

Respect and the 3rd Person in a Multilingual Perspective

Susanne Jekat / Christiane Hohenstein (Winterthur)

Research on politeness has been proliferating for nearly four decades now, drawing on cross-linguistic data from a wide range of spoken and written languages and focusing on pragmatic, syntactic and grammatical features. Speech acts such as apologies and requests have been investigated as well as grammatical, i.e. morphological, morphosyntactic, and lexical forms of honorific systems, expressions of politeness, respect and disrespect. However, while discussions and research centering on the notion of face have been exceptionally numerous, the grammatical category of respect has not yet received as much attention, since Haase (1994), with the exception of Simon (2003). The present collection on "Respect and the 3rd person: Cross-linguistic Perspectives on Respect and Politeness" originated in the discussions in our panel at the DGfS annual meeting in 2009 on "Forms of expressing politeness / respect in discourse: Talking about a third party in different languages and varieties". The articles comprising this volume strive to expand our insights into the complex intersection between grammatical respect (i.e. linguistic features in morphology and/or morphosyntax), lexical expressions and discourse phenomena of politeness cross-linguistically, with special regard to the treatment of third-person non-participants and bystanders. Our aim is to shed new light on respect and politeness phenomena as well as on the relation between respect as a systematic category on the one hand and politeness as an outcome of linguistic interaction on the other.

While all languages provide means to distinguish systematically between speaker and hearer, we find widely varying systems of polite address and respect in the world's languages. Great variety can be seen between distributions of genuinely grammatical, morphological features and periphrastic or lexical, referring expressions with regard to first and second persons. The third person, not being an immediate participant in the speech situation, is treated differently altogether: We find linguistic systems that relate the third person to the speech situation or to either hearer or speaker in the speech situation, as can be seen in Japanese (see below, (iv)). By contrast, in languages like English or German, the third person is treated systematically as a discrete part of the narrated discourse. While English features one of the most reduced respect systems, differentiating only between first person singular and plural on the one hand and a generalized second-person *you* used for both singular and plural as well as formal and informal address on the other, East Asian languages such as Javanese, Thai and Japanese feature elaborate linguistic systems of respect and linguistic politeness. Different levels of formality as well as social roles in the speech situation are reflected by distinct lexical expressions and honorifics as well as morphologically marked passives and causatives (for Japanese, see (iii) and (iv) below, cf. Shibatani 1999, Geyer 2008, Wetzel 2004). As an example comparing English, German and Japanese, we take a typical utterance that service staff might use to urge a customer to take their time:

- (i) Please take **your** time.
PRT-pol V 2-PSS N

- (ii) Lassen **Sie sich** ruhig Zeit.
V 2-pol RFL ADV N
'Let yourself have some time.'

(iiia) **Go-yukkuri o-kutsuragi kudasai.**
 HON-N(slow) HON-N(submission) V-pol-IMP(hand down to me)
 'Take your time and make yourself comfortable.'

(iiib) **Go-yukkuri shite kudasai.**
 HON-N(slow) V-CON(do) V-pol-IMP(hand down to me)
 'Take your time please.'

Compare the following example for third person respect and politeness phenomena in Japanese:

(iv) De K.-sensei wa, kon'nendo kara o-hairi ni narareta
 PRT Name-title TOP N(this year) from HON-N(enter) PRT V(become)-PAS-PT
 to iu katachi desu.
 COMP N V-pol

'And Professor K has joined from this year on'. (Example taken from the JaDEx corpus of German and Japanese discourse data, academic presentation no. A1_0517+,1_000308_190255_KHKT)

Glossing: ADV= adverb; COMP= complementizer construction; CON= converb; HON= honorific prefix; IMP= imperative; PAS= passive; PL= plural; pol= polite form; PSS= possessive; PRT= particle; PT= past/perfect; RFL= reflexive; TOP= topic particle; V= verb; 2= second person/hearer deictic; N=noun; (expression in brackets)= lexical meaning

All of the examples (i) through (iv) constitute polite speech acts, but are fairly different in grammatical, lexical and pragmatic means involved: In both the English example (i) and the German example (ii) the predicates denoting the addressed hearer's action are infinitives morphologically; they are interpreted as imperatives pragmatically and by syntactic arrangement. By contrast, Japanese, in examples (iiia) and (iiib) employs a morphological imperative form (-i) with a verb denoting an action of giving and receiving. The action to be carried out by the addressee/hearer is construed as an act of passing down a favor on behalf of the speaker. In the Japanese examples we do not find expressions for either hearer or speaker; instead, referent honorifics (*go-*, *o-*) mark nouns referring to actions undertaken by the hearer, while the polite directional verb of receiving, *kudasaru*, in imperative form denotes the direction of the action towards and on behalf of the speaker. It is thus not the hearer simply taking his or her time, but making a gift to the speaker by taking his or her own time. The very meaning of the verb *kudasaru*, i. e. 'handing down sth. on behalf of the speaker' makes that verb part and parcel of the linguistic politeness system in Japanese.

However, does this qualify the verb as a linguistic means of respect in the sense of a grammatical category? The case for instances of respect may be much clearer with regard to the honorific prefixes *go-* and *o-*, both of which are morphologically realised forms and most typically indicate agreement with the second person in the speech situation. Moreover, in Japanese referent honorifics are also used to mark nouns associated with third parties, thus distinguishing not only between first and second person in the speech situation, but relating politely to the third person as well.

Example (iv) illustrates this kind of use of the honorific for a third person: Professor K., politely referred to by his name and title, is not an addressee of the utterance, but his action of entering the research group of the speaker is referred to by a complex politeness form involving the honorific *o-*. The specific predicate used in (iv) to denote respectful politeness

towards a third person makes use not only of the honorific but of a nominalised verb form (*hairi*, 'enter') in a passive construction using the become-verb (*naru*) and a morphological passive (*-are-*) at the same time. The third person's action thus is expressed as if Professor K. did not actively enter the group but had it happening to him. The pragmatic effect of these combined means is that the speaker sets himself in a personal relation to the third person, Professor K., without verbalising a speaker or hearer deictic, independent of the speech situation.

Comparing examples (i) – (iv) illustrates how an elaborate linguistic system of respect and politeness, as found in Japanese, reflects on the treatment of third person narrative as well. Whereas a lack of grammatical categories of respect, as is the case in English and German, is reflected in linguistically and culturally specific functionalisations of lexical expressions. This can be seen in the language specific ways the verbs are used in examples (i) and (ii). The English verb *take* used in example (i) denotes an action the addressee/hearer is urged to carry out which refers to an act of appropriation on his/her part. It presupposes a notion of time as an object of appropriation. Politeness in the English example (i) is expressed by a combination of the particle *please*, the generic hearer deictic possessive *your*, and the transitive verb *take* with an accusative object, *time*.

The German example (ii) involves a different verb, *lassen* ('let be'), without polite particle, that has a causative meaning: the action denoted is not an active part to be carried out by the hearer, politely addressed as *Sie* ('you'), but an act of becoming endowed with time. The valency structure is expanded to take a dative object as well, which is formed by the reflexive *sich* ('yourself') and thus expresses an activity of granting permission that is both directed at and performed by the hearer. In (ii) the adverb *ruhig* ('quietly', 'slowly') further contributes to the polite meaning by referring to the mode of the self-directed action of the hearer. While the combination of causative and reciprocal reflexive is highly routinised in German, it is not specific to the expression of politeness. On the other hand, adverbial use of *ruhig* in combination with invitations or exhortations is highly typical of German politeness; still it does not qualify as a respect category, being a pragmatic functionalisation on the basis of lexical and morphosyntactic means. However, the nominal adjective *yukkuri* ('slowly') in Japanese is functionalised in quite a similar way.

These examples show that politeness intersects with respect as a category in combinations that are very diverse grammatically, morphologically, syntactically and lexically. One way to take a new look at the complex intersection between instances of the grammatical category of respect and the pragmatics of politeness is to focus on the treatment of third person participants in terms of respect and (im-)politeness.

The question of what can be considered a 'real' grammatical marker of respect is the starting point of Corbett's research question. In a typological comparison including some lesser-known languages, he tries to identify a criterion for a category of respect using grammatical agreement as an indicator. The existence or non-existence of a grammatically marked system of respect (as seen above in the Japanese examples) is a central condition on the procedures used to refer to third persons with regard to politeness.

Greville Corbett (University of Surrey, UK) asks in **Politeness as a feature: so important and so rare** why respect is a rare morphosyntactic feature alongside, and in comparison to, gender, person, number and case. The argument developed by Corbett aims at a better understanding of linguistic diversity and its consequences. He especially argues for a precise differentiation between seemingly morphosyntactic features of respect which turn out to be essentially expressives, that is additive in use and incremental in nature, as opposed to respect as a feature which is characterized by agreement. Thus, only a very small number of languages have actually developed a feature respect, while honorifics as a condition on other grammati-

cal features are much more widespread throughout the world's languages. As a possible explanation, Corbett suggests that politeness systems are relatively unstable over time and are influenced by historical changes in society. Moreover, respect as a feature readily intersects with the second person but will rarely or less readily be available for the range of possible third person expressions.

Elke Hentschel (Bern University) investigates the uses of kinship terms in addressing or referring to non-kin in various languages, including Serbian, Mandarin and German, in **All men become brothers: The use of kinship terms for non-related persons as a sign of respect or disrespect**. Her examples reveal differences between languages: in Chinese, for example, the use of kinship terms is always a signal of politeness, while in languages such as German it is mostly rude. In Serbian, kinship terms seem to have mixed connotations: although they are mostly neutral to polite, they can also be used with the opposite effect. Hentschel finds that these differences between languages could be linked to whether they belong to collectivist or individualist cultures, or cultures currently shifting to individualism. She also discovers that positive or negative connotations in kinship terms seem to reflect a gender bias and an age bias. Finally, Hentschel refers to Corbett's (2006) findings on animacy hierarchy in order to find a possible explanation why kinship terms are used to refer to non-kin at all.

In **Code-switching as appraisal resource in talking about third parties**, Nicole Baumgarten (University of Southern Denmark) and Inke Du Bois (University of Bremen) draw on the frameworks of positioning analysis (Lucius-Hoene/Deppermann 2004) and appraisal analysis (Martin/White 2005) in order to show how code-switching helps to instantiate third parties in discourse. In interviews with immigrants to and from Germany and the US, code-switching serves as a means to convey evaluations of third parties vis-à-vis their respective home and host cultures and languages. Employing the common language of the code-switch between interviewee and interviewer to create a shared basis of evaluating and validating allows interviewees to construct relations of alliance and distance between themselves, the interviewer and absent third parties being talked about. Moreover, Baumgarten and Du Bois hold that such instances of code-switching may be seen as a specific face-saving device fending off the potentially face-threatening impact of talking judgmentally about a third party. With regard to typological issues and reconnecting to Corbett's argument, both German and English are languages without those rare elaborate, specific honorific systems: positioning oneself in relation to a third party thus has to be done by other linguistic means than grammaticalized expressions. Applying code-switching to this task is, at the same time, in line with the narrative functions of the interview and creatively exploits the linguistic resources at hand within the interview situation and its systematic preconditions.

These articles shed some light on language-system-related, use-related and interactive forms of linguistically expressing respect and politeness with regard to third persons. It becomes clear that the connection between the linguistic system and language use on the one hand and the difference between respect as a category and politeness as a type of interaction phenomenon on the other hand require further detailed, empirical studies including typologically diverse languages. This collection of articles can therefore be understood as a starting point for further research into this field and offers, in concise form, new points of view in the discussion.

References:

- Corbett, Greville G. (2006): *Agreement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 Geyer, Naomi (2008): *Discourse and Politeness. Ambivalent Face in Japanese*. London/New York: Continuum.
 Haase, Martin (1994): *Respekt. Die Grammatikalisierung von Höflichkeit..* München/Unterschleißheim/Newcastle: Lincom Europa. (= *Edition Linguistik 3*).

- Lucius-Hoene, Gabriele/Deppermann, Arnulf (2004): "Narrative Identität und Positionierung. Gesprächsforschung". *Online-Zeitschrift zur verbalen Interaktion* 5: 166–183.
- Martin, James R./White, Peter R. R. (2005): *The Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi (1999): "Honorifics". In: Brown, K./Miller, J.: *Concise Encyclopedia of Grammatical Categories*. Amsterdam, Elsevier: 192–201.
- Simon, Horst (2003): *Für eine grammatische Kategorie 'Respekt' im Deutschen. Synchronie, Diachronie und Typologie der deutschen Anredepronomina*. Tübingen: Niemeyer. (= *Linguistische Arbeiten* 474).
- Wetzel, Patricia J. (2004): *Keigo in Modern Japan: Polite language from Meiji to the present*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Politeness as a feature: so important and so rare*

Greville G. Corbett (Surrey, UK)

Abstract

Politeness has a major place in many languages, and is remarkably pervasive in some. Yet we rarely find respect as a morphosyntactic feature, alongside gender, person, number and case. I document this imbalance, and then ask why this is what we find.

1 Introduction

Politeness has a major place in many languages, and is remarkably pervasive in some. Yet we rarely find respect as a morphosyntactic feature, alongside gender, person, number and case. I document this imbalance, and then ask why this is what we find.

2 The expression of politeness

Politeness is expressed through a variety of linguistic means. Polite use of pronouns is well known, as in languages like French and Russian. Helmbrecht (2005) took a world sample of 207 languages, and found a politeness distinction in the pronoun in 64 of them. There are various names and titles which vary according to politeness requirements, from formal official titles through to nicknames. Then we find either special lexical items, or else morphological modifications of lexical items, which show respect (honorifics and humilifics). These are particularly prevalent in south-east Asia; a spectacular system is that of Javanese (Geertz 1960). And then there are various types of partial or complete avoidance: replacement of imperatives by 'softer' alternatives; avoidance of pronouns and combinations of pronouns (Heath 1991, 1998), avoidance of the name of important persons or deceased persons (see Foley 1986: 42 for examples from Papuan languages). Treis (2005) documents *ballishsha* in Kambaata; according to this tradition, married women avoid not only the names of their in-laws but also any word which begins with the same consonant and vowel (irrespective of vowel length). Avoidance in some language communities goes right up to avoiding talking at all to particular potential interlocutors or using special ('mother-in-law') language when doing so (Dixon 1980: 58–65).

Of the many examples of polite usage, let us take just one here: let us consider the polite imperative in the Daghestanian language Archi:¹

* The support of the European Research Council (grant ERC-2008-AdG-230268 *MORPHOLOGY*) is gratefully acknowledged. Versions of this paper were read at the Southeast Morphology Seminar, University of Surrey, 20 February 2009, in the Arbeitsgruppe "Formen des Ausdrucks von Höflichkeit/Respekt im Gespräch: Reden über Dritte in verschiedenen Sprachen und Varietäten" at the 31st Annual Meeting of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft, Osnabrück, 6 March 2009, and in the Department of Linguistics, SUNY Stony Brook, 26 March 2009. I thank all these audiences for their helpful comments, especially Bob Hoberman and Richard Larson, as well as Penny Everson and Claire Turner for help in the preparation of the paper. Special thanks are due to Yvonne Treis and Silvia Zaugg-Coretti for generously sharing their data with me, and to an anonymous referee for useful suggestions. Much of the material presented here will be incorporated in revised form in Corbett (forthcoming).

Archi (Marina Chumakina, personal communication)

(1) kuvsaroɪt čij eca-su gudum-mu-s
 kavsarat.VOC tea(IV)[ABS.SG] pour.IV.SG.IMP-HON that.one.I.SG-OBL.SG-DAT

'Kavsarat, please pour him some tea.'

Thus we have a marker *-su*, which is purely for politeness; it is reserved for imperatives and prohibitives.²

If we turn to function, and ask how the politeness is 'allotted', we find that these systems can be worked out along three main axes, the speaker-addressee axis, the speaker-referent axis and the speaker-bystander axis (Comrie 1976); Levinson (1979: 207) adds the speaker-setting axis (see also Brown/Levinson 1987: 180–182). There may be complex conditions on the choice of particular forms. Thus Mansi (a Finno-Ugric language spoken along the Ob river in Russia, by just over 3000 people at the last census) has special forms for polite commands, which are used for addressing a specially respected or older person, when a woman addresses a man who is older than her husband, and when addressing a spirit or a bear (Rombandeeva 1973: 127).³ Linguists have been aware of the problems: just for Japanese we find whole books on the topic, including by O'Neil (1966), Alpatov (1973) and more recently Wetzel (2004). However, these problems of usage are not the issue here, since our focus is on morphosyntactic features.

It is worth pointing out, however, that effects of this concern for politeness are not all positive. Using plural pronouns for a single addressee can lead to confusion. Take for instance, this example from Chekhov's *Ty i Vy* (You.SG and you.PL) published in 1886. The humour is built round problems of incompatible systems of address; the questioner is an investigator, the respondent a peasant. The confusion and the humour are created by the two interlocutors – investigator and peasant – having different address systems: the investigator has plural for politeness in the second person, but does not easily address the peasant politely. The peasant has plural in the first person, as a politeness strategy; he responds with *my* 'we' to a direct question about whether he understands:

¹ I use the Leipzig Glossing Rules, and have modified others' abbreviations to match the Leipzig Glossing Rules where possible: ABS = absolutive, CAUS = causative (CAUS1 is the 'single' causative), CVB = converb, DAT = dative, DECL = declarative, DEM = demonstrative, DIMIN = diminutive, F = feminine, G7 = gender 7, GNRC = generic, IMP = imperative, IPFV = imperfective, M = masculine, OBL = oblique, PFV = perfective, POSS = possessive, PROX = proximal, REFL = reflexive, SBJ = subject, VOC = vocative; the following are additional to those in the Leipzig Glossing Rules: CNTR = contrastive, DS = different subject, HON = honorific, polite, IV = gender IV, PRON = pronoun.

² It is also used with hortatives, which are formed using an original imperative, to which *-su* attaches (Kibrik 1977: 222–223, Marina Chumakina, personal communication).

³ There can be complex choices in the pronominal system. Thus San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec has a six-way distinction in the third person pronouns, with respect playing a role in the choice (Munro 2002).

- (2) Nužno govorit' vy ... Nel'zja tykat'! Esli ja
 necessary say 2PL Must.not use.thou if 1SG
- govorju tebe ... vam vy, to vy i
 say 2SG.DAT 2PL.DAT 2PL then 2PL EMPH
- podavno dolžny byt' vežlivym!
 the.more must be polite!
- Ono konečno, vašeskorodie! Nešto my ne ponimaem?
 that of.course your.worship really 1PL NEG understand
- No ty slušaj, čto dal'se ...
 But 2SG listen.IMP what further ...

'It is necessary to say *you* (polite). It is not permitted to say *thou*. If I say *thou ... you* to you, then you all the more so must be polite!'

'Yes of course, your Worship! Do you really think we don't understand? But thou listen to what happened next...'

