

海外（欧米）の社会言語学分野での研究動向

I 概観

1 はじめに

ここで扱う概観と参考文献目録は、海外の社会言語学の中でも主としてアメリカで行なわれてきた社会言語学を対象とし、英語で書かれたものに限るが、日本人の仕事で英語で書かれたものも含まれる。

海外（欧米）の社会言語学は 1960 年代半ば、言語学・文化人類学・社会学など諸分野の学際的なアプローチをもって成立した研究分野である。1964 年、インディアナ大学でアメリカ言語学会主催の言語学講座(Linguistic Institute)が開催された際に、言語を広くとらえるアプローチを持つ言語学者たちは、当時胎動期にあった Chomsky による生成文法の興隆のただならぬ事を予見して結集し、そこで今日、「社会言語学という枠組みでとらえることの出来る広範なアプローチを包括する分野」を創造したのが、アメリカにおける社会言語学の発祥である。この集まりに同席したのは、J. Fishman(1968), C. Ferguson (1972), E. Haugen(1966), Labov(1972a), D. Hymes(1962,1974a), A. Grimshaw(1981), J. Gumperz(1971, 1982a), W. Bright(1960)たちであり、彼らはすでに各々の研究対象やアプローチを持つ言語研究の大物学者たちであった。その各々の研究課題やアプローチの違いにもかかわらず結集し、社会言語学という 1 つの旗印を上げねばならなかったのは、「興隆しつつある生成文法が言語学界に与える影響の大きさに対抗せねばならない」という使命感の現われであったとすることができるだろう。この成立過程から明らかのように社会言語学は本質的にさまざまな言語研究が寄り集まった分野であり、その研究課題、目的、アプローチも多様である。

このように、欧米の社会言語学は、欧米の言語研究が 20 世紀の半ば過ぎまで、言語の構造と使用の 2 つの側面のうちの構造面(*langue* あるいは *competence*) にのみ集中して発展してきたことに対する不満から出発し、相補的役割をもって発展してきた。すなわち、言語は人間が生活の中でコミュニケーションを行なう際に使用する道具であると同時に、生活そのものを表わしているものであるということに目を向け、言語の構造ではなく使用面に注目する学問分野である。

その理論的基盤となっているのは、Hymes(1974a)が、Chomsky の *competence* の仮説に対して *communicative competence* (伝達能力) の仮説を提出し、それまでの理論中心の言語研究では十分ではないということを提唱したことによるものである。さらに、これまでの理論の方向づけの見直しと社会的に再構成された新たな枠組みの必要性をも提唱した。すなわち Hymes は、われわれが文法的に正しい文が作れるだけでなく、特定の場面で「何をどのように言うか」、また「言うべきではないか」などの、場面ごとに応じた適切なこと

ばの使用ができることも言語能力に含まれるとしている。このような言語行動を規制しているものを伝達能力ととらえ、その解明こそが社会言語学の課題であるとした。

また Gumperz (1971)は、コミュニケーションというものは、二人以上の人間の共同の努力が要求される社会活動であり、たとえどんなに素晴らしい文が形づくられても、それだけではコミュニケーションとは呼べず、相互作用があって初めて成り立つものであると主張している。さらに、自然の発話はコンテキストを考慮することで、話し手の意識や意図を読み取ることが可能になるとし、このような話し手と聞き手の相互作用を取り入れた談話分析の研究方法を提唱している。分析の結果得られたそれぞれの談話の特徴は、話し手が誰で、聞き手とどのような関係にあり、自分の属するグループのアイデンティティは何であるかという話し手の社会的状況を示しているのである。

Gumperz の主張の背景において、社会言語学は単なる抽象的な研究対象として言語を研究するのではなく、「様々な文化や社会の抱える言語に関わる社会的、人種的問題の解決方を模索する手段」として必然的に生まれてきた。このように、人種や社会階級、教育程度の違いなどにより引き起こされる種々の問題の解決のためには、現実社会で使用されている言語の実態に関する研究が必要とされているのである。

