mangelnder gemeinsamer Kommunikationsstruktur drohende „Zerfall“ der Gesellschaft tritt aber, wie Park in seinem „Marginal Man“ (Park 1964b; 1964c) zeigt, in der Regel gerade nicht ein, sondern dieser „zwischen den Welten lebende Migrant“ – weder zur Aufnahme- noch zur Herkunftsgesellschaft mehr gehörende – ist die treibende Kraft sozialen Wandels. Es ist der Marginal Man, der zur Überwindung seiner Identitätskrise, die daraus herrührt, dass seine Erwartungen, die aus seiner Herkunftstradition gespeist werden, nicht mit den Erwartungen der aufnehmenden Gesellschaftsmitglieder korrelieren, Neues in seinem Handeln entfalten muss. Es ist die Situation des Migranten, welche die Emergenz von Innovationen und damit den sozialen Wandel selbst befördert. Parks Einfluss auf den S.I. und allgemeiner die interpretativen und handlungstheoretischen Ansätze der Soziologie ist erst in jüngster Zeit wieder deutlicher thematisiert worden (Lindner 1990). Hierzu gehören auch die erst jüngst veröffentlichten ‚Frühwerke‘ von Park als Journalist (Lyman 1992). Gemeinhin wird der Einfluss von Park auf die Forschung und Lehre in Chicago bereits mit dem Amtsantritt von Ogburn 1927 als im Schwinden begriffen beschrieben, da die Studenten nunmehr immer weniger ‚journalistisch-Parkianisch‘ orientiert gewesen seien (Bulmer 1984, 171). Gleichwohl findet sich sein Einfluss auch nach seiner Emeritierung 1933 in vielen Dissertationen und Studien des soziologischen Departements. 1939 erscheint unter Parks Herausgeberschaft „An Outline of the Principles of Sociology“ (Park 1939), welches als zeitgemäßes systematisches Lehrbuch ein Beispiel der Integration des entstehenden S.I. in das soziologische Konzept Parks darstellt (Blumer zeichnet dort für das Kapitel zu „collective behavior“ verantwortlich. Park 1939, 221 ff.). Deutlicher noch bleiben Hughes (Mitherausgeber der gesammelten Werke von Park in drei Bänden. Park [1950] 1964; 1952; 1955) und auch Strauss (Strauss 1961; Fisher/Strauss 1979) als wichti-

ge Vertreter des S.I. den Konzepten Parks verpflichtet. Eine ausführliche Biographie findet sich bei Raushenbush (1979).

3. Die Chicago-Monographien

Von großer Bedeutung für die Entwicklung des S.I. sind die unzähligen Studien und Dissertationen, die im Rahmen der Feldforschungsphase in Chicago von um 1915 bis um 1935 entstehen. Eine hervorragende Übersicht findet sich in Faris (1970, 135ff.) und bei Carey (1975). Diese sogenannten Chicago-Monographien zeichneten sich durch eine starke sowohl praktische wie theoretische Orientierung aus. Sollten sie einerseits die Grundlage für ein generelles theoretisches Verständnis gesellschaftlicher Probleme und ihrer Veränderung liefern, so waren sie doch andererseits stets auf die praktische Umsetzung in sozialpolitische Programme und Interventionsstrategien ausgerichtet. Fritz Schütze (1987, 528) hat die gemeinsamen methodologischen Strategien, die auch für die modernen Feldforschungen des S.I. Gültigkeit besitzen, in 8 Merksätzen zusammengefasst:

1. Der Forschungsprozess sollte im Wege der Erhebung und Analyse von Primärmaterialien an der Erfahrungsaufschichtung und Bedeutungszuweisungen der betroffenen Akteure ansetzen.
2. Das erhobene Primärmaterial, zumeist sprachlich präsentiert, sollte auf die in ihm aufscheinenden Prozessstrukturen hin sequenziell analysiert werden.
3. Alles verbale Material sollte auf die Funktionen hin interpretiert werden, welche die „Äußerungen“ in den sozialen Aktivitätsabläufen hatten; es darf also nicht wortwörtlich genommen werden.
4. Die Erfahrungs- und Aktivitätsperspektiven aller beteiligten Akteursparteien sollten systematisch rekonstruiert und miteinander in Beziehung gesetzt werden.
5. Es sollten nicht nur die Akteursperspektiven, sondern auch die angewandten verschiedenen Methoden miteinander kontrastierend in Beziehung gesetzt und die auf ihnen basierenden Untersuchungsaktivitäten aneinander wechselseitig überprüft werden („Triangulationsprinzip“). So sollten methodisch bedingte Perspektivenverzerrungen ausgeglichen werden. Durch diese Methodenpluralität sollte der zu untersuchende soziale Gesamtprozess mit seinen je nach Entfaltungsebene sehr unterschiedlichen Phänomenen empirisch erfassbar sein.
6. Die beobachteten sozialen Abläufe sollten in ihrer systematischen Bedingtheit durch soziale Rahmen und ihre Gegensatzanordnungen erfasst und untersucht werden.