Furthermore, avoiding particular items is not conducive to smooth communication. More specifically, the particular desire to avoid dangerous combinations of persons (first person subject with second person object, or the opposite) lead to a variety of principles of 'pragmatic disguise' (Heath 1991, 1998), and eventually to restructurings of paradigms (as in Dalabon: Evans/Brown/Corbett 2001); see also §3.1 below for other impacts of polite language.

3 Morphosyntactic features

I adopt a strict definition of 'morphosyntactic feature', according to which such a feature must be relevant both to morphology and to syntax. I distinguish such features from morphosemantic features, which are semantically charged and are reflected in morphology, but are not relevant in syntax; tense and aspect are often of the morphosemantic type. In contrast, on the strict definition, at least some of the values of a morphosyntactic feature must be distributed according to syntactic constraints (agreement or government). Typical examples are gender and person.

A second distinction is between a feature and a condition on a feature. To see the distinction let us consider German. German clearly has a number feature: this feature is relevant for morphology, and also for syntax, for rules of agreement, and hence qualifies as a morphosyntactic feature. Now let us look at predicate agreement with conjoined noun phrases in German. There is in principle a choice, since we find both singular and plural predicates in this situation:

German (Findreng 1976: 159)

- (3) Heide und Moor dehn-en sich endlos weit.
 heath and moor stretch-PL REFL endlessly far
 'Heath and moor stretch into the endless distance.'
- (4) daß wieder Zucker und Kaffee herauskam.
 that again sugar and coffee came.out[SG]
 'that sugar and coffee came out again.'

The main target factors which influence the choice of agreement are precedence and animacy: if the agreement controller precedes the target (the predicate) this favours plural agreement,

and if the controller is animate this also favours resolution. This is demonstrated by the data in (5), calculated from Findreng (1976: 145, 165–166, 197). The table shows, for instance, that there were 1095 examples of conjoined noun phrases which denoted animates and which preceded the predicate; of these 96% had a plural predicate.

(5) Agreement with conjoined noun phrases in German

	animate		inanimate	
	N	% PL	N	% PL
subject-predicate	1095	96	1702	67
predicate-subject	379	93	925	40

It is evident from (5) that if the controller stands before the target, and if it denotes animates, these conditions indeed favour plural agreement (this is not something specific to German, but is found more generally, see Corbett 2000: 199–203). Clearly animacy has a role here. But we would not argue that animacy is a morphosyntactic feature in German: it has no direct role in the syntax or in the morphology. Rather it is a matter of lexical semantics, which acts as a condition on the use of the values of the morphosyntactic feature number.

From this perspective, we see that politeness is frequently expressed by *conditions* on the use of other morphosyntactic features. For instance, it is a condition on number in Russian, where the plural value is used for polite address. And it is not only the plural which can be specified (see Corbett 2000: 224–227 for the use of other number values for politeness in various languages). Politeness is a condition on person in Italian (where the third person is used for politeness). In the Daghestanian language Lak, it is a condition on gender. For data see Corbett (1991: 24–26) and the sources given there, especially Khaidakov (1980: 204–13). Lak has a four-gender system: male rational, female rational, animate (and many inanimates), and the residue (a few animates, some inanimates including most abstracts). Significantly, however, the noun *duš* 'girl, daughter' was in gender III, not the expected gender II. Gender III agreements then became a sign of politeness when addressing young women (Khaidakov 1963: 49–50), particularly those earning their own living, and nouns denoting them have transferred to gender III. The convention has been extended so that now any woman outside the immediate family will be addressed using gender III agreements. Within the family older women such as *ninu* 'mother' and *amu* 'grandmother' are still addressed using gender II forms, for younger ones such as *s:u* 'sister' gender III is used. For referring to older women, gender II is still used; nevertheless the number of nouns in this gender has been significantly reduced.

Thus in these languages there is no justification for postulating an additional morphosyntactic feature respect. Rather politeness introduces complexity into the use of a different morphosyntactic feature.

3.1 When respect is not a morphosyntactic feature

Even when respect is not a morphosyntactic feature, but only a condition on a morphosyntactic feature, it can still have substantial effects. One well-studied effect is that of the agreement

in number with polite pronouns. There is a conflict between the formal number of the pronoun (plural) and the 'real' number of the addressee (singular). This leads to the use of the plural for some targets, the singular for others, with a degree of uncertainty at the margin (Comrie 1975; Corbett 1983: 51–56, 2006: 230–233).

A contrasting example of morphosyntactic complexity involving respect, unusually for familiar address, is found in Basque. Here we find the allocutive, which involves the addition of an apparently spurious argument, with attendant changes in the verb inflection (see Baerman 2006 for the detail, following Hualde/Oyharçabal/Urbina 2003).

3.2 Disputed cases

There are instances where RESPECT has been treated as a morphosyntactic feature by some, while alternative analyses have been proposed by others. It was perhaps natural to try to treat repeated instances of politeness as instances of agreement, but these prove relatively unusual. Boeckx/Niinuma (2004) treat Japanese honorification as agreement, while Bobaljik/Yatsushiro (2006) argue against. There has been particular attention to Korean: Pollard/Sag (1994: 96–101) treat politeness in terms of agreement, while others have preferred alternative possibilities. Thus Choi (2003) considers the data from conjoining and argues for a pragmatic account. The most careful analysis is that of Kim/Sells (2007), following an earlier paper (Kim/Sells/Yang 2006).⁴ At first sight, an agreement analysis (using a morphosyntactic feature RESPECT) appears plausible, given examples like this one:

Korean (Kim/Sells 2007: 309)

- (6) ape-nim-kkeyse mence ka-si-ess-ta
 father-HON-HON.SBJ first go-HON-PAST-DECL
 'Father went first.'

The honorific marker *nim* indicates that 'the speaker recognizes that the referent of the host noun is socially superior to himself/herself.' (Kim/Sells 2007: 308). Then we find *kkeyse*, which is both an honorific (again indicating that the speaker recognizes the social superiority of the referent) and an indicator of subject. When *kkeyse* occurs, the predicate typically also takes honorific marking with (*u*)*si*. This might suggest an agreement analysis. This is not the only option, however. *Kkeyse* shows a level of extreme deference; it would therefore be pragmatically infelicitous to show extreme deference at one point in the utterance followed by a lack of deference which would be indicated by a verb without (*u*)*si*. In other words, the two markers have a common external motivation, rather like particular stylistic indicators being maintained through an utterance. Kim/Sells (2007) argue convincingly that an agreement analysis is the wrong approach. First, honorific marking on the noun phrase and on the verb mean different things: the honorific on the noun phrase elevates the referent relative to the speaker, while that on the verb elevates the referent relative to the hearer (Kim/Sells 2007: 310). Contrast this with typical subject-predicate agreement in number (not honorific), where the agreement marker on the predicate indicates the number of referents (and not the number of events), just as on the subject. The second argument is that each honorific form adds information. Simplifying somewhat, we may say that the more honorifics, the more polite. This is rather different from agreement, which in the canonical situation represents redundant information. Certainly having plural markers on each of a string of attributive modifiers does not indicate anything additional about the number of referents. Kim/Sells (2007) therefore treat the semantics of honorifics in terms of 'expressive meaning', following work by

⁴ For the restriction of politeness marking by finiteness in Japanese and Korean see Bisang (2007: 128–130).

Potts/Kawahara (2004) and Potts (2005: 179–185). Expressive meaning is separated from propositional meaning, and is incremental in nature.

The important point, then, is that the occurrence of honorific markers at various points in an utterance does not necessarily imply an agreement analysis; this means that some of the languages which were apparently the most likely examples of a morphosyntactic feature RESPECT, such as Korean, prove actually not to be so.

4 Languages with a morphosyntactic feature respect

And yet we do find languages which appear to require such a morphosyntactic feature. In the clearest cases there is unique morphological material attributable to the feature, and the feature cross-classifies with other morphosyntactic features. Take these data from Muna (an Austronesian language spoken on Muna, off the southeast coast of Sulawesi)

(7) Number and politeness markers in Muna (van den Berg 1989: 51, 82)

'go' (2 nd person)	singular	plural
neutral	o-kala	o-kala-amu
polite	to-kala	to-kala-amu

We see that *to-* marks polite address, irrespective of number. There are a few other languages where a plausible case can be made for a morphosyntactic feature for RESPECT, including Maithili (Bickel/Bisang/Yādava 1999), Nepali (Bonami/Boyé 2008), Tamil, where the relation to number and the dialect differentiation makes the situation particularly complex (Levinson 1979, Brown/Levinson 1987: 199–201; Schiffman 1999: 115–16); for the development of the Tamil polite forms see Brown/Levinson (1987: 293–294) and Rangan/Suseela (2003), and finally – closer to home linguistically – Bavarian German and Louisiana French (Simon 2007).

Most of these languages were mentioned in Corbett (2006: 137–138), so let us here concentrate on new data. First we examine Kambaata (Treis 2007, especially 2, 55, 304–309, 368–369, and personal communications). Kambaata is a Cushitic language of Ethiopia (Highland East Cushitic branch), spoken by something over 600,000 people mainly living in highland areas between the Omo and the Billate rivers, some 300km to the southwest of Addis Ababa (see map).⁵

⁵ Found at: <http://www.travelblog.org/Africa/Ethiopia/map-of-ethiopia.html>, original source: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/et.html>, both accessed January 19, 2011.

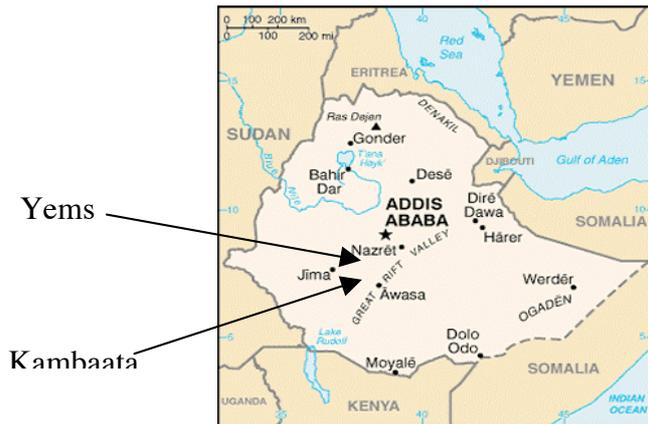


Figure 1: Location of Kambaata and Yemsa in Ethiopia

There are honorific distinctions in the independent personal pronouns, as follows:

(8) Kambaata personal pronouns: nominative case (from Treis 2007: 305)

	SG	PL
1	án	na'óot
2	át	a'nno'óot
2 HON	á'nnu	
3 M	ís (ísu)	isso'óot
3 F	íse	
3 HON	íssa	

Only the nominative is given: the honorific/non-honorific distinctions go through seven cases. This is a recent development: related languages have fewer distinctions, and the development appears to have been stimulated by contact with Amharic (Treis 2007: 306–309); the personal pronouns are regularly dropped. The verb shows fewer distinctions:

(9) Kambaata perfective paradigm *zat-* 'become meager' (from Treis 2007: 369)

	SG	PL
1	zachch-óo-m(m)	zantóo-m(m)
2	zat-tóo-nt	zat-téen-Ø-ta(a'u)
3 M	záchch-o	zat-tóo-'u
3 F	zat-tóo-'u	
3 HON/GNRC	zat-éem-Ø-ma(a'u)	

Note that the third plural is syncretic with the third feminine singular. The correspondences with the pronouns are discussed in turn. The second person honorific pronoun takes a second person plural verb:

Kambaata (Treis 2007: 305)

- (10) **Á'nnu** kánne ang-á-'nne
2HON.NOM DEM.PRON.PROX.M.OBL hand-F.ACC-2PL.POSS

barg-iteenán-iyán án ká'e kaa'll-áamm.
 add-2PL.IPFV.CVB-DS 1SG.NOM DEM.PRON.CNTR.M.OBL help-1SG.IPFV

'While you (HON) are helping here, I will help there.'

Note how this differs from more familiar languages: though the plural verbal form is used for polite address, it does so in agreement with a unique pronoun.

The third person honorific pronoun has a form distinct from the plural in any verbal paradigm, and is of particular interest. Treis uses the gloss 'HON', which she expands as 'honorific', and 'impersonal' (impersonal in the German sense, for generic or non-specific, as for French *on* or German *man*). I have given a double gloss in (9) and (11), to stress that these third person honorific verb forms have two functions (Treis 2007: 305); they are used for reference to a single respected person, and in generic or non-specific use ('one'):

Kambaata (Treis 2007: 305)

- (11) **Qeer-s-éen** moog-éenno.
 become.deep-CAUS1-3HON/GNRC.PFV.CVB bury-3HON/GNRC.IPFV

(i) 'One buries it deep.'

(ii) 'S/he [a respected old man / woman mentioned before] buries it deep.'

The honorific pronoun is unambiguous however; when it is present, only the honorific reading is possible.

Since we are considering whether HONORIFIC is a possible feature, we should take the most cautious analysis. We would say that the verb forms in examples like (11) are simply generic/non-specific. They can be used straightforwardly in this function, or with an honorific third person pronoun. Then, just as the second person honorific pronoun has a special requirement, namely that the verb be plural, so the third person honorific pronoun is also special: it requires a generic/non-specific verb. (And this makes sense, since it is another type of the avoidance discussed in §2.) We now have two pronouns, the second and third persons honorific, which have a similar function, and require specific agreement effects. We could then say that the agreement rules of Kambaata have to refer to a feature RESPECT, showing it to be a morphosyntactic feature, though one with only a small toe-hold in the paradigm. Indeed its status is particularly interesting. It has no unique form, but uses the plural form in the second person and that of the generic/non-specific in the third person. While non-autonomous values are well-known (see Zaliznjak 1973: 69–74, Corbett 2010), a feature with no autonomous forms is rare; the example of person in Archi is analysed in Chumakina/Kibort/Corbett (2007).

For a clearer claim for a morphosyntactic feature RESPECT we move to Yemsa, an Omotic language with over 80,000 speakers in the Oromo region of Ethiopia. The data are from Silvia Zaugg-Coretti, personal communications. Here are some relevant parts of the verb inflections (note that distinctions may be marked by tone, and that there are some syncretisms, and that gender is distinguished in the second singular, but only in the imperative, and the markers are optional).

(12) Yemsa verbal paradigms (partial): Silvia Zaugg-Coretti (p.c.)

	Perfective	Future	Jussive/Imperative
1SG	-n	-nā-r	-nā
2SG	-t	-tā-r	(-wè/-wā (F/M))
2SG HON	-nī	-nī-r	-nì
3SG F	∅	-nī-r	-n
3SG M	∅	-nǐ-r	-ò
3SG HON	-tē	-nē-r	-tó
1PL	-nī	-nī-r	-nī
2PL	-tī	-tī-r	-tì
2PL HON	-sé-nī	-só-nī-r	-sō-nì
3PL F	-sé	-ō-nī-r	-ò-n
3PL M	-sé	-ō-nǐ-r	-ò-ó
3PL HON	-sé-tē	-só-nē-r	-só-tó

The significant point for our purposes is the intersection of number and respect. The plural of forms of the polite singulars, and of the third person forms, are like the singular but with a plural suffix *-(s)e* (realis) or *-(s)o* (irrealis).

(13) Yemsa personal pronouns (Silvia Zaugg-Coretti p.c.)

	SG	PL
1	tá	īnnō
2	ně	nìttō
2 HON	nì	nìinò
3 F	bàr	bārīkītō
3 M	bār	bāsākītō
3 HON	bààs	bààssò

These pronouns are used for emphasis. Note that the third person masculine and feminine plural pronouns show nominal forms regularly formed from the singular (Silvia Zaugg-Coretti p.c.). Again we should concentrate on the intersection of number and respect, which in combination with the verb paradigm suggests the need for a morphosyntactic feature here.

Still following Silvia Zaugg-Coretti (personal communication), there are at least 100 lexemes which have different counterparts according to politeness. Formerly there were three politeness registers: royal, polite and common, but no longer having a king anymore, speakers of Yemsa are reduced to two (see also Wedekind 1986).

These examples indicate that there are languages where we need a morphosyntactic feature RESPECT in order to account for the forms attested. These languages are few, constituting a small subset of those where politeness considerations are important to account for the linguistic system.

5 Why is the morphosyntactic feature respect so rare?

Given this evidence suggesting that there can be a feature for respect, we may ask why it occurs only rarely. I suggest three possible types of factor:

We might argue that a discrete set of feature values is not appropriate for gradient behaviour. I had earlier rejected this motivation, since pronoun choice for respect is precisely selection from a small set (typically 'be polite' or 'do not'). However, the detailed argumentation in Kim/Sells (2007) makes this motivation look much more plausible again, since they show how in more extended systems the effect of honorific markers is additive.

Respect does not intersect with other features with equal readiness. This may be a factor, but the argument is not fully convincing, since clusivity is even more restricted in its interaction (with first person), and yet morphosyntactic clusivity is widespread.⁶

The rapid change associated with politeness systems may disfavour the development of a morphosyntactic feature.

I think these ideas are worth pursuing, looking carefully at other 'potential' features, in the hope that the special situation of respect will shed light on the larger question of why we find a relatively small inventory of morphosyntactic features in the world's languages. (A recent discussion of the wider question of possible grammatical categories can be found in Bisang 2007: 130–134, following work by Talmy 1985: 126–138 and Slobin 2001.)

6 A comparison: the diminutive

It is worth considering whether there is any other potential feature with similar characteristics. There are arguably several points of comparison with the diminutive:

- like politeness markers, diminutives are found in many languages.
- just as honorifics may be supplemented by humilifics, so languages with diminutives may also have augmentatives (typically a less elaborated system).
- diminutives frequently convey expressive meaning, such as endearment (see Jurafsky 1996 for the semantics of the diminutive, and Dressler/Barbaredi 1994 for abundant examples).
- as for politeness, the expressive meaning of diminutives is incremental in nature.

Given this, it is worth considering the status of the diminutive, for comparison. We may find repeated expression of diminutives; an example is Russian, where we may find diminutive marking on adjectives as well as nouns. However, this is not agreement. Rather the speaker has adopted a familiar and endearing attitude, which may be expressed at different points in the utterance. Thus we find repeated expression as a reflection of the same effect through the utterance (which gives a distant analogy to the Kim/Sells 2007 account of Korean honorifics, and not to an agreement system).⁷

6.1 Different types of diminutive

What then are the characteristics of the diminutive relevant for our argument? It may serve as a factor in gender assignment. For instance, in Archi there is an opposition between larger and smaller (both for animals and inanimates), with larger tending to be assigned to gender III and smaller to gender IV (Kibrik, Kodzasov, Olovjannikova/Samedov 1977: 55–66; Corbett 1991: 27–29, 31).⁸ This is just one of several criteria which have an effect on gender assignment in Archi. There is no question of proposing a feature DIMINUTIVE here. A slightly stronger case might be made for the Omotic language Dizi. Here the feminine gender comprises nouns denoting females and diminutives; all others are masculine (Allan 1976; Corbett 1991: 11).