現在、欧米の社会言語学研究で扱われているものは、言語の変種（地理・民族・性別・年代・社会階級）、多言語・二言語使用、言語と思考と文化、言語変種の数量的研究、言語計画・政策、ビジョン・クレオールなど多方面に及ぶが、ここでは「言語とコミュニケーションに関する研究」に最も関係の深い談話研究の分野を取り上げる。

談話研究の起こりは、60年代にさかのぼる。この分野は、80年代までは「談話」という「文」以上の言語単位を扱う言語研究はすべて含むという、広範でやや混沌とした様相を呈していたが、最近になって、理論的基盤・方法論を整理する試みがなされるようになった。その中でも特に Schiffrin(1994) *Approaches to Discourse* は、それまでの談話研究を総括したものととして注目される。

2 言語使用の理論

社会言語学研究に有効であるとされる理論のうち、中でも言語使用に関する、「発話行為理論」、「会話の原則」、「丁寧さ理論」の3つの理論を取り上げて概説する。これらは、いずれも語用論(pragmatics)の理論として多くの談話分析研究に適用されてきたものである。

2.1 発話行為理論(Speech Act)

言語は命題を述べるものであり、言語学ではその命題の論理性や真偽に関する意味を問題としてきた。一方、言語学外の者たちは1960年代から言語使用に関して新しい言語研究のアプローチを提唱し始めた。従来、人間は言語を使って命題を述べる以上のことをして

いるという点に目を向け、その論理的成り立ちを解明しようとしたのが、How to Do Things with Words という講演にもとづく著書で知られる哲学者の Austin(1962)であり、それをさらに発展させたのがその弟子である哲学者の Searle(1969)であった。

彼らの打ち立てた発話行為理論の中核にあるのは、人はことばを使って何かを「する」または、言語は actions を行なうために用いられるという考え方である。次のような英語の一連の動詞を performative verbs と呼び、それを発することで行為(illocutionary act, 発語内行為)を遂行すると考えた。Promise, advise, apologize, name, suggest,

bet 等、相当数の動詞が、この種の動詞の範疇に入り、それらは、その動詞が表わす行為の性格によって分類された。発語内行為を遂行する文(例:I promise to come.)は、真偽の値を持たず、また、行為が成立するためには、前提として適切さの条件(felicity conditions)が整わなければならない。例えば、I name this ship Queen Elizabeth. と言う時、name が発語内行為を遂行するためには、慣習的な船の進水式の式典で、しかるべき人物によって発話されなければならないといった条件が必要になる。

Austin は、発話行為の観察から、行為を3つに分けた。(1)発話行為(locutionary act)、上に述べた(2)発語内行為(illocutionary act)、そして(3)発語媒介行為(perlocutionary act)である。発話行為は、すべての発話が遂行するもので、音声・語・意味を伴う産出物である。発語媒介行為とは、その発話を言ったことで達成される「結果のことを言う。(2)・(3)のちがいは、発話を含む主動詞の意味に起因する場合が多い。例えば、suggest や promise は発語内行為を、convince や inspire は発語媒介行為を遂行すると考えられる。

発話行為理論は、後に発展した談話研究において「人間の発話を発話者の意図を表わす行為(act)」としてとらえる理論的基盤を与えた。また、ポライトネス理論にも大きな影響を与えた。

発話行為理論が談話分析に提供したものは、次のようにとらえておくことができる。談話デ - タにおいて、発話の意味から「行為」という「単位」を切り取ることができるということと、デ - タ上で、「行為」という単位でラベル貼りをしていくことにより、発話行為は、tone units や utterances などとともに、談話分析における分析上の単位として用いることができるということである。

2.2 会話の公理(Maxims of Conversation)

Grice(1975) は、“Logic and Conversation” という論文で、われわれがふだん交わしている日常会話が、必ずしも論理的でなくても会話として成り立つのは何故かということに、明瞭な説明を可能にする理論を打ち立てた。哲学者としての Grice は「言語学者の言語の考察対象範囲である命題の論理性を越える人間の言語使用のル - ル」に目を向けることで、言語使用つまり会話の成り立ちの解明に大きく貢献した。会話の公理として知られ

