

Theory of Language

The representational
function of language

Karl Bühler

John Benjamins Publishing Company

Theory of Language

The representational function of language

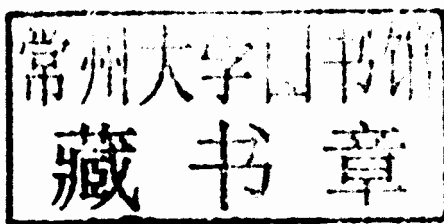
Karl Bühler

Translated by

Donald Fraser Goodwin

In collaboration with

Achim Eschbach



John Benjamins Publishing Company

Amsterdam / Philadelphia



The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

Autorisierte Übersetzung nach der deutschen Originalausgabe: Karl Bühler, *Sprachtheorie*

© Gustav Fischer Verlag, Jena/Stuttgart 1934/1982

The translation of this book into English was supported by Inter Nationes, Bonn, Germany.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Bühler, Karl, 1879-1963.

[Sprachtheorie. English]

Theory of language : the representational function of language / Karl Bühler ; translated
by Donald Fraser Goodwin, in collaboration with Achim Eschbach.

p. cm.

Translation of: Sprachtheorie.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Language and languages. I. Goodwin, Donald Fraser. II. Eschbach, Achim. III. Title.

P105.B8513 2011

400--dc22

2011008153

ISBN 978 90 272 1182 8 (PB; alk. paper)

ISBN 978 90 272 8686 4 (EB)

© 2011 – John Benjamins B.V.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, or any other means, without written permission from the publisher.

John Benjamins Publishing Co. · P.O. Box 36224 · 1020 ME Amsterdam · The Netherlands

John Benjamins North America · P.O. Box 27519 · Philadelphia PA 19118-0519 · USA

Theory of Language

Preface

Traces of Bühler's Semiotic Legacy in Modern Linguistics

Werner Abraham

This preface¹ is meant to provide a survey of what we would like to call 'Bühler's legacy' for modern linguistics.² The main linguistic achievement of his work, packed in a nutshell, is a twofold one. First, Bühler distinguished between the symbolic field and the deictic field. While in the first, symbolic, field of linguistic description the speaker is hidden, he enters the analytic picture – the *origo* – himself both as the actor in the linguistic performance and as an observer of the speech act as well as of himself as speaker. Every language makes essential use of both cognitive fields, the symbolic as well as the deictic one. This has to do with two facts: one that language makes use not only of classificatory lexemes (nouns), but also of the recurrence strategy to such antecedents ('pronouns' and reflexives, in terms of the field

1. This article was written under support by the German-British DFG-project "Un-Cartesian Linguistics". Project submitters E. Leiss/Munich and W. Hinzen/Durham, LE718/9–1.

2. On writing the present piece I could fall back on Tanaka 2010, a German dissertation written by a Japanese linguist. As will become evident, Tanaka draws many parallels between Japanese grammatical theorists and Karl Bühler's work of 1934. The core of Tanaka's work is to show that Bühler and, on an equivocal line, the Japanese grammarians Tokieka and Nakamura devised semiotic theories of a speaker-addressee-observer scenario that allows the analytic linguist to come to better grips with Japanese grammar than by applying Western grammatical analytic systems, essentially oriented on Indo-European linguistics. The goal of the present article is, on the one hand, to show that Bühler's fundamental ideas have been taken up by a Japanese linguist – i.e., Tanaka 2010 – to show how much more appropriate Bühler's semiotic approach is for the grammar of Japanese. On the other hand, I strove at spelling out in some detail how similar, but totally independent, ideas have been developed in modern Eastern and Western linguistics, and to compare the two lines of linguistic thinking.

of symbols); and another where deixis (direct pointing at objects) is intrinsic in the communicative act. Bühler's other achievement is one derived from the *origo* view to the extent that it opens a typological view on languages that are a lot more deeply *origo*-entrenched than most of the Indo-European languages. This typological view enables us to develop new analytic tools to describe languages outside of the field of symbols – mainly East Asian languages such as Japanese and Thai, to name but a few.