⁶ This depends, however, on one's view of CLUSIVITY; see Bobaljik (2008) for recent discussion and references.

⁷ The comparison is complicated by the various unusual properties of diminutives; see, for instance, Stump (1993), and especially Stump (2001: 99–119 passim) for examples of diminutives as head marked, notably in Breton. Another point we should keep in mind is that in several languages (Russian is a good example) diminutives are particularly common on personal names, giving a range of degrees of familiarity. They thus overlap with politeness considerations. A remarkable instance is provided by certain Polish dialects (Zareba 1984–85, Corbett 1991: 100–101).

⁸ This recalls instances like German *Mädchen* 'girl'; note, however, that there is an additional complication here. While such nouns are often described as neuter, they are hybrids, since they taken neuter agreement within the noun phrase, but can take feminine anaphoric pronouns.

Diminutive has a greater role in the assignment of nouns to gender, but this does not require us to propose a morphosyntactic feature.

Now consider Chichewa, a Bantu language of Malawi:

Chichewa (Corbett/Mtenje 1987: 5)

- (14) ka-mwana ka-li bwino
 G7.SG-infant G7.SG-be in.good.order
 'the infant is well'
- (15) ti-ana ti-li bwino
 G7.PL-infant G7.PL-be in.good.order
 'the infants are well'

The 'G7' gloss indicates one of Chichewa's seven genders (additionally there are three "locative" genders). It has unique agreement markers, *ka-* and *ti-*, as shown in *ka-li* and *ti-li* above, and there is no reason not to treat it as a gender value. It has some distinguishing characteristics, however. First, there are relatively few items that belong only in this gender; most members are nouns derived from nouns in other gender values. Typically they retain their original prefix (*mu-* in *mwana*) and add the diminutive prefix. This is a common picture in Bantu (Schadeberg 2003: 83, who notes that generally the few nouns inherently in this gender have no obvious semantics of 'smallness'). Second, there are minor complications with the agreements (Corbett/Mtenje 1987: 11–12, 31, 33, 36), which are related to the fact that the gender has a closer link to semantics than most of Chichewa's other genders. In Chichewa, then, diminutive is relevant to syntax (agreement); diminutives are grouped into a gender, whose agreements intersect with number. The morphosyntax of Chichewa needs to refer to diminutive, but as the value of the feature GENDER, and not as a morphosyntactic feature in its own right.

The best case for a morphosyntactic feature diminutive comes from Walman, a Torricelli language of Papua New Guinea. The information comes from an interesting paper by Brown/Dryer (ms.), and I thank them for discussion of its significance. Ultimately, while the system is remarkable and challenging, I would still argue that we do not need to recognize a separate feature here (and therefore that we should not). Consider first these data:

Walman: (Brown/Dryer ms.)

- (16) Pelen n-aykiri.
 dog 3SG.M-bark
 'The male dog is barking.'
- (17) Pelen w-aykiri.
 dog 3SG.F-bark
 'The female dog is barking.'
- (18) Pelen l-aykiri.
 dog 3SG.DIMIN-bark
 'The puppy is barking.'
- (19) Pelen y-aykiri.
 dog 3PL-bark
 'The dogs are barking.'

The four different agreement markers are clearly distinct, and they appear regularly on a range of different targets, including personal pronouns, sometimes as prefixes, sometimes as

suffixes, even as infixes. These markers suggest that we have inflectional number and gender. Let us take the interesting properties of the Walman diminutive one at a time:

- cross-linguistically, diminutive is commonly marked on nouns, and less often on other parts of speech. However, in Walman it appears that a lack of overt marking on nouns is generally found with gender and number, as the examples suggest.
- the diminutive is distributed like the masculine and feminine genders, in that each is indicated only in the singular. (18) is appropriate only if one puppy is barking (but see below for a complication). Note that (18) is glossed as 'puppy', and not as 'small dog': with animates the diminutive is used for the young, not for small members of the species.
- the examples with *pelen* 'dog' give an instance where each gender is available. However, there are nouns which belong just to one gender, such as *ngolu* 'cassowary', which is grammatically masculine, irrespective of sex. There are therefore nouns which are masculine (with diminutive also possible), others which are feminine (with diminutive also possible), those like *pelen* 'dog' which can take masculine, feminine or diminutive agreements. But there are *no* nouns which are in the diminutive gender.
- the diminutive is never obligatory (while, for instance, the plural is required for a plural referent). Thus (17) could be uttered appropriately of a puppy; however, this is not too surprising, since any puppy is a dog, and any small object is an instance of the general case.
- we might suggest that we are dealing with derivation of nouns (but without overt markers). However, we find examples of masculine or feminine agreement together with diminutive agreement for the same controller in the same clause. There are two interesting points here. First, we do not find masculine and feminine agreement together (Brown/Dryer treat this as a significant difference of the diminutive, but it could simply follow from semantic incompatibility). Second, while masculine or feminine do not co-occur with plural, and the diminutive normally does not, it may do so just for pluralia tantum nouns, which are semantically singular.
- the diminutive forms often imply endearment (as is frequently the case for diminutives cross-linguistically).

Where does this leave us? Brown/Dryer (ms.) rightly make the comparison with a Bantu language, and conclude that the diminutive in Bantu is a gender while that of Walman is inflectional, but is not a gender. I find their fieldwork and analysis highly interesting, but I suggest that their conclusion need not follow. We need not think of being a gender or not as a black/white issue. The diminutive in Walman is a long way from being a canonical gender; nevertheless, it shares characteristics with genders both in Walman and in other gender systems. Specifically: gender can be tightly determined by semantics, as in Dravidian languages like Tamil. Gender can be covert on nouns. This is found in Savosavo, the easternmost Papuan language. This language is particularly relevant: it has two genders, inanimates are by default masculine, but can be switched to the feminine (with no marker on the noun), to give the effect of a diminutive or to show that the referent is special in some other way (Wegener 2008: 64–67). Thus switching of genders is attested elsewhere. The Walman interaction with number (gender distinguished only in the singular) is commonplace, being shared with German and Russian among other languages. Genders with few nouns are attested (Corbett 1991: 173–175), and this is found with the diminutive genders in several Bantu languages, as we noted early. A complete mismatch of controller and target genders, that is, a gender marked on agreement targets but having no controller noun members is unusual, but is found (for a different type of gender) in Surselvan Romansh, for example (Corbett 2010). Thus we can reasonably treat the Walman diminutive as a (very non-canonical) gender; the alternative, to

propose a new morphosyntactic feature, is one that Ockham would not approve of. That said, the data are of special interest.⁹

6.2 The comparison with respect

Returning to our comparison with respect, we see that diminutive, like respect, struggles to reach the status of a morphosyntactic feature. Diminutive does reach the status of being a value, of the feature GENDER. On the other hand respect appears to achieve the status of a morphosyntactic feature, intersecting with other morphosyntactic features, but only very rarely. Perhaps when sufficient examples have been gathered it will prove possible to show here that, as with diminutive, RESPECT can be seen as a value of another feature.

A further point of comparison between the 'best' instances of respect and of diminutive is their course of development. Both have arisen by 'converting' the value of a morphosyntactic feature. Treiss (2007: 306–308) shows how the honorific forms of Kambaata have arisen from a number form, and Brown/Dryer (ms.) show how the diminutive in Walman arises from an earlier neuter gender.

How then do our possible reasons for the rareness of a morphosyntactic feature respect fare when we look at diminutive? Let us recall each in turn.

We might argue that a discrete set of feature values is not appropriate for gradient behaviour. This argument has some force in respect of the affective use of diminutive, but hardly for its neutral use.

Diminutive does not intersect with other features with equal readiness. This is true, and suggests this argument may be stronger than it first appeared.

Rapid change may disfavour the development of a morphosyntactic feature; there is no relevant supporting evidence here.

The comparison of these arguments for the very limited success of diminutive and respect as morphosyntactic features suggests that ease of intersection with other features may be significant. RESPECT does not intersect with other features with equal readiness. The first argument, that discrete feature values are not appropriate may also have some force, when combined with the issue of intersection. Even if RESPECT can intersect with the second person (using a mechanism to select one of a discrete set of values to show appropriate politeness to an addressee), this may be less readily achievable for the wide range of possible third persons.¹⁰

7 Conclusion

Politeness is of enormous importance in language; the impact it can have on the linguistic system can go well beyond anything we might have expected. And yet though ubiquitous in some languages it rarely gains the status of a genuine morphosyntactic feature. I proposed possible reasons for this, but there is as yet insufficient relevant evidence to consider them convincing. Here the comparison with diminutives is suggestive. I think these ideas are worth pursuing, looking carefully at other 'potential' features, in the hope that the special situation of

⁹ Munro (1988) discusses the optional diminutive marker in Lakhota (Siouan), the Oklahoma Seminole dialect of Creek and Chickasaw (both Muskogean), and Maricopa (Yuman). Conditions on its appearance vary ('the best time to elicit syntactic diminutives or hear them spontaneously produced is when a baby is present.' Munro 1988: 540), but the common requirement is an appropriate argument of the verb. Chickasaw has the strictest rule: only a surface subject can license the diminutive. The status of this marker is fascinating: it is optional and does not stand in opposition to any other value; it has not yet achieved the status of a feature. Pamela Munro suggests (personal communication) that it resembles an honorific.

¹⁰ And as Bob Hoberman points out (personal communication), there is considerably lower motivation to be polite to third persons if they are not present to hear the effort made for them.

respect will shed light on the larger question of why we find the relatively small inventory of morphosyntactic features that we do in the world's languages.

References

- Allan, Edward J. (1976): "Dizi". In: Bender, Lionel M. (ed.): *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*. East Lansing, African Studies Center, Michigan State University: 377–392.
- Alpatov, V. M. (1973): *Kategorija vežljivosti v sovremennom japonskom jazyke*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Baerman, Matthew (2006): "Basque". In: Corbett, Greville G./Baerman, Matthew/Brown, Dunstan/Hippisley, Andrew (eds.): *Cross-linguistic Deponency Database*. Available at: <http://www.smg.surrey.ac.uk/deponency/WALS/Basque.htm>, accessed January 19, 2011.
- Berg, René van den (1989): *A Grammar of the Muna Language*. Dordrecht: Foris. (= *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 139).
- Bickel, Balthasar/Bisang, Walter/ Yādava, Yogendra P. (1999): "Face vs. empathy: the social foundation of Maithili verb agreement". *Linguistics* 37: 481–518.
- Bisang, Walter (2007): "Categories that make finiteness: discreteness from a functional perspective and some of its repercussions". In: Nikolaeva, Irina (ed.): *Finiteness: Theoretical and empirical foundations*. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 115–137.
- Bobaljik, Jonathan D. (2008): "Missing persons: A case study in morphological universals". *The Linguistic Review* 25: 203–230.
- Bobaljik, Jonathan/Yatsushiro, Kazuko (2006): "Problems with honorification-as-agreement in Japanese: A reply to Boeckx & Niinuma". *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 24: 355–384.
- Boeckx, Cedric/Niinuma, Fumikazu (2004): "Conditions on agreement in Japanese". *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 22: 453–80.
- Bonami, Olivier/Boyé, Gilles (2008): "Paradigm shape is morphomic in Nepali". Paper read at the 13th International Morphology Meeting, Vienna.
- Brown, Lea/Dryer, Matthew (s.a.): "Diminutive as an inflectional category in Walman". University at Buffalo, manuscript. Available at: linguistics.buffalo.edu/people/faculty/dryer/dryer/BrownDryerWalmanDimin.pdf, accessed January 19, 2009.
- Brown, Penelope/Levinson, Stephen C. (1987): *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (= *Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics* 4).
- Choi, Incheol (2003): "A constraint-based approach to Korean partial honorific agreement". In: Griffin, William E. (ed.): *The Role of Agreement in Natural Language: TLS 5 Proceedings*: 157–66. Available at: <http://uts.cc.utexas.edu/~tls/2001tls/2001proceeds.html>, accessed January 19, 2011.
- Chumakina, Marina/Kibort, Anna/Corbett, Greville G. (2007): "Determining a language's feature inventory: person in Archi". In: Austin, Peter K./Simpson, Andrew (eds.): *Endangered Languages*. Hamburg, Helmut Buske: 143–172. (= *Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft* 14).
- Comrie, Bernard (1975): "Polite plurals and predicate agreement". *Language* 51: 406–418.
- Comrie, Bernard (1976): "Linguistic politeness axes: Speaker-addressee, speaker-referent, speaker-bystander". *Pragmatics Microfiche* 1.7: A3-B1. Oxford: Oxford Microform.
- Corbett, Greville G. (1983): *Hierarchies, Targets and Controllers: Agreement patterns in Slavic*. London: Croom Helm.
- Corbett, Greville G. (1991) *Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Corbett, Greville G. (2000): *Number*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Corbett, Greville G. (2006): *Agreement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Corbett, Greville G. (2011): "The penumbra of morphosyntactic feature systems". In: Bobaljik, Jonathan/Sauerland, Uli/Nevins, Andrew (eds.): *Markedness and Underspecification in the Morphology and Semantics of Agreement*. Special issue *Morphology* 21/2: 445-80.
- Corbett, Greville G. (forthcoming): *Features*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Corbett, Greville G./Mtenje, Alfred D. (1987): "Gender agreement in Chichewa". *Studies in African Linguistics* 18: 1–38.
- Dixon, Robert. M. W. (1980): *The Languages of Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dressler, Wolfgang U./Barbaresi, Lavinia Merlini (1994): *Morphopragmatics: Diminutives and Intensifiers in Italian, German, and Other Languages*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Evans, Nicholas/Brown, Dunstan/Corbett, Greville G. (2001): "Dalabon pronominal prefixes and the typology of syncretism: a Network Morphology analysis". In: Booij, Geert/van Marle, Jaap (eds.): *Yearbook of Morphology 2000*. Dordrecht, Kluwer: 187–231.
- Findreng, Ådne (1976): *Zur Kongruenz in Person und Numerus zwischen Subjekt und finitem Verb im modernen Deutsch*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Foley, William A. (1986): *The Papuan Languages of New Guinea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Geertz, Clifford. (1960): *The religion of Java*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press. (The relevant chapter is "Linguistic etiquette", pp. 248–260, and this is reprinted in: Fishman, Joshua A. (ed.) (1968): *Readings in the Sociology of Language*. The Hague, Mouton: 282–295.)
- Heath, Jeffrey (1991): "Pragmatic disguise in pronominal-affix paradigms". In: Plank, Frans (ed.): *Paradigms: the economy of inflection*. Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter: 75–89.
- Heath, Jeffrey (1998): "Pragmatic skewing in 1 <-> 2 pronominal combinations in Native American languages". *International Journal of American Linguistics* 64: 83–104.
- Helmbrecht, Johannes (2005): "Politeness distinctions in pronouns". In: Haspelmath, Martin/Dryer, Matthew S./Gil, David/Comrie, Bernard (eds.): *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 186–189.
- Hualde, José Ignacio/Oyharçabal, Beñat/de Urbina, Jon Ortiz (2003): "Verbs". In: Hualde, José Ignacio/de Urbina, Jon Ortiz (eds.): *A grammar of Basque*. Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter: 195–246.
- Khaidakov, S. M. [Xajdakov, S. M.] (1963): "Principy raspredelenija imen suščestvitel'nyx po grammatičeskim klassam v laskom jazyke". *Studia Caucasica* 1: 48–55.
- Khaidakov, S.M. (1980): *Principy imennoj klassifikacii v dagestanskix jazykax*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Jurafsky, Daniel (1996): "Universal tendencies in the semantics of the diminutive". *Language* 72: 533–78.
- Kibrik, A. E. (1977): *Opyt strukturnogo opisanija arčinskogo jazyka: II: Taksonomičeskaja grammatika*. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta. (*Publikacii otdelenija strukturnoj i prikladnoj lingvistiki* 12).
- Kibrik, A. E./Kodzasov, S. V./Olovjannikova, I. P./Samedov, D. S. (1977): *Opyt strukturnogo opisanija arčinskogo jazyka: I: Leksika, fonetika*. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta. (= *Publikacii otdelenija strukturnoj i prikladnoj lingvistiki* 11).
- Kim, Jong-Bok/Sells, Peter (2007): "Korean honorification: a kind of expressive meaning". *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 16: 303–336.
- Kim, Jong-Bok/Sells, Peter/Yang, Jaehyung (2006): "Parsing Korean honorification phenomena in a typed feature structure grammar". In: *Advances in Artificial Intelligence: Proceedings of the 19th Conference of the Canadian Society for Computational Studies of Intelligence, Canadian AI 2006, Québec City, Québec, Canada, June 7-9, 2006*. (Lecture Notes in Computer Science Volume 4013/2006). Berlin, Springer: 254–265. [DOI: 10.1007/11766247].

- Levinson, Stephen C. (1979): "Pragmatics and social deixis: reclaiming the notion of conventional implicature". In: Chiarello, Christine (ed.): *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. Berkeley, CA, Berkeley Linguistics Society: 206–223.
- Munro, Pamela (1988): "Diminutive syntax". In: Shipley, William (ed.): *In Honor of Mary Haas: From the Haas Festival Conference on Native American Linguistics*. Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter: 539–556.
- Munro, Pamela (2002): "Hierarchical Pronouns in Discourse: Third Person Pronouns in San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec Narratives". *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 21: 37–66.
- O'Neil, P. G. (1966): *A Programmed Course on Respect Language in Modern Japanese*. London: English Universities Press and School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Pollard, Carl/Sag, Ivan A. (1994): *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Potts, Christopher (2005): *The Logic of Conventional Implicatures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (= *Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics* 7).
- Potts, Christopher/Kawahara, Shigeto (2004): "Japanese honorifics as emotive definite descriptions". In: Watanabe, Kazuha/Young, Robert B. (eds.): *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Conference on Semantics and Linguistic Theory (SALT)*. Ithaca, NY, CLC Publications: 253–270.
- Rangan, K./Suseela, M. (2003): "A comparison of agreement system in Old Tamil and Modern Tamil". In: Reddy, B. Ramakrishna (ed.): *Agreement in Dravidian Languages*. Chennai, International Institute of Tamil Studies: 28–50.
- Rombandeeva, E. I. (1973): *Mansijskij (vogul'skij) jazyk*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Schadeberg, Thilo C. (2003): "Derivation". In: Nurse, Derek/Philippson, Gérard (eds.): *The Bantu languages*. London, Routledge: 71–89. (= *Routledge language family series* 4).
- Schiffman, Harold F. (1999): *A Reference Grammar of Spoken Tamil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Simon, Horst J. (2007): "Wie Höflichkeit die Person(en) verwirrt – und wie's die Grammatik wieder ordnet". In: Behr, Irmtraud/Larroy, Anne/Samson, Gunhild (eds.): *Der Ausdruck der Person im Deutschen*. Tübingen, Stauffenburg: 57–72. (= *Eurogermanistik* 24).
- Slobin, Dan I. (2001): "Form-function relations: how do children find out what they are?" In: Bowerman, Melissa/Levinson, Stephen C. (eds.): *Language acquisition and conceptual development*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 406–449.
- Stump, Gregory T. (1993): "How peculiar is evaluative morphology?" *Journal of Linguistics* 29: 1–36.
- Stump, Gregory T. (2001): *Inflectional Morphology: A Theory of Paradigm Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Talmy, Leonard (1985): "Lexicalization patterns: semantic structure in lexical form". In: Shopen, Timothy (ed.): *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Vol. III: Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 57–149.
- Treis, Yvonne (2005): "Avoiding their names, avoiding their eyes: how Kambaata women respect their in-laws". *Anthropological Linguistics* 47: 292–320.
- Treis, Yvonne (2007): *Towards a Grammar of Kambaata: Phonology, Nominal Morphology, and Non-verbal Predication*. PhD thesis, University of Cologne. [Since published 2008].
- Wedekind, Klaus (1986): "Communication breakdown or lèse-majesté: How feudoid subgroups of the Yemma (Janjero) talk to each other". In: Elson, Benjamin F. (ed.): *Language in global perspective: Papers in honor of the 50th anniversary of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1935-1985*. Dallas, Summer Institute of Linguistics: 557–562.
- Wegener, Claudia (2008): *A grammar of Savosavo: a Papuan language of the Solomon Islands*. PhD thesis, Radboud University, Nijmegen. (= *MPI series in psycholinguistics*).