る Grice の提唱する理論は、後に発展したポライトネス理論、関連性理論の基礎となった

Grice の研究のうち、特に談話研究に欠かせないのは、協調の原理(cooperative principle)である。Grice によれば、会話というものは、単にことばのやりとりだけでなく、行為のやりとりをも含む。会話に参加する人それぞれが、ある特定の会話における共通の目的を理解していれば、その目的達成のための方法はおのずとわかるので、会話は成立する。どの会話においても、そのやりとりを支配する特定のル - ルが存在し、話し手と聞き手がその行動ル - ルに従うとき、会話はスム - スに進められる。そして、会話において最優先されるのは「協調の原理」であるとしている。それは、「会話が行なわれていている場では、参加者はみんなの共通の目的とか、話しの方向とかに合うように会話を進めなさい」というもので、すなわち、会話に臨む人々が守ることを期待されている最も基本的な約束事で、4つの公理からなる。それらは、「量」「質」「関連性」「様式」の各公

理として広く知られている。「量の公理」は、求めに応じてできるかぎりの情報を過不足なく相手に提供するようにというもので、「質の公理」は間違っていたり、確かでないことは言わないようにというものである。「関連性の公理」は、適切であれというもので、「様式の公理」は簡潔で順序よく述べるようにというものである。さらに Grice はこれらの公理は会話だけに適用されるものでなく、すべての協調的行動にも当てはまることを指摘している。

協調の原理は、論理的意味と自然発話の関係に対する関心から生まれた理論である。英語をもとに作られたこの理論は、実際の私たちの会話（欧米・非欧米の言語文化圏とも）を考えた際にうまく当てはまらないことがあり、前述の発話行為理論同様、現実との適合性という点で検討の余地があろう。しかし、会話の参加者の「協調」という考え方は、実際の談話分析をする際にはなくてはならないものである。

2.3 ポライトネス理論(Politeness)

欧米における politeness の研究の高まりは、1970 年代に R.Lakoff(1973) の論文に端を発し、その後、文化人類学、社会学、語用論などの分野でも注目を集めている。この分野における3つの代表的研究である、Lakoff(1973, 1975), Brown and Levinson(1978, 1987),Leech(1983) に共通していることは、politeness を世界のどの言語においても存在する言語使用のル - ルの1つと考え、普遍的原理の追及を目的に理論を提唱したことと、politeness を相手に対するストラテジ - として扱っている点である。

R. Lakoff(1973, 1975) は生成意味論の立場からことばを使う社会のル - ルとして politeness をとらえており、人間の相互作用における摩擦を減らすために発達した言語手段と定義している。その言語手段として3つのル - ルを挙げてはいるが、Brown and Levinson と同様に敬語行動をストラテジ - の問題としてとらえており、各文化、社会により量の違いは存在しても、基本的には普遍的に適用できることを述べている。

P. Brown and S. Levinson は、英語、ツェルタル語、タミル語をもとに、言語の使用面に視点を置き、「人間はその行動の中で politeness のル - ルに応じたストラテジ - を使用していること」を指摘している。また “Universals in Language Usage: Politeness Phenomena”(1978)において言語使用における politeness の普遍理論を提唱し、後の欧米における敬語行動研究の理論構築に対して大きな影響を与えた。Brown and Levinson によれば、人が相手とやりとりする時の行為は「相手の面子を脅かす行為」と考え、それを FTA(face threatening act) と呼んだ。元来、人間には、基本的に相手に認めてもらいたい積極的面子と、相手に邪魔されたくない消極的面子の2つの欲求がある。人は、この2つの面子を守るためにうまく配慮をしながらコミュニケーションを行なう。すなわち、politeness とは、この人間の相互作用の過程における、お互いの face を守るためのストラテジ - であり、面子を守るために使われる言語表現を待遇表現としている。