Bühler was not a linguist, but a psychologist, philosopher, and a logician. The view on the change of actants and objects between the two fields of description and analysis has captured the attention of linguists who were not aware of Bühler's comprehensive work. It is in such working environments that new concepts were developed. Jakobson thought of the change between Bühler's two fields in terms of shifters – speaker, addressee, and observer shift in and out of the deictic field as actants of the speech act. And, lastly, the term indexical (etymologically related to deixis and deictic) as used by logicians (Bar-Hillēl 1964, Kaplan 1989) conceptually accesses the deictic field without touching upon Bühler's theory as such (mainly for reasons of agnosticism of work transcending the field of linguistics).

In what follows we trace those linguistic facts that would seem to lead automatically to Bühler's theory of the *Origo*. We trace, as well as we can, other theories with integrations of speaker and hearer and their degree of similarity to Bühler's *origo*. Finally, we show how different theories are answers to questions asked by the native languages that mark the competence of the theorists. In a way, then, the theories of deixis will mirror the distinct languages that they are developed out of. And we discuss to what extent this covers the Whorf-Sapir relativism or whether it mirrors central properties of Universal Grammar.

First, what are the linguistic facts that we want to account for?

1. What is at stake?

Let us first distinguish two kinds of deixis (pointing at). See (1a-b) (from Tanaka 2010). We distinguish deictic signaling, or factual deixis, and anaphoric signaling. Deictic signaling does not necessarily involve pointing at a single grammatical or lexical element in the sentence. It involves also pointing at an entity in discourse or a text whose status is not constrained grammatically. It may be a word, a phrase, a sentence or a text segment (Die-wald 1991). See (1a) below. Note that the current terminology is somewhat confusing: ⟨anaphor⟩ in Generative Grammar is always a reflexive pronoun, whereas ⟨anaphor⟩ in the philological tradition is not a reflexive, but is nevertheless co-referential across sentence boundaries – limited to how many

such boundaries will exactly be the issue of our discussion. [Coordination or asyndesis holding between two independent sentences, S and S, as opposed to S2 syntactically subordinated to S1].

- (1) a. Deixis (factual deixis / pointing at):

[_S X Y Z] [_S ... DEIXIS]



- b. Anaphoricity (syntactic deixis / structural relation)

[[_{S1} ... X_{SUBJECT} ... Y_{OBJECT1} ... Z_{OBJECT2} [_{S2} ... ANAPHOR / REFLEXIVE]]



(1a-b) show to what extent factual deixis and anaphoricity differ in terms of pointing – i.e., pointing in terms of referential sameness, or coreference. Deictic signaling involves a process of referring irrespective of the functional category of the object referred to. Consider factual pointing: When referring at an object or event, the nature of the object or event referred to (its properties, its class belonging) are beyond the interest of the speaker or observer (Coseriu 1981, Ehlich 1982, 1983). What counts is the fact that it is present in the discourse or text under consideration. For deictic signaling the syntactic-categorical status of the lexical, or phrase, under concern (e.g., grammatical or semantic role or case) is not relevant. Yet, such deictics (or indexicals, in the widest sense) involve information about morphological categories such as gender or number. The like holds also for the deictic prototype, the demonstrative pronoun/DemPro, *that/this* which appears gender-neutralized: It may refer both to an object (individually gendered) or an event (gender-neutralized): *Will he be here tomorrow? --- That I do not know.* See (2a-d) below for German.