- Wetzel, Patricia J. (2004): *Keigo in Modern Japan: Polite language from Meiji to the present*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Zaliznjak, Andrej A. (1973): "O ponimanii termina 'padež' v lingvističeskix opisanijax". In: Zaliznjak, Andrej, A. (ed.): *Problemy grammatičeskogo modelirovanija*. Moscow, Nauka: 53–87. [Reprinted in: Zaliznjak, Andrej A. (2002): *Russkoe imennoe slovoizmenenie: s priloženiem izbrannyx rabot po sovremennomu russkomu jazyku i obščemu jazykoznaniju*. Moscow, Jazyki slavjanskoj kul'tury: 613–47].
- Zaręba, Alfred (1984–85): "Osobliwa zmiana rodzaju naturalnego w dialektach polskich". *Zbornik Matice srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku* 27–28: 243–247.

All men become brothers.

The use of kinship terms for non-related persons as a sign of respect or disrespect

Elke Hentschel (Bern)

Abstract

In many different languages, kinship terms can be used in order to address or refer to non-kin. These terms can be very polite, and in many languages this is the only meaning and function they have. However, in some languages terms with the same meaning can be very impolite. This article shows how these differences can be explained by the nature of the underlying cultural concepts. In addition, it explores the question why kinship terms are used at all, be it in a polite or impolite way, in order to talk to or about non-related people.

1 Kinship terms for non-kin: A collection of examples

Kinship terms are, above all, known for their possible complexity when it comes to denoting the exact kind of relationship between people: where one language, like English, just has the term 'uncle', another might have one for father's older brother, one for father's younger brother, one for the husbands of father's sister, and of course completely different words for the same kind of relation on the mother's side. Kinship systems have been well described, one of the earliest and certainly the most famous study being that of Lévi-Strauss (1949/1969). These terms, however, cannot only be used in order to describe more or less complicated degrees of relationship within an extended family. They can, apart from that, be found in rather unexpected circumstances, being used in order to either address (vocative use) or speak about (referential use) non-related human beings. "Vocative uses, by definition, must have second-person referents, referential uses, on the other hand, may have first, second, and third person referents: in certain languages and certain social contexts, kin terms may be used in lieu of first and second person pronouns." (Dahl/Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001: 203). Probably the best-known language of this sort is Mandarin (cf. e. g. Song Xuan 1997). However, the phenomenon is far from being as "exotic" – at least from an English-speaking point of view – as the mentioning of Chinese might lead us to think: vocative and referential uses of kinship terms cannot only be found in numerous non-Indo-European languages like Vietnamese, Thai, Uygur or Turkish; it also occurs in languages like Persian, Serbian or even German. Still, the functions of this kind of reference are quite diverse.

1.1 Serbian

The following examples, taken from modern Serbian,¹ shall be used as the first illustration for some of the pragmatic functions kinship terms may fulfil.

¹ Most of the examples in this paper rely on personal observation by the author and by native speakers she has consulted. In some cases, internet sources have been used as well; these are always cited. However, this is not a corpus analysis, but a first approach to the problem, using exemplary data.

(a) Addressing someone non-kin as 'brother', 'sister':

'Brother': young man greeting a friend (routine salutation):

- (1) *Ma gde si bre brate!*
 but where are-2nd sg. [particle] brother-VOC

Approximately: 'How are you doing, friend!'

'Sister': address line from an internet site:

- (2) *jao sestro slatka*
 [interjection] sister-VOC sweet
- šta sve imam da ti ispričam*²
 what all have-1st sg. that you-DAT tell-1st sg.

Approximately: 'Oh, girlfriend, do I have something to tell you!!'

(b) Addressing someone non-kin as 'son':

An older woman to younger one (personal observation):

- (3) *Nemoj se ljutiti sine!*
 don't reflexive pronoun upset son-VOC

Approximately: 'Don't get upset, dear!'

(c) Addressing or referring to someone as *baba* 'granny':

Market-woman to costumer, referring to herself (personal observation):

- (4) *Babi treba novac*
 Granny-DAT is necessary money

Approximately: 'Granny needs money!' in the sense of: 'I need money!'

From an internet posting:

- (5) *a ti si glupa baba*
 and you are stupid granny
- koja zna samo ružno govoriti*³
 who knows only ugly to talk

Approximately: 'And you are a stupid broad who only knows how to talk spitefully'

² [http:// www.sestroslatka.com](http://www.sestroslatka.com), accessed January 17, 2012.

³ The text goes on: *i biti ljubomorna na nju što je uspješno završila karijeru.....* (appr.: 'and to be jealous of her who has successfully finished her career'). [<http://www.pogledaj.name/comment/3476/ti-si-glupa-baba-koja-zna>, accessed September 25, 2008].

Song text by Ajs Nigrutin:

- (6) *neka baba na reklam*
 some granny on commercials
trlja sise besno⁴
 shakes breasts ferociously

Approximately: 'Some broad on the commercials is shaking her breasts like crazy'

(d) Referring to someone as 'uncle' or 'aunt':

- (7) *Dobri čika Fića i njegov fića⁵*
 good uncle Fića and his Fiat

Approximately: 'The good uncle Fića and his Fiat'

From a political discussion on the internet news site of radio B92:

- (8) *Cim [...] neki cika iz Vashingtona*
 As soon as some uncle from Washington
kaze da je bilo dosta.⁶
 says that is been enough

Approximately: 'as soon as [...] some uncle from Washington says that enough is enough'

From internet forums/blogs:

- (9) *Rečeno je da taj čikica (Sergej Polonski) treba⁷*
 Said is that that uncle-DIM (Sergej Polonski) shall

Approximately: 'It is being said that that uncle [diminutive] (Sergej Polonski) shall...'

- (10) *kao neka dosadna strina⁸*
 like some annoying aunt

Approximately: 'Like a very annoying person'

⁴ The songtext goes on: *Cvaj cvaj cvaj - nul nul nul / Nemachki debili, njima je to kul* (appr.: '222-000 [in German]/ German idiots find this cool.', thereby showing clearly that the text is referring to a prostitute advertising herself on night tv, not to an older woman).

⁵ <http://www.balkanphotocontest.com/index.php?menu=7&gID=5611&img=96112>, accessed January 16, 2009.

⁶ <http://forum.b92.net>, accessed January 16, 2009. The complete sentence was: *Naravno, ruski tenkovi ce odmah biti zaustavljeni cim zazvoni telefon u Moskvi i neki cika iz Vashingtona kaze da je bilo dosta*. (appr.: 'Of course, the Russian tanks will stop at once as soon as the telephone rings in Moskow and some uncle from Washington says that enough is enough').

⁷ The complete contribution said: *Rečeno je da taj čikica (Sergej Polonski) - treba da uruči ključeve od vile (u vrijednosti od cca 2 miliona EUR) Madoni za poklon*. (appr.: 'It is said that that uncle (Sergej Polonski) – shall hand over the keys to the villa (worth about 2 million EUR) as a gift to Madonna'; Sergej Polonski is a Russian millionaire, born in 1972.) [forum.cafemontenegro.com/showthread.php?p=1020649, accessed September 25, 2008].

⁸ <http://www.creemaginet.com/sajt/stonsi-u-beogradu-malko-drugaciji-utisak>, accessed June 5, 2011. The complete sentence was: *Mene često optužuju da sam kao neka dosadna strina koja neprekidno i uporno traži falinke* (appr.: 'They often accuse me of being like a annoying aunt who constantly and insistently looks for fault').

- (11) *Tetkice* *opet* *skuvale* *loshu,* *tanku* *kafu*⁹
 Aunt-DIM-PL again cooked bad thin coffee

Approximately: 'The charwomen made bad, thin coffee again'

Let us try a first rough analysis of this little collection. It shows various cases where kinship terms are being used in order to talk to or about non-related persons, even strangers. As for the degree of politeness¹⁰ of these terms, referential as well as vocative uses can carry very positive connotations: addressing a male friend as *brat* 'brother' as in (1), a woman as 'sweet sister' as in (2), or an older adult as 'uncle' in (7) is obviously a polite or even endearing way to address or refer to these people. The closest parallel in English might be addressing a stranger as *darling* or *love*, although it is of course not possible to refer to a third party in this way.

A closer look at the contexts of sentences like (1), (2), and (7) shows that while 'brother' and 'sister' are used when communicating on an intimate and informal level, 'uncles' are addressed as such even in a more distant style. For example, it would be customary for children, adolescents and young adults to address the father of a friend as *čika* 'uncle'. Consequently, the meaning of the word began to change, and over time has developed from denoting a relative to politely addressing and referring to any older gentleman.¹¹ However, it clearly was originally a kinship term (cf. Skok 1971: s. v. *čika*). In all these cases, one might of course assume that by "adopting" someone, and thereby making him or her a member of their family, the speaker establishes a close relationship and shows affection. That this should be perceived as friendly is not really very surprising.

However, this is clearly not the whole story. If *čika is Vashintona* ['uncle from Washington'] in (8) is to be considered a term of affection in the given context, then its use must be highly ironic. As for *čikica* [uncle-DIM] Sergej Polonski in (9), the Russian millionaire was 36 at the time of the posting, and could therefore hardly be considered an older gentleman. There must obviously be some additional connotations. In order to find out what they are, let us first consider the other cases.

In the examples given above, we find not only uncles, but also aunts and 'aunties'. *Tetka* or *strina* (both meaning 'aunt', see below) are always applied pejoratively, whereas in everyday language use, the word *tetkica* 'auntie', as observed in (11), means a charwoman. In certain places and situations, e. g. in university buildings, the charwomen are also expected to make coffee – which explains the otherwise seemingly rather strange sentence. What may have started out as an affectionate term now merely refers to a job and carries low, if any, emotional connotations. Therefore, at first sight, this example does not help much when it comes to determining the kind of connotation kinship terms carry. It is, however, interesting to see which kinship term it is that has been transformed into the job title.

⁹ <http://www.popboks.com/forum>, accessed January 16, 2009.

¹⁰ During the past decades, there have been several attempts to define the term "politeness", from Brown/Levinson (1987) to Watts (2003), to name but two important studies. For the purposes of this paper, however, further investigation into the nature of the phenomenon did not seem necessary. The degree of politeness of an expression has been based exclusively on the evaluation of native speakers who felt that an utterance was polite or impolite (or very much so).

¹¹ The *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika* gives one of the meanings of the word as: „[...] uopšte stariji čovek, čovek u godinama [...]“ ('older man in general, man of certain years'), stating twice that it is a term of affection (s. v. *čika*).

Older women can obviously refer to themselves as *baba* 'granny', as is illustrated by examples (3) and (4). It is also possible to call an older woman *majka* 'mother' in an endearing way.¹² But what is even more interesting is the fact that an older woman can address a younger one as *sin* 'son', as is the case in example (3), or as *sinko* 'sonny'.¹³ In everyday conversation, this clearly serves as a term of affection, paralleling English forms of address like *dear*. It might of course seem strange to use this term for a female, who one might expect to be called 'daughter' instead. This is, however, impossible: a stranger cannot be addressed as *ćerko* or *kćeri* ('daughter'). But since sons are worth so much more than daughters in a patriarchal society, it is obviously better to be considered a son than a daughter, and this additional value makes the expression even more affectionate: you, the speaker implies, are a very valued younger member of my family. In a similar way, the market-woman in (4) is only stating that she is older than her customer, but, at least in a way, asking for their affection and respect by making herself part of their family. This seems rather straightforward. But what about examples (5) and (6)? In both cases, the context makes it clear that the term *baba* does not refer to an older woman – and that it is used pejoratively. This is quite the contrary to being polite, so the question remains of how the same means of communication can have completely opposite effects.

1.2 Mandarin Chinese

Taking a look at other parts of the world, one of the languages that comes to mind because it shows a very regular use of kinship terms in everyday life is modern Chinese. Here, kinship terms are so widespread that they are introduced in textbooks for learning Chinese as a foreign language. For instance, the term *āyí* 'auntie – a term of address that can be used when speaking to the mother of a friend – is even used in a textbook without any special explanation, implying that the use and meaning is made obvious by its context (cf. Yang 2007: 28f.). The application of kinship terms in everyday conversation with non-kin is indeed an often discussed characteristic of modern Chinese (cf. e. g. Song 1997). Good friends can call each other *dàjiě* ('eldest sister') or *mèimei* ('younger sister'), depending on the age difference, and a young girl might affectionately be called *xiaomèi* ('little sister') by a stranger. An older gentleman may be addressed as well as referred to as *shūshu* 'uncle' (on the father's side) – the list goes on and on.

This kind of address or reference is widespread and very much alive in everyday use. The following illustration (fig. 1) shows a part of a letter from a school girl, referring to a high ranking police officer, Mr. Song, who had helped her establish contact with the author of this text. She did not know him well at all, and there is a great social gap between the poor village girl and the high-ranking functionary. However, she refers to him as *na ge Sòng shūhu* 'this uncle Song':



Fig. 1: 'this uncle Song' (from a personal letter)

¹² Interestingly enough, though, when referring to a stranger, the vocative *majko* cannot be used, and the nominative *majka* is applied instead: *Šta kažete, majka?* ('What do you say, mother?'); *Kakva je paprika, majka?* ('How is the pepper, mother?'; examples: personal communication Aleksandra Bajazetović).

¹³ A personal experience might be used to illustrate this: The post mistress at the post office where the author of this text used to go in order to buy stamps always called her *sinko*.

1.3 German

In Chinese, or so it seems, almost every kinship term may be used in order to refer to non-kin. On the other hand, most speakers of languages like English or German would deny that anything of this kind is also possible in their own language. However, the possibility of referring to strangers by kinship terms is by no means completely absent from Germanic languages; it is just that most speakers usually are not aware of it.

The first thing that comes to mind is that when talking to children, speakers of German may say something like:

- (12) *Gib der Tante das schöne Händchen!*
 give the aunt the nice hand-DIM
 appr.: 'Give your right hand to the lady!'¹⁴

- (13) *Geh nicht mit einem fremden Onkel!*
 don't go with a strange uncle
 appr.: 'Don't go with strangers!'¹⁵

Especially in cases like (13), it is quite obvious that it is not a real uncle the speaker is referring to, but rather any male adult – which is of course the same principle that operates in (12).

However, something completely different seems to be going on in examples like (14):

- (14) *sie mich dann als Hysterische Tante bezeichnen!*¹⁶
 they me then as hysterical aunt call
 appr.: 'they will call me a hysterical female'

The given context made it clear that the speaker is not referring to herself as the actual aunt of someone – on the contrary: she is talking about her behaviour as a mother – but rather to the negative prototype of a hysterical female. The same sort of negative prototype can be found with other kinship terms, as well, as the following examples (15–18) illustrate:

- (15) *plötzlich kommt da so ne Oma aus dem Gebüsch geschossen!*¹⁷
 suddenly comes there such a granny out the bushes fired
 appr.: 'Suddenly an old lady comes shooting out of the bushes'

- (16) *so ein blöder Opa, der mit 50 über die Landstraße tuckert!*¹⁸
 such a stupid granddad who with 50 over the country road chuggs
 appr.: 'this blockhead chugging along the country road at 50 [km/h]'

¹⁴ This particular sentence might not be used very often anymore in actual child raising; however, it can be found quite often as a quotation on the internet, see e. g. <http://frauholz.wordpress.com/2010/04/14/kinderknigge>, www.borkenerzeitung.de/.../1105297_Gib_das_schoene_Haendchen...html, both accessed June 28, 2011.

¹⁵ The use of 'uncle' and 'aunt' for strangers is not equally common in the different areas where German is spoken. To wit, it is more common in Germany than it is in Switzerland.

¹⁶ www.parents.at/forum/showthread.php?p=6533135, accessed January 16, 2009; the full sentence was: *Ich hab ja dann immer Angst bzw. Befürchtungen, dass sich mich dann als Hysterische [sic!] Tante bezeichnen* (appr.: 'I'm always afraid or have misgivings that they will call me a hysterical female').

¹⁷ www.wuff-online.com/forum/showthread.php?t=88463&page=17, accessed May 5, 2011.

¹⁸ <http://www.kaowner.de/forum/showthread.php/1492-Kurzstabantenne>, accessed May 5, 2011. The complete sentence was: *Erst gibt so ein blöder Opa, der mit 50 über die Landstraße tuckert, in dem Moment, in dem ich ihn überhole, ordentlich Gas* (appr.: 'First, this blockhead chugging along the country road at 50 [km/h] accelerates heavily at the very moment when I am passing him').

- (17) *Dann is ihr so'n Muttchen voll hinten draufgefahren.*¹⁹
 then is her such a mommy fully behind collided
 appr.: 'Then this dumb Dora rear-ended her completely.'
- (18) *dann fuhr mir so ne Mutti im Touran vor die Schnauze*²⁰
 then drove me such a mom in a Touran before the kisser
 appr.: 'then this dumb Dora in a Touran cut in right in front of me'

We meet with disagreeable grannies and granddads, and with unappealing moms and mommies. However, most interestingly, there are no daddies with negative connotations to be found – or at least not in the standard language. In Swiss German dialects, however, it is possible to say something like *ah, ha scho wider so ne aute päppu vor mir* or *ah, ha scho wider so ne aute vätü vor mir* ('ah, there is an old daddy in front of me again'), using *aute päppu* or *aute vätü* (both meaning 'old daddy') in a pejorative way.²¹

2 A schematic view on the application of kinship terms

As has been stated before with reference to Dahl/Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001: 203), kin terms can be used in lieu of first and second person pronouns. This is clearly the case in examples like (4), where a woman is referring to herself by using *baba* 'granny' instead of *ja* 'I'. One might be inclined to argue that something similar happens in examples (1)–(3). However, the kinship terms in these utterances are used in the vocative case and can therefore not be considered as second person pronouns, since vocatives are not part of the syntactical structure of a sentence. Therefore, the resemblance is only superficial, but they are still examples of addressing someone non-kin as kin with good intentions.