さらに、G. Leech(1983)は、politeness を語用論の主要な問題の1つとして扱い、丁寧さの原理を挙げている。Leech の理論は、発話内行為を機能的に「競合型」、「懇親型」、「協調型」、「対立型」の4つに分類している。その中の懇親型発話内行為の丁寧さを増したり、競合型発話内行為の無礼さを減らしたりすることは、ポライトネスの重要な部分

であるとし、さらにこの2つの発話行為の丁寧さを調節するために必要な原理として「気配り」、「寛大性」、「是認」、「謙遜」、「合意」、「共感」の6つを挙げている。

これらの普遍的理論の研究の流れを受けて、今日までに、発話行為(speech act)をクロス・カルチュラルに比較する多くの研究が生まれた。それらが扱っているものは、内容別に requests, refusals, apologies, thanks, complaints などに分けられる。中でも、S. Blum-Kulka (1989)は、Cross-cultural Pragmatics:Requests and Apologies の中で、ある特定のストラテジ - ・タイプを設定し、Discourse Completion Test を用いて個々の言語文化における現象の分析を行い、apology と request などの politeness について言及し、politeness の普遍理論を発展させた。すなわち、これは、Brown and Levinson の FTA をさまざまな言語に適用した研究である。

一方、A. Wierzbicka (1991)は、Cross-cultural Pragmatics の中でポーランド語やオーストラリア英語の例を用いて、英語におけるル - ルがそのまま、他の言語に適用できないことを例証した。また、これまでの speech act から見たポライトネスの研究は、cultural specific ではなく、English specific であり、英語中心主義に陥っていることを指摘した。この指摘は、多くの非欧米言語文化における言語研究からの貢献の必要性を示唆する重要な視点であるといえよう。

日本語研究からの貢献として、Matsumoto (1989)は、face の概念は個人主義社会には適用できるが、日本のような集団主義社会では、相手との関係で自分の存在を規定していることから、「face」よりも「関係」が重要であることを指摘している。すなわち、Brown and Levinson の理論が普遍的には適用できないことを示しているのである。

また、Ide(1986,1989a) は、「ペンを借りる」場面で日常接する人物それぞれに、どのような依頼表現を使用するかについて日米で調査を行った。その結果“Universals of Linguistic Politeness”(1986)の中で Brown and Levinson の理論の普遍的な適用性の限界を指摘し、欧米の諸理論に欠落している敬語使用の一側面として、「わきまえ方式」という原理を提唱している。さらに、“Formal forms and discernment: two neglected aspects of universals of linguistic politeness”(1989a) の中で、これまでの待遇表現を「わきまえ方式」と「働きかけ方式」という枠組みでとらえ直し、欧米における英語と日本語における待遇表現の基本概念的な解明を行なった。「わきまえ方式」の待遇表現は集団主義や伝統的慣習の強い他律文化の社会で用いられる傾向が強く、反対に「働きかけ方式」の待遇表現は、個人主義、平等主義の自律文化の社会で用いられる傾向が強いことを指摘している。

このことから Ide (1986)は、Brown and Levinson の理論のように普遍的とうたわれていても、日本語の視点から見ると必ずしもそれがあてはまらないことを明らかにした。その結果、普遍理論確立のために、すべての言語現象を既成の枠組みに無理にあてはめてしまう危険性について指摘し、さらに、多様な言語現象を柔軟に受け入れる研究姿勢の重要性を喚起している。この視点は、ポライトネス研究だけでなく、他の言語研究にとっても注目すべきものである。

3 ことばの民族誌(The Ethnography of Communication)

ことばの民族誌は、文化人類学を基盤としており、D. Hymes(1974a) が60年代から70年代にかけて書いた一連の論文(多くは、Hymes 1974 Foundations in Sociolinguistics: an Ethnographic Approach に収録)が基礎となっている。このアプローチでは、談話分析を通して、伝達能力の解明を行なうことが目的である。日常生活の具体的な各場面で、ことばを使える能力 - - 例えば、会話を遂行させる・店で買物する・就職の面接を行う/面接を受ける・祈る・議論する・からかう・警告する、そして、その文化において、いつ沈黙すべきか知っていることまでを含む能力の解明である。そのために観察すべき項目として、コミュニケーションを構成する要素の分類を挙げている。