This is different for an anaphoric relation: The syntactic status is of determining value. Although the subject status of the clause under inspection is a crucial factor in the majority of the cases, in principle clause internal binding is typologically varied. See (3a-b). The fact that the reflexive (3a) is taken to be one single clause in that the embedded infinitive has no overt subject and the matrix verb, *censēt*, governs the infinitival subject as its direct object in the accusative. Latin *is* “he” usually is not overt, since Latin is a clear pro-drop language where subject pronouns always remain empty. [GER = gerundive; ACI = accusative with infinitive; ECM = exceptional case marking]

- | | | | | |
|--------|---|-----|--------|--------|
| (2) a. | Nicht alle, nur <u>DER</u> / <u>*der</u> ist ein Gauner | ... | ArtPro | German |
| | not all, only the (= this one) is a rogue | | | |
| b. | <u>Dieser</u> / <u>DIESER</u> hat das auf dem Gewissen | ... | DemPro | German |
| | this/THIS (one) has it on his conscience | | | |

- c.

Er/ER hat das auf dem Gewissen
he/HE has this on his conscience

...

PersPro

German
- d.

Der Gauner is ER
The rogue is HIM

...

(definite) Art(icle)

German
- (3) a.

Ceterum (is_i) censē-t_i se_i esse proteg-end-um
furthermore he believes.1SGhe.REFL be protected-GER-ACC.SG.M ... ECM/ACI
“Furthermore, I believe myself to have to be protected”

Latin
- b.

I_i believe myself_i to deserve protection

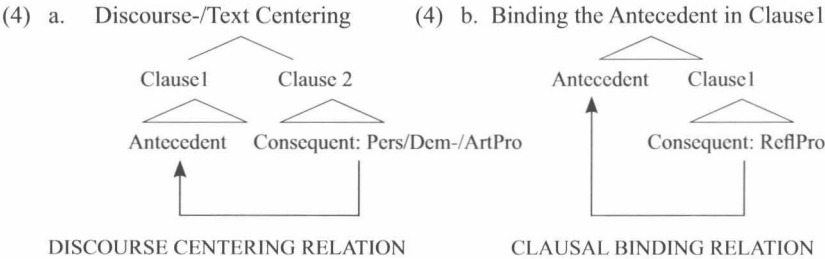
...

ECM

	Thema status	Rhema status	SpecDP status	Status under contrastive Focus
DefArt	+	-	-	(D ^o >) SpecDP
Def(Art+)NP	+	-	+	SpecDP – raises to FocP*
PersPro	+	-	-	SpecDP – raises to FocP*
ArtPro	- (+?)	+	+	SpecDP – raises to FocP*
DemPro	-	+	+	SpecDP – raises to FocP*

Figure 1. Projection status of coreferring articles and pronominals reaching beyond the single clause (“FocP*” in Rizzi’s sense of CP-expansion; Rizzi 2004).

In the current literature one distinguishes two different coreferring relations: Binding vs. Centering.



Abraham (2003) has shown that in German (and Dutch), but not in English (and the Romance languages), the PersPro functions as a Thema continuer, whereas the DemPro corefers to the Rhema representative in the previous sentence and triggers a shift of the thematic chain. This directly relates to the shift between „narrative background and foreground“ evoked by DemPro (Abraham 2003: 478). See (3).

- (5) *Fritzi_i fürchtete ihre_i behinderte Turnlehrerin_j. DER_i / IHR_j half aber niemand.*
 Fritzi.NOM was afraid of her handicapped gym master. The.DAT/her.DAT helped no one
 “She_i was helped by no one”

Notice the subscript indices. In contrast to German, in the English translation, *She_i*, the PersPro does not disambiguate the co-reference relation with the two DPs in the antecedent sentence. English has no Art/DemPro such as *der / die / das* “the.M.F.N”; neither does French or any other among the Romance languages (Abraham 2003).