Obviously, however, the use of kinship terms can also be meant to belittle the person they refer to, as examples like (5) and (6) or (13)–(17) show. But why is this so, and which terms can be used in order to convey which meaning?

In order to create a *tertium comparationis* between the languages in question, the following very simplified schematic of general kinship relations shall be used (fig. 2). It is by no means complete – it contains, for instance, no terms for the husbands and wives of the sisters and brothers of one's parents – but it shows the relations within the narrower family.

¹⁹ www.wordvomit.org/Vanilla_Yume/archiv12.html, accessed January 16, 2009.

²⁰ www.golf-6.com/golf-vi/317-topspeed-26.html, accessed May 6, 2011. The complete sentence was: *Gestern auf gerader Strecke die 204 im Digitacho gehabt und dann fuhr mir so ne Mutti im Touran vor die Schnauze* (appr.: 'Yesterday I had 204 on my digital speedometer on a straight route and then this dumb Dora in a Touran cut in right in front of me').

²¹ Personal communication Gabriela Perrig.

mother's father	mother's mother			father's mother	father's father
mother's elder sister	mother's elder brother			father's elder sister	father's elder brother
mother's younger sister	mother's younger brother	mother	father	father's younger sister	father's younger brother
		elder daughter	elder son		
		elder sister	elder brother		
		younger sister	younger brother ²²		
		younger daughter	younger son		

Fig. 2: Kinship relations in general

If we apply the schematics to Serbian and print all terms bold that can be used either in order to address someone or in order to refer to a third person, we get the following picture (fig. 3):

= <i>deda, dedica</i>	= <i>baka; baba, babica</i>			= <i>baka; baba, babica</i>	= <i>deda, dedica</i>
= <i>tetka</i>	<i>ujak</i>	<i>mater, majka; mama</i>	<i>otac; tata</i>	= <i>tetka</i>	<i>stric, čiča → čika</i>
		<i>kćer/kćerka</i>	<i>sin, sinko</i>		<i>strina</i> (‘wife of stric’)
		<i>sestra</i>	<i>brat</i>		

Fig. 3: The use of kinship terms in Serbian

Where there is more than one term given, the first one is always the one that would be used in literary language (like *baka* ‘grandmother’, *mater* ‘mother’, *otac* ‘father’), whereas the following ones are mostly more familiar terms (like *baba* ‘granny’, *tata* ‘daddy’) or even diminutives (like *rinko* ‘son-DIM’). As we can see, apart from some more formal terms, which are substituted by more familiar ones, it is only *ujak* (‘mother’s brother’) that cannot be used in order to refer to non-kin.

In German (fig. 4), there are considerably fewer kinship terms that can be used in order to refer to non-kin:

²² The gray background is used in order to mark the fact that these terms are on a different hierarchy level than the rest of the schematics: sons and daughters are brothers and sisters in reference to each other.

= Großvater, Opa	= Großmutter, Oma			= Großvater, Opa	= Großmutter, Oma
= Tante	= Onkel	Mutter, Mama, Mami, Mutti , Muttchen	Vater, Papa, Papi	= Tante	= Onkel
		Tochter	Sohn		
		Schwester	Bruder		

Fig. 4: The use of kinship terms in German

Again, where there is more than one term given, the first one is the most neutral one, whereas the following ones belong to a more familiar register or are terms of endearment (*Mutti*, *Mami*).

In comparison, the Mandarin Chinese schematics, greatly simplified and by no means complete, would look like this (fig. 5):

mother's...				father's...	
father 外祖父 wàizǔfù; 姥爷 lǎoye	mother 外祖母 wàizǔmǔ; 姥姥 lǎolǎo			mother 祖母 zǔmu; 奶奶 nǎinai; 婆婆 pópo	father 祖父 zǔfù; 爷爷 yéye
brother 舅父 jiùfù; 娘舅 niángjiù; 舅舅 jiùjiu	eldest sister 大姨 dàiyí ²³	mother 母亲 mǔqīn; 妈妈 māma	father 父亲 fùqīn; 爸爸 bàba	sister 姑姑 gūgu 姑妈 gūmā 姑母 gūmǔ ²⁴	elder brother 伯伯 bóbo; 大伯 dàbó; 伯父 bófù; 大爷 dàye
	sister (elder or younger) 姨母 yímǔ 阿姨 āyí	daughter 女儿 nǚ'ér [丫头 yātou]	son 儿子 érzi		younger brother 叔叔 shūshu; 大叔 dàshū; 叔父 shūfu
		elder sister 姐姐 jiě(jie); 大姐 dàjiě	elder brother 哥哥 gē(ge); 大哥 dàgē		
		younger sister 妹妹 mèi(meī); 小妹 xiǎomèi	younger brother 弟弟 dìdì; 老弟 lǎodì		

Fig. 5: The use of kinship terms in Chinese

²³ Further 'aunts' on one's mother's side are: 舅母 jiùmǔ, 妯母 zhōumǔ or 舅妈 jiùmā mother's brother's wife; 妯子 zhōuzi wife of one's mother's brother or wife of one's wife's brother; 婶娘 shěnniáng or 姨妈 yímā (married) sister of mother. As for 'uncles', 姨夫/父 yífū denotes the husband of one's maternal aunt.

²⁴ Further 'aunts' on one's father's side are: 伯母 bómǔ, 大娘 dàniáng, or 大妈 dàma 'father's elder brother's wife'; the latter two can be used as terms of address; 婶 [婶] shěn (shěn), 婶子 hěnzǐ or 婶母 shěnmǔ 'father's younger brother's wife'. As for male relatives, 姑夫/父 gūfū or 姑丈 gūzhàng are used to denote the husband of one's father's sister.

In order to get a more extensive picture, let us consider two more languages. Fig. 6 shows Vietnamese, and fig. 7 Uygur.

mother's...				father's...	
father <i>ông ngoại</i>	mother <i>bà ngoại</i>			mother <i>bà nội</i>	father <i>ông nội</i>
sister <i>đì</i>	brother <i>cậu</i>			elder sister <i>bác (gái)</i> ²⁵	elder brother <i>bác (trai)</i> ²⁶
		mother <i>mẹ</i>	father <i>cha</i>	younger sister <i>cô</i>	younger brother <i>chú</i>
		daughter <i>con gái</i> ^b	son <i>con trai</i> ^b		
		elder sister <i>chị (gái)</i> ^a	elder brother <i>anh (trai)</i> ^a		
		younger sister <i>em (gái)</i> ^a	younger brother <i>em (trai)</i> ^a		
		younger daughter <i>con gái thứ</i>	younger son <i>con trai thứ</i>		

Fig. 6: The use of kinship terms in Vietnamese²⁷

mother's...				father's...	
father <i>çong dada, bowa</i>	mother <i>çong apa, moma</i>	=		mother <i>çong apa, moma</i>	father <i>çong dada, bowa</i>
older brother <i>tağa, çong dada/ata</i> (‘big uncle’)	older sister <i>hamma, çong apa/ana</i> (‘big aunt’)			older sister <i>hamma, çong apa/ana</i> (‘big aunt’)	older brother <i>tağa, çong dada/ata</i> (‘big uncle’)
younger brother <i>tağa; kiçik dada/ata</i> (‘little uncle’)	younger sister <i>hamma; kiçik apa/ana</i> (‘little aunt’)	mother <i>apa, ana</i>	father <i>dada, ata</i>	younger sister <i>hamma; kiçik apa/ana</i> (‘little aunt’)	younger brother <i>tağa; kiçik dada/ata</i> (‘little uncle’)
		daughter <i>qız</i>	son <i>oğul</i>		
		elder sister <i>aça; hädä</i>	elder brother <i>aka; ağa</i>		
		younger sister <i>uka; singil</i>	younger brother <i>uka; inī</i>		

Fig. 7: The use of kinship terms in Uygur²⁸

²⁵ *Gái* ‘female’ and *trai* ‘male’ are used when referring to a third person.

²⁶ While the eldest son is: *con trai trưởng*, the eldest daughter is *con gái trưởng*.

²⁷ Data: Personal communication by Truong Thu Nhan.

The data show clearly that the use of kinship terms is a widespread phenomenon, occurring in different kinds of languages and cultures. However, the number of kinship terms that can be used in such a way is by no means the same, and the connotations that come with this kind of language use are surprisingly divergent. In Uyghur, Thai and Vietnamese, kinship terms, whether used in order to address someone or in order to refer to someone, are always respectful and polite – and almost all of them can be applied to refer to someone non-kin. The same is the case in Chinese. Here, some of these terms have developed a specific meaning, like *dà gē* 'eldest brother', which may be used in order to refer to a gangster boss, or *xiǎo jie* (literally: 'little elder sister'), which was originally used to address a younger woman, i. e. in the sense of 'Miss', and now can mean 'prostitute' in some areas. However, these are clear cases of euphemisms, easily explained. The only way to use a Chinese kinship term with negative connotations would be to address someone older than oneself as 'younger brother' or 'younger sister'. But obviously this is not a problem that results from the kinship terms as such, but from their inappropriate use.

However, things begin to look quite different when we take a look at the European languages that have been considered above. While in Serbian the use of kinship terms is neutral to polite in most cases, it can also be belittling to outright rude; and in German, it is mostly rude. In these languages, it is also only the more informal, familiar terms like 'granny' or 'mommy' that can be used to refer to strangers, not the more formal ones like 'mother' or 'grandmother'.

3 Underlying concepts

3.1 Gender and age

If we take a closer look, we find that there is a gender difference correlating with the connotations of kinship terms. This can be illustrated quite well in Serbian:

Terms for male relatives and their connotations:

term of endearment: *brat* 'brother'; *sin* 'son'

respectful: *otac* 'father' (very rare)

respectful OR slightly pejorative: *čika* 'uncle', *čikica* 'uncle' (DIM)

respectful OR pejorative: *deda* 'granddad', *dedica* 'granddad' (DIM)

Terms for female relatives and their connotations:

term of endearment: *sestra* 'sister'

respectful: *majka* 'mother'

neutral to pejorative: *baba* 'granny', *babica* 'granny' (DIM); *tetka* 'aunt'

pejorative: *strina* 'aunt'

special use: *tetkica* 'aunt' (DIM) = 'charwoman'

While terms for male relatives can be used in a respectful way and are slightly pejorative at worst, terms for female relatives are respectful only in the case of 'mother'. Otherwise, they are neutral at best and quite pejorative in other cases. Only 'brothers' and 'sisters' reside on the same level of respect, although it should be noted that males are called *brate* ('brother-VOC') much more often than women are called *sestro* ('sister-VOC' or, more often, *sestro slatka* ('sister-VOC sweet')). This, of course, matches the fact that in order to address a young woman in an endearing way, one has to call her 'son', not 'daughter' – femaleness bears a certain amount of negative connotations from the beginning. With both genders, it seems to be

²⁸ Data: Personal communication by Bahargül Hamut. When used in order to address someone, *qız* and *oğul* must be used with the possessive suffix of the 1. person (*qızım*, *oğlum*); when used in order to refer to the third person, no possessive marking is used. The same holds true for *uka* ('younger brother/sister').

especially condescending or even rude to call a younger person 'uncle/aunt' or 'granddad' or 'granny'. Obviously, age is no longer considered to be something positive in this culture.

The Serbian society, while still showing some traits of the traditional collective society it used to be, is rapidly developing into an individualized society.²⁹ For quite some time, Serbian society has been developing from a collectivistic structure, where extended families lived together in large groups of several generations, towards individualism, manifesting itself in a modern, urban type of individual lifestyle. This is obviously being mirrored by the use of kinship terms: while some of them still hold the older, respectful and/or endearing connotations they would have held in an extended family, others have begun to deteriorate, showing a new perspective on roles and kinship relations.

In the German speaking countries, the development from collectivism to individualism started much earlier and is therefore much more advanced. It is therefore not surprising to find that in German, kinship terms are neutral at best, and this only if used when speaking to a child. In all other contexts, they are distinctively pejorative. Again, there is a difference between the two genders:

Terms for male relatives and their connotations:

Onkel 'uncle': respectful to neutral when speaking to children

Opa 'granddad': pejorative

Terms for female relatives and their connotations:

Mutti, Muttchen 'Mummy': pejorative

Oma 'granny': pejorative

Tante 'aunt': respectful to neutral when speaking to children, otherwise pejorative

It turns out that in German-speaking countries, terms for female relatives are pejorative. Male terms can carry negative connotations, too, but seemingly only when they refer to much older persons (like *Opa* 'granddad'). One might be inclined to infer that it is bad to be either a woman or old (or in the worst case: both). It is also interesting to see that it is the more familiar, intimate expressions that are used. The additional insult apparently results from the fact that someone is not only treated as inferior, but at the same time addressed on a first name basis, so to speak, i. e. without the respectful distance common politeness would require.

In languages like Chinese, Vietnamese or Uygur, things are of course quite different. It seems convincing to assume that in these cultures, the development from collectivism to individualism, although it is most certainly taking place, has started more recently and has therefore not yet left its traces in the use of kinship terms. To sum up this process in a simple way: when societies move from collectivism to individualism, kinship terms move from respectfulness to disrespect.

3.2 Kinship and the "animacy hierarchy"

Obviously, the use of kinship terms in order to refer to non-kin is polite in some, usually more collective societies, and pejorative in other, more individual ones. However, this does not answer the question why kinship terms are used at all. Why would this be so?

One might assume that it is nice and caring to "adopt" someone into one's family, therefore the use of such terms is perceived as polite. This is a convincing assumption as far as it goes. But why, then, should the same terms be used in order to belittle or even insult someone? It has been observed that only some of the kinship terms can be used in this way, and they all refer to either old or female family members (or those who are both at the same time). Still, if

²⁹ Some information on this development can be found in Perović (2000) .

it is considered to be less than desirable to be old and/or female, it should be enough to call someone an *old hag* or its equivalent in the respective languages in order to insult them. Instead, they are "adopted" as grandmas.

The reason behind this seemingly strange linguistic phenomenon probably lies deeper within our basic perception of the world than one might be inclined to think at first. Corbett (2000: 56) was able to show that the extended animacy hierarchy underlying the marking of number in nouns and pronouns in the languages of the world moves from pronouns (1st, 2nd, and 3rd, in this order) to kinship terms, and only after that to 'human' in general. Obviously, in our basic conceptualization that underlies such phenomena, kin are perceived as being closer to us than the rest of humanity. If this is the case when it comes to expressing something as fundamental as number, it is of course not very surprising to find the same to be true in other domains, as well. Seen in this light, an 'old hag' would just be human; but a 'granny' is kin, and therefore comes to mind much more easily. This explains why, in the positive as well as in the negative sense, the expression that ranks higher in the hierarchy is used: if it is better, it is much better; if it is worse, it is much worse.

4 Conclusion

The use of kinship terms in order to address or refer to non-kin is a widespread phenomenon. Interestingly enough, these terms can be very polite (as they are in languages like Chinese) as well as very impolite (e. g. in languages like German). It could be shown that the two factors age and gender influence the connotations of a term. In the cultural concepts of all societies whose languages have been taken into consideration, it is good to be young and male. In some of them, however, it is considerably less desirable to be old and/or female. This slide towards impoliteness can especially be observed in societies that have developed into, or at least moved considerably far towards, individualism.

While it seems quite understandable that it can be considered friendly to 'adopt' someone into one's family, it is somewhat confusing that we would still use kinship terms in a pejorative way. This seemingly strange fact can be explained by the fact that kinship terms play a role in other linguistic features, too, and rank high in the hierarchy of linguistic terms as a whole. In the hierarchy of number marking, they are the first nouns to receive number marking morphemes, and might be the only ones besides the pronouns. It can therefore be assumed that the same ranking phenomena play a role in the use of kinship terms for non-kin, too.

References

- Brown, Penelope/Levinson, Steven C. (1987): *Politeness. Some universals in language usage*. London etc.: Cambridge University Press.
- Corbett, Greville G. (2000): *Number*. Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press
- Dahl, Östen/Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria (2001): "Kinship in grammar". In: Baroh, Irène/Herslund, Michael/Sørensen, Finn (eds.): *Dimensions of Possession*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: 201–225.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude (1969): *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. Rev. ed. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.
- Matica srpska (1967–1976): *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika*. Novi Sad: Matica srpska.
- Perović, Latinka (2000): "The Flight from Modernisation". In: Popov, Nebojša (ed.): *The road to war in Serbia: trauma and catharsis*. Budapest/New York, Central European University Press: 109–122.
- Song Xuan 宋宣 (1997). 现代汉语称谓词初探 [On terms of address in modern Chinese]. 贵州大学学报 1.

- Skok, Petar (1971-1973/1988): *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*. 3 vols. Zagreb : Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti.
- Watts, Richard J. (2003): *Politeness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Yang, Jizhou (2006): *Hanyu Jiaocheng* [Chinese Language Course] Book 2 Part 2. Beijing: Beijing Language and Culture University Press. 4th ed.

Code-switching as appraisal resource in talking about third parties

Nicole Baumgarten (Sønderborg) & Inke Du Bois (Bremen)

Abstract

This article explores the function of code-switching in talking about absent third parties. The basis for the investigation is a corpus of sociolinguistic individual and group interviews with German immigrants in the US and American immigrants in Germany. In these interviews, the interviewees are asked to recount their migration experiences and their lives before and after migration. For each individual speaker, the interviewer and – in the group interviews – the other participants in the group are, on the one hand, potentially 'sympathetic' fellow migrants. On the other hand, however, they are potentially problematic figures, because talking about absent third parties means that these third parties might share characteristics with the interviewer or the others in the group. Talking about third parties can, thus, be face-threatening for both the interviewer and the interviewees. In the analyses presented in this article, we identify how speakers employ English-to-German code-switching when it comes to verbalizing others – specifically members of home and host cultures – in discourse and how they position themselves and their audience in relation to them.

1 Introduction

This article explores the function of code-switching in talking about absent third parties. The basis for the investigation is a corpus of sociolinguistic individual and group interviews with German immigrants in the US and American immigrants in Germany. In these interviews, the interviewees are asked to recount their migration experiences and their lives before and after migration. For each individual speaker, the interviewer and – in the group interviews – the other participants in the group are, on the one hand, potentially 'sympathetic' fellow migrants. On the other hand, however, they are potentially problematic figures, because talking about absent third parties means that these third parties might share characteristics with the interviewer or the others in the group. Talking about third parties can, thus, be face-threatening for both the interviewer and the interviewees.