それらは、SPEAKING と呼ばれるもので、すなわち、S (setting: 物理的環境、scene: その場の主観的定義)、P (participants: 話し手と聞き手・聴衆)、E (ends: 目的と結果)、A (act sequence: メッセージの形式と内容)、K (key: 調子・様子)、I (instrumentalities: チャンネル・その社会のレパトリ - にある話の型)、N (norms of interaction and interpretation: 話に結びついた礼儀・文化の規範の解釈) G (genre: テキストの種類) である。

4 相互作用の社会言語学(Interactional Sociolinguistics)

言語の分析に人間関係の要素を持ち込む「相互作用の社会言語学」(interactional sociolinguistics) という方法論は、言語人類学者の J.Gumperz(1977, 1982a)に代表され後に、それは社会言語学者の D.Tannen(1984, 1993) によって推し進められた。

この方法論の特徴は、実際の場面における談話データを資料に、言語の運用の方法と人間関係の要素を取り入れた分析を通して、社会や人間関係の姿を解明しようとするものである。この相互作用の社会言語学は、文化人類学、社会学、言語学を基盤にしており、この3領域が注目している文化、社会、言語についてそれぞれ共通して言及している。

異なる文化に属する人々が出会って、1つの言語、たとえば英語を使ってコミュニケーションを行う際、それぞれの文化特有の話し方を行なう。すなわち各々の文化に応じた型のメッセージが作られ、理解されるということから誤解が生じていることに注目している。ここでいう文化の違いとは、日本人とアメリカ人のように異なる言語文化に属することだけでなく、同じ社会に住み、同じ言語を話していても地域、民族、年齢、性別、社会階級などによる違いを意味し、このように異なる社会文化的な背景を持つ集団においては、それぞれ系統的な話し方の違いが存在することを指摘している。この指摘の重要な点は、
・ 「それまでの言語行動の分析に、会話参加者の人間関係の要素を取り入れる」という新たな視点を加えたことであり、この視点はその後の談話研究に大きな影響を与えている。また、Gumperz は “ contextualization cue” と “ strategy” を Tannen は “ frame” と “ conversational style” という概念を打ち出し、その後の研究に貢献している。

Gumperz は、インド、ヨーロッパ、アメリカ各地における10年以上のフィールドワークから得た実際に誤解の起こった場面の会話のデータを基に、その原因を明らかにすることを目的に分析を行なった。その結果、異なる言語文化に属する人々が一緒に会話する際には、お互いに異なる場面のつながりである contextualization cues を使用し、お互い異なる期待を持つことで誤解が生じることを指摘している。contextualization cues とは場面

のつながりとなるものを指し、具体的には、イントネーション、リズム、統語語彙の選択などの paralinguistic feature にそれぞれの話者の属する文化の特徴が表われ、これらが人種的、民族的ステレオタイプを生み、それが権力や地位とからまって人間の不平等にまで発展することを指摘している。

Gumperz は、言語をマクロな社会的意味とミクロな個人間の意味の両方を反映し作り上げる、社会的で文化的なシンボルととらえている。また、個人間のデータ分析をする際にその話者の背景となる人種や民族の問題にまで言及することで、「個人の問題の解決が、ひいては異なる人種や民族の抱える大きな問題の解決への糸口になる」という研究課題は言語研究というものに新しい社会的意義をもたらしたといえる。

Gumperz の方法論を受け継いで D.Tannen(1984) は、個人の話し方の特徴を、下位文化を含む様々な文化の影響を受けたコミュニケーションのスタイルの1つとしてとらえる。「会話スタイル」という概念を実際のデータを分析することから見出した。同じアメリカ