Illustration (5) above demonstrates the clear division of work between deictic/indexical and anaphoric linguistic means. The demonstrative, ArtPro *der* “the.M”, corefers text-deictically to the nearest antecedent candidate, *Turnlehrerin* “gym teacher.F.SG”. The personal pronoun *ihre* “her.F.sg” refers to the subject on the basis of syntactic deixis. Let us assume that the topical subject *Fritzi* is at the center of the discourse. Then, this discourse center remains the center if an anaphor takes up its reference in the subsequent sentence (PersPro = topic/thema continuer). This is different with DemPro, which works as a shifter of the center placing a new element in the center function (ArtPro as well as DemPro = topic/thema shifter). We conclude that the two different processes of establishing co-reference are important means of textual organization – means that are not universally shared (Abraham 2003 discussing German, Dutch, and English, and, partially also Russian, Turkish, and Japanese).

Before discussing and illustrating special cases of Deixis and Anaphoricity let us summarize what we have found so far.

Procedure	Function	Illustration	Fields of reference	
Real deixis	Introducing an object into the text by directly point-referring at it	<i>I-ego, you-tu, here-hic, now-nunc ...</i>	Orientation in the speech situation	
Deixis on the phantasma			Orientation in imagination	
Text deixis		<i>this, that, the, whose ...</i>	Orientation within an actual text	Coreferring to a text entity
Anaphoricity (Reflexivization)	Continuing reference of an object already text-introduced by structurally referring at it	<i>he, she, it, him-/her-/itself</i>	Relating to an element dependent on its syntactic salience	

Figure 2. The distinctions between Deixis and Anaphoricity (Reflexivization) in a nut shell

2. Deixis differential: weak and strong

2.1. *The function of deixis*

The function of deixis as described above has a twofold division. Diewald (1991) makes reference to two sorts of deictic processes: reflexive relation and demonstrative relation (Diewald 1991: 50ff.). The demonstrative relation is the proper result of the deictic process in that reference is established indexically. Those expressive elements establishing the demonstrative relation are called “strong deictics”. The strong deictics comprise the prototypical deictics such as *I-ego*, *you-tu*, *here-hic* and *now-nunc* pointing at an object or a place and the time, all between, and at which, the speech act takes place. When referring to an object deictically this occurs always in terms of the *Origo* (Latin „origin, source“ – what is meant is the actual speech situation) which is at the bottom of all deictic processes and which is the point of departure for all deixis. Those means serving only to refer to the *Origo* are called “weak deictics” (Diewald 1991). Weak deictics serve the purpose of establishing a relation between the *Origo* and the sign under consideration. Among others, the reflexive relation of weak deictics is established by grammaticalized elements such as article lexemes in the nominal domain and conjugation and inflection in the verbal domain. Thus, the effects of weak deixis bear not only on the strong deictic expressions, but, quite generally, on all processes of referentiality: non-finite nominal and verbal forms, void of reference in the European languages, are transferred into referring functions by weak deictic categories (definiteness / finiteness; see Diewald 1991: 55ff.). Figure 3 sketches the deictic processes and their functions.

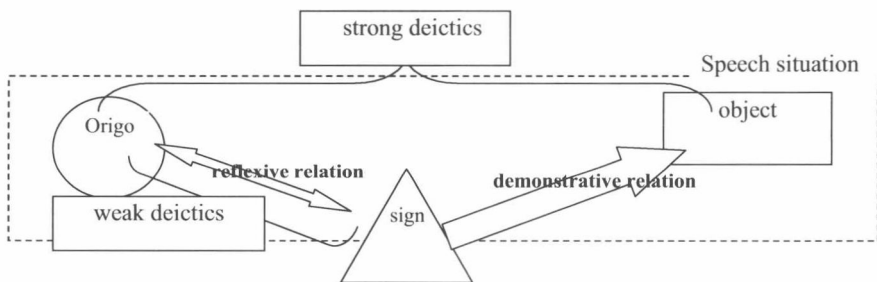


Figure 3. Strong vs. weak deictics (indexicals)

The following distributional criteria appropriately distinguish strong and weak deictics (indexicals): Weak deictics cannot be *wh*-questioned, whereas the strong deictics can. See (a)-(d) below.