7. Die sozialen Rahmen (Kontexte) sollten selbst als Niederschläge meso- und makrostruktureller sozialer Veränderungsprozesse betrachtet werden, deren Steuerungsmechanismen (in der Perspektive der Chicago-Soziologen) in Umschichtungen der sozialen Reziprozität aufzuspüren sind.
8. Die nächst niedrigeren „Organisationsebenen“ sozialer Prozesse sollten in die Gesamtuntersuchung im Wege einer qualitativen „Mehrebenenanalyse“ als Konstitutionsbedingungen und Folgen meso- und makrostruktureller Prozesse systematisch einbezogen werden.

Einige klassische Beispiele demonstrieren die Gültigkeit dieser Merksätze. Sie zeigen gleichzeitig den wichtigen Grundsatz der Methodenpluralität und experimentellen Offenheit in den Verfahrensweisen.

(1) The Hobo

„The Hobo“ von Nels Anderson ([1923] 1961) verbindet die Analyse biographischer Materials und teilnehmender Beobachtung mit den autobiographischen Erfahrungen des Autors. Anderson als Sohn eines für die Zeit typischen, amerikanischen „Wanderarbeiters“, entwickelt in seiner Studie eine ausführliche Beschreibung der Lebenswirklichkeit (einschließlich photographischer Dokumentation), der gesundheitlichen und sozialen Probleme, des intellektuellen Lebens der Hobos und daraus fünf verschiedene (Ideal-)typen, die er schließlich mit den Biographien von 11 bedeutenden Persönlichkeiten der „Hobohemia“ vergleicht.

(2) The Gang

Dieser Einbezug der eigenen autobiographischen Erfahrung findet sich auch in „The Gang“ von Frederic M. Trasher ([1927] 1963). Trasher kombiniert teilnehmende Beobachtung mit Beobachtungen und Aufzeichnungen anderer (Interviews, Dokumente), bezieht umfangreich Sekundärmaterial (Fallstudien, Statistiken, Gerichtsberichte, Lieder und Balladen) aber auch die eigenen Primärmaterialien (Teilnehmende Beobachtung, Gespräche mit Gangmitgliedern, Photographien etc.) ein. In einer ausführlichen Beschreibung des Ganglebens, das mit Karten auch räumlich dargestellt wird, gibt er einen Einblick in die Lebenswirklichkeit der insgesamt 1013 Gangs, die seiner Studie zugrunde liegen. Auch Trasher arbeitet mit Idealtypen und arbeitet drei Typen von Persönlichkeiten heraus, welche ihm helfen, diese in den Gangs als Entwicklungsprozesse zu kate-

gorisieren. Schließlich skizziert Trasher – dies zeigt die praktische Orientierung der Studie – ein Reformprogramm für Kinder ab sechs Jahren, mit dem die kriminelle Entwicklung der Gangs verhindert werden könnte.

(3) Suicide

„Suicide“ von Ruth Shonle Caven (1928) nutzt zunächst zum einen im umfangreichen Maße Sekundärmaterialien (Studien, historische und statistische Daten aus Europa und den USA). In gewisser Weise greift sie damit Durkheims Selbstmordstudie (Durkheim 1973) kritisch auf. Insbesondere arbeitet sie darüberhinaus mit ethnologischen Materialien, Einzelfallstudien, zu denen auch zwei Tagebücher von Selbstmordopfern gehören und eigenem Material aus einem Fragebogen (201 Fragebögen von Studierenden der Chicago-Soziologie ausgefüllt), um den Prozess (Lebenskrise und Erleiden) der suizidalen Gedankenentwicklung und des Handelns dieser Personen nachzuzeichnen. Ebenso wie Trasher untersucht Caven auch die sozialräumliche Ausbreitung (von Selbstmordfällen) am Beispiel der Stadt Chicago. „Suicide“ steht damit als Beispiel der kombinierten Verwendung von quantitativen und qualitativen Methoden und der Mehrebenenanalyse.

(4) The Taxi-Dance Hall

„The Taxi-Dance Hall“ von Paul G. Cressey ([1932] 1971) untersucht eine besondere Variante der Tanz-Etablissements dieser Zeit, in denen man gegen eine Gebühr (tax) eine Tanzpartnerin „mieten“ konnte. Vor allem bei alleinstehenden Männern der ersten Migrantengeneration beliebt, standen diese Tanzsäle in dem schlechten Ruf, die Prostitution zu fördern. Cressey untersucht eine ganze Reihe dieser Institutionen mit Hilfe von teilnehmenden Beobachtungen, Konversationsanalysen, Befragungen und brieflichen Selbstauskünften von Tänzerinnen, Kunden und Betreibern, sowie Adressen- und Herkunftsanalysen, um aus räumlichen und ethnischen Informationen Rückschlüsse auf Cliquen und soziale Welten schließen zu können. Ergänzt wird dieses Material durch Expertenbefragungen (Sozialarbeiter) und Sekundärquellen (Statistiken, kartographisches Material und eine Vielzahl anderer Dokumente). Auch hier erfolgt eine idealisierte Typisierung von Tänzerinnen, Kunden und Betreibern. Dabei wird die Beliebtheit der „halls“ bei philippinischen

Migranten besonders herausgearbeitet, und es werden schließlich Vorschläge erarbeitet, wie man den demoralisierenden und desorientierenden Auswirkungen der „taxi-dance halls“ begegnen könne, ohne diese – wie gemeinhin gefordert wurde, aber wie Cressey zeigt, kaum sinnvoll wäre – durch staatliche Eingriffe zu schließen.