In the analyses presented in this article, we identify how speakers employ English-to-German code-switching when it comes to verbalizing others – specifically members of home and host cultures – in discourse and how they position themselves and their audience in relation to them. Drawing on the frameworks of positioning analysis (c.f. Lucius-Hoene/Deppermann 2002, 2004) and appraisal analysis (c.f. Martin/White 2005) we show how code-switching helps to instantiate third parties in discourse, how it functions to convey evaluations of and judgments about the third parties, and how it serves interviewees to construct relations of alliance, opposition and distance between themselves, the interviewer and the third parties. In the following sections, we will first present the database for this study (Section 2). The interview situation will be described in considerable detail, because it is the affordances of this specific communicative encounter and its particular interpersonal constellation that give rise to the code-switches in the service of talking about third parties in the first place. Sections 3 and 4

introduce the concept of code-switching followed in this study and the type of talk about third parties that occurs in the interview data. Section 5 summarizes the main aspects of positioning analysis and appraisal analysis. Section 6 presents three exemplary analyses of code-switching as an appraisal resource in the data. Section 7 is the conclusion.

2 Interview data

Because communication is always a fundamentally interactive undertaking, language use, language choice and interactional behaviour – which encompass phenomena such as switching into another language, talking about absent others, or expressing evaluations – do not occur and can not be interpreted outside a particular communicative context. This is true for both 'naturally occurring' discourse and elicited discourse data, such as research interviews. In a recent article on the qualitative research interview as a "real communicative event", DeFina/Perrino (2011) argue that the sociolinguistic research interview has to be placed in and analyzed in the context of its occurrence in order to fully understand the language practices adopted by both the researcher/interviewer and the informant/interviewee. The authors oppose the idea that it is possible or even desirable to try to reduce the Observer's Paradox (Labov 1972) in research interviews and make participants forget about the fact that they are taking part in an interview event in an attempt to make them display 'natural' communicative behaviour – i. e. behaviour that is not triggered by or grounded in the interview context. DeFina/Perrino (2011) favour a view on interviews as interactional events in their own right, which create the environment for particular, context-bound types of language use and interactional behaviour. Accordingly, the analysis of the functions of code-switching in talking about third parties must start from a re-contextualizing description of the data in which the code-switching occurs.

The code-switching data come from two sets of sociolinguistic research interviews that were collected for two studies on the construction of cultural identities in migration contexts (Du Bois 2007, 2010a). One set comprises individual interviews with US-American immigrants in Germany. The second set comprises group interviews with German immigrants in the US.

The individual interviews with US-Americans in Germany were carried out in a one-on-one manner in private homes and public places. There were neither overhearers nor bystanders present. The interviews are a mixture of turn-by-turn and discourse unit interviews. The goal of the interview questions was to elicit longer stretches of self-portraying autobiographical talk from the interviewee, e. g. in the form of narratives, descriptions, accounts and self-reflections. The dominant, or 'matrix', language of the interviews is English. Depending on the length of residence in Germany, the US-American immigrants' proficiency in their second language (L2) German at the time of data collection was from intermediate to very advanced and native-like. The interviewer/researcher is German-American with German as her first language (L1). At the time of data collection she had recently re-migrated from the US to Germany – a fact the interviewees knew about. Thus, interviewer and interviewee share a comparable migration experience, they are both English-German bilinguals and have overlapping cultural background knowledge about Germany (in general and with respect to their common area of residence at the time of data collection) and the US to draw upon in interactional meaning making. The interviewer, however, is also a representative of the German majority culture.

The languages used in the group interviews with German immigrants in the US are English and German. Longer stretches of English and German-language talk – both interspersed with code-switches into the other language – follow one another. The interviews took place in the simulated social setting of informal dinner parties in the researcher's private home. The interview questions targeted reflection about the interviewees' status as German immigrants in the

US and differences between living in the US and in Germany. The interviewer took the role of participant observer, staying in the background as long as the interviewees' talk centred around the questions posed. Both interviewer and interviewees are German, with German as their L1. At the time of data collection all were relative strangers to each other. They shared, however, a comparable length of residence in the US as well as the area of residence, which provided them with comparable regional and local knowledge about the US. In addition, interviewer and interviewees shared the same migration experience and they had access to largely overlapping cultural knowledge about Germany and the US as the basis for conversational inferencing.

The two interview set-ups feature slightly different types of identity constellations between research/interviewer and informant/interviewee. Zimmerman (1998) posits that participants' orientation to their own and their interlocutors' identities or roles is a crucial feature of communicative interaction, because it determines the individuals' language choice and serves as the context in which the interlocutors' interactional behaviour is interpreted. He distinguishes between three types of identities that speakers can assume in interaction and which *can* become relevant or consequential for the moment-by-moment organization of the course of the interaction: discourse, situational and transportable identities.

Discourse identities are discursive roles like 'current speaker', 'questioner', 'answerer', 'story teller', and 'listener'. Speakers assume and 'leave' discourse identities as the interaction progresses through various, sequentially organized discursive activities. Through assuming one particular discourse identity speakers project reciprocal discourse identities for their interlocutors. For example, the 'questioner' projects a hearer identity of 'answerer' for the next turn.

Situational identities are evoked by particular, socially-sanctioned types of situations, such as, e.g., 'the research interview'. In the research interview, the identities of 'researcher/interviewer' and 'informant/interviewee/informant' are sustained by the participants' engagement in discursive activities that display an orientation to and alignment with the situation type 'research interview'. Situational identities are articulated through particular discourse identities which help to shape the interaction as an actualization of the situation type. Hence, in the research interview, the discourse identity of 'questioner' is more firmly associated with the situational role of the researcher/interviewer than the role of the informant/interviewee.

Transportable identities, finally, "travel with individuals across situations" (Zimmerman 1998: 90). They are 'latent' identities in that they are usually easily assignable and claimable by participants in an interaction because they are based on accessible indicators of identity. But in contrast to discourse and situational identities, they are not inherent to an interaction and may or may not become interactionally relevant. For example, the interviewees in the present data may both claim and assign the identity of 'migrant' to themselves and the interviewer, but these categorizations may not become linguistically visible or interactionally relevant. Zimmerman suggests, however, that even the apprehension of a particular transportable identity in the interlocutor may influence the course of the interaction.

In the present data, the situational roles of researcher/interviewer and informant/interviewee interact in specific ways with the transportable identities the participants bring to the interview encounter. In fact, the informants were selected and agreed to take part in the interviews on the basis of being assigned the transportable identity of 'migrant' by the researcher and having claimed it themselves by accepting the invitation to take part. At the same time, in the process of negotiating participation in the interviews, the researcher had to disclose information about herself and the research, which – whether explicitly claimed or not – provided a transportable identity of 'migrant' for the interviewer as well. Even if it is not overtly oriented to by the interviewer in the interview itself, this identity can still be described as subject to

apprehension on the part of the informants/interviewees. Consequently, it can be assumed that the interviewees' identity categorizations for the interviewer and the other participants in the group setting might come to play a role in the course of the interview encounter: The interviewees may recognize that their co-participants can be classified in a particular way. This tacit assignment may remain latent and irrelevant for the interaction until, for some reason, an interviewee orients to this classification and makes it relevant. One way in which the interviewees show an orientation to the transportable identities of their co-participants is code-switching. In these cases the situational and transportable identities interact, because the speaker appeals to extra-situational knowledge assumed to exist in the transportable identity of the interlocutor(s).

3 Code-switching

The analysis of code-switching in the interview data followed Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame Model (Myers-Scotton 1993). The majority of code-switches from the English matrix language into German are insertions, in which L1/L2 German elements are embedded in the English matrix language frame. Code-switching occurs when the interviewees talk about individual experiences with German society and culture or describe general differences between German and US-American society and culture. These accounts involve talk about third parties, which takes the form of reference to specific individuals, generic representatives of the cultures, or supra-individual social entities (institutions) and cultural constructs (nationals, nationalities, value systems). Compare examples (1) to (3) below.

Example (1) Talk about generic representatives

Group interview; L1 German; switch into L1

- M *It's the everyday life here uh the common task that you have to do everyday like going shopping or whatever is just easier, simpler here and Germans manage to turn this into a problem*
- G *(laughs)*
- M *the shopping experience can turn into something traumatically confusing and displeasing and annoying just because people give you*
- G *they are not as friendly*
- M *a feeling that they don't like you and that you're not supposed that you have the wrong hair color or whatever that you don't fit into this part of society and they give this to you this attitude and often when shopping in Germany I have the feeling that sorry for shopping here!?*
- G *(laughs) it's not like **wie sagt man noch der Kunde ist König?***
- M *right!*

Example (2) Talk about specific persons

Individual interview; L1 English; switch into L2

- J *especially coming from South Africa (.) which is I think like the U.S. in that we did a lot of things together (.) my boss there we also had dinner you know privately with his family or we had a an outing in our department and here I asked my boss I said well how many times do we do things together as a company and he said oh once a year we have a **Betriebsausflug** and that was a he was very proud and I was surprised that we DIDN'T have more things um (2.0)*

Example (3) Talk about cultural construct

Individual interview; L1 English; switch into L2

W but I just it was so clear to me that this whole working environment here is just not my style you know it's MUCH more rigid it's MUCH more hierarchical MUCH more male-dominated um these Betriebsrat things Betriebs(data) I mean I've never heard of anything more idiotic in my life you know and the stories Martin comes back with what they need to deal with with their Betriebsrat is just you have to ASK them if you can HIRE this Ausbildungs person? And they have to pr= what insanity is that?

The German-language insertions in these examples seem to be employed because the speakers feel that the equivalent expressions in the matrix language (i. e. English) do not capture the denotational and connotational meaning the German expressions convey and do not fulfil the interactional goals the speakers pursue at that point. These uses of code-switching are interaction-driven and socially motivated. They have to be distinguished from compensatory loan word usage, where lexemes and longer expressions are taken from another language as a consequence of L1 loss or lack of proficiency in the L2 (Du Bois 2010b).

The code-switching in the interviews can be described as the meaningful alternation between two languages which the speakers can assume all participants in the interaction to be proficient in. This type of code alternation has been referred to as "switching as a marked choice" (Myers-Scotton 1988: 62, 2006) or "metaphorical code-switching" (Gumperz 1982: 60–61). In these cases, the switches serve as contextualization cues for the interlocutors (Gumperz 1982: 98). The violation of conventionalized co-occurrence expectations between the content and the linguistic surface (i. e. monolingual talk) signals that another set of contextual presuppositions is involved in utterance production and interpretation (Gumperz 1982; Myers-Scotton 2006). In this way, the juxtaposition of two different linguistic systems generates conversational inferences which target underlying, un verbalized meanings that speakers assume to exist in their interlocutors. In the present case, this assumption rests on the basis of a perceived common ground of shared cultural knowledge between the speakers and the co-participants in the interview encounter. The degree of shared common ground that a speaker can assume is dependent on the speaker's identity categorization for the co-participants. In this sense, code-switching as a means of interactional meaning making in the interviews is enabled by the transportable identities the interviewees apprehend in their interlocutors.

Code-switching has also been described as a marker of evaluation (Ochs/Schieffelin 1989; Bock 2008). Evaluation refers to the expression of the speakers' attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on or feelings about the entities and propositions they are talking about (Hunston/Thompson 1999). The expression of evaluation reflects the speakers' value system and constructs and maintains specific interpersonal relations between the speakers and their interlocutors. In her study on linguistic markers of evaluation in testimonies at the Human Rights Violation hearings of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Bock (2008) has shown that evaluation through code-switching is used by speakers to position absent others, i. e. those represented by or in the code-switch, as fundamentally different from the speakers and to emphasize this difference for their interlocutors. In these cases, code-switching serves as a distancing mechanism and, at the same time, it constructs the 'other' in an almost palpable, authentic manner in the discourse. In sum, code-switching is a means of discursively highlighting the entity or proposition connected with the code-switch and of creating speaker-hearer alignment. It foregrounds the speaker's subjective perspective in discourse, makes explicit the speaker's assumption of common ground with the interlocutors, and invites them to share the speaker's point of view.

4 Talking about absent third parties in interviews

As briefly touched upon in the previous section, talk about third parties occurs as talk about specific individuals, generic representatives of German and US-American culture, supra-individual social entities (institutions) and cultural constructs (nationalities, nations, value systems). Where the talk concerns persons, the interviewees talk about fellow migrants, friends and families, and institutional and generic representatives of the host and home cultures. Frequently, the informants' in-laws are invoked as particularly typical or atypical representatives of the host culture.

In the interview situation, talking about third parties involves potentially face-threatening elements. This risk factor is partly owed to the transportable identity of 'fellow migrant' which the interviewees can apprehend in the co-participants, and partly to the fact that reporting on individual experiences with and personal views on persons, society and culture inevitably involves expressing evaluations. Interview questions such as "what were difficulties you had interacting with German people when you first came here?" or "could you say what it was that you wanted to leave?" target the interviewees' individual experiences with and subjective attitudes towards Germany, the US, Americans, Germans, and their migration experience. In other words, the questions elicit the interviewees' opinions. In responding to these questions, the interviewees cannot be sure whether the interlocutors concur with their opinion about the third party or whether they possibly share characteristics of the third party that is brought up and evaluated.

This risk of face threats is especially high in the individual interviews with American migrants in Germany for two reasons: First, the interviewer carries both the transportable identity of 'fellow migrant' and 'representative of the German host culture', which makes assumptions of common ground regarding a shared value system on the part of the interviewee somewhat less secure. Secondly, due to the epistemological character of research interviews, meaning making in this speech genre is less subject to interactive negotiation. As a consequence, the interviewees' utterances stand out prominently as 'this specific person's personal opinion on a specific matter'. This is in contrast to the group interview setting, in which individual opinions have numerically more chance of finding positive uptake. Individual opinions can also be changed through negotiation with the other participants; and the participants can collaboratively construct a majority opinion, which makes an individual's stance necessarily less visible. In addition, in the present data, all participants in the group interviews share the same transportable identity of 'German immigrant in the US', which provides the participants with a clearer sense of shared common ground.

Talk about third parties occurs with and without code-switching in the interview data. In examples (1), (2), and (3) above the interviewees use code-switches to refer to Germans and German culture for the evaluation of specific conventions related to shopping and work life. The third parties are evaluated in terms of 'goodness' (examples (1) and (3)) and 'expectedness' (example (2)). The code-switches themselves, however, are not overtly evaluative. They only acquire evaluative meaning from their context of occurrence. In each example, they are embedded in a complex process of evaluating the interviewee and the third parties and positioning the interviewee in relation to the third parties. Through this, the interviewees convey their stance towards the third parties. The interviewees engage in this process for the purpose of presenting their self-identity to the interlocutors. In order to explain the role of the code-switching in this context, it is necessary to uncover the mechanics of the patterns of evaluation and positioning around the code-switches in the interviewees' talk. In the following section, we briefly outline the concepts of positioning and appraisal. They provide the framework for our analysis of code-switching in talk about absent third parties in section 6.

5 Positioning and appraisal analysis

5.1 Positioning analysis

The function of talk about absent third parties in interaction has been most thoroughly addressed in research on positioning in discourse, especially in narrative discourse (cf. e. g. Bamberg 1996, 1997, 2000). For the purposes of the analyses in this study we use a simplified version of the model proposed by Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann (2002, 2004).

In one of the earliest formulations, positioning has been described as the "discursive process whereby [speakers, listeners and third parties'] selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines" (Davies/Harré 1990: 48). In communicative interaction, interactional activities have a referential-informative function and, at the same time, serve the speakers' identity construction and the speakers' self-presentation vis-à-vis their interlocutors. Speakers position themselves in relation to their interlocutors through talking, and in doing so they construct themselves and their interlocutors as social beings (Bamberg 1997).

Identity construction and self-presentation are realized by speakers' self- and other-positioning in discourse. Self-positioning refers to discursive practices which convey to the interlocutors that the speaker claims a particular social position, role or identity¹. Other-positioning refers to the construction of a social position, role or identity for entities other than the speaker. These other persons include the interlocutors as well as absent third parties.

It's important to note that the 'speaker' can be either the interviewee in the actual communicative encounter (i. e. the interview situation) or a third party in the events that are reported on.² A statement like "this whole working environment here [...] it's MUCH more rigid it's MUCH more hierarchical MUCH more male-dominated" in example (3) above is talk about third parties that falls into the category of other-positioning, where the speaker is the interviewee in the interview situation. When the talk about third parties involves reports of past events, the interviewee can use reported speech to have the third parties position themselves ("and he said oh once a year we have a Betriebsausflug", example (2)). Finally, interviewees can present themselves as other-positioned by a third party ("and they give this to you this attitude", example (1)). Thus, talk about third parties can occur in three forms in interviewees' discourse:

1. Other-positioning of the third party by the interviewee
2. Self-positioning of the third party in the form of reported self-referential talk by the third party
3. Other-positioning of the interviewee by the third party

Positioning constructs speakers and others in discourse as socially identifiable persons in that it shows how speakers see themselves in relation to others and which attributes, roles and characteristics they claim for themselves and assign to others. Self- and other-positioning are interdependent parts of a speaker's positioning practice. A speaker's self-positioning in discourse implicates the interlocutors'/third parties' other-positioning. That is, in claiming an identity for themselves, speakers allocate particular identities to others because identity work involves alignment and disalignment with others. Conversely, a speaker's other-positioning of

¹ The terms 'identity', 'social position' and 'role' are used interchangeably here.

² In Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann's (2002, 2004) terms the speaker can be either the "narrating I" or an "interactant in the story". The terms "narrating I" and "story" are avoided here because positioning also occurs outside narratives in the interviews. (See Du Bois (2010a) for detailed analyses of story-telling in the interviews.)

interlocutors/third parties and the positioning acts ascribed to third parties implicate a simultaneous claim to a specific social position for the speaker.

Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann (2004) claim that speakers' positioning practices usually concern both the actualization of an identity that existed before the interaction – similar to Zimmerman's "transportable identities" – and the construction of a situated identity, which emerges in and through the interaction. Thus, self- and other-positioning are dependent on speakers' assumptions about their interlocutors' knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, interests and needs in relation to the transportable and situated identities that are instantiated in discourse.

Self- and other-positioning are achieved through individual positioning acts (Figure 1). They can refer to

- the relation between interviewee and interviewer (and other interviewees in the group setting);
- the relation between interviewee and a third party.