- (6) a. *When will you come?* --- *I will come tomorrow.* ... strongly deictic
 b. *When will you come?* --- ?? *I will come.* ... weakly deictic
 c. *Which do you like?* --- *I like this T-shirt.* ... strongly deictic
 d. *Which do you like?* --- ?? *I like the T-shirt.* ... weakly deictic

Class of deixis	Realized typed	Function	Behavioral criteria
strong deixis	prototypical deictics (<i>I, you, here, now</i>)	demonstrative and reflexive relation	question test, can carry accent
weak deixis	means of anchoring in the context (article, verbal agreement)	reflexive relation	no question test, cannot carry accent

Figure 4. Overview of strong vs. weak deictics (indexicals)

2.2. Topic in adult competence and in early acquisition

There is an interesting parallel between the opposition anaphoric vs. deictic signaling, on the one hand, and early vs. adult conception of thematicity (topic-about), on the other. As shown by Hauser-Grüdl 2010 (leaning back on Baker/Greenfield 1988 and Bates/MacWhinney 1979), the preference in early L1 to omit first-person subjects is driven by kids' interpretation of these entities as topics. Kids take as topics/themata those entities that are in the foreground of attention in current discourse. The 'self' is the materially most salient part of this actual environment. Other than for adults, however, these topical entities are part of their direct and actual environment. Adults take an 'anaphoric' stance for the concept of 'topic-about'. Topical, momentous, environment is no longer the leading thema concept. What adults reduce their attention to is what they may refer to exclusively in the running discourse.

- (7) Context: an adult and a child fish small plastic fish
 adult: *huh, huh, ich hab einen.*
 I got one
 child: *ha, Ø habe einen auch.*
 got one too

In early children's playful behavior, then, *ego*-subject deletions as in (7) above are common. Notice that this interpretation runs counter to the common belief that kids' minds have not yet developed the notion of 'self' and, consequently, have no way to refer to themselves. The opposite is the case.

There is awareness of the ‘self’. However, parallel to adult anaphoricity, kids take it to be omissible just as in adult pro-drop anaphoricity.³

2.3. *Interim conclusion*

This concludes our first, data-oriented, part. We have seen that there are valid, if not urgent reasons to consider deixis (speaker-hearer involvement) differences in linguistic analysis and explanation. This is now the moment to introduce one theory where such differentiation is conceived from the start: Bühler’s *Organon* model. Subsequently to this, however, we shall see to which extent alternatives pointed out in Bühler’s semiotic model bear on clear typological distinctions. In other words, it will be argued that languages different from Indo-European and the European *Sprachbund* – in the present case: Japanese – pick up on such deixis alternatives devised by Bühler (1934). We shall discuss the Japanese companion piece to Bühler’s theory, the Tokieda theory of 1950 and 1954, which (unaware of Bühler’s work) focuses on such an alternative to Bühler’s linguistic ethnics that enables the linguist to reach a more appropriate analytic view on Japanese. I have no doubt that this distinction will have its impact on future typological thinking.

3. Bühler’s *Organon* model (Bühler 1934, English version 1990)

The pages so far have prepared the ground for a presentation of Bühler’s basic ideas in his theory of the *Organon* (Classical Greek for “instrument”). Karl Bühler was a psychologist. His division of the linguistic signs into the field of symbols and a field of deixis (pointing, or indexing) demonstrates that he thought of language not as a static structure, but of a creative activity. Part of this idea is that two different processes of referentiality need to be distinguished.