(5) Weitere Studien

Die genannten Studien stehen beispielhaft für die außergewöhnliche Elaborierung des Chicagoer Forschungsansatzes innerhalb nur einer Dekade nach dem ersten Weltkrieg. Weitere wichtige Studien sind: „Organized Crime in Chicago“ von John Landesco ([1929] 1968), der insbesondere an Hand von Gerichtsakten, Zeitungsberichten und persönlichen Aussagen die Chicagoer Entwicklung nachzeichnet; „The Jack-Roller“ von Clifford R. Shaw ([1930] 1966, 1991), deren Grundlage eine vollständig veröffentlichte Biographie eines Taschendiebes ist und die in der Interpretation und Analyse verschiedenes Sekundärmaterial einschließlich der räumlichen Herkunftsverteilung jugendlicher und adulter Straftäter einbezieht; „The Professional Thief“ von Edwin H. Sutherland ([1937] 1967), die ebenfalls von der selbstgeschriebenen Biographie eines „professionellen Diebes“ ausgeht und insbesondere die vom Schreiber benutzte Diebessprache zu übersetzen sucht. Hinzu kommen eine ganze Reihe von Studien, die sich mit der Veränderung der Familie und den in ihr aufwachsenden Kindern beschäftigen, wie: „The Child in America“ von William I. Thomas und Dorothy Swaine Thomas ([1928] 1970) (hier findet sich auf Seite 572 das häufig im S.I. zitierte aber meist nur verkürzt wiedergegebene Thomas-Theorem „If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences.“ Und er fährt unmittelbar fort: „The total situation will always contain more and less subjective factors, and the behavior reaction can be studied only in connection with the whole context, i.e., the situation as it exists in verifiable, objective terms, and as it has seemed to exist in terms of the interested persons.“); „The Negro Family in the United States“ von E. Franklin Frazier ([1939] 1966) und beispielsweise „Family Disorganization“ von Ernest R. Mowrer ([1927] 1972), der kontrastierend statistische Methoden und Einzelfallstudien darstellt und im Ergebnis verbindet. Weitere Studien beschäftigen sich mit der Migrati-

onsproblematik, so z. B. „Old World Traits Transplanted“ von W.I. Thomas, R.E. Park und H.A. Miller ([1921] 1971) oder „The Japanese Invasion“ von Jesse Frederick Steiner ([1917] 1978), der Entwicklung der Arbeiterbewegung wie beispielsweise „The Strike“ von Ernest T. Hiller ([1928] 1969) und städtischen Phänomenen so z. B. „The Gold Coast and the Slum“ von Harvey Warren Zorbaugh ([1929] 1969), „The Ghetto“ von Louis Wirth ([1928] 1969), welcher der Geschichte des jüdischen Ghettos von seinen Anfängen an bis zu seinen modernen Erscheinungsformen auch anderer Ethnien in Chicago nachgeht oder „A Sociological Study of a Small Town [Small-Town Stuff]“ von Albert Blumenthal (1932), der in einer Fallstudie dem sozialen Wandel einer kleinen Minenstadt nachgeht und dabei insbesondere die Gerüchte, Meinungen und Selbstsichten der Bewohner und deren Auswirkungen auf den Wandel untersucht. Insbesondere diese letzteren Studien begründen mit „The City“ (Park/Burgess 1925) die Traditionslinie der Stadtsoziologie, die sich getrennt vom S.I. nach 1945 auch in Deutschland entwickelt hat. Diese Entwicklung und allgemeiner der Soziologie wurde insbesondere von Nels Anderson und Howard Paul Becker – letzterer hatte als Vertreter der Chicagoer Tradition bereits in den 1920er Jahren intensive Kontakte zur deutschen Soziologie aufgebaut, die deutsche Jugendbewegung untersucht (Becker, Howard Paul 1946) und u. a. Leopold von Wiese ins amerikanische adaptiert (Becker/Wiese 1932) – als politische Offiziere der amerikanischen Besatzungszone nach 1945 stark befördert.