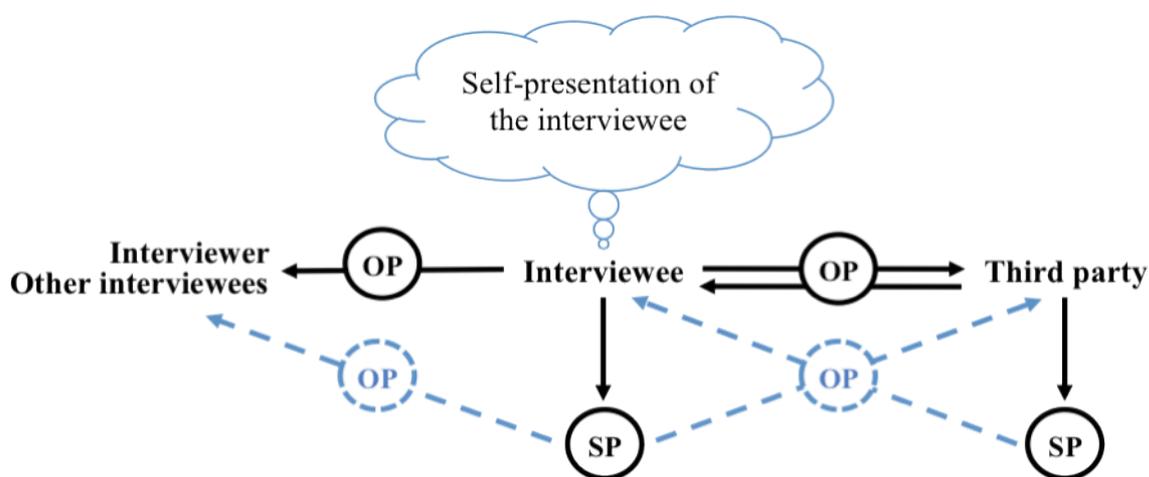


Figure 1: Self- and other-positioning in the interview setting. SP = self-positioning; OP = other-positioning; dotted lines = potential implicated positionings

Positioning acts are claims to identities. They can be direct and explicit, and indirect and implicit, depending on interpretation and inference. In an interaction, each positioning act is either accepted, partly accepted or rejected by the co-participants. Positioning analysis, then, is concerned with the linguistic and extralinguistic devices that realize positioning acts. The framework of appraisal analysis (Martin/White, 2005) allows us to look systematically at the role that evaluation plays in a speaker's positioning practice.

5.2 Appraisal analysis

Appraisal analysis has been developed in the framework of Systemic Functional Grammar to account for evaluation in language. It is concerned with the way language is used to evaluate, to adopt stances, to construct textual personas and to manage interpersonal positioning and relationships. It explores how attitudes, judgements and emotive responses are explicitly presented in texts and how they may be more indirectly implied, presupposed or assumed (White 2005).

The term 'appraisal' acts as cover term for the linguistic means by which speakers (and writers) positively or negatively evaluate persons, events, things, states-of-affairs and propositions in order to "express, negotiate and naturalize particular intersubjective and ultimately ideo-

logical positions" (White 2005: para. 1). The concept is fundamentally interaction-oriented in that it is assumed that all acts of evaluating in discourse aim at constructing relations of alignment and rapport between the speaker/writer and actual or potential addressees (Martin/White 2005).

Appraisal analysis is concerned with aspects of language and language use that are usually described separately from each other, under the headings of affect, emotivity, evidentiality, modality, intensification, and vague language. With its roots in Systemic Functional Grammar, appraisal analysis works along networks of systems of functional categories. The appraisal system is shown in Figure 2 below. For the present purposes, the focus is on the system of 'attitude', which encompasses the expression of affect and emotivity, i. e. the evaluation of something or somebody in a speaker's discourse through the expression of different types of positive and negative feelings (Figure 3).

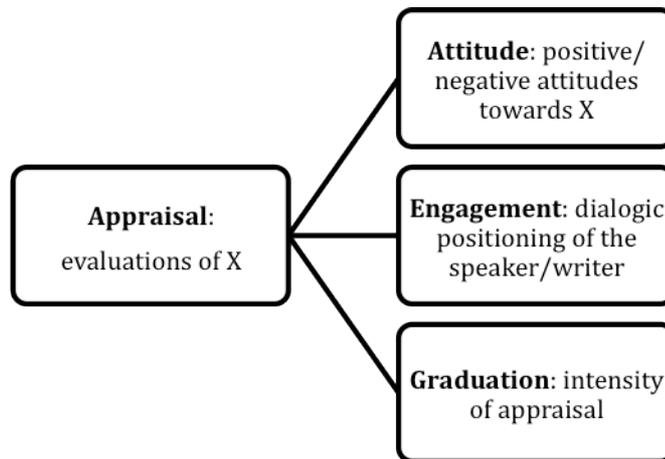


Figure 2: Appraisal system network

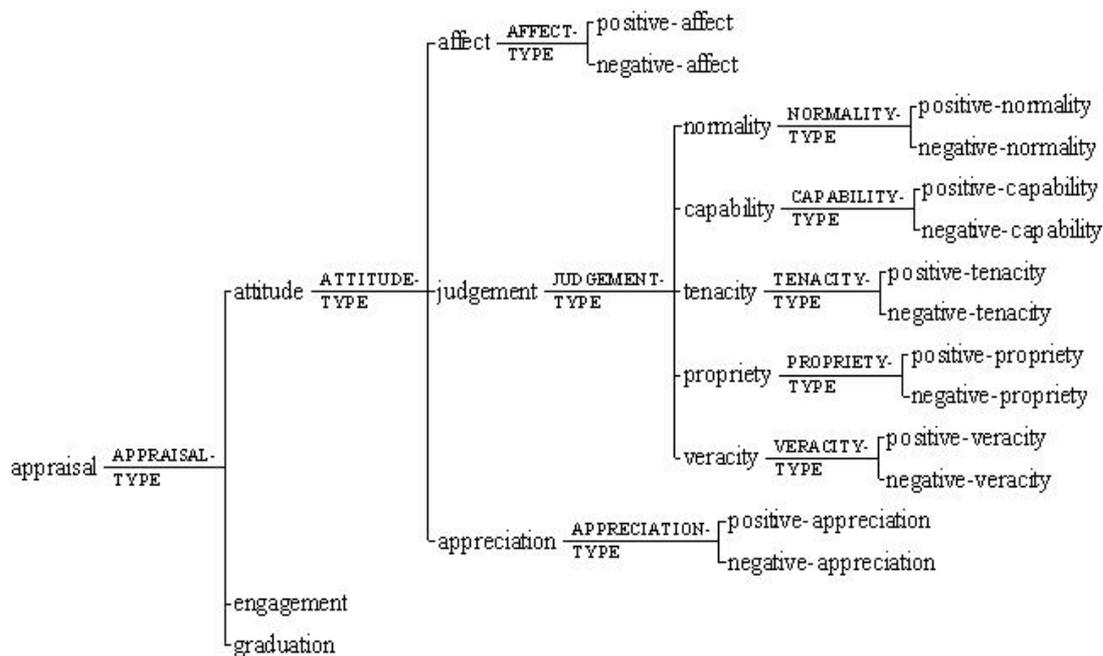


Figure 3: Appraisal system network: Attitude

Within the appraisal model the expression of an attitude can be categorized as an expression of affect, judgement, or appreciation. Affect refers to the speaker's expression of a positive/negative feeling or affective state towards a person, thing, event, or proposition. Judgement refers to the expression of admiration or criticism towards persons and their behaviour with respect to normality, capability, tenacity, propriety, and veracity. Judgements are based on implicit or explicit, socially sanctioned norms of conventional and expectable behaviour. Finally, appreciation refers to positive or negative assessments of things and phenomena according to an aesthetic value system.

Appraisal can be overt and explicit ("inscribed") or, in the absence of attitudinal lexis, covert and implicit ("invoked") (Martin/White 2005: 61–62). Invoked appraisal is subject to interpretation and inferencing. The interpretation of implicit appraisal is dependent on the so-called reading position of the addressee. The reading position is defined by the set of accessible contextual presuppositions, which are tied to the transportable and situational identities of the addressee, i. e. in the present context particularly the identities of interviewer, researcher, compatriot, fellow migrant. In sum, in an appraisal analysis, implicit or explicit evaluative features in individual propositions are categorized according to the type of evaluation they express in their context of occurrence. In the following section, we will combine positioning analysis and appraisal analysis in order to explain the function of code-switching in talk about absent third parties.

6 Three examples

6.1 *Man tut das nicht* ('you don't do that')

Example (4) Individual interview; male; thirty years in Germany; L1 English; switch into L2

Int so what were some other difficulties you had um interacting with German people when you first came here

D *I've always been very open (.) very little just little things like (.) you cannot take things back to the store if it's not any good returning things*

Int *That changed though*

D *I know and I helped change it the first week back the first week over um I was sitting there with my future wife um that I married 3 years later I think um we opened some cheese up and the cheese was all mouldy- it wasn't s'posed to be it wasn't Danish blue or anything and I couldn't believe it and I said I'll take that back and she says "**Ne ist Pech**"ⁱ you know just a problem just bad luck I said "What do you mean bad luck?" and I said I'm gonna take it back to the store I have the receipt and she said "No-one does that here" and I did it and there was no problem (.) so my wife has sort of a post-war always had a sort of post-war mentality of "**Man tut das nicht**"ⁱⁱ You don't do that you can't do that when we had we wanted to go to Finland we had the tent I wanted to put the tent up in her parents' yard which was all rented apartments in Bergedorf and "**Das kannst du nicht machen**"ⁱⁱⁱ you can't put the tent up there because the neighbors would get upset cos it might kill the grass I said "For an HOUR?" so it was my wife telling me things that you shouldn't do because the neighbours wouldn't like it or certain things and I couldn't I couldn't believe that and I did a lot of returning in Germany and I almost made it a sport just because I was told that you couldn't do it (.) but I've I tend to I tend to respect cultures and if something makes sense to me I'll go along with it (.)*

ⁱ 'no it's just bad luck'

ⁱⁱ 'you don't do that'

ⁱⁱⁱ 'you can't do that'

The co-occurrence of appraisal and positioning acts is presented in Table 1 below. Talk about third parties occurs as other-positioning (OP) in column (4) and as self- and other-positioning (OP; SP) in column (5). It contrasts with self-referential talk, i. e. self-positioning, by the speaker (SP in column 4).

		Appraisal	Positioning of the speaker ("narrating I/ narrated I")	Positioning of the third party
1	2	3	4	5
Int1	so what were some other difficulties you had um interacting with German people when you first came here			
D1	<i>I've always been very open (.)</i>	positive judgement of speaker's propriety	SP	
D2	<i>very little just little things like (.) you cannot take things back to the store if it's not any good returning things</i>	negative judgement of normality		OP of stores in Germany
Int2	<i>That changed though</i>			
D3	<i>I know and I helped change it the first week back the first week over um I was sitting there with my future wife um that I married 3 years later</i>	positive appreciation of speaker's actions	SP	

		Appraisal	Positioning of the speaker ("narrating I/ narrated I")	Positioning of the third party
1	2	3	4	5
D4	I think um we opened some cheese up and the cheese was all mouldy- it wasn't s'posed to be it wasn't Danish blue or anything and <i>I couldn't believe it</i>	negative affect	SP	
D5	and I said I'll take that back and she says "Ne ist Pech" you know just a problem just bad luck	negative affect		SP of German wife
D6	I said "What do you mean bad luck?" and I said <i>I'm gonna take it back to the store I have the receipt</i>	positive judgement of capacity	SP	
D7	and <i>she said "No-one does that here"</i>	negative judgement of normality/ propriety		SP of German wife
D8	and <i>I did it</i>	positive appreciation of speaker's action	SP	
D9	and <i>there was no problem</i>	positive judgement of speaker's capability		OP of German wife (implicated)
D10	(.) so my wife has sort of a post-war always had a sort of post-war mentality of "Man tut das nicht"	negative judgement of normality		OP of German wife
D11	<i>You don't do that you can't do that</i>	negative judgement of normality		OP of German wife
D12	when we had we wanted to go to Finland we had the tent I wanted to put the tent up in her parents' yard which was all rented apartments in Bergedorf and "Das kannst du nicht machen"	negative judgement of normality/ propriety	OP by German wife	SP of German wife
D13	<i>you can't put the tent up there</i>	negative judgement of normality/ propriety	OP by German wife	SP of German wife
D14	<i>because the neighbors would get upset cos it might kill the grass</i>	negative judgement of normality/ propriety		OP of German neighbours
D15	<i>I said "For an HOUR?"</i>	negative judgement of normality	SP	
D16	<i>so it was my wife telling me things that you shouldn't do because the neighbours wouldn't like it or certain things</i>			OP of German wife
D17	and <i>I couldn't I couldn't believe that</i>	negative judgement of normality	SP	
D18	and <i>I did a lot of returning in Germany and I almost made it a sport</i>	positive appreciation of speaker's actions	SP	

		Appraisal	Positioning of the speaker ("narrating I/ narrated I")	Positioning of the third party
1	2	3	4	5
D19	<i>just because I was told that you couldn't do it (.)</i>			OP of German wife
D20	but I've <i>I tend to I tend to respect cultures</i>	positive judgement of speaker's propriety	SP	
D21	<i>and if something makes sense to me I'll go along with it (.)</i>	positive judgement of speaker's propriety	SP	

Table 1: Appraisal and positioning acts. SP = self-positioning; OP = other-positioning; italics = inscribed/invoked appraisal; bold = propositions with code-switching

D's account is the response to the interviewer's question about difficulties in interacting with Germans shortly after his arrival in Germany. The account serves to assess specific social practices in Germany and to put the speaker in relation to them. Specifically, he presents himself as carrier of 'normal' and 'proper' values. To this end, he re-counts experiences of conflicts with Germans which were grounded – in his view – in cross-cultural differences between Germany and the US.

The absent third parties talked about are D's German wife, shops in Germany and the neighbours of D's in-laws in Germany. The interaction between appraisal and positioning acts construct a contrast between American and German ideas of what constitutes 'normal' and 'proper' behaviour and how to react to negative life-experiences ("mouldy cheese"): The interviewee's self-positioning is connected with positive evaluations of the 'normality' of his behaviour. The self-positioning of D's German wife is connected with negative evaluations of German practices in terms of their 'normality'. The other-positioning of third parties (wife, neighbours, shops) is connected with negative evaluations of the third parties' 'normality'. The other-positioning of the interviewee by the third parties is connected with negative evaluations of the 'propriety' of his behaviour.

The code-switches into German occur after an objection by the interviewer ("That changed though", Int2) to a generalized negative evaluation of German stores by the interviewee. At that moment, the interviewer posits herself as knowledgeable about current social practices in Germany and willing to challenge the interviewee's view. The interviewer concurs (D3) and then re-traces his argument by providing specific examples of experiences with Germans in the past, positing the code-switches as quasi verbatim evidence for his assessment.

The contrast which the speaker establishes between German and American practices is emphasized and intensified by the code-switches. At the same time, the code-switches are routine-like, formulaic expressions in German, which have a high recognition value for the interviewer. They are typically associated with the expression of general and binding restrictions on social behaviour, grounded in traditional, conservative, middle-class conceptions of normality and propriety. However, these connotations only work properly between interlocutors who are highly proficient in German and have considerable background knowledge about past and present social structure in Germany. The code-switches presuppose this kind of knowledge in the interviewer and position her as someone who is knowledgeable in this respect, i. e. able to decode the intended meanings.

By locating the evaluative accounts of German third parties in the past, the interviewee avoids extending the contrast between himself as a representative of values that are different from

what used to be 'normal' in Germany into the present of the interview encounter. This reduces the contrast between his position and the one of the interviewer and deflects the focus away from potential differences between their transportable identities, which are important moves in the light of the interviewer's initial objection to his evaluation. In sum, through the code-switches the interviewee maximizes the contrast between himself and the third parties and achieves a relatively clear-cut positive-negative categorization of American and German social practices. The culture-specific connotations of the German expressions serve to help the interviewer to arrive at the interpretation of the reported events intended by the interviewee.

6.2 *Ausländers* ('foreigners')

Excerpt (5) Individual interview; female; two years in Germany; L1 English; switch into L2

Int so have you encountered any other difficulties besides um shopping @@
W I hate shopping here

Int any other um

W um (.) that's a tough qu= I mean (.)

Int or any surprises

*W you know everyone says that the Germans are so difficult to get to know and um I would sort of in contrast to the American sort of open the arms and for example neighbourhood in the U.S. it's much more common you know your neighbours you know and you help each other out a lot and you know you move in and all your neighbours come over and bring you welcome gifts and the welcome wagon comes and brings you you know a big basket of things to help you move into the neighbourhood it's this it's a very different neighbourhood kind of thing and here it's not that (.) um we know these are relatives here on this side and they've been tremendously helpful and we know these people here um because they have a daughter that plays with my daughter um but I wouldn't necessarily say that you know we're not good friends and everyone else well they're not well many of them are much older you know still we even had you know our neighbours Martin's uncle threw a party for us in the beginning a little brunch yeah and had a bunch of the neighbours invited but even though we've met them you know it's still sort of like I hardly TALK to them any time and they would never then invite YOU to a party so this concept of having this group of people in the neighbourhood that just because they live near each other they socialize doesn't exist (.) and then (.) it's weird because you do then meet Germans and even with Martin and other relatives or friends that he might have just because they meet someone it doesn't mean that they open up their arms and include me in their social circle you really have to earn that over time over quite a while and once you get a good friend then you're a good friend and you've got parties to go to and things like that but um as an outsider I find that the other outsiders the other **Ausländers** are much more willing to bring you into their circle because they're here for a lot of them are here for a shorter period of TIME and you know they're looking for friends too and you know you immediately get swept up into a group of people who socialize and want to do things and you know um so you're much faster absorbed into that grouping than you are into the German group which just takes longer and you really really have to work at it*

		Appraisal	Positioning of the speaker ("narrating I/ narrated I")	Positioning of the third party
1	2	3	4	5
Int1	so have you encountered any other difficulties besides um shopping @@			
W1	I hate shopping here			
Int2	any other um			
W2	um (.) that's a tough qu= I mean (.)			
Int3	or any surprises			
W3	you know everyone says that		SP	
W4	<i>the Germans are so difficult to get to know</i>	negative affect		OP Germans
W5	and um I would sort of in contrast to <i>the American sort of open the arms</i>	positive judgement of normality		OP Americans
W6	and for example neighbourhood in the U.S. <i>it's much more common</i> you know your neighbours	positive judgement of normality		OP American neighbourhood in the US
W7	you know and <i>you help each other out a lot</i>	positive judgement of normality; capability		OP American neighbourhood in the US
W8	and you know you move in and <i>all your neighbours come over and bring you welcome gifts</i>	positive judgement of normality		OP American neighbourhood in the US
W9	and <i>the welcome wagon comes and brings you you know a big basket of things to help you move into the neighbourhood</i>	positive judgement of normality		OP American neighbourhood in the US
W10	it's this it's a very different neighbourhood kind of thing			OP American neighbourhood in the US
W11	<i>and here it's not that</i> (.)	negative judgement of normality		OP German neighbourhood
W12	um we know these are relatives here on this side and <i>they've been tremendously helpful</i>	positive judgement of capability; positive affect		OP German in-laws
W13	and we know these people here um because they have a daughter that plays with my daughter um but I wouldn't necessarily say that you know <i>we're not good friends</i>	negative judgement of normality	SP	

		Appraisal	Positioning of the speaker ("narrating I/ narrated I")	Positioning of the third party
1	2	3	4	5
W14	and everyone else well they're not well many of them are much older you know still we even had you know our neighbours Martin's uncle threw a party for us in the beginning a little brunch yeah and had a bunch of the neighbours invited <i>but even though we've met them you know it's still sort of like I hardly TALK to them any time</i>	negative judgement of normality	SP	
W15	and <i>they would never then invite YOU to a party</i>	negative judgement of normality		OP German neighbours
W16	so this concept of having this group of people in the neighbourhood that just because they live near each other they socialize doesn't exist (.) and then (.) <i>it's weird</i> because you do then meet Germans and even with Martin and other relatives or friends that he might have <i>just because they meet someone it doesn't mean that they open up their arms and include me in their social circle</i>	negative judgement of normality		OP German husband's friends
W17	<i>you really have to earn that over time over quite a while</i>			OP Germans
W18	and <i>once you get a good friend then you're a good friend and you've got parties to go to and things like that</i>	positive affect	OP by Germans	
W19	but um as an <i>outsider I find that</i>		SP	
W20	<i>the other outsiders the other Ausländer are much more willing to bring you into their circle</i> because they're here for a lot of them are here for a shorter period of TIME and you know they're looking for friends too	positive judgement of normality		OP outsiders, foreigners in Germany
W21	and you know <i>you immediately get swept up into a group of people</i> who socialize and want to do things	positive affect	OP by outsiders, foreigners in Germany	
W22	and you know um so <i>you're much faster absorbed into that grouping</i>	positive judgement of normality	OP by outsiders, foreigners in Germany	

		Appraisal	Positioning of the speaker ("narrating I/ narrated I")	Positioning of the third party
1	2	3	4	5
W23	<i>than you are into the German group which just takes longer and you really really have to work at it</i>	negative judgement of normality	OP by German group	

Table 2: Appraisal and positioning acts. SP = self-positioning; OP = other-positioning; italics = inscribed/invoked appraisal; bold = propositions with code-switching

W's account is the response to the interviewer's question about difficulties she encountered after her arrival in Germany. The account, in which the interviewee reports experiences of social inclusion and exclusion, serves to assess socializing conventions and access to social groups in Germany and to put the speaker in relation to these. The third parties invoked for this purpose are Germans in Germany (in general, neighbours, husband's friends and family), Americans in the US, and foreigners in Germany.