Bühler’s (1934, English 1990) model of a linguistic act is devised in the form of the reputed *Organon* model. It is a model of the communicative act: Language is taken as an instrument (the *Organon*), which is a means, or an

3. I feel very strongly that we should speak about a caveat in this context. To say that languages may have similarity with early acquisitional linguistic competence is close to saying that there are primitive languages as distinguished from mature ones (Dahl 2004, Gil 2008, as well as a growing number of other linguists). This appears to be a methodological atavism (back to the times of Schleicher 1848), which we definitely want to avoid – not in the farthest for the reason that I find that immoral (which I would deem a covert form of opportunism to an anthropological methodology usurped for linguistics), but because it breaks with the axiomatics of linguistic universalism and UG. However, see Haspelmath 2010.

instrument, for the speaker to materially transfer his thoughts to a receiver/addressee.

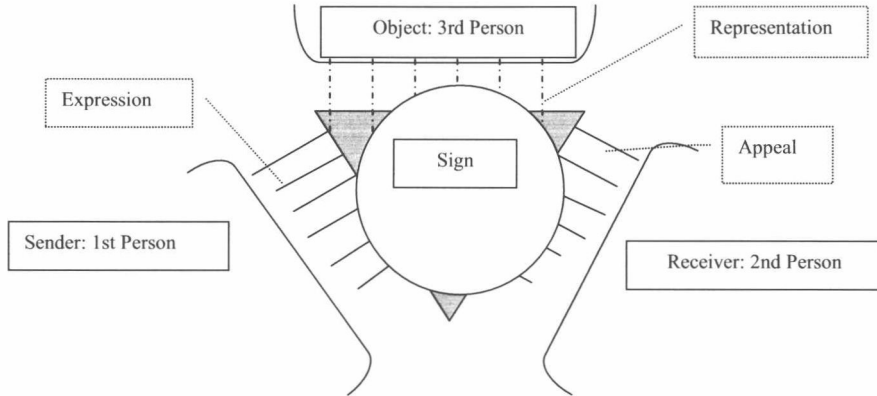


Figure 5. Bühler's *Organon* model or "Three-foundations-Schema" (cf. p. 35 in this book)

Weak deictics disallow focal accent or change of the status of focus.

- (8) **Ich STEHE heute früh auf* "I will get up early this morning"
 (compare the *Verum*-focus (Höhle 1988): *Ich STÉHE heute früh auf* "I will get *UP* early this morning".)
- (9) *das* vs. *DAS Buch*
 the vs. THIS book

(9) shows how the German article form can be weak (unfocused) as well as strong (focused) elicited, and disambiguated, by its deictic function.

The *Organon* model is a model for the symbolic process of referencing: The speaker mediates to the addressee a symbolic sign whose features enable the sign to refer to an object. This entire process takes place in the symbolic field. Communicating with linguistic symbols these features will not be transmitted from sender to receiver (as with a present that simply changes its possessor). What is a lot more: The receiver plays an active role on the transmittance of the information carried by the symbols: He will add on the perceived information on the basis of his own knowledge status. This will bring about a status of minimal common ground between the two participants in the communicative exchange, while, simultaneously, there will be a remainder of knowledge components on either side not covered by the common ground. However, the latter warrants positive results with respect to the current communicative exchange. Notice that the space left open between

the circle and the triangle in the Organon model above – Figure 5 – is meant to represent this gap outside of the common ground on the transmission of the symbols.⁴

As we have seen above, an anaphoric expression secures its reference on behalf of the element in the symbolic field. The anaphoric process establishes a relation of pointing in the symbolic field, whereas the deictic procedure is a phenomenon of the situational deictic field (field of pointing) – i.e., a phenomenon of the speech act situation.

Either relation – anaphoricity in the symbolic field and deixis in the situational or pointing field – require different linguistic realizations in a number of cases.