4. Gründungs- und Latenzphase des S.I.

Betrachtet man die Daten der jeweiligen Veröffentlichungen, so fällt auf, dass Neuauflagen der Studien vor allem in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren erfolgten. Dem korrespondiert, dass in dieser Zeit der S.I. eine Art Latenzphase überwindet und nun zunehmend innerhalb der Soziologie auch in Deutschland Interesse findet. Diese Latenzphase schließt sich der Gründungsphase unmittelbar an und dauert mit dieser von um 1935 bis etwa 1960.

4.1. Herbert Blumer

In dieser Gründungs- und Latenzphase waren für die Entwicklung des S.I. insbesondere zwei Autoren von Bedeutung. Zum einen Herbert Blumer mit seinen grundsätzlichen Leistungen, der Integration der forschungslogischen und grundlagentheoretischen Überlegungen Meads mit ähnlichen Vorstellungen der Chicago-Soziologen. Dieses grundlagentheoretische (1 bis 4) und forschungslogische (5 bis 8) Gerüst des S.I. lässt sich wiederum nach Schütze (1987, 530f.) und mit Bezug auf Blumer (1969; 1981) in acht Grundsätzen skizzieren:

1. Alle Gegenstände der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit und ihre Bedeutung werden in Interaktionen der Gesellschaftsmitglieder geschöpft und verändert.
2. Alle Gegenstände der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit werden im Leben der Gesellschaftsmitglieder über ihre Orientierungs- und Handlungsbedeutung wirksam. Sie müssen von den Gesellschaftsmitgliedern kommuniziert werden.
3. Die Gesellschaftsmitglieder sind intentional handelnde Organismen, die eine eigenhistorische Identität entwickeln und auch mit sich selbst interagieren.
4. Die gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeit ist auch in ihren komplexeren Organisationsformen aus Verkettungen intentionaler Handlungen aufgebaut.
5. Die Auswahl und Gestaltung der Erhebungs- und Analyseverfahren müssen grundsätzlich von der Beschaffenheit des zu untersuchenden sozialen Bereichs bestimmt werden.
6. Die Forschungsverfahren müssen so gestaltet sein, dass sich der Forscher rückhaltlos auf die Erfahrungsbestände der Akteure des zu untersuchenden Interaktionsfeldes einlassen kann. Sie müssen also auf die Erhebung und Analyse von Primärmaterialien ausgerichtet sein.
7. Die gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeit ist dem Forscher im untersuchten Bereich zumindest partiell noch unbekannt; sie leistet seinen Anfangserwartungen überraschenden Widerstand und entpuppt sich in vielen Fällen als ganz anders, als zunächst erwartet worden war. Der Forscher sollte deshalb grundsätzlich alle Alltagserwartungen einklammern und einen verfremdenden ethnographischen Blick einnehmen. Die zentrale Zugangsweise zur sozialen Realität ist die der naturalistischen Feldbeobachtung, auf der offene Interviews, die Sammlung und Analyse persönlicher Dokumente sowie die Sammlung und Analyse sozialstruktureller Daten mit Interaktionsfeldbezug aufbauen können.
8. Die sprachliche Kommunikation ist nicht nur für den Alltagsakteur, sondern auch für den Forscher ein wichtiger Schlüssel zur sozialen

Welt. In allen Interaktionsfeldern und sozialen Welten orientieren sich die Menschen an zentralen Sinn- und Auseinandersetzungskonzepten. Diese können vom Forscher lokalisiert in ihrem Produktions- und Veränderungszusammenhang und in ihrer sozialen Orientierungs-, Auseinandersetzung- und Legitimationsfunktion erforscht werden. Sie werden auf diese Weise zu einer Brücke in der Übergangszone zwischen Alltagswissen und wissenschaftlichem Wissen: sie fokussieren die Aufmerksamkeit des Forschers auf sozial relevante Erscheinungen im Erhebungs- und Analysegang und vermitteln ein erstes analytisches Verständnis des Geschehens im untersuchten Interaktionsfeld, da vermittelt der symbolischen Kristallisierung dieser Konzepte und der Sinnorientierung an ihnen die Entdeckung des ersten Aufscheins allgemeiner Merkmale und Prozessmechanismen im Einzelfallmaterial möglich wird. Blumer hat derartige wissenschaftlich verwendete Ausdrücke der Alltagssprache „sensitivierende Konzepte“ genannt.