白人でも、ニュー・ヨークのユダヤ系アメリカ人とカリフォルニア育ちのアメリカ人という異なる下位文化に属する者同士の会話では、表現と会話の仕方において異なる、high-involvement style と high-considerateness style という2つの会話スタイルが確認され、誤解が生まれやすいことを指摘している。この会話スタイルというのは、同じ母語を持つ人同士でも、その人が成長する過程で、家族や地域、人種、性別などによる異なるスピ・チ・コミュニティの中で各々が獲得したものである。また、会話スタイルの違いは自分とは異なるグループの人たちに対する誤解に結び付くため、お互いのスタイルの違いを認識することは重要である。

Tannenの研究の特徴はGumperzのデ・タとは異なり、実際に自分が参加している会話のデ・タを使用し、個人の経験に基づき分析を行なっている点である。また、人種や地域の違いから、さらには男女による会話スタイルの違いにも分析の視点を広げている。また、この会話スタイルの研究は、アメリカ人の中の個人の会話スタイルの研究だけにとどまらず、他の文化圏の人同士の会話の比較分析にも適応できることを示唆していることは重要である。

Tannenのもう1つの貢献は、その著作(1986, 1990)がアメリカでベストセラ・となり、男女という下位文化に属する者同士の話し方の違いから生まれる誤解が家庭や職場にあることに対して一般の人々の関心を高め、それを社会問題の解決にまで発展させたことである。

5 エスノメソドロジ - (Conversation Analysis)

“Conversation Analysis”は欧米の社会言語学においては、“Discourse Analysis”とは別の範疇を指す用語である。CAとも言われるこの一派は、社会学においてエスノメソドロジと呼ばれるグループのことで、ここで紹介する他のアプローチと比較すると、最も独自の研究仮説・方法論(用語を含む)・目標等を持つアプローチである。他のアプローチと異質である理由は、やはりこの分野が「社会学」に属する研究を行なっていることにあると思われる。

他の社会学が社会秩序そのものを分析する一方で、エスノメソドロジストの分析の目標

は、人々が社会秩序の常識的判断力を産み出す方法を解明するという点にあるのである。会話は、そうした常識の多くを認識する源であり、我々が思う社会的役割の数々の典型を提供するものだととらえられている(Cicourel 1972)。

もともとA. Schutzの現象学に影響を受け、H.Garfinkel(1967, 1974)がエスノメソドロジとして知られるようになる研究法を始めたが、会話に適用されてからは、H.Sacks, E.Schegloff, G.Jeffersonが多くの仕事をし、CAの会話分析の方法を知らしめてきた。談話分析にあつては、特にSacks, Schegloff and Jefferson(1974), Schegloff(1972a, 1981), Schegloff and Sacks(1973)等の論文で述べられていることが重要である。

上記の3人のみならず、エスノメソドロジストが論文の中で述べることは、時に言語学研究に共通する目的意識とはずれるものがあり、言語学研究者にはわかりにくい部分もあった。しかし、現在の談話分析研究において、CA がもたらした少なくとも2つの分析の道具は極めて有効であり、なくてはならないものになっている。その2つとは、すなわち“turn-taking systems”（発話順番交代システム）と“adjacency pairs”（隣接応答ペア）である。談話研究に用いられる現行の理論のうち、Griceの公理や前述の発話行為理論は現実との適合性が問題になることもあるが、CAによって明らかにされた隣接応答ペアは、実際の談話分析において、自然発話をうまく説明することのできる最も有用な概念の1つであろう。

最近では、エスノメソドロジストの研究方法が、談話データをもとに言語分析を試みているサンタ・バ・バラ学派の言語学や文化人類学の立場からの談話研究と融合し、会話現象をノンバ・バルのデータをも含めて、ダイナミックに総合的に分析することが行なわれている。

6 変異分析(Variation Analysis)

変異分析の根本的仮説は、言語の変異（異質性）は単に言語学的であるのではなく、社会的原因をともなっていて起こるものであり、それは speech community の系統だった調査によって見つけることができる、というものである。W. Labov(1972e) の、ニュ・ヨ・ク市民の /r/の発音が、単に音韻論的変異であるのみならず、社会階層差によって生じる変異だとした研究を思い出せば、上の仮説はすぐに理解できよう。