- | | | |
|---------|---|--|
| (10) a. | <i>Ich habe ein Mädchen_i kennengelernt.</i> | <i>Sie_i / Es_i / Das_i war ganz nett.</i> |
| | I got to know a girl.F/N | she.F/it.N was quite nice. |
| b. | <i>(pointing at a girl_i)</i> | <i>Die_i / *Das_i ist ja nett.</i> |
| | | The.F / *It.N was quite nice. |
| c. | <i>Ich habe ein Mädchen_i kennengelernt,</i> | <i>*die_F / das_N einen Linguisten</i> |
| | | <i>zum Vater hat.</i> |
| | “I got to know a girl.F/N | whose father is a linguist.” |
| d. | <i>Ich habe das Mädchen_i mit seinem_i / ihrem_i Vater gesehen.</i> | |
| | I saw the girl with his / her father | |
| e. | <i>Ich habe das Mädchen_i mit dessen_i / ??deren_i Vater gesehen.</i> | |
| | I saw the girl with the.2SG.N / her.2SG.F father | |

In (10a) the count noun *Mädchen* „girl“, biologically female, but grammatically neuter, may be referred to by either the biologically correct pronoun (*sie*) or the grammatically correct one (*es*). This fluctuation of gender is the result of the way an anaphor works establishing coreference: The pronoun uses the count noun to point at the *girl*'s extralinguistic property of being female or its grammatical code as in (10a). If, however, you point at the girl with your finger as in (10b) you have no option to referring to her other than by the natural gender. Thus, the feminine option (*die*) signals the real object of deixis (i.e., pointing at her in a real-life situation), whereas the neuter may denote only grammatical anaphoricity – thus, text deixis and the symbolic field establish different modes of reference. The mere text deixis, as in (10c), where no real-life situation is implied prefers the grammatical gender.

4. There are essential parallels to Sperber & Wilson's (1986) line of argument to include speaker and addressee into a model of human communication. Sperber & Wilson clearly meant with their model to distance themselves from Shannon & Weaver's (1949) conception of communication. Neither Shannon & Weaver nor Sperber & Wilson were aware of Bühler's earlier book.

The possession relation renders similar field options: *sein-* / *ihr-* are true possessive pronouns, while *dessen* / *deren* in (10e) employs genitives of the demonstrative or article pronouns, a more grammatical, less direct solution of the possessive denotation. (10d) – the less marked option – enacts both types of reference, the textual one as well as the situational one (*seinem* / *ihrem*) – although the feminine one draws a slight preference. (10e) marks a contrast in that the demonstrative generally picks the rhematic, not the thematic, referential option in the antecedent (Abraham 2003; see (5) above). Both the rhema and the thema characterization are grammatical qualifications. Thus, because *deren* refers to the object in real life, the grammatical option, *dessen*, is given preference over *deren*. Reduced to the most fundamental characteristic we may say that the anaphoric procedure is an operation in the symbolic field. By contrast, the deictic procedure establishes direct access to the speech act situation (the deictic field).

Bühler's (1934) approach clearly posits that the symbol as such cannot be the goal of analysis and description in isolation. Much rather, Bühler takes the use of language to be an act emerging from a speaker and directed toward an addressee. His concept opens a dynamic view on language. Taking the Organon model as an action schema, both participants of speech act and constituents are in co-action: The sender is both the "actor speaking" as well as the „subject of the performed act“. The recipient of the speech act plays the role not only of the speech act „Addressee“, but also as recipient of the action as such. In this way, the Organon model gives expression to the prototypical idea of linguistic communication.

The ideal instantiation of Bühler's Organon model mirrors the three person categories and their different communicative functions: 1st Person as speaker, 2nd Person as Addressee, and 3rd Person as subject to talk about. The Person category is a relic of a linguistic concept spread all over and well-known in Europe ever since antiquity. The "Three-foundation-Schema", as Bühler (1934) called the three poles of communication, was conceived as a universal model underlying all human languages. Assuming along with Bühler, however, that, next to the field of symbolizing, there is another field – the field of pointing/of direct deixis – , we may want to turn to a different semiotic model that was devised to account for phenomena that are more appropriately analyzed and explained in terms of the deictic field in the first place.