4.2. Everett C. Hughes

Zum anderen ist der moderne S.I. kaum denkbar ohne das Wirken von Everett C. Hughes. Zeitgleich mit Blumer hatte er im Jahr 1928 als Doktorstudent Parks über die Chicagoer Berufsvereinigung der Immobilienmakler promoviert, die sich eben keineswegs so entwickelte wie deren Gründer es intendiert hatten (Hughes 1928). Diese Arbeit ist gleichsam Ausgangspunkt seiner weiteren Beschäftigung als Feldforscher und Theoretiker mit der Berufs- und Organisationswelt und insbesondere der ethnischen Arbeitsteilung. Aus drei Kernelementen von Theorieansätzen zur Organisation, beruflichen Karriere und Identitätsbildung sowie der sozialen Welt des Berufs entwickelte er einen Ansatz zur Theorie der Profession, die leitbildgebend auf die weiteren Studien zur Berufswelt im S.I. wirkte. Mit seinen Feldforschungen in Französisch-Kanada zum strukturellen Verhältnis zwischen Franco- und Anglo-Kanadiern zeigte er, dass das Sozialverhältnis beider ethnischen Gruppen nicht allein auf einem ökonomisch bedingten Gegensatz von englischem Kapital und französischer Arbeitskraft beruhte, sondern durch eine im jeweiligen Tätigkeitsbereich institutionalisierte Arbeitsteilung auf einer sowohl faktisch bestehenden wie auch orientierungswirksamen Sozialstruktur beruhte, die zwar je nach konkreter Situation gewisse Varianten auswies, insgesamt aber nicht zu einer Egalisierung der ethnischen Gruppen sondern eher zu ethnischen Versäulun-

gen der sozialen Machtverhältnisse führte (Hughes 1943; 1984). Schütze (1987, 535, 540) weist darauf hin, dass in Hughes' Denken am stärksten das makro- und mesotheoretische (Organisations-)Interesse von Park fort lebte. Dabei führte Hughes die bereits in den Chicago-Monographien begonnenen Forschungsprinzipien der theoretischen Auswahl und des kontrastiven Vergleiches weiter, arbeitete selbstverständlich auch mit statistischem Material und führte eigene quantitative Analysen durch (vgl. auch seine Analyse zur Gleichschaltung der deutschen Statistik unter dem Nationalsozialismus; Hughes 1984, 516ff.). Insbesondere Strauss und Schatzmann haben die von Hughes eingenommene Doppelperspektive zum Verständnis Kollektiven Geschehens – als einerseits fortlaufend in Interaktionen geschöpftes andererseits mit eigenen „höheraggregierten“ Veränderungstendenzen erzeugendes Phänomen – für die Feldforschung und Theoriebildung in Organisationen wie Krankenhäusern und psychiatrischen Kliniken genutzt (Strauss et al. [1964] 1981). Methodologisch von Bedeutung ist Hughes wiederholter Hinweis auf das Paradox naturalistischer Untersuchungsverfahren als Feldforscher einerseits in die Interaktionen im Forschungsfeld verflochten zu sein und damit auf Veränderungsprozesse selbst einzuwirken und andererseits dem Ziel einer aufschlüsselnden Theoriearbeit zu liebe, sich eine Distanz als Fremder bewahren zu müssen. Gerade die möglichen Einwirkungen auf den Forschungsgegenstand erfordern deshalb die Feldinteraktionen des Forschers selbst zum Gegenstand soziologischer Interaktionsanalyse zu machen (Hughes 1984: 505f, 540f).

4.3. Lehr- und Forschungssituation

Während Blumer in der Gründungs- und Latenzphase mit seinem Prinzipiensystem den S.I. eng auf sozialpsychologische Interessengebiete bezog – nach Schütze (1987, 539) bewahrte er damit den entstehenden S.I. vor der Auflösung in den damals vorherrschenden systemtheoretischen und quantitativ-verteilungstheoretischen Ansätzen der Soziologie – bewirkte Hughes das Überleben einerseits der makro- und mesotheoretischen Ansätze in der Chicagoer Tradition und damit auch der gegenstandsbezogenen Fragestellungen im S.I. sowie andererseits der grundlagentheoretischen und formalsoziologischen Fragestellungen, die

an konkreten empirischen Erscheinungen anknüpfen (Grounded Theory). Von besonderer Bedeutung für die spätere Konsolidierung des S.I. ist, dass sich in der Zeit nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg eine Generation von Studierenden in Chicago entwickelte, die eine ausgeprägte Empfänglichkeit für die Chicagoer Tradition zeigten und sich keineswegs nur als „symbolische Interaktionisten“ verstanden, sondern sich insgesamt der Chicagoer Tradition verpflichtet fühlten (Gusfield 1995, XII). In jüngster Zeit wird dieses Nachkriegsmilieu als „zweite Chicago-Schule“ bezeichnet (Fine 1995). Zu dieser neuen Generation von Soziologen in Chicago gehörten und gehören u.a. Anselm L. Strauss (1916–1997), Tamotsu Shibutani (1920–), Erving Goffman (1922–1982), Joseph R. Gusfield (1923–) und schließlich Howard Saul Becker (1928–), die mit ihren Studien, die sich auch in der Feldforschungstradition von Robert E. Park verstehen, die Weiterentwicklung des S.I. wesentlich beeinflussen.