変異分析の談話研究にもたらしたものは以下の2点に集約される。Labov(1972b)による英語の narrative（説話：会話中の物語・エピソードのようなもの）の構造の研究と、談話の中に variants を見るというアプローチである。

まず、Labov(1972b)の narrative の研究は、談話を構成する単位への興味から、narrative が、異なる性格の情報を含む5つの部分から構成されていることを説明したものである。Narrative はすなわち、意味・統語的特徴が異なる次の部分から成る。（1）abstract（始めに筋書きを述べる部分）、（2）orientation（時・場所といった背景を述べる部分）、（3）complicating action（主なるスト・リ・）、（4）evaluation・（説話のどこにでも現れるもので、話者のスト・リ・に対する感想）、（5）coda（談話が過去の経験から現在に戻る部分）である。

第二に、談話の中に variants（変異形；言語的・社会的要因から生ずるとしたもの）を

見るというアプローチである。例えば、“working”と“workin’”という2つの発音が見られる時、音韻論的であると同時に、社会階級差・場面のていねい度にも起因する変異だと考える。また、英語の connective の “but”をディスコ・スマ・カ・として見たとき、意味的対立・機能的対立・対立する actions という、3種の意味を持ちうる変異形として捉え

られる。この場合も、単に意味論的変異ではなく、場面、人のやりとりといった社会的要因にもよって起こる変異である。つまり、談話というデータを見て行くとき、多くの研究で form-function mapping を行なっている訳だが、この時 form を変異形としてとらえる、という考え方である。

上記の2つの分析例に見るように、変異分析では、単に音韻論/形態論/統語論的異なりと呼べるような、種類の性格の異なりを見るのではなく、そうした言語学的要因に加え、社会的要因があり、しかもそのうち複数の要因がことばの変異を生むと考える。この点が、伝統的な言語学の枠組みとは違うと言える。

7 その他

談話研究の分野での新しいアプローチの一つとして、通時的分析(Diachronic Analysis) を挙げる。

これまで語用論と言えば共時的分析を指していたが、Jucker (1995)は、同一言語の歴史の変遷という通時的視点を持って、語用論の諸問題に取り組んだ論文集 Historical Pragmatics (『歴史的語用論』)を公表した。共時的分析だった語用論を、別の次元でとらえているこの論文集は、1つの新しい研究分野を提唱している。

通時的な語用論研究の中でも、最近特に大きな関心を集めているテーマとして grammaticalization (文法化) が挙げられる。文法化は、そのプロセス(変化)が起こる前と後では、語の形態統語論的立場(morpho-syntactic status) が変わるという、語の機能の歴史的变化である(Traugott and König 1991)。すなわち、変化の前後では、ある表現(語)の文法機能が多かれ少なかれ変わる。日本語の研究では、節末の接続表現(動詞+接続の要素)が、文頭の接続詞となる現象などが例として見つかっている(例えば、「動詞+から」「だから」)。また、文法化には、この通時的变化に付随して、もう1つの通時的变化、pragmaticization (語用論化)がよく起こる。これは、Pragmatic な機能が強化するという変化であり、具体的には、語が pragmatic/discourse 機能を獲得するようになることである。(Ohori 1994, Onodera 1995 等)

文法化という形態変化は pragmaticization という語用論的現象を伴って起きるものであり、本来、談話研究の分野でこそ解明できる点が多い。つまり、語の pragmatic/discourse 機能、すなわち、会話運営における話者の態度・判断・相互作用上の actions や、また話し手の意図・聞き手の解釈といったものは、made-up sentences (研究者が intuition で考えた文)をいくら観察しても読み取れるものではなく、自然発生した談話すなわち、実際に話し手と聞き手の絶え間ない相互作用によって織り成された談話の観察から、読み取ることも論じることもできるものである。従って、文法化の研究、歴史的变化の研究も談話研究の中で、つまり、大きな枠組みとしては社会言語学の守備範囲ということができよう。

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