4. The linguistic model devised by Tokieda (1950)

What Bühler's Organon model does is relate ideally to the communicative concept on the symbolic field while simultaneously pointing to the origo as a semiotic sign that Bühler found neglected in previous work on psychology and the philosophy of language and logic. By contrast, taking issue with de Saussure's static concept of *langue*, Tokieda's (1950) linguistic model focuses on the origo driven (deictic) process in the speech situation as something that deserves highlighting when speaking about languages such as Japanese. Tokieda considers language as a process in which a "significant" combines with a "signifié" (Tokieda 1941: 64). Another main claim is that the Japanese clause essentially divides into two components: *Shi* (naming word, symbol) and *Ji* (the speaker's direct expression, signal). Tokieda's (1950) linguistic model is conceived with the goal to explain the interplay between "symbol" and "signal".

A: Speaker
CD: Object world
AB: Speaker attitude

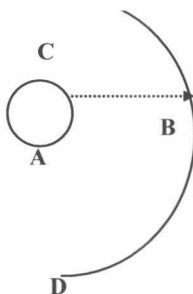


Figure 6. Linguistic model according to Tokieda

By contrast to Bühler's Organon model, we find only two poles, the Speaker and the World around us: A represents the *Self*, while B, C, and D collect the object world as perceived by A. The model relates the speaker to his world environment. The speaker perceives his environment, and in doing this he uses linguistic concepts. While the Organon concept models the linguistic communication, Tokieda's model stands for linguistic perception and observation – i.e., the speaker's perception materialized as language. See also Narrog 2009 and Tanaka 2008.

Tokieda (1950) introduced this model to account more adequately for grammatical processes of Japanese. While he seems to have been aware of the distinction between the symbolic field and the deictic field, he took issue with the Euro-ethnic methodological bias to do linguistics in terms of subject-predication analysis. He felt that the European dominance in linguistics did not – was not able to – do justice to the predominantly deictic typology of Japanese.

We have so far focused on phenomena which led us to see the need for a methodological view in terms of Bühler's crucial distinction. Tokieda saw this need independently of Bühler. In what follows we will pinpoint phenomena where Eurocentric descriptive linguistics does not successfully achieve its goals or where the typological classification appears to fail to draw felicitous distinctions.

5. Deictic and anaphoric perspectives of linguistic description

Tanaka 2010 sees reason to highlight the distinction between Bühler and Tokieda in the following terms. Bühler's Organon model focuses the communicative aspect of language; it stands for the communicative mode. The Tokieda model, by contrast, reflects the identifying process at the hands of the speaker. We, as users of language, are in the possession of either mode. Let us see how this works within one and the same language.

The following illustration is due to Langacker's (1990) attempt to illustrate two different communicative strategies.

- (11) a. *Vanessa is sitting across the table.*
 b. *Vanessa is sitting across the table from me.* (Langacker 1990: 20)

In (11a,b) the shift between the two modes is apparent. In (11a) the speaker is not accessed explicitly. The covert speaker reports on a scene as he sees it. By contrast, the scene (11b) is reported on by an objective neutral observer, i.e. *me*. The speaker is a co-player in the scene. In Langacker's (1990) illustration an objectivization of the perspective takes place.

Kuroda (1973)	Non-reportive	Reportive
Benveniste (1966/1977)	<i>discours</i>	<i>Histoire</i>
Lyons (1982)	experimental mode	historical mode
Langacker (1985)	on-stage	off-stage
Hinds (1986)	situation focus	person focus
Wierzbicka (1988)	experimental	external
Weinrich (² 1971)	<i>besprechen</i> "talk about"	<i>erzählen</i> "narrate"
Iwasaki (1993)	S-perspective	O-perspective
Chafe (1996)	immediate mode	displaced mode
Marmaridou (2000)	holistic understanding	analytic understanding
Ogawa (2005)	subjective ambience	objective ambience
Nakamura (2004)	I-mode	D-mode

Figure 7. Discourse perspectives (leaning on Nakamura 2004: 34)