The interaction between appraisal and positioning acts constructs the interviewee as an outsider to German society and member of a group of outsiders which contrast favourably with comparable German groups: The third parties occur predominantly in other-positionings by the interviewee. With the exception of the German in-laws, all Germans are associated with negative evaluations regarding the 'normality' of their behaviour. In contrast, the behaviour of Americans in the US is evaluated positively in terms of its overall 'normality'. Americans are also positively evaluated as 'capable'. The behaviour of foreigners in Germany is likewise associated with a positive evaluation of its 'normality'. The interviewee is also other-positioned by third parties, which is connected to both positive negative evaluations in the case of Germans (W18, W23) and throughout positive evaluations in the case of foreigners in Germany (W21/22). Interestingly, the self-positioning of the interviewee is connected to negative evaluations of the normality of her own behaviour in contact with Germans (W13/14).

The code-switch into German occurs in the context of the interviewer's positive evaluation of the 'normality' of the foreigners' behaviour, which at that point in the account contrasts distinctively with the less 'normal' behaviour she reported for the Germans of her acquaintance. The expression *Ausländer* ('foreigners') carries predominantly negative connotations in German. It conveys meanings of segregation, seclusion of the native majority, and an unwillingness or incapacity to integrate into German society on the part of the people referred to with the term. It can be used to stigmatize foreigners as strangers and aliens in German society. The use of the expression, thus, invokes a particularly pronounced contrast between German natives and foreigners in Germany in general and the Germans and foreigners in the interviewee's account in particular.

The code-switch occurs as a repair to "outsiders". The term 'outsider' refers to a person who does not belong to a particular group and also carries mainly negative connotations, which are, however, not primarily grounded in ethnic or national categories. Through the code-switch the interviewee posits and highlights the national dimension as the reason for being outside and not belonging. It can be assumed that the interviewee knows about the culture-specific connotations of *Ausländer* and uses the code-switch strategically in the positive evaluation of a group of people which behaves differently, and more 'normal', than comparable German groups in her environment. In other words, the interviewee uses a negative term, which can be used to stigmatize foreigners as 'less normal' than natives, in order to denote a group of foreigners to which she ascribes thoroughly positive and, crucially, 'normal' charac-

teristics. The interviewee uses the term *Ausländer* further to construct herself as a member of the group of foreigners in Germany. By positioning herself as part of a typically stigmatized group, she creates a stark contrast between herself and Germans in general. For the L1 listener, i. e. the interviewer, the term and the unconventional context in which it is used heightens the contrast between Germans on the one side and Americans and foreigners in Germany on the other.

6.3 *Mittagessen* ('lunch')

Excerpt (6) Group interview; five to ten years in the US; L1 German; switch into L1

- B *Yeah maybe but I think you're right I mean talking about everybody in Europe in the Middle Ages it was all horrible there were a lot of brutality and everything but I do think you know I don't know I believe that I believe that it gets passed down you know and that it hasn't faded yet or it's just slowly fading and I think that's why we have a lot of bitterness and fear and guilt and that's what's so toxic to find happiness*
- G *but not so much the young generation, it's more our parents and grandparents of course but I think the side is in general a little more stiff more stiff there are not to say that it's not conservative here in some ways it is but in Germany I think if it comes to living the way Germans live together it's still very conservative so uhm they're less casual about it and so here it's just up to you you know uhm people*
- M *America is much more right wing that Germany is*
- G *yes*
- M *in general the bay area of course is different*
- G *Yeah like the Mid West right uhm well I didn't mean to go there but just in general in terms of like you know like in Germany you still find families in they have like **Mittagessen**ⁱ I mean it's still like you don't come to their house you don't disturb there's **Mittagsruhe**ⁱⁱ or after a certain time you do not call you don't find I mean*
- M *You do not call between 8 and 8.15*
- G *Yeah so it's*
- A ***Tagesschau**ⁱⁱⁱ!*
- G *Yeah*
- (All laugh)
- G *or you know you know when you have lunchtime and people sometimes in Germany really they ask the guest to leave it*
- I *Yeah*
- G *it's really true I mean I don't wanna (?) on it but it's really family time and uhm and has changed of course so I don't think you would find that here*
- B *My parents [do that too my mom never would invite people over for lunch for*
- G *[ja yeah yeah*
- B ***Mittagessen** she was really mean go home (?) [it's not*
- G *[(?) They are not trying to be mean, it's just their culture it's just the way they were brought up*

ⁱ 'lunch'

ⁱⁱ period of rest around midday

ⁱⁱⁱ prime time news broadcast

		Appraisal	Positioning of the speaker ("narrating I/ narrated I")	Positioning of the third party
1	2	3	4	5
B1	Yeah maybe but I think you're right I mean talking about everybody in Europe in the Middle Ages it was all horrible there were a lot of brutality and everything but I do think you know I don't know I believe that I believe that it gets passed down you know and that it hasn't faded yet or it's just slowly fading and I think that's why we have a lot of bitterness and fear and guilt and that's what's so toxic to find happiness			
G1	but not so much the young generation, it's more our parents and grandparents of course but I think <i>the side is in general a little more stiff more stiff</i>	negative judgement of normality		OP Germans in Germany
G2	there are <i>not to say that it's not conservative here in some ways it is</i>	negative appreciation		OP US
G3	but in Germany I think if it comes to living the way Germans live together <i>it's still very conservative</i> so uhm	negative judgement of normality		OP Germans in Germany
G4	<i>they're less casual about it</i>	negative judgement of normality		OP Germans in Germany
G5	and so <i>here it's just up to you</i> you know uhm people	positive appreciation		OP US
M1	<i>America is much more right wing than Germany is</i>	negative appreciation		OP US
G6	yes			
M2	in general <i>the bay area of course is different</i>	positive appreciation		OP US Bay Area
G7	<i>Yeah like the Mid West</i> right uhm	negative appreciation		OP US Mid West
G8	well I didn't mean to go there but just in general in terms of like you know like in Germany you <i>still find families in they have like Mittagessen</i>	negative judgement of normality		OP Germans in Germany
G9	I mean <i>it's still like you don't come to their house you don't disturb there's Mittagsruhe or after a certain time you do not call</i> you don't find I mean	negative judgement of normality		OP Germans in Germany

		Appraisal	Positioning of the speaker ("narrating I/ narrated I")	Positioning of the third party
1	2	3	4	5
M3	<i>You do not call between 8 and 8.15</i>	negative judgement of normality		OP Germans in Germany
G10	Yeah so it's			
A1	Tagesschau!			
G11	Yeah (All laugh)			
G12	or you know you know when you have lunchtime and <i>people sometimes in Germany really they ask the guest to leave it</i>	negative judgement of normality		OP Germans in Germany
Int1	Yeah			
G13	It's really true I mean I don't wanna (?) on it but <i>it's really family time and uhm and has changed of course</i>	positive appreciation		OP life in Germany
G14	<i>so I don't think you would find that here</i>	negative judgement of normality		OP Germany
B2	My parents do that too <i>my mom never would invite people over for lunch for</i>	negative judgement of normality		OP German parent's behaviour
G15	ja			
G16	yeah			
G17	yeah			
B3	Mittagessen <i>she was really meant go home (?) it's not</i>	negative judgement of normality		OP German parent's behaviour
G18	(?) <i>They are not trying to be mean,</i>	positive judgement of veracity		OP German parent generation
G19	<i>it's just their culture it's just the way they were brought up</i>	negative judgement of capacity; normality		OP German parent generation

Table 3: Appraisal and positioning acts. SP = self-positioning; OP = other-positioning; italics = inscribed/invoked appraisal; bold = propositions with code-switching

The episode occurs in an extended sequence in which the participants talk in response to the interviewer's question what made them leave Germany. The episode serves to evaluate German society and German cultural practices and present the participants in the interview encounter in literally another time and space. The third parties invoked for this purpose are Germans in Germany, the German parent generation, and the US.

The interviewees' other-positioning of Germans in Germany is connected with predominantly negative evaluations regarding the 'normality' of their behaviour. Normality seems to be assessed on the basis of a consensual American norm assumed to be known by all participants. The other-positioning of the US is primarily associated with positive evaluations. However, some other-positionings of Germans and the US mitigate to a certain degree an otherwise rather black-and-white-like contrastive evaluation of Germans and the US (e. g. "*America is*

much more right-wing" (M1); "they are not trying to be mean" (G18); "it's really family time" (G13) also G2, G7, G19).

The code-switches into German occur in the context of negative evaluations of the 'normality' of German practices. Especially *Mittagessen* ('lunch') serves to orient the interview participants towards a specific characteristic of German culture, which is presented as iconic for the conservatism and stiffness characterizing life in Germany.³ The code-switches *Mittagsruhe* (period of rest around midday) and *Tagesschau* (prime time news broadcast) seem to be used as further evidence for the existence of these cultural characteristics. The expressions are used by three of the interviewees, which suggests that, in their view, at that moment of the interaction, the concepts evoked through the code-switches really characterize Germany and the contrast between Germany and the US. The second use of *Mittagessen* (B3) is a self-repair for "lunch" (B2). This shows that culture-specific connotations of *Mittagessen* are important for the speaker. It is the social event *Mittagessen* and not 'lunch' that is associated with particular types of behaviour that are posited as specifically German.

It is important to stress that, in this case, the culture-specific connotations are essentially group-specific connotations. The functionality of the code-switch is dependent on its power to signal contextual presuppositions, which, in turn, rest upon the assumption that all participants share a particular kind of knowledge about Germany. The connotations of the German expressions crucially drive on a specific perception of Germany by Germans living in the US. In another context, e. g. in a group of Germans in Germany, *Mittagessen* might not have any of these connotations at all.

The switches serve to create group solidarity and group cohesion through a process of collective remembering the home culture. Through the code-switches, the speakers associate the evaluation of German society and typical behaviour with concepts all other participants know and can relate to. The speakers assume that the participants' transportable identities of 'German immigrants in the US' provide a shared common ground of knowledge about both the US and Germany that provides the same denotational and connotational meanings for the code-switched expressions. Early in the episode, participant G, who uses the code-switches *Mittagessen* and *Mittagsruhe* first, tries to describe and characterize differences between life in Germany and in the US in general terms (G1-5). This is met by a challenging objection by participant M (M1). G then re-traces his argument using the code-switches to trigger a process of collective remembering, which results in the collaborative construction of a consensual and unchallenged group opinion about the third party.

7 Conclusion

The analyses highlight the function of code-switching as a marker of evaluation, the role of evaluative code-switches in speakers' practices of self- and other-positioning in discourse, and the affordances of the sociolinguistic research interview as the communicative context which gives rise to the production of code-switches in the first place.

The analyses further show that often equivalent expressions in English are present in the interviewees' accounts, for example as translations and paraphrases and 'repairables' (Jefferson et al. 1977). The English meanings are present but apparently deemed insufficient for the purpose at hand. Through code-switching, the interviewees take advantage of the communicative effects of the switching between languages itself and the culture-specific connotations of the code-switched expressions. Again, these only become exploitable through the particular constellation of situational and transportable identities both manifest and latent in the individuals present in the interview encounters. The interviewee's code-switches are instances of explicit

³ Cf. also Du Bois (2009).

orientation towards these identities and it is *against* these identities that the absent third person gains particular markedness.

Code-switching into German puts contrastive focus on the third parties in the interviewees' accounts of their life experiences. The code-switched expressions are 'specific', i. e., for the interviewees, they appear to have highly distinctive indexical and iconic meaning in the context of comparing the home and the host culture. Some of the expressions are rich in culture-specific connotations outside the interview context (*Man tut das nicht, Ausländers*), while others (*Mittagessen*) seem to carry culture-specific connotations that are typical for the group in which they are used. On their own, the code-switches are not evaluative or unequivocally connected to positive or negative evaluations.⁴ They only gain distinctly positive and negative evaluative meaning through their co-occurrence with evaluations of the third parties they are associated with and the positioning of the interviewee in relation to the third parties. In addition, the code-switches emphasize whichever kind of evaluation is expressed by virtue of their signalling capacity, which indicates that specific contextual presuppositions are relevant in utterance interpretation.

The interviewees exploit the presence of multiple identities, the culture-specific connotations of the code-switched expressions and the signalling value of the code-switch itself for three interrelated purposes: First, characterizing third parties in relation to the culture and value systems associated with the language of the code-switch; secondly, presenting the third party to the L1 German interlocutors for acceptance and concurring and sympathetic evaluation; and thirdly, validating and authenticating their potentially contestable subjective evaluations on the basis of an assumed shared common ground. Accordingly, the language mix can be seen as a "performance feature" (Bamberg 1997) of the interviewees' account, which, in the particular situation in which the account is set – i. e. the research interview – helps to achieve the telling itself and their goal in telling. The code-switches 'lure' the interviewer into the interviewees' account to make evaluations of third parties and the interviewees' themselves more palpable and compelling.

References

- Bamberg, Michael G.W. (1996): "Emotion talk(s). The role of perspective in the construction of emotions". In: Niemeier, Susanne/Dirven, René (eds.): *The Language of Emotions*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins: 209–225.
- Bamberg, Michael G.W. (1997): "Positioning between structure and performance". *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 7 (1–4): 335–342.
- Bamberg, Michael G.W. (ed.) (2000): "Narrative identity". *Narrative Inquiry* (special issue) 10 (1).
- Bock, Zannie (2008): "Language has a heart: Linguistic markers of evaluation in selected TRC testimonies". *Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 3(3): 189–203.
- Davies, Bronwyn/Rom Harré (1990): "Positioning. The discursive construction of selves". *Journal of the Theory of Social Behaviour* 20: 43–63.
- DeFina, Anna/Perrino, Sabina (2011): "Introduction: Interviews vs. 'natural' contexts: A false dilemma". *Language in Society* 40: 1–11.
- Du Bois, Inke (2007): *Germans in the United States: Reinventing Cultural Identities in Discourse*. Saarbrücken: VDM Publishers.
- Du Bois, Inke (2009): "Structural constraints on intramorphological codeswitching and implications on cultural identities of German immigrants". In: Cornillie, Bert/Lambert, Bert/Swiggers, Pierre (eds.): *Linguistic Identities, Language Shift and Language Policy in Europe*. Leuven/Paris/Walpole, Peeters: 27–43.

⁴ With the possible exception of "Ausländers"; see Section 6.2.

- Du Bois, Inke (2010a): *Discursive Constructions of Immigrant Identity. A Sociolinguistic Trend Study on Long-Term American Immigrants*. Frankfurt/New York: Peter Lang.
- Du Bois, Inke (2010b): "Language attrition and code-switching as markers of intercultural identity of American immigrants". In: Anthonissen, Christine/van der Walt, Christa (eds.): *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics (SPIL) PLUS* 39: 1–16.
- Gumperz, John J. (1982): *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jefferson, Gail/Schegloff, Emanuel A./Sacks, Harvey (1977): "The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation". *Language* 53(2): 362–382.
- Labov, William (1972): *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Lucius-Hoene, Gabriele/Deppermann, Arnulf (2002): *Rekonstruktion narrativer Identität*. Opladen: Leske und Budrich.
- Lucius-Hoene, Gabriele/Deppermann, Arnulf (2004): "Narrative Identität und Positionierung". *Gesprächsforschung – Online-Zeitschrift zur verbalen Interaktion* 5: 166–183.
- Martin, James R./White, Peter R. R. (2005): *The Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol (1988): "Code-Switching and types of multilingual communities". In: Lowenberg, Peter H. (ed.): *Language Spread and Language Policy*. Washington DC, Georgetown University Press: 61–82.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol (1993): *Duelling Languages*. Clarendon Press: Oxford.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol (2006): *Multiple Voices: An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.
- Ochs, Elinor and Schieffelin, Bambi B. (1989): "Language has a heart". *Text* 9(1): 7–25.
- Thompson, Geoffrey/Hunston, Susan (1999): "Evaluation: An introduction". In: Hunston, Susan/Thompson, Geoffrey (eds.): *Evaluation in Text. Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 1–17.
- White, Peter R. R. (2005): *An Introductory Tour through Appraisal Theory*. Available at: <http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/AppraisalOutline/Framed/Frame.htm>, accessed January 18, 2011.
- Zimmerman, Don H. (1998): "Identity, context and interaction". In: Antaki, Charles/Widdicombe, Sue (eds.): *Identities in Talk*. London, Sage: 87–106.

Transcription symbols

(.)	micro pause
CAPS	stressed syllables
" "	quotation intonation
?	rising intonation
!	exclamative
(?)	unclear
[onset of overlap
=	cut-off