5. Konsolidierungsphase des S.I.

5.1. Konsolidierung und Institutionalisierung

Nach 1960 erfolgt eine institutionelle Konsolidierung des S.I., die den Leistungen Blumers und Hughes aber insbesondere auch dieser neuen Studierendengeneration zu verdanken ist. Diese zeigt sich sowohl an zahlreichen U.S.-amerikanischen Universitäten, an denen seitdem der S.I. durch Professuren vertreten ist, als auch an der schrittweisen Etablierung in der deutschen Soziologie, die dort, wie eingangs erwähnt, jedoch häufig Amalgame mit anderen interpretativen und verstehenden Ansätzen der Soziologie eingegangen ist (vgl. Haferkamp 1987). Von besonderer Bedeutung war Anfang der 1970er Jahre die Gründung der internationalen Gesellschaft des S.I. (Society for the study of symbolic interaction; homepage „<http://www.soc.niu.edu/~sssi/>“) und die von ihr herausgegebene Zeitschrift „Symbolic Interaction“. Allein der Verlag „Sage“ gibt derzeit 10 Zeitschriften heraus, die zumindest zum Umfeld des S.I. zu rechnen sind. In Deutschland wurden erst jüngst zwei neue Zeitschriften im Verlag Leske-Budrich zum S.I. aufgelegt, die freilich auch für die amalgamierte Verbindung zu anderen Ansätzen stehen (siehe Zeitschriften im Anhang). In der Konsolidierungsphase bis

um 1975 erfolgt eine Herausarbeitung der Grundannahmen des S.I. und die zunehmende Systematisierung, an der zunächst Blumer (1969; 1973) und auch Hughes (1984) noch aktiv beteiligt sind. Hierzu gehören die systematischen Ansätze von Rose (1962), Meltzer/Petras/Reynolds (1975) und Charon (1979) (eine ausführliche Darstellung dieser Grundannahmen liefert Schütze 1987, 521–526). Parallel entstehen eine Reihe wichtiger Studien und Monographien, die heute bereits als Klassiker des S.I. bezeichnet werden können. Hierzu gehören: „Mirrors and Masks“ (Strauss 1959, deutsch 1968); „Boys in White. Student Culture in Medical School“ (Becker/Geer/Hughes/Strauss [1961] 1971), an der Hughes noch selbst mitwirkte, „Images of the American City“ (Strauss 1961), in der sich Strauss explizit auf die Stadtsoziologie Chicagos bezieht, „Asylums“ (Goffman 1961, deutsch 1972), „Encounters“ (Goffman 1961), „Stigma“ (Goffman 1963, deutsch 1967), „Outsiders“ (Becker 1963, deutsch 1973) und „Time for Dying“ (Glaser/Strauss 1968, deutsch 1974). Insbesondere Becker und Goffman erarbeiten in dieser Zeit mit „Outsiders“ und „Asylums“ das Kernkonzept des „labeling approach“. Gleichzeitig erlangt auch das Wirken der frühen Chicagoer Schule wieder deutlich an Aufmerksamkeit, die man durchaus als Renaissance bezeichnen kann. Neben den Monographien zur Geschichte der Chicagoer Soziologie (Faris 1970; Carey 1975) werden nicht nur ein Großteil der Chicagoer Studien und Monographien wieder neu aufgelegt – am Beginn steht bemerkenswerter Weise 1958 „The Polish Peasant“ von Thomas und Znaniecki – sondern auch in mehreren Auflagen, u.a. 1964 und 1969, die sogenannte „Grüne Bibel“ Chicagos, die „Introduction to the Science of Sociology“ von 1921 (Park/Burgess [1921] 1969).

5.2. Themen der Feldforschung

Die in den Studien der Konsolidierungsphase behandelten Themen werden auch in der zeitgenössischen deutschen Feldforschung des S.I. immer wieder aufgegriffen. Hierzu gehören: die Analyse der Selbstpräsentation in Interaktionen der alltäglichen wie „außeralltäglichen“ Lebensführung (Goffman 1961; 1971; 1974; 1980; zeitgenössisch vgl. Soeffner 1986); die Analyse von Außenseiterkarrieren, Identitätsstigmatisierungen, biographischen Erlebensprozessen und Brüchen sowie die damit verbundenen gesellschaftlichen Probleme (Becker [1963] 1973; Goffman 1967; 1972, 127–167; Scheff 1966; Strauss/Glaser 1970;

zeitgenössisch: Bohnsack 1973; Haferkamp 1975; Lemert 1975; Schütze 1981; Maurenbrecher 1985, Riemann 1987); die Analyse der Identifizierung mit dem professionellen Beruf und der eigenen Karriere einschließlich der Brüche und Veränderungen (Strauss [1959] 1968; Becker et al. [1961] 1977; zeitgenössisch: Hermanns/Tkocz/Winkler 1984), die Analyse der Handlungsabläufe professionell berufstätiger sowohl untereinander als auch in Bezug auf ihr Klientel (Strauss et al. [1964] 1981; Glaser/Strauss [1965] 1974; Carlen 1976; Strauss 1978; zeitgenössisch: Schumann 1977; Bohnsack 1983; Schütze 1978).

6. Entfaltungsphase des S.I.

Für die Entfaltungsphase des S.I. besonders wichtig sind die in den Feldforschungen herausgearbeiteten und dann weiterentwickelten grundlagentheoretischen Kategorien und die Entwicklung einer integrierten und detaillierten Methodenlehre.

6.1. Grundlagentheoretische Kategorien

Im Rahmen dieser Forschungsaktivitäten werden drei zentrale grundlagentheoretische Kategorien herausgearbeitet die als formale Theoreme auch den zeitgenössischen S.I. in seiner Entfaltungsphase wesentlich beeinflussen. (1) Die Theorie der sozialen Welten verweist auf die Beziehungs-, Interaktions- und Kommunikationsgeflechte der kraft Orientierung und Aktivität ihnen zugehörigen Akteure. Dabei bilden die sozialen Welten die Auseinandersetzungsarenen, welche die Akteure für eine „erfolgreiche“ Problembearbeitung benötigen und die gleichzeitig die Veränderung von Arena und sozialer Welt ermöglichen (vgl. Shibusani 1955; Strauss 1978a; 1982; 1984; Becker 1982; Maines 1982; Wiener 1981). (2) Die Theorie der Verlaufskurven („trajectories“) des Erleidens und ihrer möglichen Bearbeitung. Verlaufskurven sind als Gegenprinzip zu intentionalem Handeln gedacht, auf soziale Abläufe der Biographie bezogen, wie z.B. einer chronischen oder lebensbedrohenden Krankheit, in der ein Betroffener durch partielle Unfähigkeit den Verlust erleidet, eigene Aktivitäten realistisch zu planen (Strauss/Glaser 1970; Schütze 1981). Dabei interessierten die Erleidensprozesse und die professionellen wie nicht-professionellen Bearbeitungsmöglichkeiten im Bereich der Krankheit (Glaser/Strauss [1968] 1974), der Arbeitsmigration (Maurenbrecher 1985) oder genereller Orien-

tierungszusammenbrüche (Schütze 1981; Riemann 1987). (3) Die Theorie der sequenziellen Organisation von Arbeit in Arbeitsbögen und der situativ ausgehandelten Arbeitsteilung, die notwendig ist, um komplexe Arbeitsaufgaben („tasks“) und -abläufe in einen Gesamtarbeitsbogen („arc of work“) unter Berücksichtigung der verschiedenen beteiligten Akteure unterschiedlicher Berufe zu integrieren. Insbesondere im Zuge technologischen Wandels bedarf es hierbei einer flexiblen Artikulationsarbeit der beteiligten Akteure um neue Formen der Arbeitsteilung, entsprechende Arbeitsstile und Organisationsformen der Arbeit zu entwickeln, die schließlich dann auch einen makrogesellschaftlichen Wandel hervorrufen (Strauss [1964] 1981; 1985; zur dadurch entfachten Debatte um die Aushandlungsordnung gesellschaftlicher Wirklichkeit und der Persistenz ihrer Strukturen: Maines 1982; 1988; 1991).

6.2. Methodenlehre

Von besonderer Bedeutung sind die Ansätze in dieser Zeit, eine integrierte und detaillierte Methodenlehre zu entwickeln, insbesondere „The Discovery of Grounded Theory“ (Glaser/Strauss [1967] 1973) und später auch „The Research Act in Sociology“ (Denzin 1970). Neben Denzin bleiben auch danach Glaser und Strauss die wesentlich treibenden Kräfte in der Entwicklung der interpretativen und qualitativen Methodologie. In ihrer „Qualitativen Analyse“ haben Strauss und Corbin (Strauss/Corbin 1998) die konkreten, systematisch ineinander verflochtenen Arbeitsschritte des Forschungsablaufes wegweisend für den S.I. beschrieben, die notwendig sind, um zu einer empirisch erzeugten und fundamentierten sozialwissenschaftlichen Theorie zu gelangen. Als in sich rückgekoppelter Prozess von Induktion, Deduktion und empirischer Überprüfung zeigen sie, wie der Forschungsprozess dabei von Anfang an von theoretischen Überlegungen mitbestimmt ist und es fortlaufend zur Entdeckung neuer theoretischer Zusammenhänge und gleichzeitig zu Veränderungen des Forschungshandelns selbst kommt. Das Forschungshandeln wird zu einem kreativen, im Sinne Meads emergenten Interaktionsprozess, nicht nur mit dem „Forschungsgegenstand“ – den Akteuren und Gegenständen des Forschungsfeldes – sondern sowohl mit den anderen Beteiligten eines Forschungsteams (kommunikative Interaktionstechnik

der Materialanalyse und Theoriegenerierung) als auch mit der in sich selbst hineinhorchenden Interaktion des Forschers mit sich selbst (vgl. Glaser 1978). Die heute mehr und mehr praktizierte Gruppenarbeit von Forschungsteams in Forschungswerkstätten des S.I. greift diese Idee des lernenden und lehrenden Forschers auch für die Ausbildung der Studierenden auf.

7. Entfaltung des Deutschen S.I.

Mit Beginn der 1970er Jahre erlangt der S.I. auch in Deutschland zunehmende Aufmerksamkeit. Hierfür steht zunächst der freilich eher in phänomenologischer Perspektive unternommene Integrationsversuch der bestehenden verschiedenen Theorieansätze in der verstehenden und qualitativ interpretierenden Soziologie durch Berger und Luckmann (1970). Aus diesem Anstoß entwickeln sich vor allem die Amalgame des deutschen S.I. mit phänomenologischen und hermeneutischen Ansätzen, beispielsweise von Grathoff und Soeffner aber auch Oevermann. Von besonderer Bedeutung für die Etablierung des S.I. in Deutschland ist der von der sogenannten Arbeitsgruppe Bielefelder Soziologen (ABS [1973] 1981) herausgegebene Reader „Alltagswissen, Interaktion und gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeit“, der eine Reihe wichtiger Artikel (Autoren wie z. B. Blumer, Cicourel, Garfinkel, etc.) erstmals in deutscher Übersetzung zugänglich macht und mit einem ausführlichen Literaturverzeichnis ergänzt. Für die theoretische Fundierung steht „Sprache soziologisch gesehen“ von Fritz Schütze (1975).

7.1 Methodenempirisches Forschungsinteresse

In der Folgezeit ist der deutsche S.I. vor allem durch ein methodenempirisches Forschungsinteresse gekennzeichnet. Dies betrifft insbesondere die Entwicklung der methodischen Verfahren zum narrativen Interview (Riemann 1987; Hofmann-Riem 1984; Schütze 1976; 1981; 1983; 1984), des Familieninterviews (Hildenbrand et al. 1984; Hildenbrand/Müller 1984), der Gruppendiskussion (Bohnsack 1989; Meinefeld 1976; Krüger 1983) sowie der Interaktionsanalyse (Kallmeyer 1979; Schütze 1978). Dabei konzentrierte sich das Vorgehen mehr und mehr auf die intensive Analyse von Einzelfalldokumenten (Rückgriff auf die Chicagoer Tradition und Methoden von Thomas 1918), die nunmehr vom Forscher unter Verwendung von Tonbandaufnahmen,

dann auch Videomitschnitten (jüngst auch mit digitalen Aufzeichnungstechnologien) im Datenerhebungsprozess erzeugt werden. Die genaueste Transkription der Aufzeichnung, gegebenenfalls kombiniert mit dem aufgezeichneten Bildmaterial, liefert das Material – wie es bereits Schütze (1987, 544) formulierte – für eine rigorose sequentielle Analyse nicht nur der Inhalte, sondern auch der Art und Weise der Aufzeige- und Darstellungsprozeduren. Insbesondere Ende der 1980er Jahre entwickelte sich in diesem Zusammenhang die computergestützte Kodierung und Aufbereitung des Textmaterials, die eine immer genauere und kleinschrittigere Analyse erlaubt und auch die komparative und kontrastierende Untersuchung einer größeren Anzahl von Einzelfallmaterialien befördert (Programme in Deutschland wie z. B. WinMaxPro oder ATLAS.ti).

8. Ausblick

Trotz der in den 1980er Jahren anhaltenden teils scharfen Kritik an theoretischen Perspektiven, forschungslogischen Grundlagen und angewandten Methoden (hierzu ausführlich Schütze 1987, 545–547) hat sich der S.I. heute in der Soziologie und den Sozialwissenschaften weiter etabliert und stabilisiert. Gerade auch in den Teildisziplinen der Technik- oder Umweltsoziologie sowie der Stadtsoziologie – lange Zeit scheinbare Domäne strukturfunktionalistischer, systemtheoretischer und marxistischer Ansätze – ist ein immer stärkeres Interesse beobachtbar (z. B. Strübing 1997; 1998; Pofferl/Schilling/Brand 1997; Schütze 2001). Dabei scheinen sich auch die vermehrten Anstrengungen innerhalb des S.I. auszuwirken, die makrotheoretische Perspektive des S.I. deutlicher zu entwickeln (vgl. Maines 1991; Clarke/Gerson 1990). Insgesamt ist die heutige Forschungslandschaft des S.I. auch aufgrund der vielen Amalgame kaum noch zu überblicken. Es gibt wohl keine Universität oder Hochschule in Deutschland, an welcher der S.I. oder ein verwandter Vertreter nicht vertreten wäre. Um so schwerer fällt es, einen S.I. im engeren Sinne der Tradition von Mead und Dewey, Thomas und Park, Blumer und Hughes sowie schließlich Strauss einzugrenzen. Gleichwohl oder eben deswegen kann insofern durchaus von einer vollen Entfaltung des S.I. auch im deutschen Sprachraum gesprochen werden. Dieser Befund wird nicht zuletzt durch das weiter

wachsende Interesse an der frühen Chicagoer Soziologietradition gestützt (z. B. Wagner 1999; Brandt 2000; Serbser 2004).

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